Collotype Facsimile and Type Transcript

of an

ELIZABETHAN MANUSCRIPT

Preserved at

ALNWICK CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND.
London:
Printed by Truslove & Bray,
West Norwood, S.E.
COLLOTYPE FACSIMILE & TYPE TRANSCRIPT
OF AN
Elizabethan Manuscript
PRESERVED AT
ALNWICK CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND,
CONTAINING
i. Of Tribute, or giving what is due, by Francis Bacon.
ii. Of Magnanimitie, by Francis Bacon.
iii. Advertisement touching private censures, by Francis Bacon.
iv. Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church, by Francis Bacon.
v. Letter to a French gentleman touching the proceedings in England in Ecclesiastical causes, by Francis Bacon.
vi. Speeches for a Device presented A.D. 1595, by Francis Bacon.
vii. Speech of the Earl of Sussex.
viii. Letter from Sir Philip Sidney to Queen Elizabeth on her proposed marriage to the Duke of Anjou.
ix. Leicester's Commonwealth.

Transcribed and Edited with Notes and Introduction
by
Frank J. Burgoyne,
Librarian of the Lambeth Public Libraries.

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1904
DEDICATED TO

His Grace the Duke of Northumberland,
K.G., P.C., D.C.L., F.R.S., etc.,
BY WHOSE KIND PERMISSION
THE MANUSCRIPT HAS BEEN PHOTOGRAPHED
AND PUBLISHED,

AND TO

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bt., M.P.,
OF
KING'S RIDE, ASCOT,
WITHOUT WHOSE AID AND ENCOURAGEMENT
THIS VOLUME COULD NOT HAVE
BEEN PUBLISHED.
This Edition is limited to Two Hundred and Fifty Copies, of which this is No. 98
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INTRODUCTION.

The attention of scholars is specially called to the manuscript which is now for the first time photographically facsimiled. In the year 1870 the first few pages of it were printed by Mr. James Spedding under the title of "A Conference of Pleasure," but this publication is now scarce, as only a limited edition was issued.

All that is known of the manuscript is contained in a letter dated August 14, 1869, written by Mr. John Bruce, who had been commissioned by the late Duke of Northumberland to examine his manuscripts and report upon any of historical or literary interest.

"Up to about two years ago, there had remained at Northumberland House, for a long time, two black boxes of considerable size, presumed to contain papers, but nobody knew of the boxes having ever been opened, or could give any information respecting their history, or tell what kind of papers they contained. These boxes were opened at the time I have indicated, and the contents, which turned out to be papers, as had been supposed, were taken out that I might inspect them. I did so in the month of August, 1867. I found them to be of a very miscellaneous character, many of them more or less connected with the history of the Percys, and others of a more general historical interest.

"Upon some of them were found notes in reference to their contents, written by the hand of Bishop Percy, the editor of the Reliques, who was domestic chaplain at Northumberland House from about 1765 to 1782. He occupied apartments in the House, and gave considerable attention to the old papers belonging to the family. It is probable that he looked through all the papers now under consideration, and that it was under his direction that they were placed in the boxes alluded to.

"Among the papers taken out of these boxes I found the transcripts of the papers of Bacon. They formed part of a miscellaneous collection, or unbound volume, of transcripts, containing among other things a copy of Leicester's Commonwealth and other pamphlets and documents relating to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Looking hastily at the Bacon transcripts, I saw at once some matter which I recollected as already in print. Other parts of them seemed new to me. I mentioned this circumstance at the time to some members of the family of the Duke of Northumberland, who took an interest in what I was about. I pointed it out as a subject for further inquiry, and at the same time directed attention to the oddity of the recurrence and combination of the names of Bacon and Shakespeare in the scribble on the fly-leaf of the MS."
"A good many of the papers taken out of the boxes had been subjected to the action of fire. Their edges were found burnt and singed in the same way as the Bacon transcripts. Among the papers thus damaged was a collection of transcripts of accounts of public ceremonials, such as royal marriages, funerals, and coronations. With this collection was found a paper on which was written, in a hand of the last century, perhaps that of Bishop Percy, although larger than his ordinary hand, a memorandum that those papers relating to ceremonials had been purchased at 'Anstis's sale,' which I understood to allude to the sale of the MSS. of the two Garters Anstis, the father and son, which took place in 1768.

"This memorandum seemed to point to the possibility that the Bacon transcripts might have come to Northumberland House in the same manner as those relating to ceremonials. I thought it right therefore to endeavour to inspect a copy of the Anstis sale catalogue. For a considerable time I was unsuccessful. There is no copy at the British Museum, nor at the Society of Antiquaries, nor in several other likely places. Ultimately one was found at the College of Arms. Unfortunately, like most of the sale catalogues of that period, the lots are described in terms so general and unprecise that it is quite impossible to say what may not have been included under words so vague. Certainly the Bacon MS. is not directly mentioned. In a miscellaneous collection of papers, thrown together into one lot, there is mention of a copy of his argument, De rege inconsulto; and in the course of the catalogue there are several copies of Leicester's Commonwealth, but they do not occur in lots which can be identified with the MS. you are dealing with, but rather the contrary.

"What I have stated seems to lead to the conclusion that the papers were deposited in boxes after 1768. That inference is strengthened by the circumstance that the Anstis MS. is so much injured by fire that—its contents not being highly valuable—it is unlikely that it would have been bought for the Ducal library in its burnt condition. The same conclusion is rendered more probable by the circumstance that there occurred a fire in Northumberland House on the 18th of March 1780, which destroyed a very considerable part of the front towards Charing Cross, including the apartments occupied by Dr. Percy, then Dean of Carlisle. The Gent. Mag. of the day takes pains to inform its readers that 'the greatest part of the Dean's invaluable library was fortunately preserved.' It says nothing of any MSS. of the Duke's, but I think we may safely infer that in all probability this was the fire in which the Anstis MSS., the Bacon transcript, and several other manuscripts were injured; and if so, that they were not put into the black boxes until after March 1780.

"We may also I think find another limit. Dr. Percy was in 1782 appointed Bishop of Dromore, 'where he continually resided' (Nicholls's Lit. Anec. iii. 754) from his appointment to his death in 1811. The putting these papers into the boxes, looks very like the act of Dr. Percy when taking leave of Northumberland House and about to remove to Dromore.

"From 1782 to 1867 the history of these papers is pretty clear; I will only add that nothing has been done with them since they were found, except that the burnt and singed edges have been carefully repaired by a trustworthy person accustomed to that kind of work, and very skilful in it."

INTRODUCTION.

The manuscript found by Mr. Bruce is described by Mr. Spedding as follows, viz.: "It is a folio volume of twenty-two sheets which have been laid one upon the other, folded double (as in an ordinary quire of paper), and fastened by a stitch through the centre. One leaf ... the tenth, is missing, and one ... appears to have been glued or pasted in."

Since Mr. Spedding wrote, the manuscript has been taken to pieces and each leaf carefully inlaid in stout paper, and these have been bound up with a large paper copy of his pamphlet entitled "A Conference of Pleasure." The manuscript in its present condition contains 45 leaves, so Mr. Spedding does not appear to have included the outside page in his enumeration. The pages are not numbered, and there are no traces of stitching or sewing; it is therefore quite impossible even to conjecture what was the number of sheets in the original volume.

The manuscript in its present state consists of:

1. A much be-scribbled outer page, or cover, which appears to be the original list of the transcripts within ... Folio 1-2

2. Of Tribute, or giving what is due. By Bacon ... Folio 3-25
   i. The praise of the worthiest vertue.
   ii. The praise of the worthiest affection.
   iii. The praise of the worthiest power.
   iv. The praise of the worthiest person.

3. Of Magnanimitie or heroicall vertue. By Bacon ... Folio 25-26


5. An advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England. By Bacon ... Folio 29-44

6. A letter to a French gent: touching ye proceedings in Engl: in Ecclesiasticall causes, translated out of French into English by W. W. By Bacon ... Folio 44-45
   A blank page ... Folio 46

7. Speeches spoken in a "Device" before Queen Elizabeth in 1595. The Device was presented by the Earl of Essex and the speeches were written by Bacon ... Folio 47-53
   i. The Hermitt's fyrst speach.
   ii. The Hermitt's second speach.
   iii. The Soldier's speach.
   iv. The Secretarie's speach.
   v. The Squyre's speach.
8. For the Earle of Sussex at ye tilt, an: 96 . . . Folio 53-54

9. A letter dissuading Queen Elizabeth from marrying the
   Duke of Anjou. By Sir Philip Sidney . . . Folio 55-61

   A blank page . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Folio 62

10. A copy of "Leicester's Commonwealth," imperfect both
    at the commencement and the end . . . Folio 63-90

The index, or page of contents, which forms the outer sheet and which is
termed Folio 1, appears from its dust-begrimed condition, to have always
formed the outside cover of the collection. It is probable that the page was
folded in the centre longitudinally, and short titles of the contents written
upon the right-hand side of the leaf. Although the page has been scribbled
over, and damaged severely by fire and dust, the following titles can still be
read upon it.

Mr. ffrauncis Bacon.
Of tribute or giving what is dew.
The praise of the worthiest vertue.
The praise of the worthiest affection.
The praise of the worthiest power.
The praise of the worthiest person.

Philipp against Monsieur.
Earle of Arundell's letter to the Queen.
Speaches for my Lord of Essex at the tylt.
A speach for my Lord of Sussex, tylt.
Leycester's Commonwealth. Incerto autore.
Orations at Graie's Inne revells.
    . . . Queene's Mate . . .
By Mr. ffrauncis Bacon.
Essaies by the same author.
Rychard the second.
Rychard the third.
Asmund and Cornelia.
Ile of dogs frmnt.¹

¹ This entry is followed by some almost illegible words. It is probable that the original entry was "The
Ile of Dogs, a fragment by Thomas Nashe, and inferior plators."
On comparing this list with the actual contents of the book as given on pages xi.-xii., it will be seen that four of the articles now contained in the volume are not mentioned, viz.:

No. 3. Of Magnanimity.
No. 4. Advertisement touching private censure.
No. 5. Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church.

On the other hand, nine articles mentioned on the contents page or cover have disappeared. They may have been separated from what is left by accident or by design. The missing portion contained the following:

i. The Earle of Arundell's letter to the Queen.
ii. Orations at Gray's Inn revells.
   These are probably the speeches of the six councillors to the "Prince of Purpoole," presented at Gray's Inn in 1594.
iii. An address or letter to the Queen, written by Bacon.
iv. Essays by Bacon.
v.-vi. The Shakespeare plays of Richard II. and Richard III.
vii. Asmund and Cornelia.
    Probably a play, but nothing is known respecting it.
viii. The Ile of Dogs; a play by Thomas Nashe.
ix. The missing portion of "Leicester's Commonwealth."

The date when the manuscript was written cannot be fixed with certainty. Mr. Spedding says that while it is impossible to give an exact date, he could find nothing either in the scribbling upon the outside page, nor in what remains of the book itself to indicate a date later than the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The list of contents on the outside page shows that the manuscript originally contained a copy of Bacon's Essays. The first edition of these appeared in 1597, but they were circulated in manuscript several years prior to that date. Bacon in his "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the first edition, dated
January 30, 1597, complaining of some piratical publisher who contemplated printing them without his consent, writes as follows:—

"I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print. . . . Therefore I helde it best discretion to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen."

This letter points to the extensive circulation of the essays in manuscript form, which would cease on their issue as a book. They were printed in January, 1597, and again in 1598, and so were easily to be procured in book form after February, 1597. This appears to fix the date of the manuscript as about that period, for it is not reasonable to suppose that the expensive and imperfect method of copying in manuscript would be continued after the printed editions had appeared. The same argument applies to the plays of "Rychard II." and "Rychard III.," which are included in the list of contents. These also were first printed in 1597, and issued at a published price of sixpence each. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the manuscript was written not later than January, 1597, and it seems more probable that no part of the manuscript was written after 1596. Corroboration for this approximate date is obtained from the composition of the various parts of the manuscript. The first item, "Of Tribute," was written by Bacon for a masque or device played in 1592. The "Controversies of the Church of England," was written in 1589. The "Letter to a French gent." was written between 1589 and 1590. The "Speeches of the Hermit, the Soldier, the Secretary, and the Squire," were spoken in a masque performed in 1595. The Earl of Sussex's speech was spoken "an. [15]96." The "Letter of Sir Philip Sydney to Queen Elizabeth" was written about 1580. The stinging political pamphlet, "Leicester's Commonwealth," part of which concludes the manuscript in its present state, was printed secretly on the Continent in 1584. We know that its circulation was forbidden, the copies seized and the printers prosecuted. This being so, there would be difficulty in obtaining the printed book in England, and it was therefore necessary to continue to produce manuscript copies of the pamphlet.

If the front page or outside cover, which is here called folio 1, be carefully examined it will be seen that, in addition to a list of the contents of the manuscript, there are various other words, marks and sentences scribbled upon it. Some portions are difficult to decipher on account of the page having been damaged by dust and fire. A modern script rendering of the words and
INTRODUCTION.

sentences which can still be read is here inserted so that their exact position can easily be seen.

On the left-hand corner of the page of contents the name Nevill can be traced in two places, and near it the punning motto of the family, _Ne vile velis_. Perhaps this gives a clue to the original ownership of the volume, as it seems to indicate that the collection was written for, or was the property of, some member of the Nevill family. Who this was is uncertain, but it seems probable that it was Bacon's nephew, Sir Henry Nevill.

The relationship is shown below:—

```
SIR NICHOLAS BACON.
  born 1510.
  died 1579.

<table>
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<th>ELIZABETH, who was thrice married.</th>
<th>ANTHONY.</th>
<th>FRANCIS,</th>
</tr>
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<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR HENRY NEVILL.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>born 1564.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>died 1615.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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The younger Nevill, for whom it is suggested the manuscript was prepared, was therefore but three years the junior of Francis Bacon. They both entered Parliament in 1584, and were doubtless on intimate terms. It is probable that Nevill was on the Continent some time between 1590 and 1598, for he was sent as ambassador to Paris in 1599, and it is hardly likely that a man unacquainted with foreign countries would have been selected.

*Anthony comfort and consort.*

Probably a reference to Francis Bacon's elder brother, who on various occasions obtained advances of money for him and was associated with him in many of his literary labours.

*Honoriscahibiletudine.*

A variant of this interesting word occurs in a charter dated A.D. 1187. It is used also in the "Complaynt of Scotland," 1548-9," and another form of it, "Honoriscahibilitidinitatibus," is found in Love's Labour Lost, which we know to have been acted at Christmas, 1597. In the pamphlet "Lenten Stufte,"
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printed about 1599, it is used by Nashe, who writes: "Physitions deafen our eares with the Honorificabilitudinitatibus of their heavenly Panachæa."

\[\textit{Multisannis jam transactis,} \\
\textit{Nulla fides est in pactis,} \\
\textit{Mell in ore. Verba lactis,} \\
\textit{ffell in corde. ffraus in factis.}\]

This verse was known to Anthony Bacon, for a letter from Rodolphe Bradley has been preserved, in which he writes:—\(^1\)

"Your gracious speeches concerninge the gettinge of a.prebendshippe for me . . . . be the words of a faithfull friende and not of a courtiour, who hath Mel in ore et verba lactis, sed fel in corde et fraud in factis."

This letter is dated April 2, 1597; which is about the date suggested for the writing of the manuscript. The lines in a slightly different form also appear on the title page of Ulpian Fulwell's book, "The first parte of the Eyght liberall Science . . . Ars Adulandi," published about 1580; and in Tabouret's "Les Bigarrures et Touches," Paris 1608.

revealing
day through
every crany
peepes and
see
Shak

This is practically line 1,086 of the "Rape of Lucrece." The only difference being that the word "spies" is there employed instead of "peepes." It seems, therefore, probable that "see Shak" was intended by the scribbler to refer to the poem of "Lucrece," which was first published in 1594. It has already been stated that the date of the writing of the manuscript is probably before 1597. If this be so, this quotation is interesting as an almost contemporary notice of the poem.

The name Shakespeare or William Shakespeare and the name Baco, Bacon, or Francis Bacon have been written upon the page eight or nine times. The initial letters S, Wlm, B, Sh and Mr, also frequently occur. This association of the names and their conjunction on the title-page of a collection of manuscripts ascribed to each, must be of deep interest to all students of English literature.

\(^1\) Tenison MSS., Lambeth Palace Library, vol. 15, folio 110.
It should be remembered that no trace of any original manuscript of any play or poem ascribed to Shakespeare has ever been discovered. On the title-page, however, of the collection of manuscripts here facsimiled, mention is made of Shakespeare's plays of Richard II. and Richard III., as having formed part of the original contents. And the fact that this title-page is scribbled over in a contemporary handwriting, with the names of "Bacon" and of "Shakespeare" in close proximity and seemingly of set purpose, has caused believers in the Baconian authorship of the Shakespeare plays to cite this page as confirmatory evidence of their theory. In order that the exact
position of the words quoted may be the more easily seen, several facsimiles with interpretations in modern writing have been prepared. Facsimile 1b (p. 170) is photographed from the facsimile published by Mr. Spedding in 1870, when the manuscript was a little brighter and more could be made out than

at the present time. In facsimile 1a (p. 169) the negative was much over intensified in order to dissolve out the background, but many of the finer lines have disappeared in the process. Facsimile 1c (p. 171) is photographed from the manuscript in its present condition. An enlarged facsimile of a portion of folio 1 is shewn on p. xviii., and a script rendering of the same is
printed on the opposite page, in order that the Shakespeare entries may be more easily studied.

Attention is more particularly called to the line written above the entry “Rychard the Second.”

By Mr. ffrauncia William Shakespeare.

The word “ffrauncia” has been twice written (the second entry being upside down and over the first) as if by this device it had been intended to emphasise the name. It is worthy of notice that the name of “Shakespeare” does not appear upon any of the plays printed prior to 1598. The writing upon folio 1 would seem therefore to be one of the earliest ascriptions of authorship, and it is specially remarkable that the author’s name appears as “Mr. ffrauncia William Shakespeare.” Where the name “William Shakespeare” is repeated lower down, another device is employed to emphasise the entry. The word “Your” being twice written across the name, so that it reads “William Shakespeare.” Mr. Spedding seemed to think that much of this writing was mere scribble, but the scribble is contemporary and it is difficult to imagine that it was written without intelligent purpose.

The back of the contents page, or folio 2 of the manuscript (see folio 2 of the Facsimiles), contains very little. The words written upon it are as follows:—

Thomas
Imita
  g  ofising turner
Imitatio refusing

Imprizing
Imprisonm' resolved in the
But yo’self in prince

Anthonie ffitzherbert

As to the penmen who actually wrote the manuscript nothing certain is known. The writing on the contents page is chiefly in one hand, with occasional words in another, and a few words mostly scrawled across the page at an angle, appear to be written by a third. The main body of the work is in two or more handwritings, and the difference is especially to be noted in “Leycester’s Commonwealth,” which appears to have been written in a hurry, for the writing has been overspaced on some pages and over-
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crowded in others, as if different penmen had been employed. There are also noticeable breaks on folios 64 and 88, and the difference in penmanship on these pages is specially remarkable.

This points to the collection having been written at a literary workshop or professional writer’s establishment. It is a fact worthy of notice, that Bacon and his brother Anthony were interested in a business of the kind about the time suggested for the date of the writing of this book. Mr. Spedding states:—

“Anthony Bacon appears to have served [Essex] in a capacity very like that of a modern under-secretary of state; receiving all letters, which were mostly in cipher; in the first instance; forwarding them (generally through his brother Francis’s hands) to the Earl, deciphered and accompanied with their joint suggestions; and finally, according to the instructions thereupon returned, framing and dispatching the answers.

Several writers must have been employed to carry out with promptitude such work as here outlined, and we find in a letter from Francis Bacon to his brother, dated January 25th, 1594, that the clerks were also employed upon other work. The concluding paragraph of Bacon’s letter reads:—

“I have here an idle pen or two, specially one that was cozened, thinking to have got some money this term. I pray send me somewhat else for them to write out besides your Irish collection, which is almost done. There is a collection of Dr. James of foreign states, largeliest of Flanders, which, though it be no great matter, I would be glad to have it.”

In a letter to Tobie Matthew, Bacon writes:—“My labours are now most set to have those works, which I had formerly published . . . well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not.” We have but little information as to the writers employed by Anthony and Francis, but Ben Jonson formed one of the group, for Archbishop Tenison writes:—

“The Latine translation of [the Essays] was a work performed by divers hands; by those of . . . Mr. Benjamin Johnson (the learned and judicious poet) and some others whose names I cannot now recall.” In this connection it is worthy of notice that in “The Great Assises holden in Parnassus by Apollo and his Assessours,” printed in 1645, the “Chancellor” is declared to be “Lord Verulan,” and “Ben Johnson” is described as the “Keeper of the Trophonian Denne.” It seems not unlikely that this literary workshop was the source of the “Verulamian Workmanship,” which is referred to by Isaac Gruter, in a letter to Dr. William Rawley (Bacon’s secretary and executor).

written from Maestricht, and dated March 20, 1655. The letter was written in Latin, and both the original and the translation are printed in "Baconiana, or certain genuine Remains of St Francis Bacon," London, 1679. An extract reads as follows:–

“If my Fate would permit me to live according to my Wishes, I would fly over into England, that I might behold whatsoever remaineth, in your Cabinet, of the Verulamian Workmanship, and at least make my Eyes witnesses of it, if the possession of the Merchandize be yet denied to the Publick.

“At present I will support the Wishes of my impatient desire, with hope of seeing, one Day, those [Issues] which being committed to faithful Privacie, wait the time till they may safely see the Light, and not be stifled in their Birth.”

While this work was passing through the press, a pamphlet has been published, in which the suggestion is made that the penman of the contents page may have been John Davies, of Hereford, poet, and teacher of penmanship. Amongst his pupils he numbered several members of the Northumberland family. He was well acquainted with Sir Henry Nevill, for in his work entitled “Microcosmos,” published in 1603, he dedicates a sonnet “To the Noble, discretee and wellbeloved Knight, Sir Henry Nevill.” It is interesting to note that Bacon was also a friend of the poet, and Davies in “The Scourge of Folly,” published about 1610, apostrophises him in the following sonnet:–

“To the royall, ingenious, and all-learned Knight, St Francis Bacon.

Thy bounty and the Beauty of thy Witt
Compris’d in Lists of Law and learned Arts,
Each making thee for great Imployment fitt
Which now thou hast, (though short of thy deserts)
Compells my pen to let fall shining Inke
And to bedew the Bais that deck thy Front;
And to thy health in Helicon to drinke
As to her Bellamour the Muse is wont:
For, thou dost her embozon; and, dost vse
Her company for sport twixt grave affaires:
So vterest Law the liuelyer through thy Muse.
And for that all thy Notes are sweetest Aires;
My Muse thus notes thy worth in e’ry Line,
With yncke which thus she sugers; so, to shine.

In the list of contents (folio 1) a copy of a play entitled “The Ile of Dogs,” written by Thomas Nashe, is included. Of this work but little is known,
and no copy has been found. We learn that it existed from the following reference to it in Nashe’s pamphlet “Lenten Stuffe,” which he published in 1599. The pamphlet commences:

“The straunge turning of the Ile of Dogs frō a comedie to a tragedie two summers past, with the troublesome stir which hapned aboute it, in a generall rumour that hath filled all England, and such a heavey crosse laid upon me, as had well neere confounded mee: I meane, not so much in that it sequestred me from my woonted meane of my maintenance, which is as great a maime to any mans happinesse as can bee feared from the hands of miserie; or the deepe pit of dispaire wherinto I was falne, beyond my greatest friendes reach to recouer mee; but that in my exile and irkesome discontented abandonment, the silliest millers thombe, or contemptible sticlebanck of my enemies, is as busie nibbling about my fame, as if I were a deade man throwne amongst them to feede upon. . . . That infortunete imperfit embrion of my idle houre, the Ile of Dogs before mentioned, breeding unto me such bitter throwes in the teaming as it did. . . . I was so terrifyed with my owne encrease . . . that it was no sooner borne, but I was glad to runne from it. An imperfit Embrō I ma well call it, for I hauing begun but the induction and first act of it, the other four acts, without my consent, or the least guesse of my drift or scope by the players were supplied, which bred both their trouble and mine to.”

Mr. Grosart states that “the play when produced roused the anger of the Queen’s Privy Council, who withdrew their licence from the theatre and flung Nashe into jail.” In the “Acts of the Privy Council” for 1597, edited by Mr. J. R. Dasent, an account appears of a meeting held at Greenwich on August 15th, 1597. Amongst other business, a letter was sent to Richard Topclyffe and four other magistrates, in the following terms:

“Uppon informacion given us of a lewd plaie, that was plaied in one of the plaiehowses on the Bancke Side, contanynge very seditious and sclandrous matter, wee caused some of the players to be apprehended and comytted to pryson; whereof one of them was not only an actor but a maker of parte of the said plaie . . . these shalbe therefore to require you to examine . . . the plaiers . . . Wee praye you also to peruse soch papers as were fownde in Nash his lodgings . . . which Ferrys . . . shall delvery unto you. . . .”

No doubt the play above referred to was the “Ile of Dogs,” for Gabriel Harvey in his pamphlet “The Trimming of Thomas Nashe,” printed in 1597, writes: “Since that thy Ile of Dogs hath made thee thus miserable, I cannot but account thee a dog and chide and rate thee.” This pamphlet contains a rough wood-cut of Nashe in fetters. It will be noted that the entry on folio 1 has the words “inferior plaiers” written after it, which may be a reference to the quality of the work ascribed to Nashe. None of the references to “The
INTRODUCTION.

Ile of Dogs" which appear in "The Diary of Philip Henslowe," edited by John Payne Collier in 1845, are of value, as the researches of Mr. Warner have proved them to be forgeries.

Passing from this description of the Manuscript and its outside page or cover, a word must be said as to the method adopted in the type rendering of the work. Fire has destroyed several lines of the bottom of every page, but the remainder of each left-hand page is practically perfect owing to the copyist having left a liberal margin. The right-hand pages have suffered much more, as the writing was taken to the edge of the paper, and thus the last two or three words of each line are missing. After some consideration, the plan suggested by Mr. Spedding was adopted for the first portion of the manuscript comprising folios 3 to 62. Each page is printed line for line with the original, and the words missing at the sides of each recto have been supplied from other copies, or by conjecture where other copies do not exist. All additions thus made are marked by the insertion of [ ], a square bracket. The same course has been adopted with regard to the half-dozen lines destroyed at the bottom of each page. It has not been deemed possible to do this upon folios 3 to 12, and 25 to 28, as no other copies either in print or in manuscript of the parts missing are known to exist.

It will be noticed that the number of lines written upon different pages varies from thirty-seven on folio 17 to forty-nine on folio 56. As the type transcription of the first 62 folios are printed page for page with the manuscript, the lack of uniformity in their appearance is thus accounted for. The writing on folios 63 to 90, comprising what remains of "Leycester's Commonwealth," is in smaller writing, and the lines are placed nearer together, so it has not been thought advisable to keep this portion page for page, and line for line, in the same way, as the earlier folios. The lacunæ have been supplied from the printed edition of 1641, and inserted in square brackets. The commencement of each folio is marked by a headline, so that the transcript may easily be compared with the facsimile. In order to avoid confusion it has been deemed advisable not to follow strictly the punctuation or the capital letters of the original. Mr. Spedding, on this point, writes that "the transcriber was probably accustomed to copy legal documents, in which points had no value, and sentences were not divided. For though it cannot be said that there is no punctuation at all, it is introduced so irregularly that it serves rather to confuse than to explain the construction." With this exception the transcript is an accurate copy of the original manuscript.
Mr. ffr. Bacon of Tribute or
giving that wch is due.

This portion of the manuscript which occupies folios 3 to 25 cannot be better described than in the following words of Mr. Spedding:—

"In the supplement to a volume of "Letters of the Lord Chancellor Bacon," published in 1734, and commonly referred to as "Stephens's second collection," several of his smaller pieces, both political and philosophical, appeared in print for the first time: among the rest, two of the most remarkable of his early compositions—namely, "Mr. Bacon's discourse in prayse of his Soveraigne" and "Mr. Bacon in prayse of knowledge;"—of which the history and true character has been hitherto doubtful."

"They were found among the papers submitted to Stephens by Lord Oxford, and printed by Locker in the supplement to his second collection in 1734. The MSS. are still to be seen in the British Museum; fair copies in an old hand, with the titles given above, but no further explanation. My reason for suspecting that they were composed for some masque, or show, or other fictitious occasion, is partly that the speech in praise of knowledge professes to have been spoken in "a conference of pleasure," and the speech in praise of Elizabeth appears by the opening sentence to have been preceded by three others, one of which was in praise of knowledge; partly that, earnest and full of matter as they both are, (the one containing the germ of the first book of the "Novum Organum," the other of the "Observations on a Libel," which are nothing less than a substantial historical defence of the Queen's government,) there is nevertheless in the style of both a certain affectation and rhetorical cadence, traceable in Bacon's other compositions of this kind, and agreeable to the taste of the time; but so alien to his own individual taste and natural manner, that there is no single feature by which his style is more specially distinguished, wherever he speaks in his own person, whether formally or familiarly, whether in the way of narrative, argument, or oration, than the total absence of it. That these pieces were both composed for some occasion of compliment, more or less fanciful, I feel very confident; and if it should ever appear that about the autumn of 1592 (the date to which the historical allusions in the
discourse in praise of Elizabeth point most nearly) a "device" was exhibited at Court, in which three speakers came forward in turn, each extolling his own favourite virtue,—the first delivering an oration in praise of magnanimity, the second of love, the third of knowledge,—and then a fourth came in with an oration in praise of the Queen, as combining in herself the perfection of all three; I should feel little doubt that the pieces before us were composed by Bacon for that exhibition. Unfortunately we have no detailed account of the Queen's day in 1592; we only know that it was "more solemnised than ever, and that through my Lord of Essex his device."

Such was the state of the question up to 1867, when the discovery of this manuscript threw fresh light upon it. The first portion proved to be a copy of the entire device of which the "Praise of Knowledge" and the "Praise of his Sovereign" formed part.

"It did not indeed throw any new light upon the date or the occasion, but it completely explained the order and plan of it; which is very simple. Four friends, distinguished as A, B, C, and D, meet for intellectual amusement. A assumes the direction of their proceedings, and proposes that each in turn shall make a speech in praise of whatever he holds most worthy. Upon which B (after a word or two of protest in favour of satire, as better suited to the humour of the time than praise) begins with a speech in praise of "the worthiest virtue," namely, Fortitude. C follows with a speech in praise of "the worthiest affection," namely, Love. D with a speech in praise of "the worthiest power," namely, Knowledge. And A himself concludes with a speech in praise of "the worthiest person," namely, the Queen."

It is difficult to understand the history of the title, which is not suggested by any conspicuous expression in the work, and can hardly be called descriptive of the argument. The piece may have formed part of some larger entertainment, in the course of which "the payment of tribute to whom tribute was due" may have been enjoined as a task upon one or more of the performers.
Mr ffr: Bacon of tribute
or giving that wth is due.

1. the praise of the worthiest vertue.
2. the praise of the worthiest affeccion.
3. the praise of the worthiest power.
4. the praise of the worthiest person.

A C
1 3
B D
2 4

A. Since we are mett let me gouerne our leysoure. B. C. D: Coma [unde]. A. Let curie man do honor to that wth he estemeth most and c[an] most worthilie praise. B. O vaine motion and ignorance of times! Are not sa[l]ires of more price then himnes! A. Obey.

The praise of fortitude.

My praise shalbe dedicated to the noblest of the vertues. Pr[udence to discerne betweene good and euill. Justice to stande indifferent [betweene selfe-loue and societie. Temperance to deside aright betweene [desire & reason. Theise be good innocent things. Butt the vertue of a [eton, the vertue of resolucon, the vertue of effect, is fortitude. Present unto a man largelie endued wth prudence the tempest of a so[daine and greate daunger, and lett fortitude absent her selfe; wh[at use hath he of his wisdome? hath he the power eyther to beholde the daunger or to entende the remeny? or rather doth not the first im[pression disable him to take a true viewe of the pill, and the apprehension of the pill so attachie and seaze his sences that he cannott in[vent meanes for his deliuerie? Where be the goodlie groundes of rea[son, the obseruacons of experience, rales, preceptes, and cautions, [upon which he was wont at leysoure to consider, compare, and conclu[de? His ordered and digested thoughts are confounded: their printes are defaced. A [sodaine cry and alarume of perill hath, as Berecinthia's horne, drowne[d all their sweete musicke, or else a blast of winde disordered Sibilla's le[anes. His very wisdome is the first thing that flies. His spiritts th[a satte together in councele in his braine are gone to succor his h[eart: and therewith he is] lefte abandoned to his perills by the treason of [his judgement. his wisdome could haue tould him how in the face while he consid

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

Theise be good innocent things.
Compare Nepoteus iste vertuies non placent; nam innocentiem praeestant, non meritis.—De Augmentis, liber sextus, xvi.
the vertue of action. Compare Amo vertum quae excellantiam actiones inducunt, non habentiam passionis.
—De Augmentis, liber sextus, xvi.

pill = peril.
good entertainments to perswade men of the strength of their [understandings], but deceitfull in the execute and triall. What price then or regard can wisdome carrie, wth tyreth a mans thoughts wth forecasting and providing for perills wth neuer come as if it could imbrace all accidents, but when daunger commeth unexpectet it leaeth a man in pray to his adventurs! But now lett Prudence, this weak ladie, rauished by euerie invasion and assault of soddaine daunger, obtaine for her champion and knight, fortitude; and then see how she entertayneth the challenges of fortune. Doth a man flie before he knoweth? or suffer before he feeleth? Noe; but straightforwardes the discoverie of the perrill maketh a man more than himself. It awaketh his sences. It quickeneth his mocios. It redoubleth his forces. He looketh thorough & thorough y' pill. He taketh hold of euerie light of remedie. He discerneth w' must be concluded, w' may be differed. He ceaseth not to device for y' rest, while he executeth that w' is instant, nor to execute y' present as he deuiseth for y' to come. But he is altivaies in his owne power, rejoycing in the profe of himself and wellcoming necessitie. Thus is fortitude the marshall of thoughts, the armor of the will, & the fort of reason. Lett us turne o' consideracon & behol Justice, the sacred vertue, y' vertue of refuge, the vertue of Societie. Doth not she also shrowde herself under the ptecon of fortitude? Lett a man be abstinent from wrong, exact in duetie, gratefull in obligacon, & yet dismantled & open to feare or dolor, what will ensue? Will not the menace of a tirant make him condemne y' innoce[nt]? will not the sence of torture make him appeale his dear[est] frends and that untrulie? But paine hath taught him [a new philosophie. He beginneth to be perswaded y' it is Justice [to pay tribute to nature, to yelde to the rigor of paine, to be merciful to himselfe. He would giue others leaue to doe the like by [him]: he would forgive them if they did. So that now his ba[llance, where-whe he was wont to weigh out euerie man h[is own, is fallen out of his hands. He is at y' devotion of the mig[tiest. His wisdom remayneth w' him but as a furie to upbr[aid his weakesnesse and increa]se his torment. As for Temper[ance m]agnanimitie and what shall

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
you cannot submitt your selfe to the conditions of obtay[ning thereof, and therfor fall to despise. Will you affect to be admirab[le}? Will you neither followe others nor spare your selfe? Will you [make yo]r life nothing but an occasion and censure of others? Oh but [I mean no such matter: no vain glorie: no malignitie: no diffidence: no censure. I desire but a release from perturbationes. I seeke but an euen tenor of minde. I will not use because I will not desire. I will not desire because I will not fear to want. Loe we see all these circumstances, all this pparacon, is but to keepe a farre of feare and griefe, with fortitude reioyceth to challenge & to chase: but when once a feare & greife commeth, such as all men are subject unto, if it be a feare & greife with ariseth not of destituocon of a pleasure but of accesse of a disfortunate, then what use hath he of his temp[erance]? Will he not then esteeme it a great follie? He hath pro[ved a]gainst heat of sunshine & not of fyre? Doth he not take it for a madness to think if a man could make himself impassible of pleasure, he should make himself at one labor impassible of paine? Wheras contrariwise it is an introducecon to beare stronger greifes, to desire often with hauncing. But let fortitude and strength of minde assist Temperance, and see what followeth then? a man is able to use pleasures and to spas[re them; to containe himselfe in the entry or greatest downfall and to entertaine himselfe euer in pleasure; hauing in prosperitie se[nce of joy, & adversity sense of strength. Therefor it is fortitude [that must help or consume, or enable all vertues. Of Pleasure now lett us inquire, with being limited and goued, no sevitie of conceipt nor harshnes of language shall make, but it is, the blessing of nature, the true marriage of the senses, the feast and holliday of this of [work-day and unquiet life. Onerien lett men discerne the present sign[a]l and want of nature from the bayte of affection, let them discerne [that which is pleasant in the some and totall from that with is pleasant [at ye moment. Nay what true and solid pleasure can there be where feare is? Mark] I pray you w[here his pleasures & desires. hope he

Evidently some errors in transcription in lines 2 and 3. The meaning is "Will you pretend to despise all that other men value."

destituocon = forsaking. This word has been altered by a later writer to recus.
against heat of sunshine, etc., that is heat which warms and comforteth, but not against heat of fire, which burns and hurts.

able to use pleasures, &c. Compare Diogenes; the se[er than which sustained, and could restrains their minds, in prejudice, and would give unto the wind... the shortest stop or turn. — Adv. of Learning.
goued = governed.

of language shall make. Something is omitted here. It probably should read "shall make me doubt, but it is."

The lost lines probably refer to the impossibility of enjoying pleasure without help from fortitude. Compare "Nil aut in voluptate solidum aut in virtute muniment, ubi tunc infestat." — De Augmen-
tis.

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
A later hand has altered the first line into the singular, 
"he is as deare yt is come...and stands
feede." pleasures he has also been altered to pleasure is.

In the MS so nature is repeated and struck out, and so lightlie is written in the margin as the correction.

should is omitted in the MS.

extreme seems to be a mistake for "extem." The meaning being that the recompence of virtue with pleasure answers to the compounding of civil dissensions; the conquest of externe or outward evils, to the defeating of foreign enemies.

In the last line the speaker seems to have referred to the relief which nature has provided against excess of bodily suffering by inducing insensibility; and that outward evils are made intolerable chiefly by apprehension, and can be overcome by courage and patience.

and fruition of his pleasure, then he is in a maze: he is as deare yt come unto an unwonted good pasture, and stand at a gaze, & scantyfe.

pleaseth he euer imagineth some ill is hid in euerie good: so as his pleasures be as solid as the sandes, being corrupted wth continuall fears and doubts; and when the pleasure is past then he thinketh it a dreaume, a surfaite of desire, a false ioye: he is ungratefull to nature: for still the sence of greife printeth so deepe and the sence of delight so lightlie, as the one seemeth unto him a truth, the other a deceit. Judge then how nativie and perfect pleasures are to him to whom expectacon is a racke, enioyeng is an amazement, remembrance is a distast & bitternes. Againe wth doth somuch encrease and enrich all pleasures as noveltie? but it is a rule that to a fearfull man whatsoeuer is new is suspect: so as that wth [should] season and enrich pleasures, doth taint and embase them. But now lett us take breath awhile, and looke about if we can see any thing else good in nature. Vertue, the perfeccon of nature; pleasure, the fruit of nature. Is there any thing else? O beautie the ornament of nature. I cannot say that fioritude will make a crooked man straight, nor a fowle person faire. But this I may say, yt feare is the mother of deformitie, and yt I never saw a man comele in feare. So it is fioritude that giueth a grace, a maiestie, a beautie to all accons. But whie doe we stai se so long upon the merritts of fioritude in shewing how it is a protector and benefactor to all yt is good, and do not hasten to yt conquest & victories thereof? Have we not done well, because its more meritorious to succor then to subdue, and more excellent [to compound ciuill dissensions then to defeate foraigne enemies]? And therfore now we have shewed how fioritude maketh yt minde biring yt workes and accons of vertue to the tast and fruition of pleasur[e, it is time to sett forth what it can doe against those extreamethings called euills. These euills, lett them be mustered. Are they paine of bodie? grieue of minde? slander of name? scarrisie of meanes? solitude of frendes? [?] feare of death? Whie none of these are ill wth fioritude, wth can bea [re paine of bodie wthout the fior of bodie] out Whiling the repose of our mindes in themselves or om [itting our care for others. It conditeth them: it taketh away their vene [mous qualitie: it reconcileth them to nature. Lett no man quarr[ell with the decree of prouidence wth hath included in euerie ill stv] pefacon of yt parts and the weak

apprehension and

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
but it is feare and impatience that are the sergeants of fortune and do arrest and subdue us to those things, being otherwise freemen: so as that who doth draw from men laimenten, outries, excess of griefe, it is not ye outward enemy, but the inward traitor. Nothing is to be feared but fear itself. Nothing grievous but to yele to griefe. ... lett us remember how men endued with this vertue fortitude have entertained death, the mightiest of [all enemies. Consider whether it wrought any alteracon in them; whether it hath troubled and put out of frame their ordinary fashions and behaviours. I do wonder at the Stoickes, that accompted themselves to hold the masculinity vertues, esteeming others seclus, delicate, tender and effeminate, with they shd see urge and advise men to the meditacion of death. Was not this to incase ye fear of death, with they professed to assuage? Must it not be a terribl[e foe against whom there is no ende of preparacon? Ought they not to haue taught men to die as if they had liued, and not to liue as though they continued there should die? More manfullie thought the voluptuous seclus that counted it as one of ye ordinarie workes of nature. But to returne: letts leade about our consideracon to take vewie of those who have been men of knowne valewle and courage, and see whether death presented, hath somuch as untuned their ordinarie fashion of conceipte and custome. Julius Caesar, the worthiest man that ever liued, the brauest souldeir, a man of the greatest honor, and one that had the most real and effectuall eloquence that ever man had; not a sounding and flowing eloquence for a continuat speach, but an eloquence of accon, an eloquence of affairs, an eloquence that had suppressed a great mutiny with a single word (Quirites), an eloquence to imprind and worke upon any man who he spake. See now whether he varied from himself at his death. The first wounding him on the necke by Casca, that stoode behind his chaire, he turned about and caught hold of his arme: Traitor Casca what dost thou? the wordes were but plaine, but yeet could upon studie haue been said more apt to daunte the conspirator and to incite succors? Should he implore helpe? he would rather haue lost a thousand liues. Should he haue cried out? that had ben also an imploring of aide. Should he haue said wht in the temple of the gods? it was not decent for Caesar to claine for himself his person was more venerable then the place. Therfore he chose a word which was as effectual to invite succors but yet retainde ye mai estic of Caesar. He added Casca. He was nothing astonishe: he singled him out at once. Who knoweth not, that is any thing skillfull in the weight and effect of words, that compellation by name gieith as it were a po[int and penetrate and what

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
ffr. Bacon of Tribute.

Well, they came about him being unarmed, and as a stagg at bay yet he never ceased to putt himself in defence ympointing of their weapons and all the means of an unarmed man. A forme excellently well becomming a militarie man, though he knew it would not helpe. At last when Marcus Brutus gaue him a wounde, (and thou my sonne) Noble Caesar, he had no weapon to wounde Brutus againe, but this word wounded, this word perced him, this word enchannted him, this worde made him euer despire of a finall good successe of the warr, although the cause was iust and his proceeding at the first prosperous. This word inspired him once at his birthday, when his affaires stode in most prosperes termes, to breaKe out causeles into this verse: at me sors misera et Latona perdidiit infans. This word turned it self afterwards into the likenes of an ill spiritt that appeared unto him in his tent. In the ende when his strength failed him, yet he tooke an honorable regard to fall in comelie manner, and couered after the manner of the apparell of that tyme. So as that complemt, that point of honor, wth it had ben much for a ladie to have remembred, unto whom modestie and honor of pson were summu bonu, so great a monarch, so great a captaine, in so strong and violent an assault, forgot not, at the pointe of death. Augustus Caesar his nephew, a man nothing of that strength and corrage, but of greater assurance and serenitie of mynd, he that by the caulmes and repose of his countenance had appalled a barbarous conspirator, he that would euer wishe himself Euthanasiam; in summe, a dauntie and a fine man; was he not the same man at his ende? Livia bare in mind our marriagd, line and farewell, a farewell at length for a large absence. Vespasian, a man exceedinglie guien to the humor of dicacitie and istering, his last words were, If I be not much decyued I am uppon the point to be made a god. [Scoff]ing at death, at himself, and at the times. Seuerus (Septimius I me]ane a man of infinite pursuite of accion and dispatch (if there be any [thing for me to doe] and further he could not goe. The like wordes he [would have used if he had ben but going to sleepe. Socrates, that woulde never affirme any thing, in his last wordes to the judges said (It is now time to conclude, that I may be dismissed to dye and you to line. but [wh' for the best knowes Jupiter). He lefte not his Ironye, for himse]lf had told his opinion to his frendes before. So the Romaine delghted so much in the inquisition of the truth by comandement of Caius Cali[gula

t to person and dis

(The M.S. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
fr. Bacon of Tribute.

So that by all these examples it appeareth, how fiortit[ude doth arme men's mynds in such sort that euerye strict habitt or fashion is stronger than feare of death or sence of his approches. Neyther will I so much disparage the praise of this noble vertue fiortitude, that I make it the [glorie and the principall coate of honor thereof to outome the feare of death [: seeing that barbarous customs, false superstitions, violent passions, are able to do as much. But all these doe it as madnes sometimes doth it; th[e expell one Tirant by another; but they leaue not the minde in entire possession, ye is the onelie worke of fiortitude: other vertues deliuer us fr[om ye rule of vices, but fiortitude alone deliuereth us from the servitude of fortune.

A. Your speache were able to warme the harte of a coward: for eyther it[w] out courage into him, or else yt nothing could prevail w[h] him but feare, yett it[w] make him more afraid of feare it selfe then of any perill. C. he deserueth to be [itect speach. A. Letts heare what you will deserve.

The praise of Lone.

My praise shalbe dedicated to the happiest state of the minde; to the eleuacon of mynde to the noblest affeccion. The vertues are moderators: they are lawes of the mynde; they restraine it, they limitt it, they [gouern it, they amplifie it not. They are as the mill when it is sett uppon a ry[ch stone: heere it grindeth out a race & there a graine, to make it weare more faire: but in the meane while the stone looseth caraques, leaseth substan[ce. So w[h] ye vertues; they pollyshe the mynde, they make it wi[thout blemishe, they giue it excellent forme; but commonly they take of much of the naturall vigour: They be the affeccion w[h] make the mynde heroical, that giues [it] power to exceede it selfe, and to fastinate and binde others. Doe we not [see that no agilitie of bodie, no sleight nor practize, can bring a man to doe [that w] sometimes feare or fury makes him doe? In the melting of an h[orse-shoe can a mightie dead fyre doe as much as a small fyre blowne? I[n shaping mettalls, can a mightie huge weght doe as much as the blowe of [a hammer? It is motion therfor that animateth all things: it is vaine to think [that] any strength of nature can counteruail a violent mocon. The affe[ccons are the motions of the minde: the vertues pray in ayde of the affecco[ns. Fearing and wondering is the life of prudence. Modestie is the life of temperance. Indignacon the life of fiortitude. All vertues take meas power and strength from the affeccons. Therfor happines and height of mynde. but ert the true steppes of

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
for as for the other affeccons they be but sufferinge of nature: they seeke rannsomes and rescues from that wé is evill, not enioyeng an union wé that wé is good: they seeke to expel that wé is contrarie, not to attract that wé is agreeable. Feare and greife, the traitors of nature; bashfullnes, a thraldom to euerie man's concept and countenance; pittie, a confederacie wé yé miserable; desire of a reveuenge, the supplieng of a wounde; all theise they endeavor to keepe the maione stocke of nature, to preserue her from losse & diminucon. But loute is a pure gaine and advance in nature; it is not a good by comparisson, but a true good; it is not an ease of paysne, but a true purchase of pleasures; and therfor when our mindes are soundest, when they are not as it were in sicknes and therfor out of tast, but when we be in prosperitie, when we want no thing, then is the season the opportunitie and the springe of loute. And as it springeth not out of ill, so is it not entermixt wé ill: it is not like the vertues wé by a steepe and cragged way conduct us to a plaine, and are hard taske-mé at first, and after give an honorable hyre; but the first aspect of loute and all that followeth is gracious and pleasant. And now to you sir that somuch commende vertue fortitude, and therein cheiflie commended it because it doth enfranchise us from the tirannyes of fortune, yett doth it not in such perfeccion as doth loute. For fortitude, strowtheneth yé mynd, but it giueth it no feeling, it leaueth it empty, it ministreth unto it no apt contemplacon to fix it self uppon that it may the more easilie be directed from the sence of dolours, and thats the reasons wé you would in no wise admitt to be competitors wé fortitude in this honor (as barbarous customes and false superstitions do this not) standing more easilie and effectuallie then that vertue. Butt loute doth so fill and possesse all the powers of the minde as it sweetteth the harshnes of all deformities. Let no man feare yé yoke of fortune that's in the yoke of loute. Whfortune can be such a He[rules as shalbe able to overcome two? When two soules are joynd in one, wh[en one hath another to devidt his ffortune wéall, no force can depress[e him. Therfor since loute hath not aseate in ill as haue other affeccons; since [it hath no part in ill as vertue hath the beginnyng; synce it admitteth n[o sense of ill and therin excelleth fortitude; now lett us see whether it be not as rych in good as exempt in ill? Now therfor will I teache louers to [loute, yé haue all this while loued by roate. I will giue them the Alphabet [of loute. I will shew them how it is spelled. For this is a principle, yé nature [of man is compound and full of multiplicite, so as it is not somuch any simple pleasure that affecteth as the co

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
verie generallie in peregrinacons to straunge countries, [in doing unwonted accions, listening after newes, gaines of chaunce, w[ith the like particulars. This delight doth also winde it selfe like a [serpent into their affeecons, in such sorte as few delights have grace long, unless this commendeth them to the apprehencon. Now thefertor loue is [a fountain of curiositie, a most sweet grounde sett w[b infinite changes, a [journey of strangest and most various adventurers. I demaunde in loue w[b are all these mutacons by absences, theise redintegracons by unkindnesses, t[heese surprises by alteracon of attyre and change of presences, but as it were changes upon this stop? But aboue all others, newe merritt and dem [aund on affection is the gratefullest noueltie: and it is not onelie the varietie of y[e knowlledge that pleaseth, but the certaintie. For assuredlie no p[erson ever saw at any time the minde of another, but in loue. Loue is the one [y passion y'opens the harte. So as wee see w[rich tribute, curiositie and des[ire of noueltie pay unto loue: being indeed, if not the hyest, yett the swe[ttest affecccon of all others. Now turren we o[vie uppon ambition; an aff[eccon potent and generall. Dionisius, when he was chased from his tiran[nie, became a Pedantius: a child will lord it ouer his dog and bird. Is not [ambition so mightie as it infecteth the sence? haue we not heard of ambit[iosa cænae,] when men desire not the meate of the best tast but 'y' w[th is de[arest to buy or hardly procured; not unlike the receipt Aurum potabile? Con[trariwise is not loue a gaele of ambition, a perfeccon of commandm[1, inclu[ding not onelie the commandm[1 of the person but of the will? Do we not s[ee y'[ in populer states. Ambition is most sweet, because honor is more vo[luntarie? Do we not obserue how the Heresiarchæ and beginners of sectes, m[aking it their sumnu bono to raigne in mens myndes, are therfor justlie called stupra[tores mentium, the deflowerers of understandings? So that as it is [y[e disease of such extravagant and straung spirritts to secke a comandment o[ner reasons & beleefes, so it is natural in man to aspire to comandment of minds and especiallie of affecccons and wille. Another delight ministr[ed unto the nature of man by this condicon is to haue such as may be com[panions unto him. Many are the greifes and diseases wherto mens states are [subject; the verie representacon of them by foresight doth disreli[sh their present prosperities. But then when one forseeth w[thall, that to his m[anie greifes cannot be added solitude, but that he shall have a partner [to beare y'm, this quieteth the mind. A further inward and deepe affecccon [proper to y' mind of m]an, is the continuumg and if it myght be the perpetuation of his stocke, being] the common and naturall desire of children favorites and co.

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

The missing words might probably be dem[onstration of affection, but there is not room for so many letters in the space.

Heresiarchæ. This word seems to have been coined by Bacon. The earliest uses of it noted in the New English Dictionary are dated 1624 and 1638.

willes. The word natures has been struck out and wille inserted.

In the lost portion the speaker seems to have referred to the pleasure men take in seeing their merits reflected in the opinions of others; whence the delight of princes in favourites.
taking a hie and comfortable impression of a mans self from the admiracon and enderred estimation of others. Was not flatterie ever in grace? but there is no flatterie like that of a louer. One said well that a man’s selfe was the Archflatterer, but he should have excepted his louer: for the proudest man that ever was never thought so well of him as the louer thin-keth of the person loved. Consider againe the delighte of concurrence in desire wthout emulation. If two be but sett at one game they loue, or labor togeth’ in some one work or invention, marke how well pleased, how well disposed, how contented they be. So then if mindes are sharpened against mindes, as Iron is against Iron, in euerie accon, what shall we thinke of that union & coniuncon of mindes wth loue worketh? Wt vigor, what alacrity, must it giue. Behold fur-ther the nature of the minde of man. It is euerie man’s observacon, yre remission and relaxacon of minde is a most necessarie part of life. It is noted also that absolute Idlenes and leasure when the mind is altogeather wthout object is but languishing and wearines. How precious then is loue wth is the sweetest repose from travailles and affairs, and the sweetest imploym in leysure & Idlenes. So as in one respect it is like the earth Anteus, in the other it is like Penelopes webb wth entenineth time and putthet of expectacon. For it is not an ill commendation to say yloue is an idle mans occupation: but it catcheth the busiest. Can a tirant be idle the first yeare of his usurpacion? See Appius & Virginia. Could the state and enleagued enemic of Octauius Caesar want wt to thinke? See Anto-nie and Cleopatra. So it is not the fruite of idlenes but the remedie. Lastly to leave where loue beginneth, who discerneth not yre eye is the most affecting sence? They be tales yre proposicon to the contrarie. The humor of melancholie importuneth those yre are outome wth it wth the memorie of the most affecting dislike. Confer wth one that is entering to be melancholie; shall you heare him complayne of harsh soundes or odious favors represented to his imagination?

Noe, but allwais meditating of fearefull and disliking forme. Who denieth but the eye is first contented in loue, being fed and feasted by fre[sh portionables shapes and decent mocons? Therfor if all delights of sence afffect loue if yre understanding be tributarie to loue, if loue offereth the sweetest con[ten]tment to him that desireth to know, the exactest commaundm to him that [desireth to rule, the comfortablest promise to him that looketh into his fortune, [the surest hope to him that seeketh to suruie himself, the most flattering glasse to [him that loueth to view him [wth advantage, the greatest union of minde to him yre [desireth yre most refreshing reposes from accon, the most acceptable entertainm [m to him yre wth offer yre most pleasing object to the most imprinting sence: Let us m[ake our suit to loue, that gathereth the beames of so many pleasures into flame the sowle, and lets conclude that the

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
A. I was thinking what you did deserve; and hearing you speake so wisely of love you is of your nature as a man cannot well tell who should knowe it [best, he you hath tried it or he that hath not tried it, I thought you deserved a patent that hath ben granted but seldom, and that is Amare et sapere. he had requited his ladies favor. but here siteth one as if he neither gave much care nor meant to speake. D. I was never niggard of myne care but I would gladlie spare my speache. A. The wrong were not to us but to you all honor, if now you shall deceive it of your praise and celebracon.

The praise of knowledge.

D. Silence were the best celebracon of that we I meant to com mend; for who would use silence there where silence is not made, and what cryer can make silence in such a noys and tumult of vaine and popular opinions? My praise shall be dedicate to the mynd itselfe. The mind is the man, an [d knowledge. A man is but what he knoweth. The minde it self is but an accordant knowledge. for knowledge is a double of you wth is. The truth of being and you truth of knowing is all one. Are the pleasures of the affections great er then you pleasures of the sensers, and are not the pleasures of the intellecctual greater then the pleasures of the affections? Is not that onelie a true and natural pleasure whereof there is no sacietie? Is not that knowledge alone that doth clear the mind of all perterbacons? How many things be there we I we imagine are not? how many things do we esteeme and value more then a[re. These vaine imaginations, these ill proportioned estimations, these be the clouds of error, that tourne into the stormes of perturbacons. Is there then [any such happens as for a mans minde to be raised aboue the confusion of things, where he may haue a respect of the order of nature and the error of men? If there but a view onelie of delight and not of discoverie? of contentm't, and not of benifitt? shall we not discernethe riches of natures warehouse as the beautie of her shopp? Is truth barren? shall we not therby be able to produce worthy effects and to endow the life of man with infinit commodities? But shall I make this garland to be put vpon a wrong head? Would any man beleue me if I should verifie this vpon the knowledge that is now in vse? Are we the richer by one poore invention by [reason of all the learning that hath ben this many hundred yeares? The in[dustrie of artificers maketh some smal improuements of things invented, and chance sometimes in experimenting makes vs stumble vpon somevth [at is new. But all the] disputations of the learned neuer brought to lyg[ht one effect of nature before] unknownen. When things are knowen and found [out, then they can descant upon them: they can knitt them into certain causes: they can reduce them to their principles. If any instance of experience stand against them, they can range it in order by some distinctions. But all this is but a web of the wit: it can worke nothing: I do not doubt but that common notions which we call reason, and the knitting of them together which we cal]
Logique or the arte of reason, may haue vse in popular studies, but they rather cast obscureitie then gieue light to the contemplacon of nature. All the Philosophie of nature w^th is now receaued is eyther the Philosophie of the Grecians or that other of the Alchimists. That of the Grecians hath the foundation in words, in ostentation, in confutation, in sectes, in Auditories, in schools, in disputacon. The Grecians are, as one of them saith, you Grecians euer children. They knew little antiquitie. They knew (except fables) not much aboue 500 yeares before themselues. They knew but a smale porcon of the world. That of the Alchimists hath the foundation in imposture, in auricular tradicons, and obscureitie. It was catching holde of religion, but the best principle of it is populus vult decipi: so as I knowe no great difference betweene theis great Philosophers, but that the one is a loude crieng follie, the other a whispering folly: the one is gathered out of a few vulgar obseruacons, and the other out of a few experim^ns of the furnace: the one neuer faileth to multiple words and the other ofte faileth to multiple gold. Who would_A smile at Aristotle, when he admireth y^e eternitie and inuariablenes of the heaves, as if there were not the like in the bowles of the earth. They be the confines and borders of theis 2 great kingdoms, where the continewall alteracons and incursions are. The superficies and upper part of y^e earth is full of varietie, the supficies and lower part of the heauens w^th we call the middle region of the ayre, is full of varieties. There is much spirtt in the one place w^th cannot be brought into masse, there is much massie bodie in the other place w^th cannot be refinde into spirtt: the comon ayre is as the wast ground bewteen thee borders. Who would not smile at the Astronomers, I meane not theis new car men w^th drue the earth about, but the auncient Astronomers, y^e faine the moone to be y^e swiftest of the planets in mocon, and y^e rest in order, the hier the [slower, and so are compelle to imagine a dooble mocon, whereas how euiden [t is it y^e y^e w^th they call a contrarie mocon is but an abatemen of moc[on. The fixed starres ouergeo Saturne, and Saturne leaueth behind him J[jupiter, and so in them and the rest all is but one mocon, and the nearer the [earth y^e slower. A mocon also whereof the aire and the water do participate t [hough much interrupted. But whie do I in a conference of pleasure enter [into these great matters in sort that pretending to knowe much I should know [not season? Pardon me, it was because almost all things may be indued [and adorned w^th speaches, but] knowledge it self is more beautifull the[n any appraisal of wordes y^e can be putt uppon it. And lett me not seeme arrogant w^hout respect to these great reputed authors. Lett me so gieue everie man his due, as I gieue time his due, which is to discover truth. Manie of these men had greater wittes, farre aboue mine owne, and soe are manie in the Universities of Europe at this day.]
But alas they learne nothing there but to beleue. first [to beleue that others know that wth they knowe not; and after [themselves know y' wth they knowe not. But indeede facilitie to beleue, impatient to doubt, timeterie to asseuer, glorie to knowe, doubte to contradiçt, en'd to gain, sloth to search, seeking things in wordes, resting in a part of natur[e, these and the like haue ben in things wth haue forbidden the happie ma[th between y' minde of man and the nature of things, and in place thereof ha[ue married it to vaine nocions and blynde experim[. And what the posteritie [and issue of so honorable a match may be, it is not harde to consider. Printing, [agrossinvention; Artillerie, a thing not farr out of the way; the needle, [a thing partly knowne before: w a chaunge haue these 3 made in the world [in these times, the one in the state of learning, the other in the state of the [warre, the thirde in the state of treasure, commodities and navigation. [And these were as I say but stumbled vpon and lighted on by chance. Therfor [no doubt the soueraingtye of man lieth hid in knowledge, wherein many [things are reserved wth kings wth their treasure cannot buy, nor wth th[eir force commaund: their spies and intelligencies can give no newes of [them: their seamen and discoverers cannot saile where they grow. Now [we governe nature in opinions but are thrall to her in necessities. But if [we would be led by her innvention we should command her in accon.

A: This speache descriueth to be understood. B: now S' you [that first made this mocion: I wishe you no greater reuenge, but th[at one of vs 3 had intercepted your choice. A: that were smale r[euenge; for then I would be silent. B: that were against your owne [comaund. but I should smile to see you put to goe over the same ma[ter.

The praise of his Soueraigne.

No praise of magnamitie, nor of loue, nor of knowledg; can in[tercept her praise y' planteth and norrisheth magnanimitie by her exam[ple, love by her person, and knowledge by the peace and serenitie of her tim[es. And if these rich peeces be so faire vnsett, w'are they sett? and sett in [all perfeccon? Magnanimitie no doubte consists in contemp of perrill, [in contemp of profit] and in merriting the times wherein we liue. [For contemp of perrill, see a Ladie,] that cometh to the crowne [after the experience of some adverse fortune, which for the most part extenuateth the minde and maketh it apprehensie of feares. No sooner she taketh the scepter into her sacred handes, but she putteth on a resolution to make the greatest, the most important,
the most daungerous alteracon that can be in a state, the alteracon of religion.
This she doth, not after a soueraignty establisht & continewed by sundrie yeares,
when custome might haue bred in her people a more absolute obedience, when
triall of her servants might haue made her more assured whom to employ,
when the reputacon of her pollicie and vertue might haue made her gouern' more redoubted;
but at the verie entrance of her raigine, when she was
grene in authoritie, her servants scant knownen vnto her, the adverse part
not weakened, her owne part not confirmed. Neyther doth she reduce or
revnite her realme to the religion of the states about her, that the euill
inclinacon of the subiect might be countervailed by the good correspondence in
forraigne parts: but contrariwise she introduceth a religion exterminated
and persecuted both at home and abroade. Her pceedings herein is not by
degrees and by stealth, but absolute and at once. Was she encoraged thereto
by the strength she found in leagues and alliances wth great persons & potent
confederates? no, but she found her realme in warres wth her nearest
and mightiest neighbors: she stooed single and alone, in league onelie wth
one, that after her people had made his warres, left her to make her
owne peace; one that could never by any sollicitacon be mowed to renew
the treaties, and one that since hath pceeded from doubtfull terms of
amitie to the hiest acts of hostilitie. Yet notwithstanding all this,
the opposition so great, the support so weake, the season so vnproper, yet
I say because it was a religion wherein she was nourished and brought
vp, a religion that freed her subjectts from pretence of forraigne powers,
and indeed the true religion, shee brought to passe this great worke
wth successe aunswereable to so noble a resolution. See againe a Queene
that, at a deepe and secret conspiracie was plotted against her sacred psou,
practized by subtile instrumts, embraced by violent and desperate [humors,
bound and strengthed by vowes and sarcams], and the same was [revealed
vnto her, and yet the nature of the affairs required further ripening
before the apphension of any of the pties, was content [to put herselfe
in guarde of the divine evidence and her owne prudence, [to have some
of the conspirato in her eye, to suffer them to aproach to her psou, to
take a peticon of ye hand ye was couyned for her death; and that wthsuch
maie of countenance, such mildnes and serenitie [of gesture, such art and
impression of wordes, as had ben suffici[ent to have represt and
bound the hand of a conspirator if he had not been discovered. Lastly
see a Queene that when her realme was to haue been invaded by an
armie, the preparation whereof was like the travel of an Elephant,
the provisions infinite, the setting forth wherof was the terror and wonder of Europe; it was not seene that her cheere, her fash[on, her ordinary manner, was anie thing altered: not a cloud of that s[torme did appeare in that countenance.Indicator]

Wherein peace doth euer shine. But wth excellent ass[urance and advised securitie she inspir'd her counsell, animated her nobilitie, re[doubled y^e courage of her people; still having this noble apphension not onelie [that she would communicate her fortune w^ith them, but y^t it was she that w^ith proteeft them, and not they her; w^ith she testified w^ith no lesse demonstrati[on then her presence in campe. Therfor that magnanimitie that neith^er feareth greatnes of alteracon, nor the vowes of conspirato^ns nor the power of enemies, is more then heroicall. For contempt of pfitt, [consider her offers, consider her purchases. She hath raigned in a [most populous and welthie peace, her people greatelie multiplied, welth[i]ly appointed, and singularie deuoted. She wanted not the examples of [the power of her armies in the memorable voyages and invasions prosperously^s made and achieued, by sundrie her noble progenito^ns. She hath [not wanted ptences as well of claime and right, as of quarrell and reu[enge. She hath raigned during the minorities of some of her neighbo^rs[princes, and during the faccons and divisions of their people vpon depee and [irreconcileable quarrells, and during the embracing greatnes of some on[e that hath made himself as weake thorough to much burthen, as others [are through decae of strength. And yet see her sitting w^ithin the compas[se of her sands. Scotland that doth in a manner eclipse her Island, the vni[ted provinces of the lowe Countries, w^ith for scite, wealth, comoditie of traffic^ue, affection to our nacion, were most meece to be annexed to this Crowne, she left the possession of the one and refused the soveraignetie of the other. So that notwithstanding y^e greatnes of her meanes, the iustice of her prete[nces, and the rarenes of opportunities, she hath continewed her first [mynde: she hath made the possessions she receyued the limitts of her dominion, [and the world the limitts of her name, by a peace that hath stained all victories. For her meritt, who doth acknowledge that she hath ben as a [star of most fortunate influence vpon the adge whereon she hath shine[d? Shall we speake] of meritts of clemencie or meritts of beneficence? Where shall a man take] the most proper and naturall [tryal of her royal clemencie? Will it best appeare in the injuries that were done unto her before she attayned the crowne? or after she is seate in her throne, or that the commonwealth is incorporated in her person, then clemencie]
is drawn in question as a dangerous encounter betwenee Justice & policie. And therfore who did euer note that she did resent after she was established in her command of the wrongs done in her former state? Who doth not remember how she reuenged the rudenes and rigor of her Jailer by a word? and that not bitter but salte, and such as shewed rather the excellencie of her wit, then any impression of the wrong. Yea and farther, it is not too manifest, that since her raigne, notwithstanding that principle that princes should not neglect the commonwealthes wrongs included in themselves, yet when it is question of drawing the sword, there is euer a conflict betweene the justice of her place, ioyned with the necessitie of her estate, and her owne royall clemencie, with as a souereigne and precious balme continuallie distilleth from her faire handes, and falleth into the woundes of manie that haue incurred the offence of her lawes. Now for her beneficence, what kind of persons haue euuer breathed during her most happiest raigne, but haue had the benifite of her vertues conveyed vnto them? Take a veiue and consider whether they haue not extended to subiectes, to neighbours, to strangers, yea to her greatest enemies. For her subiectes, where shall we beginne in such a maze of benefites as presenteth it selfe to our remembrance? Shall we speake of the purging away the drosse of religion, the heauenlie treasure? or that of monies, the earthlie treasure? the greater was touched before and the latter deserueth not to be forgotten. For who knoweth not, that knoweth anie thing in matters of estate, of the greate absurdities and fraudes that arise of the deuorsing yᵉ legall estimacion of monie from the generall, and (as I may terme it) naturall estimacon of the mettalls, and againe of the uncertaine and wavering valewes of coines, a verie laborinth of coosenages and abuses, and yett such as great[e princes haue made their profit of towards their owne people. Passe [on from the myne to the revenues and receiptes, there shall you fynd no [raising of rentes notwithstanding the alteracon of prizes and the vsage of the [times, but the ouervalewe, besides a reasonable fine, lefte for the reliefe [of tenants and warde of seruantes. No raising of customs notwithstanding her continuall charges of setting to sea. No extremities taken of forfeite and penall lawes, a meanes used by some kings for the gathering of great treasures. A few forfeitures indeede, not taken [to her owne purse but sett ouer to some others for triall onelie whether [gaine could bring these lawes to be well executed, with the ministers [of justice did neglect. But] after it was founde that onelie com[passions were used, and the law newe, the nerer the execution, the course was straight suppressed and discontinueved. Yea there have been made laws more than one in her time for the restraine of the vexation of informers and promotors: naye, a course
fr. Bacon of Tribute.

[taken by her own direction for the repealing of all heauie and snared laws, if it had not bene crossed by those to whom the benefit should have redounded. Ther shall you finde, no new taxes, impositions nor devyces; but the benevolence of the subject freely offered by assent of Parliament according to the ancient rates, and with great moderation in asessement; and not so only, but some new formes of contribution offered likewise by the subject in Parliament; and the demonstration of their devotion only excepted, but the thing never put in ure. Ther shall you finde loans, but honourable answered and payd as it were the contracte of a private man. To conclude, there shall you find moneys levied upon sales of lands, alienations (though not of the ancient patrimonie) yet of the rich and commodious purchases and perquisites of the Crowne only because she will not be gervous and burthensome to the people. This treasure, soe innocently levied, so honorablye gathered and raised, with such tendernes to the subject, without any basenes or drynes at all; how hath it bene expended andimployed? Wber be the wastefull buildings, and the exorbitant and prodigal donatives, the sumptuous dissipations in pleasures and vaine ostentations, which we finde have exhausted the coffers of so many Kings? It is the honour of her house, the royal remunerating of her servants, the preservation of her people and state, the protection of her suppliants and allies, the encounter, breaking and defeating the enemies of her realme, that hath bene the only pores and pipes whereby the treasure hath issuued. Hath it bene the sinewes of a blessed and prosperous peace? hath she bought her peace? hath she lent the King of Spain money upon some cavillations not to be repeated? and soe bought his favour? and hath shee given large pensions to corrupt his Counsel? Noe, but shee hath used the most honorable divertion of troubles that canne be in the world. Shee hath kept the fyer from her own walles by seeking to quench it in her neighbors. That poor brand of the state of Burgundy, and that other of the crowne of France that remayneth, had bene in ashes but for the readie fountaine of her contiwall benignitie. For the honor of her house, it is well known that almost the universal manners of the times doth incline to a certain parsimonie and drines in that kind of expence: yet shee retayneth the auncient magnificence, the allowance as full, the charge greater than in time of her father, or anie king before. The bookes appeare, the computation will not flatter. And for the remunerating and rewarding of her servants and the attendance of the Court, let a man cast and some up all the bookes of gifts, fee farmes, leases and custodies that have passed her bountiful hands. Let him consider again what a number of commodious and gainefull offices heretofore bestowed upon men of other education and profession have bene withdrawn and conferred upon her Court. Let him remember what a number of other giftes, disguised by other names but in effect as good as monie given out of her cofers, have bene granted by her: and he will conclude that her royall minde is farre above her meanes. The other benefits of her politick.]
[clement, and gratious government towards the subjectts are without number; the state of justice good, notwithstanding the great subtiltie and humorous affections of these times; the securitie of peace greater than can be described by that verse,

Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat:  
Nutrit rura Ceres almacque Faustitas:

or that other

Condit quisque diem collibus in suis.

The opulence of the peace such as if you have respect (to take one signe for manie) to the number of faire houses that have bene built since her raigne. As Augustus said that he had receyved the city of brick and lefte it of marble, so shee maye saye shee receyved it a realme of cottages and hath made it a realme of palaces; the state of traffique great and rich: the customes, notwithstanding these warres and interruptions, not fallen: manie profitable trades, manie honorable discoveries: and lastely, to make an end where no end is, the shipping of this realme soe advanced and made soe mighty and potent, as this Iland is become (as the natural scite thereof deserved) the ladie of the sea; a point of soe high consequence, as it may be truly said that the commandement of the sea is an abridgement or a quintessence of an universal monarchy. This and much more hath shee merited of her subjectts: now to set forth the merit of her neyghbors and the states about her. It semeth the tymes have made themselves purveyors of continual newe and noble occasions for her to shewe them benigneitie, and that the fyers of trobles abrode have bene ordyned to [be] as lights and tapers to make her vertew and magnaminite more apparant. For when that one, stranger borne, the familie of Guisse, being as a hastie weed sprung up in a night, had spred it selfe to a greatnes not civil but seditious; a greatnes, not of encounter of the auncient nobilitie, not of preheminencie in the favor of kings, and not remisse of affayres from kings; but a greatnes of innovation in state, of usurpations of authoritie, of afflicting of crownes; and that accordingly under color of consanguinitie and religion they had brought French forces into Scotland, in the absence of their King and Queen being within their usurped tutell: and that the auncient nobilitie of this realme seeing the imminent danger of reducing that kingdom under the tyrannie of foreinors and their faction, had according to the good intelligence betwixt the two crownes prayed her neyghbours succours: shee undertooke the action, expelled the strangers, restored the nobilitie to their degree; and lest anie man should think her intent was to unnestle ill neyghbors, and not to ayde good neygbors, or that shee was readyer to restore what was invade by others then to render what was in her owne hands. See if the time provided not a newe occasion afterwards, when through their owne devisions (without the interime of strangers) her forces were again sought and required: shee forsooke them not, prevailed so far as to be possessed of the castell of Edenborough, the principall strength of that kingdome, we th place incontinently, without conculations or cavillations (the preambles of a wavering fayth) she rendered with all honour and sinceritie; and his person so safe and]
faithfull handes; and so euer after during his minoritie con [tinewd his principall guardian and protector. In the times betweene thesee [two occasyons of Scotland, when the same facson of Guise, coursed still wth a pr[etence of religion, and strengthened by desire of retaining governm in the mothe[r Queene of France, had raised and moued ciuell warres in y' kingdome, [only to extir-pate the auncient nobilitie by shocquing them one against ano[ther, and to waste y'Realme as the candle that is lighted at both endes, and that [those of y' Religion, being neare of the bloude royall and otherwise of the gre[atest hosew in France, and great officers of the Crowne, opposed the[mseves only against their insolencie, and to their support called in their [aides, giving vnto them new-Hautf for a place of securitie, see wth w'[alacritye, in
tender regard towards, a that young king, whose name was v[sed to y' supplan-ting of his owne strength, she embraced the enterprize, [by the support and reputacon whereof the same ptie suddenlie made great pceed[ings and in conclusion made their peace as they would themselves. An[d although they ioynd themselves against and pflourmed y' parts rather of [good patriots then of good confederates, and that after great demonstration [of valour in her sujects (as the French to this daie will reporte), esp[cially by y' great mortalitie, and by the hand of god, and the rather becaus[e it is knowen she did neuer much affect the holding of that towne [to her owne vse, it was lefte & her forces wthdrawn, yet that did [nothing diminishe the merritt of y' crowne, and namelie of that ptie, [who recovered by it such strength, as by y' and no other thing they subsisted [long after. And least any man should sinesterlie and maliciouslie enterp[ret that she did nourish these diuisions, who knoweth not w' faithfull advice, [continual and earnest sollicitacon she used by her Embassado[r and minister [sto[y'French ks successiuelie, and to their mother, to moue them to kepe the [ir edicts of Pacificacon and to retaine their owne au[toritie and gre[atnes by the union of their sujects. Wch councell (if it had been as h[apply followed as it was prudentlie and sincerelie given,) Fr[unce had bene at this day a most florishing kingdome, wch is now a theat[er of miserie. And now at last when the same house of Guise, being one of [the whippes of god (whereof themselues are but y' cordes and Spaine y' [stocke) had by their infinite aspiring practises wrought y' miracle of st[ates, to make a king in possession long established to play againe for his [crowne, without any title of a competitor, wthout any maine inuasion [of a foreine enemye, yea] wthout any combinacon in substance of any bloud [royall or nobilitie, but onelie by f[urring in audacious persons in[to sondry governm, and by making the populace of townes drunke with seditious preachers. And that King Henry the third, awakened by those pressing dangers, was compelled to execute the Duke of Guise without ceremony, and yet nevertheless found the despayre of soe manie persons embarked and engaged in that conspiracye

faithful hands. A later pen has attempted to improve the sense by altering this to faithless hands, and striking out the remainder of the sentence; so giving the opposite meaning to what Bacon intended. The allusion is to the troubles of 1573 following the murder of Murray.

their aídes should read her aide.

outplanting of his owne strength. Compare The Queen's Majesty took unto her protection the French King's subjects in Normandy, being oppressed by the tyranny of the House of Guise, and published a declaration. - Diary of Lord Burghley, Sep. 27, 1568.

sinistere = sinisterly.

as = kings.

srieving in, etc. Probably spurring on audacious persons against his government.
so violent, as the flame therby was little asswaged, so as he was inforced to implore her aydes and succors, consider how benign eare & correspondence she gane to the distressed requests of y' king: and he soone after being by the sacrilegious hand of a wretched Jacobine lifted vp against the sacred person of his natural soueraigne, taken away ( wheerin not the criminous death of Guise but the innocent bloude wh he had often spilt by the instigacon of him and his howse was revenged,) and y' this wort-thie gent who now raigneth came to the crowne, it will not be for-gotten by so grateful a king nor by so observing an adge, how readie, how opportune and seasonable, how royall and sufficient her succors were, wherby she inlarged him at that time and pserved him to his better fortune. And euer since in these tedious warres wherein he hath to doe wth a Hidra or monster with manie heads, she hath supported him wth treasure wth treasure, wth forces, and wth imploym of one whom she favoreth most. What shall I speake of the offering Don Ant: to his fortune, a devoted Catholique onelie commended vnto her by his oppressed State? What should I speake of the great storme of a mightie invasione, not in ppara-con but in acte by the Turke vpon the king of Poleland, latelie dissipated onelie by the hands of her reputacon wth the grand Seignior is greater then that of all the States of Europe put together. But lett me rest upon the honorable and continuall ayde and releie she hath given to the distressed and desolate people of the lowe countries, a people commended vnto her by auncient confederacie and dailie entercourse, by their cause so innocent and their fortune so lamentable. And yett nowstanding, to keepe the conformatie of her owne pceodings neuer stained wth the least noate of ambition or malice, she refused the soveraigntie of diuers goodlie provinces, offered vnto her great instance, to haue ben accepted wth grea't contentm both of her owne people and theirs, and iustlie to be deriued in either in respect of the hostilitie of Spaine, or in respecte of the condicons liberties and priviledges of these subiectes, and wth one charge daung [er & offence to the king of Spaine and his ptizans: she hath taken upon her one]tie their defence and protecon, wthout any further auaille or pfit vnto he[rself then the honor and merritt of her benignitie: a people that haue ben pseyd by their natural king onelie by passion and wrath in sort that, according to y' proverbe (aratro iacari) consumed his meanes vpon re[venge. And (having to verifie that wth I haue said, y' her merritts haue [extended to her greatest enemies] let it be remembred wth hath passed [in y' matter between the king of Spaine and her. First how in the [beginning of y' troubles there she gaue and imparted to him faithfull and [friendly advice touching y' course that was to be taken for the quiet[ing and appeasing of them. Then shee interposed her selfe to most just and reasonable capitations, wherein always should have bene preserved unto him as ample in-terest jurisdiccion and superrioritie in those countries as he in right could claime, or a Prince well minded would seek to have, and (wth is the greatest point)]
she did by her advice, creditt, and policie, and all good meanes [s intrupt & impeache that the same people by despaire should not vtt [erly alien and distraete themselves from the obedience of the king of Sp: a[nd cast them selues into the armes of a straunger, insomuch as it is most [true that she did ever dissuade the Duke of Aniou from that accon notw[th]standing the affecon she [bare y'] said Duke and the obstinacie w[th]she sawe dailie [growing in] king of Sp: Lastlie to touch the mightie and generall merit [of] this Queene beare in mynde that her benignitie hath ben as large [as] the oppression and ambition of the Sp: For to beginne w[th] the Church of [Rome, y']ptended Apostolicke sea is become but a donative cell of the kyng of [Spayne]: the vicar of Christ is become the king of Sp's chapleyne: he peth the com[ing] in of the new pope for the treasure of the olde. He was wont to exclude [but some 2 or 3 cardinals, and to] leave the elecon free of the rest. But now he doth include and present direc'tlie some smale number, all incapable and inc[ompatible] w[th] the Conclau, put in onelie for culler, except one or two[]. The states of Italia, they be like little quillets of freeholds lieing interrup'te within a great Lordshipp. frunce is turned vpside downe, the sub[ject] against the king, cutt and mangled infinitelie: a countrey of Rodam [onts & Rootelets, farmers of the warres. Portugal vsurped by no other [title then strength and vicinitie. The lowe countries warrd vpon, because [he seeketh, not to possesse them (for they were possessed by him before) but to p[lan]t there an absolute and martall govern't to suppressere their liberties[: the like at this day attempted vpon Arragon; the poor Indies, wheras [y'] christian religion generallie brought infranchisement of slaues where it [came, in a contrarie course, are brought from free men to be slaues and [slaves of most miserable condicion. The sundrie practises and tirannies [of] this King's ambition in Germanie, Denmarke, Scotlande, the east town'es, are not vnknowne. Then it is her govern'm and her govern'm alone that hath [bene y'] sconse and forte of all Europe, w[th] hath lett this proud nation from oucoming all. If any state be yett free from his faccons [erec'ted in] y' bowells thereof, if there be any state where this faccon is er[ected, y'] is not yet fired w[th] cieull troubles, if there be anie state vnder his prote[ction upon whom he vsurpeth not, if there be anie state subie[ct to him th[at] enjoyeth moderate libertie vpon whom he tirannizeth not, lett them [all] knowe it to be the merritt of this renowned Queene, that standes b[etweene them and their disfortunes. Theise be some of the beames of her [noble and radiant magnanimitie, in contempt of perrill w[th] so many fie, in c[ontempt of pro'fitt w[th] so manie admire, and in merritt of the [worlde w[th] soe manie include in] themselves, sett forth in my simplicitie [of speech w[th] much loss of lustre, but] w[th] neare approach of truth; as [the sunne is seene in the water. Now to passe to the excellences of her person; the viewe of them wholly and not severallie doe make soe sweete a wonder as I feare to diuide them againe: nobilitie extracted out of the royall and victorius lyne of the kings of England; yea both roses white and red do as well florish in her nobilitie as in]
her beautie: a health such as is like she should haue, that was brought forth betwenee two of the goodliest princes of the world, in strength of their yeares, in heate of their loue; ye hath not been injured neyther with an ouer liberall nor an ouer curious diet; that hath not ben softened by an umbretille life still vnder the rooffe, but strengthened by use of the pure and open aire, that still retaineith flower and vigor of youth. For the beautie and manie graces of her presence what cullors are fine enough for such a portrayt? Let no light Poett be vsed for such a description, but the chastest and the royallest.

of her gate

et vera incessu patuit deu

of her voice

nec vox hominen sonat

of her eye

et lautos oculis afflarat honores

of her couler

Indu sanguinea veluti violauerit ostro, squis Ebur

of her necke

et rosea cervice refusit

of her breasts

veste sinus collecta fluentes

of her hair

ambrosiae coma diminu vertice odorum spirauere

If this be psuomtion lett him beare the blame that oweth ye verses. Wt shall I speake of her rare qualities of complem, wp as they be excellent in ye things themselues so they haue alwaies besides some of a Queene; and as Queens vse shadowes and vailes wp their rich apparell, so methinks in all her quallities there is some that fieth from ostentation and yett inviteth the minde to contemplate the more. Wt should I speake of her excellent guifte of speach [bea -ring a carater of the greatenes of her conceipte, the height of her degere, e, and the sweetnes of her nature? Wt life, w grace, w edge is there in those wordes and glaucnes wher wp at pleasure she can giue a [man longe to thinke? be it ye she meane to daunt him, to encorage him [or to a-maze him. How admirable is her discourse, whether it be in lea [ning, state, or loue. Wt varietie of knowledge? Wt rares of conceipt? [what choice of words? Wt grace of vterance? Doth it not appeare, th[at though her witt be as the adamant of excellencies wp draweth out of a [nie book auncient or new, out of any writing or speach the best, yett [she refineth it, she enricheth it farr aboue ye valewe wherein it was received. And is her speach onelie ye language wp the child [learneth wp pleasure, and not that wp the studious learne wp industrie? [Hath she not attayned beside] her rare eloquence in her owne lan[guaige, infinitely polished since her happy times, changes of] other [languages both learned and moderne: so that she is able to negotiate wp divers ambassadors in their owne languages, and that wp no[small]disadvantage unto them: who I thinke cannot but have a great part of]
their witts distracted from their matters in hand to the contem [plation & admira-
ration of such perfections. Ws should I wander upon to speak of y° ex [cellencies of her
nature wth cannot endure to be looked on wth a discontented eye? [of y° constancy
of her fav° wth maketh her servise as a iorney by land, wheras y° service of
other Princes is like an imbarquing by sea. As for her roya [wisdom and
policie, he that shall note the prudent temper she vseth in ad |mitting accesse, of
the onside maintayning the ma[u] of her degree, and on the other si [de not pjudicing
herself by looking into her estate thorough too few windows: her [exquisite]judgm
in choosing and finding good servants (a pointe wherein her father [excelled]: her
politique skill in making and trayning good servants (a point be [yond y° former):
a profound discretion in assigning and appropriating everie of them [to their apest
imployt]: her penetrating sight in discovering euerie mans ends (& drifts: her
wonderful art in keeping her servants in satisfaccion and yett in [appetite: her
intuitive witt in contriving plots and outournes: her exact ca[u]tion in cen-
suring the proposicions of others: her secretarie: her forseeing |events, her
visoing occasions: he that shall consider of these and other things y° may
not well be touched, as he shall never cease to wonder at such a [Queene, soe
he shall wonder the lesse y° in so daungerous times, when witts [are so cun-
nning, humo° so extrauagant, passions so violent, corrupcons so [great, dissis-
mulacons so deepe, faconcs so many, she hath notw°standing d [one such great
things & raigned in such felicitie. For to speake of her fortune, [let no man
obie¢ to me as a defect in her fortune y° wth I did reserve for [a garlande
of her honor, and y° is that she liueth a virgin and hath no [children.
for it is that wth maketh all other virtues, more sacred, more [august, more
devine. Lett them leave children y° leave no other memorie in the |ir times. Bru-
tor° eternitas foboles. Revolve in histories the memories of happie [men, and
you shall not fynde any of rare felicitie but eyther he died childless or
his lyne soone spent after his death, or else was vnfortunate in [his chil-
dren. Should a man haue children to be slayne by his vessall [s, as the
Posthumus of Alexander y° great was? or to call them his [imposthumes,
as Augustus Caesar called his? Pervse the catalogoue. Corne [lius Sylla,
Julius Caesar, Flauius Vespasian, Septimus Severus, Constau [imus the
great; and the rule holdeh. Generare et liberi humane, cre[are et ope-
ra divina. And therfor (this obiecon remoued) letts peceed[e to take
a view of her felicitie. A mate of fortune she neuer [tooke: only
some adversitie she passed at the first, to giue her [a quicker sense of
the pe perseitie that should follow, and to make her [more reposed in the
di]vine pvidence. Well she commeth to y° crowne. [It was noe small for-
tune to] fynde at her entrance some such servants [and counsellers
as she then found. The French Kinge, who at this time by reason of the
peace concluded with Spayne and of the interest he had in Scotland
mought have proved a daungerous neyghbour, by howe strange an
accident was he taken away. The Kinge of Spayne, who if he would have
enclyned to reduce the Low Countries by leniencie, considering the goodly revenueuex]
wth he drew from those countries, the greate commodites to annoy her state from them, might haue made a mightie & perilous machinacon against her repose, putteth on a resoucon not onelie to vse the meanes of those lowe countries but to spende and consume all his other meanes, the treasures of his Indyes, and the forces of his ill compacted dominions, there and vpon them. The Earles y' rebelled in the North before the Duke of Norff: plotte (wth indeed was the strength and steele of y' commotion) was fullie ripe, brooke forth and preuented their time. The king Sebastian of Portugall, whom the king of Sp: would faine haue persuaded, that it was a devourer enterprize to purge Christendome then to enlardge it, though some think he did artificiallie nourish him in y' voyadg, is cutt in pieces wth his army in Affriq. Then hath the king of Sp: wo'ke cutt out to make all things in readdines during the olde Cardinalls' time for the conquest of Portugall, whereby his desire of invaundg England was slacked and put of some yeares, and by y' meanes was put in excucnou at a time for some respechts more to his disadvantadg. And y* same invasion, like as if it had ben attempted before, it had the time much more proper and favourable, so likewise had it (in true discourse) had a better season afterwards. For if it had ben deferred till time that the league had ben better confirmed in ffr: wth no doubt, it would haue ben if y* Duke of Guise (who was the onelie man of worth on that side), had liued, (and the ffr: K: durst neuer haue layd hands on him had he not ben ani-mated by the English victorie against the Sp: pcedent:) and then some maritime townes had ben gotten into the hands of the league, it had ben a great suertie and strength to that enterprize. The Popes to consider of them, whose course and policie it had ben, to haue temporized and [to have dispensed wth y* papists coming to Church, that through the maske of their hipocrisie, they might haue ben brought into pl[aces of govern* in State and in the country, they contrariwise [by the instigation of some fugitive schollers y' advise them not w* w*as best for the sea of Roome but w* agreed best wth their owne eag*er humours and desperate states, discover and declare themselves so f[arre by sending in of Seminaries and taking reconcilem, as there is ne[w severitie of lawes introduced for y* repressing of that sort, and [men of that religion are become y* more suspect. W* should I say of [soe manie secrete conspiracies miracouluslie detected? The record[s shew the treasons; but it is yet hidden in many of them how [they came to light. What should I spea*ke of the death of her ene[mies and the wicked instrum* towards her estate? Don Juan dyed not amisse: Dawbeny, Duke of Lenox, who was used as an instrument to divorce Scotland from the amity of England, dyed in no ill season, a man withdrawen indeed at that time to France; but not without greate helpe. I maye not mention the death of some]
that occur to my minde, but still me thinks they liue [that should live, and they die should die. I would not have the [K of Spain dye yet: he is feges gloria. But when he groweth daungorous, or any [other besides him, I am perswaded they will die. What should I [speake of the fortunes and honor of her armes? wth notwhstanding the [inward peace of this nation, were never more renowned. What should I recount Leeth, Newhaven, I say Newhaven, for the honorable s[kirmishes and seruices there are no blemishe at all to the militia of [England. In the lowe countries, the Lammas day, the retrait of [Gante, the daye at Sutphen, and the prosperour progress of this s[ummer: The brauado in Portugall and the honorable exploits in [the ayde of the French kyng; besides the memorable voiages into the [Indies, and lastlie the good entertainemt of the invincible navie, [wth was chased till the chasers were wearie, after infinite loss, wthout taking a cocke-boate, wthout firing a shipcoate, sailed on at the mercie of the [winde and the discreaon of their adventurers, making a perambulacon or [pilgrimage about the northern seas, and ennobling many shoore and points [of lande by shipwrackes, and so returned home [wth scorne & dishonor [much grea-ter than the terror and exceptacon of their setting forth. These vertues and perfecones, joyned wth so great felicitie, haue made he[r the honour of her times, the admiracon of the world, the suite and [aspiring of the greatest kyngs and princes, who ye[st durst noter haue aspired unto her as worthy of her, but as their minde were raised by [love. But whie do I forgett that words doe extenuate and embaze ma[ters of that height? Time is her best commender, wth never brought forth such a prince, whose imperialis vertues contende wth the [excellencie of her person, both vertues contende wth her fortune, and [both ver-tue and fortune contende wth her fame.

\( \text{orbis amor, famæ carmen, cæliq pupilla,} \)
\( \text{tu decus omne tuis: tu decus ipfa tibi.} \)

Leeth = the siege of Leith in 1560. Newhaven = the unfortunate mishaps at Newhaven could not be mentioned without apo-logy.

Lammas Day, the retrait of Gante. Compare In the year of 1578 was that famous Lammas Day, which hurted the reputation of Don Juan d’Anstria. And also, In the year 1583 was that memorable Retrieval of Gante, than the which there hath not been an Exploit of Walle more celebrated. For, in the true Judgment of Men of Walle, honourable ret-resits are in no wyse inferior to brave charges, as having lesse of Fortune, more of Discipline, and as much of Valour. There were to the number of 300 Horse, and as many thou-sand Foot English, (com-manded by Sir John Norris,) charged by the Prince of Parnass, comming upon them with 7000 Horse; besides that the whole Army of Spaniards was read to march on. Nevertheless Sir John Norris maintained a retreat without disarray, by the space of some miles, onto the City of Gante, with less loss of men than the enemy. The D. of Anjou and the Prince of Aragon, beholding this noble action from the walls of Gante, as in a Theatre, with great admiration — Certaine Mi-gellany Works of Francis Bacon. 1629.
Of Magnanimitie or Heroicall Vertue.


No other copy of this short essay by Bacon is known either in manuscript or in print, so it is impossible to supply the missing lines at foot of folio 25, and the words supplied in square brackets are only conjectured. The general ideas expressed in the essay were afterwards enlarged and used in the "De Augmentis Scientiarum." The following translation by Mr. Francis Headlam of a portion of Chapter III. of Book VII. is of interest as showing how Bacon utilised this early production nearly thirty years after it was first written.

"For if these two things be supposed, that a man set before him honest and good ends, and again that his mind be resolute and constant to pursue and obtain them, it will follow that his mind shall address and mould itself to all virtues at once. And this indeed is like the work of Nature; whereas the other courses I have mentioned are like the work of the hand. For as when a carver makes an image, he shapes only that part whereon he works, and not the rest (as if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude and unshaped stone still, till such time as he comes to it); but contrariwise when Nature makes a flower or living creature, she forms and produces rudiments of all the parts at one time; so in obtaining virtue by habit, while we practise temperance, we do not advance much in fortitude, nor the like; but when we dedicate and apply ourselves entirely to good and honest ends, what virtue soever the pursuit and passage towards those ends suggests and enjoins, we shall find ourselves invested with a precedent disposition and propensity to conform thereto."

(28)
Off Magnanimitie or Heroicall Vertue.

The vertues receiue 3 sortes of commendations, [irst they conforme vs to the will and similitude of the second] they make vs apt for societie, abstinent fro witting doing publique from Nature as they free our minds from compleat in themselues, and externe

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

indisposicon and as we see in the mocons of the bodie, that passions of feare and furie do enable men to that wth longe practize and sleight cannot overcome, so it hath ben trulie observed by one of the auncien, yr vertues and not onelie seu, all habitte attained by reason, right, and custome. But that there is a state of minde in apphension wth to w occasion seow it occurreth, straight casteth it into that vertue wth is conversant about the accon, so as it is in itself, all the vertues and more. Wth state of minde may be termed (as it hath ben) magnanimitie or heroicall vertew.

The former wth is by habitte as it is open almost to the meanest spirritte, so it is full of imperfecons and inegualitie. Great is the varietie of yr peepeth neither are they straight applied to the particulier or occurring accons. Then behoueth much labour to frame the witt, sometimes by preeding by so smale and familiar degrees that yr minde pceiueth not the chaunge. Sometimes by gathering strength of minde ayded by occasio to make as it were some good leape or violent progresse, and the entertayning the mind wth the remembrance of that from receiving all together, till a new advantage may be taken for mending the former, and so comforting the minde wth emulacon, vereundacons, & praises, and such other delicate helps. But the other though it excludeth best spirittte yett it possesseth the mind capable thereoff, wth the seede of all vertue at once, so as the one seemeth to be yr worke of art and the other the art of nature. for as in carving a statua by the hande while the face is informing, the residue is in rude stone; but in nature there followeth straight the rudem of all at once wth are led by time to maturitie and perfeccon, so in preeding by habitte whilst a man frameth himself to temperance, he doth not much proffitt to ffortality, and much lesse by accustoming ffortitude doth so pffit to urbaniety. But in possessing the minde of those apphencons whereof [magnanimitie consisteth, the strength of his spiritt will worke out yr [more inferior vertues more naturallie and liuelie then any by it [can ever be obtayne.

finis.
An Advertisement touching private Censure.

MS. Folio 26-29.

This essay is an enquiry concerning the limits and bounds of what would now be called toleration in religious opinions. No other copy of it is known, so it is impossible to supply the lines destroyed by fire. It is probable that Bacon wrote it, as a rough draft of the "Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England," which also appears in this volume, and is printed at page 34.

An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England.

MS. Folio 29-44.

This political pamphlet was written by Francis Bacon in 1589, when the Marprelate controversy was at its height. This bitter theological discussion has been well described as a pamphlet war "between the revilers of the bishops on one side, and the revilers of the Puritans on the other, and in which the appeal was made by both parties to the basest passions and prejudices of the vulgar."

Bacon's position was that of a peace-maker, who could see faults on both sides. His mother was an ardent Puritan, and so his sympathies would naturally be enlisted on the side of the party of reform. At the same time his position in Parliament and at Court would cause him to give full consideration to the arguments of the High Church party. This being so, we can understand how deep his interest in the matter must have been and his keen wish to find some via media for the disputants. The "advertisement" was only circulated in manuscript, a few copies of it have survived and are to be found in the national libraries. They vary slightly, not indeed in
meaning, but in wording, and the copy here transcribed may be described as fairly good.

The missing portions of the pamphlet have been restored from a manuscript in the possession of Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bart., M.P. It is bound up with six quarto pamphlets, comprising Bacon's "Miscellany Works," published by Rawley in 1629; "Certaine considerations touching the better pacification . . . of the Church of England," without date, but probably published in 1604; and four works by other authors. The binding is the ordinary half vellum with Dutch paper sides, of the xviii\textsuperscript{th} century.

The Manuscript itself consists of 24 quarto pages of stout writing paper, closely written in a remarkably pretty and legible hand. The "Advertisement," as here printed ends upon page 22, and on the next folio is written the following memoranda relative to Bacon:—

ffr Bacon
the 7\textsuperscript{th} of May 1617.

The long vacation will I reserve to my selfe for my recreation, or studdy of Arts and Sciences, which ought to be predominant.

The Lars beginning to take roote. Three at this time in place of great service with His Majesty, Lawyres by descent. Mr. Attorney the sonne of a Reverend Judge, (Sir Henry Yelverton). Mr. Sollicitor, the sonne of a Judge as Reverend, (Sir Thomas Coventrey), since L\textdagger Keeper; and my selfe the sonne and successor of a L\textdagger Keeper.

I will then heare a judge's sonne before a serjeants, and a serjeants before any other.

Bacon took his seat in the Court of Chancery on the 7th of May, 1617. The speech he made is printed by Rawley in the "Resuscitatio," and contains the following sentences:—"And since I am upon the point whom I will hear, your Lordships will give me leave to tell you a fancy. It falls out that there be three of us, the King's servants, that are lawyers by descent. Mr. Attorney, son of a Judge, Mr. Solicitor likewise son of a Judge, and myself a Chancellor's son. Now because the law roots so well in my time, I will water it at the root thus far, as beside these great ones, I will hear any Judge's son before a Serjeant, and any Serjeant's son before a Reader [if there be not many of them].

It is a remarkable tribute to the statesmanship of Bacon that this pamphlet was reprinted in 1640 when the Long Parliament was discussing a similar question, and again in 1663 when the subject of toleration to the Dissenters was raised during the reign of Charles II.
An advertisement touching private censure.

fforasmuch as men complains of ye want of censure in [the Church of England duelie put in vre, they runne into a further [extreme, so that euerie particulier person taketh vpon himself [to request the Church to censure and to excommunicate for [divers reasons and offences, and sometimes to estrange and [excommunicate in] respecte of such offences; a matter [

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

and to societie, both that societie wth is gathered in ge[neral and likewise that wth is gathered in soveraigntie and [to do also the ordnaunce of God. I haue thought good to the [under standing, to sett downe the limitte and bounte of Christian re-garde of private censures onelie in breife noates, to [allow some that is by profession a devine, and of greater learning [judge in the matter as it deserueth.

The first position is that no man ought in absence to [reprove the fault or offences of an other, though trulie, except for some good occasion. And therfore if I would dissuade [my kinsman from the companie of another. If I would [keep him: from matching wth such an houesse, or from following [such a person, I may in modest and discreet sort (if ge[nitiveness do not pvaile) reporte and repeate to him the particu[lar vice of such a person for his better caution and infor[mation. If I be desirous to admonish another of a private fault [perhaps it may be better done by a meane then by my selfe, [ac-quaint some apt person therewth, wth may performe yi [for me. In theise and the like cases when I speake vpon [them I speake as a ptie. When I speake wthout occasion I [first judge, and then tu quis es qui indicas seruia aliena domino cadit, and of princes it is said, accuse not thy ruler no not in private. Therfore all evill speaking in absence, though it be truth, yet vpon occasion is no Christian duetie but the part of busie whisperers. The nexte position is concerning admonitio[n, a parte whereof is that the fault wherupon ones admonitio[n is grounded be well and stronglie knowne vnto us. Salo[mon says, he that speaketh before he knoweth, it is folye and shame. [As St. James saith, lett euerie man be swifte to heare and [slow to speake o[ffirme, and St. Jude saith of that they knowe not [they speak evill, and in that they knowe they are perverted, as ind[e[d they goe together. For when men are of rashe censure for not, they are for the most part affectionate in that they [agree. For let none that is vnlearned psume to admonish [another in controversies of religion. Let not one that liueth [alone and seeth not into the affaires of the world psume to ad[vise others of their pceedinge in such cases wth commonlie [prooued upon many circumstauces wher [ble. Soe farther, if it be matter in [of euerie mans knowledge [

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
The second article or parte is, that we performe it wthout pucacon of the ptie admonished. It must be don wthout pride on our parte & wthout disgrace on their part. Parents that of all others have most authoritie to admonish their children, yet are expressly admonished by St. Paule not to provoke them. 3. The third part or article is that it be donne wth comlines. Admonicon is a Church accon, and therfor must be donne decenter. Lett men beware how they draw into contempt any good accion, by absurd and ridiculous handling, manie pcepte throughout all parts of the service of God. Stay one for anothe', a pcept of decoru. Goe not from house to house, a pcept likewise of decoru and to avoid contempt. Therfor a man of a verie austere & straight life may admonish for a smale fault, a man y' liveth at more libertie cannot. A familiar frend may admonishe; a straunge in case may not. At one time and at one place, a man may ad-monishe; at another time and another place a man may not. 4. The last article or parte touching admonicon is, that men neyther reite-rate it vnseasonable nor combersome, neither nor giue it ouer easlie. Have you admonisht? Doth he offende straight in the same fault againe? W! a medicine must have time to worke, despaire not though you see noe sudden prooфе. Charitas omnia sperat. Yet after you have expected a convenient time, then you may redouble it. Give it not over. Charitas omnia sustinet. The last posicon is touching separacon. There be 2 considerations whie men should separate & themselues from the companie of those men that offende. The first is for doubte of contagion, the next is for the humiliation and recouie of the offender. The former is generall and reacheth as well to those wth are out of the Church as those y' are in the Church, and euerie man ought in sobrietie to measure his owne strength whether [by companie he is likelier to winne them or to be weakened himself. Amongst those that are tied wth anie ptculer strict bond no [action in this respect of contagion is justifiable. A good sonne [may not separate himself from an ill father, no more then a be[leeuing wo-man may separate herselue from an unbelieving [housbande. The like holdeth in other civell bonde of bloude alliaunce, [for obligacon, seruice, and subiecon, men may not breake [their word wherein the prudence of God hath tied them vnto [one place to walke carefullie, to pseerve themselues, and [endeavour to save and reclaime the other ptie. For the other [parties sins and errors extendeth onelie to them wth in the Church; which is [according to the saieng of St. Paule, what haue I [to do to judge them also, but if any y' is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one, no not to eat.

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)
authoritie to make a man descende into himself [and be conciliatory] and therfor leaving the lawe of separacon [alone so that in euerie ptcular, man must kepe the rule of censure.

This advertisements touching private censures I ha[ve not tried to repesse those censures wh] may be rather called [the out-come of envie and malice], but one lie those y' pceede [from ppostorous zeale.

An advertisement touching the controue[rsies of the Church of England.

It is but ignorance (if any man finde it straunge) [that the state of religion (especiallie in the daies of peace) should be [exercised and troubled as controversies]. For as it is y' condicticon of the Church [militant to be euervnder trialls, so it commeth to passe that when [the fiery trial of perse-cution ceaseth, there succeedeth another triall, wh as it were] by contrary blastes of doctrine, doe siife and winnowe men's faieth, and [provesth them whether they knowe aright, even as that other of affliccontions [discovereth whether they love God aright]. Accordinge [was it foretold by Christ, saicng, that in the latter times it should [be said loe, here is Christ, loe there is Christ]: wh as is to be vnderstood [not as if the verie psone of Christ should be assumed by this authoritie and pheeminence as Truth it selfe, y' should be challe[nged and pre-tended. Thus have we redd and seen to be fullfilled y' [which followeth, Ecce in deserto, ecce in penetralibus]; while some have sought [Truth, in the conunticles and conciliabes of heretiques and sectaries, [and others in the externe face and repelsinki of the Church, and being [both sorts seduced. Were it then that the controversies of the Church of England were such as did deuide the vnitie of the spiritt, and not on[y such as doe vnswath her of her bandes, the bandes of peace; yet could it be no occasione for any ptedend Catholike to indge vs, or [for any irreligious persons to despise vs. Or (if it be), it shall butt [happen to vs all, as it hath vsed to doe; to them to be hardened, and to [us to endure the good pleasure of God. But now that of contentions [are such, as we neede, not somuch that generall cannon and sente[nce of Christ pronounced against] heretiques: Erratis, nescientes, Scipriteras, nec potentatem Dei, as we neede the admonicion of S' James, Let [every man be slow to speak, swift to heare, slowe to wrath: And [that the wound is no way danger]ous, except we poison it with [our remedies; as the formes sort of men have less reason to make themselves music in our discord, so I have good hope that nothing shall displease ourselves which shall sincerely and modestly be propound for the appeasing these dissensions. For if any shall be offended at this voice, "Vos estis fratres; ye are brethren, why strive ye"? he shall give a great presumption against himself, that he is the party that doth his brother wrong.
fr. Bacon on Church controversies.

The controwersies themselves I will not enter into, as juding that ye disease requiereth rather rest then any other cure. This much we all know and confesse, ye they be not of the highest nature; for they are not of the highest misteries of faith, such as detaine ye Churches after their first peace for many yeares; wth the Heretiques made curious questions, and made strange anatomies of the nature and person of Christ; and the Catholique fathers were compell'd to follow them wth all subtleties of decisions and determinacons, to exclude them from their evasions and to tak them in their laborinthes; so as it is rightlie said, Illis temporibus ingeniosa res fuit esse Christianus. Neyther are they concerning the greate parte of the worshipp of God, of wth it is true ye non servatur unitas in credendo nisi eadem sit in colendo: such as were the controwersies of the East and West Churches touching images; and such as are manie of those betweene the Church of Rome and vs; as about the adoracon of the Sacrament, and ye like. But we conteund about ceremonies and things indifferent; about the externe pollicie and govern of the Church. In wth kinde (if wee would but remember that the ancients and true bands of vnitie, are one faith, one baptisme, and not one ceremonie, one pollicie; if we would observe amongst Christians wth is penned by our Saviour, he that is not against vs is wth vs. If we could but comprehend ye saieing, differentia rituum comendatatum: tatem doctrinae and ye habe religion quae sunt aeterinitatis, habet que sunt temporis. If we did but knowe ye vertue of Silence and slownes to speake, commended by St. James; controwersies of themselves would close vpp and grow together. But most especiallie, if we would leave the ouerweening and turbulent humors of these times, [and receive ye blessed proceedings of the Apostles, and Fathers of the primitue Church, wth was in the like and greater causes, not to enter into assertions and posicions, but to deliver counsells and advice, [we should] neede no other remedie at all. Si eadem consulitis, frater, quae affirmas, debetur consulenti reverentia cum, non debeatur fides affirmanti. St. Paul was contented to speake thus, Ego, non dosus; I and not [the Lord Et, secunda cosila mea; according to my counsell. But [now men do too lightly] say, Non ego sed dosus; Not I but the Lord; yea and bynd [it with heavy] denuictons of his Judgm, to terrifie the simple, [which have not suffici]entlie vnderstood out of Salomon, that the causeless [curse shall not come.] Therfor seeing the accidents are they wth being [the peril, and not the] things themselues in their owne nature, [it is meet the remedies] be applied vnto them, by [opening what is on either part, that keepeth the wound green, and formalizeth both sides to a further opposition, and worketh an indisposition in men's minds to be reunited. Wherein no accusation is pretended; but I find in reason, that peace is best built upon a repition of wrongs; and in example that the speeches which have been made

of the highest misteries of faith.
The word touching has been written in the margin and of has been struck out. misteries of faith has also been written twice and the first entry deleted. detaine = kept the attention of.

The Durning - Lawrence

MS. gives the quotation
Differentia rituum comendat unitatem doctrina.

duis = dominus.

denunciations = denunciations.

being should be breed
by the wisest men de concordia ordina haue not abstained from reducing to memerie the extremeties vsed on both parts. So as it is true which is said, Qui pacem tractat non repelitis conditionibus dissidii, is magis animos hominum dulcedine pacis fallit, quam aqueitate componit. And first of all, it is more then time, there were an ende and surcease made of this immo-dest and deformed manner of writing latele enter[ained, whereby matter of religion is handled in the stile of the stage. For, bitter and earnest writing must not be condemned; for men cannot contend coldlie and without afeeccon about things they hold dear and precious. A politique man may write from his braine, without [touch and sense of his hart, as in a speculacon that appertyneth not [unto him; but a feeling Christian will expresse in his words a char[acter either of zeal or love. The latter of which as I could wishe rath[er embraced, being more pper for these times, yet is the former [warrented also by great examples. But to leave all reuerent and [religious compassion towards eville, or indignacon towards fav[its, and to tourne religion into a comedie or satyre; to search [and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; and enter[mix Scripture and scurrillte sometime in one sentence; is a thing far from a devote reuereuce of a Christian, and scant beseem[ing [the honest re-garde of a sobre man. Non est maior confusio, quam seri [et joci; The maie of religion, and the contempt and deformity of things re-diculous, are as daunt as things may be. Two principal cau- ses haue I ever knowne of Atheisme; curious questioning [and profane scoffing. Now that these 2 are ioyned in one, no doubt [that sect will make no small progression. And heere, I doe much [esteem the wisdome and religion of that Bishopp wth replied to [the first pamphlett of this kinde, who remembered that a foole was auns- wered, but not in becomming like unto him; and consi[dered the matter wth he handled, and not the pson wth whom he [dealt. Job, spea-king of the maie and grauitie of a Judge in himself, [saith, If I did smile, they beleued it not; as if he should have [said, If I dis- verted, or glauanced vnto concept of mirth, [manie minds were so possessed wth a reuereence of the accion in [hand, as they could not receiue it. Much more ought this to be amongst bishops and divines disputing about hollie things. And therefore [do I much dislike the invention of him who (as it seemeth) [pleased himself in it as] in no meane policie, that thes men are to be dealt withal at their own weapons, and pledged in their own cup. This no doubt seemed to him as profound a device, as when the Cardinal [Sansovino] counselled Julius II. to encounter the Council of Pisa with the Lateran Council; or as lawful a challenge as Mr. Jewel made to confute the pretended Catholics by the Fathers. But these things will not excuse the imitation of evil
in another. It should contrariwise be wth vs as Cæsar said, Nihil malo quam eos esse similes sui, et me mi. But now Dum de bonis contendimus in malis consentimus; while we differ in good things, we resemble in evill. Surelie, ye I were asked of these men who were the more to be blamed, I should pease remember the puerbe, that the second blow maketh ye fray, and the saieng of an obscure fellow, Qui replicat multicipat. But I would determyyn the question wth this sentence; Alter principiä malo dedit, alter modä abstulit. And trulie, as I doe marueile that some of those preachers that call for reformacon (whom I am farre from wronging so farr as to ioyne them wth these scoffers) doe not publish some declaracon whereby they may satisfie the world that they dislike their cause should be thus sollicited; so I hope assuredlie that my Lords of ye clerge have no intelligence wth this interlibelling, but doe altogether disallow that their creditt should be defended. For though I obserue in one of them many glosses, whereby the man would insinuate himself into their favors, yet I finde it to be ordinarie, that manie pressing and fauning persons do misconecture of ye humo of men in auhotoritie, and manie times Veneri imolant suem, they seeke to gratifie them wth ye they most mislike. For I have great reason to satisfie myself touching ye indgmet of my lords the Bishops in this matter, by that wth was written by one of them, wth was mentioned before wth honor. Neuerthelessse I note, there is not an indifferent hand carried towards those pamphletts as they deserue. For the one sorte flieth in the darke, and the other is vtered openlie; wherein I might advise that side out of a wise writer, who hath set it downe that punitis ingeniiis gliscit authoritas. And indeed we see it [ever base falleth out, that ye forbidden writting is alwaies thought to be sparke of truth as seeme to flie up into the faces of those ye see to chooke it and treade it out; whereas a booke auhorized, is thought to be but temporis voces, the language of the time; but in plaine truth I doe finde [(to my understanding) these pamphletts as meete to be suppressed [(as the other. First because as the former sort do deface the govern of ye Church [in the persons of ye Bishoppes and Prelatts, so the other leads in[to contempt the exercises of religion in the psons of sundrie priests; [so as it disgraceth a higher matter, though in a meaner pson. [Next I find certain indiscreete and daungerous amplificacon, [as if the civil government itself] this state had neere lost the force of her [sinews, and were ready to en]ter into some convulsion, all things [being full of faction and disorder; which is as unwisely acknowledged as untruely affirmed. I know his meaning is to enforce this irreverent and violent impugning of the government of the bishops to be a suspected forerunner of a more general contempt. And I grant there is sympathy between the states; but no such matter in the civil policy as deserveth so dishonourable
a taxacon. To conclude this pointe: As it were [to be wished that these writings had ben abortive and, neuer seene y° sonne; ]so the next is, since they be come abroade, that they be censured, [(by all that have understanding and conscience) as vntemperate ex[travagencies of some light psons. Yea farther, that men beware ([except they mean to adventure to deprive themselues of all sence of religion, [and to pave their owne harte, and to make them as the high way], [how they be conversant in them, and much more how they delight in [that vein; but rather to turne their laughing into blushing, and [to be ashamed, as of a short madness, that they haue in matters of religion [taken their disport and solace. But this perchaunc is of those faults [which will be sonest acknowledged; though I perceive neuertheless [that there want not some who seeke to blaunch and excuse it. But to [descend to a sincere view and consideracon of the accidences and [circumstances of theise controuersies, wherein eyther parte deserveth [blame or imputacon: I finde generallie, in causes of Church matters [that men do 1:offende in some or all of theise 5 points. 1. The giving [occasion unto theise controuersies; and also the inconsiderate & vn[uarded taking 2:of occasion. * The next is, the extending and multipling [the controversies to a more general opposicion and contradicon, then ap[peareth at the first ppounding of them, when mens iudgem° are lesse partele. [The Third 3:is, the passionate and vnbrotherlie practises and procee[dings of both the parts towards the persons each of other, for their discredible and 4:suppression. The 4 is, the causes houlten and entertyned on either side, for the drawing of their p[izens to a more straight [union with themselues w° ever importeth a farther distracon [with the entire 5:bodye. The Last is, the vndue and inconveniente ppounding, [publishing and debating of the controueries. In w° pointe the most [palpable error hath ben alreadie spoken of; as that w° through y° [strangness and freshnes of the abuse first oftreth it self to the con[ceits of all men. Now concerning the occasion of controwersies, it [cannot be de[nied but that the imperfecons in the conversation and [government of those w° haue cheefe place in the Church° have ever [been principal causes and motuies of Schismes and divisions. For [while the Bishopps and governors of the Church continewri full [of knowledge and good workes; while they feede the flocke indeede; [whilst they deale w° the secular states in all libertie and resolution, [according to the ma° of their calling, and the precious care [of souls imposed upon them; so long the Church is situated as it were upon a hill; no man making] question of it, or seeketh to departe from it. [But when these virtues in the] faththers and leaders [of the Church have lost their light, and that they wax worldly, lovers of themselves, and pleasers of men, then men begin to grope for the Church as in the dark; they are in doubt whether they be the successors of the Apostles, or the Pharisees; yea, howsoever they sit in Moses° seat, yet they can never speak tanquam auctoritatem habentes, as having
authoritie, because they have lost their reputacon in ye consiences of men, by declining their steppes from the waie wher they trace out to others. Soe as men had neede continualie in their ears: Nolite excire, they goe not out; so readie are to departe from the Church vpon euie voice: And therfore it is truelie noted by one that writeth as a natural man, ye the Hiperocrisie of ffriers did for a great time maintaine & heate out the irreligion of Bishops and Prelatts. For this is ye double policie of the spirituall enemie, eyther by counterfeit Holines of life to establishe and autherize errors; or by corrupcon of maners to discredit & draw in question truth and lawfull things. This concerneth my Lords the Bishops, vnto whom I am winnesse to my selfe that I stand affected as I ought. No contradiccon hath supplanted in me that reuence that I owe to their calling; neither hath any detracon or calumny embased myne opinion of their persons. I knowe some of them, whose names are most perced these accusations, to be men of great vertues; although the indispositions of the times, and the want of correspondencemanie waies, is enough to frustrate the best indevors in the edifieng of the Church. And for the rest generallie I can condemne none. I am no judge to them that belong to so high a M*; neyther haue I witnesses. And I knowe it is trulie said of fame, ye Pariter facta, atque infecta canebat. Their taxacons arise not all from our coast; they haue manye and different enemies, readie to invent slander, more readie to amplifie it, and most readie to beleue it. And Magnes mendacij credunt-in there-litas: But if any be, against whom the supreme Bispopp hath not a few things but manie things; if any haue lost his first love; if any be neither whit nor cold; if any haue stumbled too low at the threshold, in sorte that he cannot sittwell, weth entred ill; it is time they returne whence they are fallen, and conforme the things that remaine. Greate is the weight of this fault; et eora causa abborrebant a sacrificio, and for their cause did men abhorre ye adoracon of God. But [howssoever it be, those weth have sought to defame them, and cast contempt [upon them, are not to be excused. It is the pcept of Salomon [that the rulers be not reproached; no, not in thought; but that we d[raw our verie conceipt into a modest interpaccon of their doings. [The holy Aungle would give no sentence of blasphemy against [the common slanderer, but said, Increpet te Deus; the Lord rebuke thee. The Ap. S* Paule, though against him that did pollute sacred justice with tiraneous violence, he did justlie denounce ye ind [ignation of God, in saying] Percutiet te Deus; the Lo will strike thee; yet [in saying faries dealbate] he thought he had gone to farr, and retra[cited it; whereupon a learned] father; ipsa quamvis insanie nomen et [umbram sacerdotes cogitans exposavit. The] auncient counsellors and sinodes [(asis noted by the ecclesiastical story), when they depraved any bishop, never recorded the offence, but buried it in perpetual silence. Only Cham purchased his curse with revealing his father's disgrace. And yet a much greater fault is it to ascend from their person to their calling, and draw that in

The reference is to Machiavelli's "Discorsi." irreligion is an error, the word should read religion. The passage is quoted by Bacon for another purpose in the "Advancement of Learning," 1605 ed., p. 12, and given thus: "That the kingdom of the clergy had been long before at an end, if the reputation and reverence toward the poverty of Priests had not borne out the scandal of the superfluitics and excesses of the Bishops and Prelates, and lawfull things is omitted in the Durning-Lawrence embased = lowered. [MS. period = pierced corresponding manie wais. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads want of correspondencie is often enough. I am no judge to them. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads I am no judge of them that belong to so high a Master neither have I two witnesses there is inserted in a later hand. stumbled too low. All other copies read too faultly. This has been altered by a later hand. not in or thought The word or is inserted in a later hand and destroys the sense. The Durning - Lawrence MS. reads The Apostle Paul, though against him that did pollute sacred justice with tyraneous violence in saying "Percutiet te Dominos faves dealbate" thought he had gone too far and retractcd it. In the Harleian MS. 3795, the words he offended not are written in the margin to be inserted after strike thee. Cham = Ham, son of Noah.
question. Many good fathers spake religiouslie, and [severely of the unworthiness of Bishopps, as if psentlie it did forfeite [and cease their office; One saith, Sacerdotes nominamur et non sumus; An [other saith, Nisi bona opus amplexatris, episcopus esse non poies; Yett they [meant nothing lesse then to moue doubt of their calling or ordinacon. [The second occasion of controuses, is the nature and humors of some [men. The church neuer wanteth a kinde of person wth loueth the salut[aition of Rabbi, master, not in ceremonie or complem, but in an inward auctoritie which they seke ouer men's mindes, in drawing them to depend [upon their opiniones, and to sucke knowledge at their lippes: These men [are the true successors of Diotrophes, the louver of preheminence, and not [lords bishops. Such spirrits do light vpon another sorte of natures,[which do adhere to them; men quara gloria in obsequio; stiffe followers, and [such as zeal marvelouslie for those whom they have chosen for their [masters. This latter sorte, for the most parte, are men of yonge yeares, and [superficial understanding, carried away wth partiall respecte of p[ersons, or with the inticing appearance of goodlie names & ptences. Pauci [res ipsas sequuntur, plures nioia vera, plurimi nioia magistrorum. About [these generallly affeconis, are wretched and enterlaced accidentes [and private emulacons and discontentm, all wth together breake for [th into contentions; such as either violate truth, sobrietie, or peace. These [generallities applie themselves. The vnuiersities are the seates and y* c[ontinent of this disease, whence it hath ben and is derived vnto the rest [of the realm. There some will be no longer numero, of the number. There [some others side themselves before they knowe their right hand from their left. [So it is true wth is said, transseunt ab ignorantia ad prejudicia, and [never take a sound jugdm in their way. But as it is well noted, inter juvenile judicia et senile prejudicia ois veritas corraptur: In the mean time, the honorable names of sinceritie, reformacon, and discipline [are put in the forwarde; so as contentions and evill zeales ca[nnot be touched, excepte theise hollie things be thought first to be [violated. But howsoever they will infer the sollicitacon of y* peace of [the church to pceede from carnall sence, yett I will eu conclude [with the Apostle Paule, ca sit inter vos zelo et contentio, nonne [carnales estis? And howsoever they esteeme the compounding of controversies to savour of man's wisedome and humane pollicie, and think [themselves led by the wisedome wth is from aboue, yett I say [with St. James Non] est ista sapientia de sursa descendens, sed terrena, animalis diabolina; ubi enim zelus et contentio, ibi inconstantia et [omne opus pravum. Of this [inconstancy, it is said by a learned [father, Procedere volunt non ad perfectionem, sed ad pminationem: [they seek to go forward still, not to perfection, but to change.

The third occasion of controversies, I observe to be, an extreme and unlimited detestation of some former heresie or corruption of the church already acknowledged and convicted. This was the cause that produced the heresie of Arrius, grounded chiefly upon detestation of Gentilism, lest the Christians should seem, by the assertion of the co-equal divinity of our
Saviour Christ, to approach unto the acknowledgment of more gods then one. The detestacon of the heresie of Arrius produced that of Sabellius; who, holding for execrable, y' dissimilitude w' Arrius pretended in the Trinitie, fled so far from him, as he fell upon that other extremity, to deny y' distincton of persons; and to say they were but onelie names of seauall offices and dispensations. Yea, most of the heresies and schisms of y' Church have sprung vp of this roote; while men have made it as it were their scale, by w'h to measure the bounds of the most perfect religion; taking it by the farthest distaunce of the error last condemned. These be posthumi heresii filij, heresies that arise out of the ashes of other heresies, that are extinct and amortised. This manner of apphencon doth in some degree possess manie in our times. They thine it the true touchstone to trie what is good, by measuring what is more or lesse opposite to the Church of Rome; be it ceremonie, be it policie or govern'yea be it other institucion of greater weight. That is ever most perfect, w'li is removed most degrees from that Church; and that is ever polluted and blemished w't pticipateth in anie appearance w't it. This is a subtile and a daungerous conceit for men to entertaine, apt to delude themselves, more apt to seduce the people, and most apt of all to calumniate their adversaries. This surelie (but that a notorious condemnation of that posicon was before our eies) had long since brought vs to the rebaptizacon of children baptized according to the ptended Catholique religion. For I see that w't is a matter of much like reason, w't is the reordaining of priests, a matter already resolutelie maintained. It is verie meete that men beware how they be abused by this opinion; and that they know y' it is a consideracon of much greater wisedome and sobrietie, to be well advised, whether in the generall demolition of the institucions of [the Church of Rome there were not (as men's actions are imperfect) some good purged w't the bad, rather then to purge y' Church, [as they pretended, euerie daie anew; w't is the waie to make a [wound in her bowells, as is already begonne. 4. The fourth and last occasion of these controuses (a matter w't did also trouble the Church in former times), is the partiall affectacon and imitacon [of foreign Churches. For manie of our men, during the time of persecution and since, having ben conversant in Churches [abroad, and recvd a great impression of govern'n there ord[ained, have violently sought to intrude the same vpon our Church. [But I answer, Consentiamus in eo quod convenit, non in eo quod [receptum est; let us agree in this] that euerie Church do y' w't is convenient for the state of itself, and not in particular customs. Although their Churches have received the better form, yet many times it is to be sought, non quid optimum, sed 'e bonis quid proximum; not what is best, but of good things what is next and readiest to be had. Our Church is not now to plant; it is settled and established. It may be, in civil states, a republic is better than a Kingdom; yet God forbid that lawful Kingdoms should
be to innovate and make alteracon. Qui [ala introducit, voluntatem Dei opfugat reruelatam in verbo; qui nova [introduct, voluntatem Dei oppugnat revelatum in rebus; He that bringeth [in evil customs, resisteth the will of God revealed in his word; He [that bringeth in new things resisteth the will of God revealed in the [things themselves. Console providentiam Dei est vero Dei; take counsel of the providence of God as well of his word. Neither yet do I admit that their form (though it were possible and convenient) is better than [ours, if some abuses were taken awaie. The pietie and equalitie of ministers is a thing of wonderfull great confusion; and so is an ordinary govern't by Sinods, wth doth necessarilie ensue vpon the other. It is hard in all causes, but especiallie in religion, when voices shall be nombred and not waighed. Equidem (saith a wise [father) ut vere quae est scribam, prorsus decrevi fugere omnem conen tum episcoporum; nullius enim concilii boni exitu vnuma vidi; concilia enim non minuant mala, sed augent potius, wth is to be understood [not so much of generall counsells, as of Sinods gathered for the ordinary govern't of the Church; As for the depriuacon of Bishops, [and such like causes; wth mischeife, hath taught the vse of [archbishops, Patriarkes, and Primats, as the abuse of them since hath taught men to dislike them. But it wilbe said, Looke to the fruits [of the Churches abroade and ours. To wth I say, that I beseeche the Lord [to multiply his blessings and graces vpon theise Churches an hundredfold. But yett it is not good, that we fall a nombreg of them. It [may be our peace hath made vs more wanton: It maie be also (though I would be loothe to derogate from the honor of those Churches, [were it not to remove scandells,) that their fruietes are as torches in the [dark, which appeare greatest afar of. I knowe they maie haue some more strict orders for the repressing of sundrie excesses. But [when I consider of the censures of some psions, aswell vpon p[articuler men as vpon Churches, I thynke of ye saieing of a Platonist, [who saith Certe vitia, irascibilis partis animae, sunt gradu praviora quam concupis cibilis, tametsi occultiora; a matter that appeared well [by the auncient contentions of Bishopps. God grant ye we may cont-end wth other Churches, as the vine wth the oiliue, [which of us beareth best fruit; and not as the brier wth ye thistle, wth of [us is more un-pffitable. And thus much touching ye occasions of [the controversies. 2. Now brefflie to sett downe the growth and p[rogress of these controueries; wherebie wilbe vereifie, the saieing of [Solomon, that the course of] contention is to be stopped at first; [being else as the waters, which if they gain a breach, it will hardly be ever recovered. It may be remembered, that on their part that call for reformation, was first propounded a mislike of certain ceremonies supposed to be superstitious; some complaint of dumb ministers who possessed rich benefices; and some were invectives against the idle and monastical living in the Universities, by those who had livings to be resident
vpon, and such like abuses. Thence they went on to condemn ye govern of Bishoppes as an Hierarchie remayneng to ys of the corrupcon of the Ro: Church, and to except to sundrie institucons in the Church as not sufficientlie delievered from the pollucons of former times. And lastlie, they are advanced to define of an onelie and ppetuall forme of pollicie in the Church, wth (wthout consideracon of possibilitie, or foresight of perrill and prterubacon of the Church and state) must be erected and planted by the magistrates. Heere they stay. Others (not able to keepe footing in so steepe a grounde) descende farther; that ye same must be entred into and attempted by the people, at their perrill, wthout attending the establishment of authortie: and some in the meantime refuse to communicate wth ys, reputed ys to haue no Church. This hath ben the progression of that side: I mean ye generalitie. For I knowe, some psons (being of the nature, not onelie to love extremeties, but also to fall to them wthout degrees) were at the highest straine at first. The other part, wth maintaing the present govern of ye Church, kept one tenor. First those ceremonies wth were pttend to be corrupt they maintained to be things indifferent, and opposed the examples of the good times of the Church, to ye challdenge wth was made vnto them, because they were vsed in the latter superstitious times. Then were they also content mildlie to acknowledge many imputecons in the Church; as tares come vp amongst ye corne, wth yet (according to the wisedome taught by our Sauiof Christ) were not wth strive to be pulled vp, lest it might spoile and supplant the good corne, but to growe on together vntill the harveste. After, they growe to a more absolute defence and maintenance of all the orders of the Church, and stiflie to hold that nothing was [to be innouated; pttie because it need not, pttie because it would make a breach vpon the rest. (exasperate through contencons) they [are fallen to a direct condemnacon of ye contrarie parte, as of a sect. Yea, and some indiscreet psons, haue ben boud in open preaching [to use dishonorabole and derogatorie speach, and censure of [ye Churches abroad; and that so far as some of our men (as I haue [heard] ordained in foraigne parts, haue ben pronounced to be [no lawful ministers. Thus we see the beginnings were modest, but [the extremes are violent; so as there is almost as great a distaunce [now of either side from it selfe, as was at the first of one f[rom the other. And sure lie, though my meaning and scope be not [as I have said before] to enter into the kontroversies themselues, yet I [do admonish the maintainers of the discipline to weigh, and consult [diligently and attentively how] neare they are vnto them [with whom I know they will not join. It is very hard to affirm that the discipline which they say wee want is one of the essential parts of the worshipping of God, and not to affirme withal that the people themselves upon perill of salvation, without staying for the magistrate, are to gather themselves to it.
I demaunde, if a cievell state should receiue the pr[eaching of the word and Baptisme, and interdict and exclude the [sacriement of the Ld’s supper, were not men bounde vppon daunger of their [souls to draw themselues into congregations, wherin they might [celebrate that misterie,and not to content themselues wth that part[of the worship of God wth the magistrat had authorised? This I speake, not [to draw them into a dislike of others, but into amore cleere considera[tion of themselves: Fortasse non reudeunt, quia suad progressa non intelligent. [Again to my Lo: the Bishopps, it is harde, for them to avoide y* blame [(in the opinion of an indifferent pson) in standing so precisie vp[on altering nothing. Leges, novis legibus non recreatae, acescent; Lawes not [refreshed with new Lawes waxe sour[e. Qui mala non permutat, in bonis [non perseverat; wth out chaunge of the ill, a man cannot continewe in [the good. To take away manie abus[e supplanteth not good orders, but [establisht hem. Morosa moris retentio res turbulenta est, aque ac no jvitas a contentious retaining of custome is a turbulent thing, [as well as in- nouacon. A good Husband is euery pruninge and stirring [in his vineyard or feild; not vnseasonable (indeed) nor vnskillfullie. But [lightly he findeth somewhat to doe. We haue heard of noe offers of [bishops of bills in parleam; wth (no doubt proceedeing from them, to whom [properly it belongeth would have euerywhere receyued acceptacon. [There own constitutions and orders haue reformed little. Is not [hing amis? can anie man defende y* use of execomicon as a base [process to lackey vp and downe for dueties and fees; If being a [greatest judgm of the latter daie? Is there no meanses to traine [and nurse vp ministers (for the yelde of the vniuities will not serve, [though they were never so well governed,) to traine, I say, not [to preach (for that, euie man confidentlie adventureth to do), but [to preach soundlie and handle the Scriptures wth wisedome and [judgment? I knoe pphosieing was subiect to great abuse, and w[ould be more abused now; because y* heathe of contentions is increased. [But I say the onelie reason of the abuse was, because there was ad[mitted to it a popular auditorie, and was not contained wth[in a private conference of ministers. Other things might be spok[n of. I pray God to inspire the Bishopps wth a fervent loue and [care of the people; and y* they may not so much vrge things in controuersy, as things out of controuersie, wth all men confesse to be gratious and good. And this] much for the second pointe. Now as to the 3 [point, of unbrotherly] pceeding on eyther side. It is directlie con[trary to my purpose to] amplify wronge; it is enouge to [note and number them; which I do also to] moue c[ompassion and remorse on the offending side, and not to animate challenges and complaints on the other. And this point (as reason is) doth chiefly touch that side which can do most. Injuriae potentiorum sunt; injuries come from them which have the upper hand.

The wrongs of them which are possessed of the government of the Church towards the other may hardly be disemblesed or excused. They have charged them as though they
 denied tribute to Caesar, and wth drew from the civell magistrate the obedience wth they have euer performed and taught. They have sorted and coupled them wth the Familie of Ioue, whose heresies they have laboured to descrie and confute. They have ben swift of creditt to receive accusacons against them, from those that haue quarrelled against them but for speaking against synne and vice. Their accusacons and inquisicons have ben strict. Swearing men to blankes, & generalities (not included wth in compasse of matter certaine, wth the ptie y' is to take the oath may compreprehende) is a thing captious and strainable. Their vrge of subscription to their owne articles is but laessere et irritare morbos ecclesie, wth otherwise would spende and crush themselves. Non consentu quarit sed dissipit, qui q' facetls præstatur in verbis exigit. And it is true, there are some wth (as I am perswaded) will not easilie offende by inconformitie, who not wth standing make some conscience to subscribe. For they know this, note of inconstancie and defecon from that wth they have long helde shall disable them to doe that good wth otherwise they might doe: for such is the weaknes of manie that their ministerie should therby be discredited. As for their easie silencing them, in such great scarstitie of preachers, it is to punnishe y' people, and not them. Ought they not (I meane the Br) to kepe one eye open, to looke vpon the good that these men doe, but to fix them vpon the hurte that they suppose cometh by them? Indede, such as are intemperate and incorrigable, God forbid they should be permitted to teach. But shall euerie inconsiderate worde, sometimes captiouslie watched, and for the most parte hardlie enforced, be as a forfaiture of their voice and guitte in preaching? As for sundrie particular molestacons, I take no pleasure to recite them. If a minister shalbe troubled for saieng in Baptisme doe you beleue [?] for doest thou beleue? If another shalbe brought in question [for praying for her Ma] wthout the addicon of her stile; whereas [the forme of prayer in the Booke of Common Praier hath (thy Subject Elizabeth) and no more? If a third shall be approppon [these words vtted touching the controversies, tollatur Lex et fiat [certamen, (wherby was ment y' the piudence of the Law remoued [either reasons should be equallie compared,] of calling y' people to [sedition & mutinie, as if he had said, Awaie wth the Lawe, and [try it out by force; If these and other like picutlers be true, [which I have but by rumor, and cannot affirme; it is to be lamented [that they should labour amongst vs wth so little comefort. I knowe [restrained govern' are better then remisse; and I am of his mind [that said, Better it is to live where nothing is lawfull then where all things are lawfull. I dislike that laws be contemned or disorders unpunished. But laws are likened to the grape, that being to much prest yield an hard an unwholesome wine. Of these things I must say: Ira viri non operatur justitiam Dei; the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.

As for the injuries of the other part, they are as it were ictus iuerimium; headless arrows; they are
frieie and eager inuectiues, and in some fond men [uncivil and irreuerend behauior towards their psons. This last [invention also which exposeth them to derision and obloque by libeells, chargeth [not (as I am perswaded) the whole syde: neither doth that other, [which is yet more odious praactised by the worst sorte of them, wth is, to call [in, as it were to their aides, certaine mcinarie bandes, wth imp[ugn bishops and other ecclesiasticall dignities, to haue the spoile of their [endowments and livings. Of those I cannot speake to hardlie. It is an [intelligence between incendiaries and robbers, the one to fire the [house, the other to ruffle it. The 4th point wholie ptaineth to them [which impugn the present ecclesiasticall govern'; who, although they [have not cutt themselves of from the communion of the Church, yet do they affect certaine ceremonies and differences, where[in they seek to make correspondence amongst themselves, and to [be sep[arated from others. And it is truelie said, tam sunt mores quidam schismatici, quam dogmata schismatica. First, they haue impropriety vnto [themselves the names of zealous, sincere, and reformed; as if all [others were cold, minglers of hollie and prophano things, and fr[riends of abuses. Yea, be a man indued wth great vertues and fruitful [in good worke, yett if he concurre not fullie wth them they to [term him in derogacon (a civell and morrall man, and compare [him to Socrates or some Heathen Philosopher, whereas the [wisdom of the scriptures teacheth vs otherwise; to judg and [denominate men religious according to the worke of the second table; [because they of the first, were often counterfaite and pract[iced in Hy- pocrisie. So S' John saith, that a man doth vainelie boast of [loving God whom he never saw if he loue not his neighbor whom he hath seen. And S' James saith, this is true religion to visitt [the fatherless and the widdow. So as that wth is wth them but philosoph[call and morrall, is in the Apostles phrase true religion and [Christianity. And as in affeccon they challenghe the said vertues of [zeal and the rest so in knowledge they attribute to themselues light and [perfection. They saie, the Church of England in K: Ed: time, and in [the beginning of her Ma^e raigne, was but in the cradle; and that [the bishops in those times did somewhat for diea-breake, but y^e [maturity and fulness of light preceded from themselues. So Sabinus, [Bishop of He- raclea, a Macedonian, said, that the fathers in the [Council of Nice were but infants and ignorant men; that the [Church was not so that it ought to persist] in their decrete as, to refuse that [farther ripenes of knowledge wth time hath revealed: and [as they censure virtuous men by the names of civil and moral, so do they censure men truely and godly wise (you see into the vanity of their assertions) by the name of politiques; saying that their wisedom is but carnall and savouring of man's brain. So if a preacher preach with care and meditation (I speak not of the vain scholastical
manner of preaching, but soundelie indeed, order the matter he handleth distincliffe, for memorie, deducinge and drawing it downe for direcon, and autherizing it wth strong prooves and warrants) they censure it as a forume of speaking not becoming the simplicitie of the Gospell, and referit it to the rephension of S' Paule, speaking of the inticing speach of mans wisedome. Now for their owne manner of teaching, w' is it? Surelie they exhorte well, & worke compuncon of mind, and bring men well to the question, viri, frateres quid agimus? But that is not enough, except they resolue ye question, they handle matters of controusie weakeleie and obiter, and as before a people ye will accept of any thing. In doctrine of maners there is little but generallities and repeticons. The word (the brede of life) they tosse it vp, and downe, they breake it not. They drawe not their direcons downe ad casus conscientia; that a man maie be warrante in his perticcular accons, whether they be lawfull or not. Neither indeede are manie of them able to doe it, w' through want of grounded knowledge, w' through want of studie and time. It is an easie and compendious thing to call for the observacon of the Sabhaoth day, or to speake against unlawfull gaine; but w' accons and workes may be done vpon the Sabhaoth daie, and w' not; and w' courses of gaine are lawfull and in w' cases? To sett this downe and to cleare the whole matter wth good distincones and decisions, is a matter of great knowlde and labor, and asketh much meditation & conversing in the Scriptures, and other helpes wth God hath prouided and preserued for instrucons. Againe, they carrie not an equall hand in teaching the people their lawfull libertie, as well as their restraints and phibitions: but they thinke a man cannot go too far in that wth hath a shew of a Commandm. They forgett their are sinnes on the right hand, and on the lefte; and that the word is double edged, and cutteth on both sides, as well the superstitious obseruacons as the pphane transgressions. Who doubtet but that it is as unlawfull to shott where God hath opened, as to open where God hath shut? to binde where God hath loosed, as to loose where God has bound? Amongst men it is commonlie as ill to take or to turn backe favours as to disobey commaundem. In this (kind of zeal (for example) they haue pronounced generallie, [and without difference, all vntruthes unlawfull; notwsstanding that the midwives are directlie reported to haue been blessed for [their excuse; and Rahab is said by faith to haue concealed the [spies; and Solomon's selected iudgm spent vpon a simulation; and our Saviour, the more to touch the hearts of the two disciples with a holy dailiance, made as if he would have passed Emmaus. Further, I haue heard some sermons of mortification, which I thinke (with very good meaning) they haue preached out of their own experience and exercise, things in private counsells not unmeet;
but surelie no sounde conceipte; much like to P[arson's Resolutions, or not so good; apte to breede in men rather weake opinions [and perplexed despaires, than filliall and true repentence wth is [sought. Another pointe of great inconvenience and perill, is to entitle [the people to heare controuses and all kinds of doctrine. They saie [no part of the counsell of God must be suppressed, nor the people defraud[ed, so as the difference wth the Apostle maketh betweene milke and [strong meat is confounded: and his precept that the weake be not [admitted into questions and controversie takeh no place. But m[ost of all is it to be suspected, as a seede of futher unconvenience, their [manner of handling the Scriptures; For whilst they seeke express [scripture for euerie thing; and that they haue, (in a manner) d[erived themselues and the Church, of a speciall helpe and support by emb[asing the authoritie of the fathers; they resort to naked examples, [conceited inferences, and forced allusions, such as doe[lead into all incertaintie of religion; Another extremitie is the expressiue [magnifying of that wth, though it be a principall and most holie in[stitution, yet hath limitts as all things else haue. We see whersouer [ver (in manner) they finde in the Scriptures the worde spoken of, they expound it of preaching. They have made it in manner of the essence [of the Sacrement of the Supper, to have a sermon pceendent. They haue (in a sort) anni-hilated the use of Liturgies, and fourmes of divine service, [as though the house of God be denominated of the principall, domus [orationis, a house of prayer, and not a house of preaching. As for [the lives of the good monks and hermits in the primitive Church, [I know they will condemne a man as halfe a Papist, if he sh[ould main-taine them as other then pphane, because they heard no [sermons. In the meane time, w preaching is, and who may be said [to preach, they moue no question. But as farr as I see, euerie man [that presumeth to speake in a chaire is accounted a Preacher. But [I am assured that not a fewe that call hotlie for a preaching ministrie [deserve to be of the first themselves that should be expelle. All [these and other errors and misproceedings, they doe fortifie and enrich by [an addicted re-spect to their owne opinions, and an impatience to hear [contradiction or argum[. Yea, I know some of them would thinke it [a tempting of God, to heare or reade w[ maie be said against them; [as if there could be a g[ bonum est tenete, wthout an omnia pro[bate going before. This] may suffice to offer vnto themselves a view a[nd consideration, whether in these things they doe well or no, [to correct and assuage the par]tialitie of their followeres and dependants. For as for any man that shall hereby enter into a contempt of their ministry, it is but his own hardness of heart. I know the work of exhortation doth chiefly rest upon these men, and they have zeal and hate of sinner. But again, lett them take heed that it be not true which one of their adversaries said, that they have two small wants, Knowledge and Love.
And so I conclude this pointe. The last pointe touching ye due publishing and debating theis controures needeth no long speach. This straunge abuse of antiques and pasquills hath ben touched before. So likewise I repeate ye hath ben said; a character of Loue is more pper for debates of this nature then that of Zeale. As for all direct or indirect glaunces or levells at mens persons, they were eu in theise cases disallowed. Lastlie whatsoeu be ptended, the people is no meet arbitrator, but rather quiett modest and private assemblies and conference of the Learned. The presse and pulpit would be freed and discharged from theise contentions, neither pmocon on the one side, nor glorie nor heate on the other side ought to continewe those challenge and cartells, at the Crosse and other places. But rather all preachers, especiallie all such as be of good temper and haue wisedome and conscience ought to inculcate and beate upon a peace silence and surseasance. Neither lett them feare Solon's lawe which compelled in facons ouie pticular ps on thother side; nor yet the fond calumnie of newtralitie, but lett them knowe that it is true which is said by a wiseman that newters in contencons are either better or worse then either side. Theise things have I in all sinceritie and simplicitie sett downe, touching the controusies which now trouble the Church of England and that without all art or insinuacon and therfor not like to be gratefull to eyther parte. Notwithstanding I trust ye hath ben said shall finde a correspondence in their minds which are not embarqued in ptialitie, and which loue the whole better than a part, wherfor I am not out of hope that it maie doe good. At the least I shall not repent my selfe of the meditacon.

finis.
A letter to a French gent: touching ye proceedings in Engl: in Ecclesiastical causes; translated out of french into English by W: W:

MS. Folio 44-45.

This letter is imperfect, the MS. ending abruptly at the bottom of the second folio, the other side of which is blank, as if left for the transcription to be completed at a future time. It has been printed in the "Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra," Part ii., 1654, and also in "Burnet's History of the Reformation." Both contain inaccuracies, but each helps to correct the other. Mr. Spedding attributes the authorship to Bacon. The letter was written circa 1589-90, probably soon after the Protestant Henry of Navarre succeeded to the French throne.

Early in 1589 the French king had definitely joined the Protestant party, and was at war both with Spain and the League. This alteration in the political situation excited the greatest interest in England. A letter from Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated May 27, 1589, has been printed in Lodge's "Illustrations of British History," p. 400, vol. 2, 1791, which gives an interesting side-light upon the question. He writes:

My Lord, the state of the world is marvelously changed, when we trew Englishmen have cause for our own quietnes to wish good success to a French Kyng, and a Kyng of Scotts; and yet they both differ one fró ye other in professiō of religion; but seyng both are eneymes to our eneymes, we have cause to joyen wt them in ther actions ageyst our eneymes; and this is the work of God for our good, for the which ye Q. and us all, ar most depely bound to acknowledg his miraculoss goodnes, for no witt of man cōld otherwise have wrought it. At this tyme ye Fr. Kyng's pāty, by the trew subjects of his Crown, both Catholicque and Protestant, doth prosper in every place.

Elizabeth's advisers were anxious that needless distrust should not be excited against the Queen, in the minds either of the Protestant or of the moderate Catholic party in France, by her dealings with the religious parties in England. The letter contains an explanation in narrative form of the Queen's proceedings towards both the Catholics and the Puritans, and is framed to prove that her action had been throughout consistent, and to set forth and justify the course of her proceedings.
A letter of Bacon's is printed in the "Resuscitatio," addressed to Archbishop Whitgift, in which he says:—

I have considered the objections, perused the statutes, and framed the alterations, which I send; still keeping myself within the brevity of a letter and form of a narration; not entering into a form of argument or disputation. For in my poor conceit it is somewhat against the majesty of princes' actions to make too curious and striving apologies, but rather to set them forth plainly, and so as there may appear an harmony and constancy in them, so that one part upholdeth another.

There is no date to this letter, but it may be taken for granted that the enclosure sent with it is the letter to Mons. Critoy, now printed. A further proof of Bacon's authorship is found in the fact that he reproduced it almost word for word in his "Observations on a Libel," written in 1592.

The date of its production can be approximately fixed. There is an allusion in it to the Marprelate controversy, which took place in 1589, and Walsingham, in whose name it was sent, died on April 6th, 1590.

MS. Folio 44.

A letter to a French gent: touching ye proceedings in Engl: in Ecclesiasticall causes translated out of French into English by W: W:

S,

Whereas you desire to be aduertised, touching the proceeding in ecclesiasticall causes, because you note in them some in[constancy and variacon, as if we inclined sometimes to one side, and[sometimes to another, and as if that clemencie and lenitie were [not used of late, which was used in the beginning; all wch you imputed to y[our own superfic[ual understanding of the affaires of this state, [having, notwithstanding, her Ma[w doings in singular reverence, as [the real pledges which she hath given vnto the world of her since[rity in religion, and if her wisedome in govern[ well meriteth. [I am glad of this occasion to impart ye little I knowe in that [matter to you, both for your own satis]faccon and to the ends [you may make use thereof towards any that shall not be so modestly and so reasonably minded as you are. I find therefore that her Majesty's proceedings have been grounded upon two principles:—

The one that consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, with the aid of time and the use of all good
Bacon's Letter to a French gent.

meanes of instruccon and persuacons. The other, [that the causes of conscience, when they exceede their bounds, and growe to [be matter of faction, leese their nature; and that soveraigne princes ought [distinctly to punish the practise or contempt, though coulored wth the [pretence of conscience and religion. According to these principles her Maie [at her coming to the crowne, vtttere misliking the tirannie of the Church [of Rome, which had vsed by terror and rigor commandem" of men's faithes [and consciences. Although as a Prince of great wisedome and magnanimitie [she suffered but the exercise of one religion, yett her pecessings towards [the Papists was wth great lenitie, expeccting the good effect wth [time might work in them. And therfor her Maie renewed not the Lawes [made in the 28 35 of her fathers raigne, wherby the oath of supm[acie might have ben offered at the Kgs. pleasure to any subject, though he [kept his conscience neuer so modestie to himself; and the refusall to take y" [same oath without further circumstance was made treason. But contra[riwise her Maie, not liking to make windowes into men's harts & [secret thoughts, except y" aboundance of them did outowe into oute and [express acts or affirmacons, tempered her lawe so as it restraineth [only manifest disobedience, in impugning and impeaching advisedlie and [maliciously her Maies supreme powre, and maintaining a forraigne [jurisdiction. And as for the oath, it was allotted by her Maie into a grate[ful form; the harshnes of the name and appelacon of Supreme [Head removed, and the penaltie of the refusall thereof turned onelie into [disablement to take anie pmocon or to exercise any chardg; and yett [with liberty of being reinstated therin if any man shall accept thereof [during his life. But after when Pius Quintus had excommunicated [her Majesty, and the Bull of Excommunicacon was published in London, [whereby her Maie was in sort scribed; and that thervpon as vpon [a principal motie or preparatue, followed the Rebellion in the North; [yet because the ill human of the Realme were by that rebellion [chaunged and purged, and that she feared at that time no forraigne invasjon, and much lesse the attempts of anie wthin the Realme not [backed by some potent succors from wout, she contented herself [to make a lawe against that specall case of bringing in or publishing of any Bulls or y like instrumtns; whervnto was added a prohition, upon paine, not of treason, but of an inferior degree of punishament against the bringing in of the Agnus Dei, hallowed beades, and [such other merchandise of Roome, as are well known not to be [any essential part of the Romaine religion, but onelie to be vsed in pr[actice as love tokens] to enchaunte and bewitch the peoples [affecon from their allegianc] to their natural soveraigne. [In all other points her Majesty] continued her former lenitie. [But when about the twentieth year of her reign she had discovered in the King of Spain an intention to invade her dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the realm that might adhere to the foreigner, and
Bacon's Letter to a French Gent.

[that the seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily, priests and
professed men, who should by vow taken at shrift reconcile her subjects from
their obedience, yea and bind many of them to attempt against her Majesty's
sacred person; and that by the poison which they spread the humours of
most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Papists in conscience
and in softness, but Papists in faction; then there were new laws made for
the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconciliations
or renunciations of obedience. And because it was a treason carried in the
clouds and in wonderful secrecy, and came seldom to light, and that there was
no presumption thereof so great as the recusancy to come to divine service;
because it was set down by their decrees that to come to Church before
reconciliation was to live in schism, but to come to Church after reconcili-
ment was absolutely heretical and damnable; therefore there were added new
laws containing a punishment pecuniary against such recusants, not to enforce
conscience, but to enfeeble and impoverish the means of those to whom it
rested indifferent and ambiguous whether they were reconciled or no. And when,
notwithstanding all this provision, this poison was dispersed so secretly as that
there was no means to stay it but by restraining the merchants that brought it
in, then lastly there was added another law whereby such seditious priests of the
new erection were exiled, and those that were at that time within the land
shipped over, and so commanded to keep hence upon pain of treason.

This hath been the proceeding with that sort, though intermingled not
only with sundry examples of her Majesty's grace towards such as in her
wisdom she knew to be Papists in conscience and not in faction, but also with
an ordinary mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree convicted
by law, if they would but protest that in case this realm should be invaded
with a foreign army by the Pope's authority, for the Catholic cause, as they
term it, they would take party with her Majesty and not adhere to her
enemies.

For the other part, which have been offensive to the state, though in
another degree; which named themselves Reformers, and we commonly
call Puritans; this hath been the proceeding towards them. A great while,
when they inveighed against such abuses in the Church as pluralities, non-
residence, and the like, their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was
sometimes censured; when they refused the use of some ceremonies and rites
as superstitions, they were tolerated with much connivency and gentleness;
ueva, when they called in question the superiority of bishops, and pretended
to bring a democracy into the Church, yet their propositions were heard,
considered, and by contrary writings debated and discussed. Yea, all this,
while it was perceived that their course was dangerous and very popular. As
because Papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their mouths that they
sought to purge the Church from the relics of Popery; a thing acceptable
to the people, who love ever to run from one extreme to another. Because
multitudes of enmities and poverty were an eyesore and dislike to every man,
therefore they put into the people's head that if discipline were planted, there]
[should be no beggars nor vagabonds; a thing very plausible. And in like manner they promised the people many other impossible wonders of their discipline. Besides, they opened the people a way to government by their consistory and presbytery, a thing though in consequence no less prejudicial to the liberties of private men than to the sovereignty of princes, yet in the first show very popular. Nevertheless this (except it were in some few that entered into extreme contempt) was borne with, because they pretended but in dutiful manner to make propositions, and to leave it to the providence of God and the authority of the magistrate. But now of late years, when there issued from them a colony of those that affirmed the consent of the magistrate was not to be attended; when, under pretence of a concession to avoid slanders and imputations, they combined themselves by classes and subscriptions; when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the government of the Church by ridiculous pasquils; when they began to make many subjects in doubt to take an oath, which is in one of the fundamental parts of justice in this land and in all places; when they began both to vaunt of the strength and number of their partisans and followers, and to use comminations that their cause would prevail though with uproar and violence; then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but mere faction and division; and therefore, though the state were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them than before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church and State could permit. And therefore, Sir, to conclude, consider uprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Majesty is no temporizer in religion. It is not the success abroad, nor the change of servants here at home, can alter her; only as the things themselves alter, so she applieth her religious wisdom to methods correspondent unto them; still retaining the two rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences and yet in discovering faction from conscience and softness from singularity. Farewell.

Your loving Friend,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.]
The Hermitt's fyrst speach.
The Hermitt's second speach.
The Souldier's speach.
The Secretarie's speach.
The Squyor's speach.

MS. Folio 47-53.

These are speeches written by Bacon to be spoken in a Masque or Device, given by the Earl of Essex in 1595. In the Lambeth Palace library there is a paper in Bacon's handwriting, without date, containing the rough drafts and notes of portions of the speeches now printed, and a second paper containing a fair copy of the last four of them. The chief difference between the Northumberland manuscript and the Lambeth is, that the latter contains a rough draft explaining the design of the Masque, and an extra speech entitled "The Squire's speech in the tilt-yard." This was probably spoken first at the Device, and was followed by "The Hermitt's fyrst speach," which is only to be found in the collection here printed. Bacon's introductory note, or suggestion for the composition of the Device was as follows:

"The persons to be three: one dressed like an Hermit or Philosopher, representing Contemplation. The second like a Captain, representing Fame; and the third like a Counsellor of Estate, representing Experience. The third to begin [speaking] to the Squire, as being the master of the best behaviour or compliment, though he speak last."

In order to make the Device complete, it has been thought well to reprint the omitted "Speech of the Squire in the Tiltyard."

"Most excellent and glorious Queen, give me leave, I beseech your Majesty, to offer my master his complaint and petition. Complaint—that coming hither to your Majesty's most happy day, he is tormented with the importunity of a melancholy dreaming Hermit, a mutinous brain-sick Soldier, and a busy tedious Secretary. His petition is that he may be as free as the rest, and at least whilst he is here, be troubled with nothing but with care how to please and honour you."

(55)
An interesting account of the entertainment was written by Rowland Whyte, some four days after its occurrence, to Sir Robert Sydney. It is dated November 22nd, 1595, and has been reprinted in Vol. I. of the "Sydney Papers."

"My Lord of Essex's device is much commended in these late triumphs. Some pretty while before he came in himself to the tilt, he sent his page with some speech to the Queen, who returned with her Majesty's glove. And when he came himself, he was met with an old Hermit, a Secretary of State, a brave Soldier, and an Esquire. The first presented him with a book of meditations; the second with political discourses; the third with orations of brave fought battles; the fourth was but his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpose before he came in. Another devised with him, persuading him to this or that course of life, according to their inclinations. Comes into the tiltyard unthought upon, the ordinary post boy of London, a ragged villain all bemired, upon a poor lean jade, galloping and blowing for life, and delivered the Secretary a packet of letters, which he presently offered my Lord of Essex; and with this dumb show our eyes were fed for that time. In the after-supper, before the Queen, they first delivered a well-penned speech to move this worthy Knight to leave his vain following of Love, and to take him to heavenly meditation: the secretaries all tending to have him follow matters of state, the soldiers persuading him to the war; but the esquire answered them all, and concluded with an excellent but too plain English, that this Knight would never forsake his mistress's love, whose Virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose Wisdom taught him all true policy, whose Beauty and Worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies. He showed all the defects and imperfections of all their times, and there-thought his course of life to be best in serving his mistress. The old man was he that in Cambridge played Giraldy, Morley played the Secretary, and he that played Pedantiq was the soldier, and Toby Matthew acted the Squire's part. The world makes many untrue constructions of these Speeches, comparing the Hermit and the Secretary to two of the lords, and the Soldier to Sir Roger Williams; but the Queen said that if she had thought there had been so much said of her, she would not have been there that night, and so went to bed."
The Hermits fyrist speach.

Your maie nature wth loueth to be just, and your Justice wth [used not to be indifferent, will not suffer you to condemne any vnheard]. We do beseech your maie to assigne vs a tyme when we may before you [speak for our selues, and so will it appeare whether this complaynte [is just and our importunitie injurious.

The Hermits second speach.

Though our endes be dierers, most sacred Queene; and so may be [more just then another, yett y* complaint of this Squior is generall, [and therfor alike vnjust against vs all. He is angry y' we offer our selves vncalled vnto his [master], and forgette y'we come not of our selues but [as y* messengers of selfe-loue, for whom all y* comes should be well taken. He sayeth that when we come we are importunate. If he meanes that we erre in forme, we learne it of his m', who being a louer allows of no other forme of soliciting. If he chardge vs to erre in matter, I for my parte will persentlie prove that I perswaded him to nothing but for his owne good. For I wishe him to leaue turning ouer y* booke of fortune, wth is but a play for children, when as there be so many bookes of truth and knowledge better worthie the revolving, & not to fix his veiwe onelie vpon a little picture in a tablett, when there be so many goodly tables of histories, yea to life, excellent to beholde and admire. Whether he beleue me or no, there is no prison to the prison of thoughts, wth are free vnder the greatest tyrants. Shall any man make his conceipte as an authouritie, mewed vp wthin the compasse of one beautie; that may have the libertie of all contemplations? Shall he change the sweete trauelling through the vnuersall varietie, for one wearisome rounde or laborinth? Let thy m', Squior, offer his service to the Muses. It is long synce [they receaued any into their court. They giue almes continuallie at their gates, that men do come for to liue vpon, butt fewe haue ben ad]mitted into theyr pallace. There maie he fynde secreats not dang erous] to knowe, sydes and parties not factious to houlde pcep[ts and] commandem'nt not penall to disobey. The gardens of loue [wherein he now playeth] himself, are freshe to daie and fading to morrow, [as the beams of the sun] comforts them or is turned from them. But [the gardens of the Muses keep] the priviledge of the golden age, they [ever flourish and are in league] wth time. The monumtn of wit [survive the monuments of power: the verses of a poet] endure w/out [a syllable lost, while states and empires pass many periods. Let him not think he shall descend, for he is now upon a hill as a ship is mounted upon the ridge of a wave; but that hill of the Muses is

Note.—Alternate readings from the Gibson Papers, vol. 5, preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library, are marked Gibson.

Note.—The missing portions of Folios 47 to 53 are supplied from Bacon’s own manuscripts in the Lambeth Palace library, as transcribed by Mr. Spedding.
The Hermits speach.

above] all tempests, and windes, alwaies cleare and calme; an hill of [the goodliest discouerie that man can haue, being a prospect vpon [all the errors and wanderings of this pnt and former times. Yea, in some cliff it leadeth the eye beyonde the horizont of these times, and giueth [no obscure diuinacon of times to come. Soe that if he will indeede leade via[m vitalem, a life that vniteth safetie and dignitie, pleasure and merritt; if he will winne admiracon wth out enui; if he wilbe in the feast and not in the throng; in the light and not in the heate; let him embrace the life of studie and contemplacon. And if he will accepte of no other reason, yet because the guifts of the Muses will enworthie him in his loue, and wheras now he looketh vpon his M^ns outsyde wth the eyes of sence, wth aroodasted and amased, hee shall then beholde his high perfection and heavenlie minde wth y^e eyes of iudgm^t, wth grow stronger by neerelie and directlie viewiewg such an obiecte.

The Souldiers speach.

Squior, the good olde-man hath said well to you, but I dare say thou wouldst be sorrie to leaue thie m^ns shiede, and to carrie his bookes, and I am sure thie m^s had rather be a faulcon, a bird of pray, then a singing birde in a cage. The Muses are to serue martiall men, to recorde and sing their famous accons, and not to be served by them. Then harken to me. It is the warres that giueth all spirritts of valour, not onelie honor but contentm^t. For marke whether thou didst euer see a man grown to any honorable comandm^t in the warres, but when so euer he gaued it ouer he was ready to die wth melancholie? Such a secrete felicitie, there is in that noble exercise, that he who tasteth it thoroughlie is distasted of all other. And no marveile; for if the hunter take such solace in his chase, if y^e matches and wagers of sporte passe away wth such satisfacon and delight, if the lookers on be affected wth such pleasure in y^s repesantacon of a fained tragdie, thinke w^t contentm^t a man recueyeth when th^t are equall to him in nature, from the hight of insolencie and furie, are brouthe to the condition of a chased pray, when a v^[ictory is] obtained wherof the victories of exercises and games are but A[shadows, and when in a lively tradgedie a mans enemies are sacrificed [before his] eyes vnto his fortune. Then for the dignitie of militiary [profession, is it] not y^e truest and perfectest practise of all vertues? [of wisedom in disp]osing those things wth are most subject to confusion and accident; of justice,] in continuall distributing of [rewards; of temperance, in] exercise of the straigtest discipline; [of fortitude, in toleration of all labours and abstinence from effeminate delights; of constancy, in bearing and digesting the greatest variety of fortune. So that when all other places and professions require but their several virtues, a brave
leader in the warres must be accomplished wth all. It is the [war that is the tribunall state, where the highest rights and posse[ssions are decided. The occupacon of kyngs, the root of nobility, the[protection of all seates; and lastlie, louers never thought their pession [suffi-
cientlie graced, till they had compared it to a warrfarre. [All that in
any other pession is to be wished for is but to liue happelie; [but to be
a braue commander in the fielde, death it selfe doth crowne yª
topp and head of glorie. Therefore, Squior, lett thy mª goe wth [me
and though he be resolved in the pursuice of his loue, lett him [aspire
unto it by yª noblest meanes. For ladys count it no honor to [subdue
them wth their faire eyes, wth wilbe daunted wth yª fierce encon
ter of an enemie; and they will quickly discerne a champion meete to [wear
theyr gloue, from a page not worthie to carrie their pantable. [Therefore
I saie againe, lett him seek his fortune in the fielde, where he m[ay
eyther loose his loue, or finde new argumª to advaunce it.

The Secretaries speache.

Squior, my advise to this mª shalbe as a token wrapte up in words;
but then will it show it selfe faire, when it is vndoulde in his accons.
To wishe him to change from one honor to another, were but as if
for the cure of a man in paine, one should advize him to lye on the
other syde, but not to inable him to stande vpon his feete. If from
a sanguine delightfull humor of loue he turne to a melancholie re-
tired humor of contemplation, or a turbulent boysling humor of [the
warres, what doth he but change tirants? Contemplacon is a dream,
loue a trance, and the humor of warr a raving. These be shifts of
humors, but no reclaiming to reason. I debare him not studyes, nor
bookes, to giue him store and varietie of concepcte, to refreshe his mind,
to cover slout and indisposition, and to drawe to him from those yª
are studious, respecte and commendation. But lett him beware that
they possesse not too much of his time, that they abstract not his iudgmª
from prnt experience, nor make him psume vpon knowing much [to
apply the lesse. For the warres, I denie him no enterprise that
shalbe worthie in greatenes, likely in successe, or necessarie in duetie;
not] mixed wth anie circumstances of jelosie, but duelie laid vpon h[im
But I] will not haue him take the allarª from his owne humor, [but
from the] occasion; and I woulde againe he should knowe an empl[oymment
from a discor] ting. And for his loue, lett him not soo disarme his he [art
within, as it mªake him too credulous to favours, not too tender to [unkin-
dess, not too apt to depende vpon the harte he knoweth n[ot. Nay in
his demonstra]tions of loue, let him not goe to [far; for these silly lovers,
when they profess such infinite affection and obligation, they tax
themselves at so high a rate that they are ever under arrest. It makes
their service seem nothing, and every cavil or imputation very
greate. But, Squior, what is thy m° ende? If to make y° prince hap]tie whom he serues, lett the instruccions to employed men, y° relacons of] Ambassadors, the treaties betwixte princes, and y° accons of the present] time, be the bookes he reads. Lett the orations of wise Princes or experienced counsellors in Counsell or Parleam°, and the finall sentences of graue and learned judges in weightie and doubtfull causes, be the lectures he frequents. Lett the holding of afeccion in conferedates w° out chardge, the frustrating of y° attempts of ene-m°ies w° out battailes, the winning of cheife ministers about other princes w° out Jealousie, the intituling of the Crowne to newe possessions w° out showe of wronge, the filling of y° Princes' cofers w° treasure w° out grudging, the suppressing of tumults and seditions w° out violence, the keeping of men in appetite w° out impacience, be the inventions he seekes out. Lett pollices & matters of state be the cheifest, and almost onelie things he intendes. But if he will beleue Philautia, and seeke most his owne happynes, he must not of them embrace all kyndes, but make choice, and avoid all matte° of perrill, of displeasure, and chardge, and turne them over to some notions that knowes not manacles from braceletts, burthens from roabes. For himself, lett him seeke for matters of comodities and strengthe, thoughge they be ioyned w° envie. Lett him not trouble himself too laboriously to sounde into any matters depely, or to execute any thing exactlie; but lett him make himself cunning rather in the humors & driftes of persons, then in y° nature of busines & affaires. Of that it sufficeth onelie to know so much as may make him able to make-vse of other men's witts, and to make againe a smoothie and pleasing reporte. Lett him extenuate y° pompions of others, and even rather lett him have an eye to y° by circustances then to y° matter it selfe; for then he shall ever seeme to adde somew' of his owne; and byesdes, when a man doth not forgett, men do thinke his witt doth supabbonde for the substance. In his counells lett him not be confident, for that will make him obnoxious to the successee; but lett him follow y°wisedome of oracles, w° vttered y° w° euer might be applied to y° event. And ever rather lett him take y° syde w° is likeliest to be followed, then y° w° issoondest and best, y° euerie thing may seeme to be carrie by his d [irection. To conclude, lett him be true to himself, & avoide all tedious reaches of state, that are not nearlie ptinent to his paticular. And if he will neades pursue his afeccion, and go on his course, w° can [so much advaunce him in his owne way?] The merritt of warr is too [outwardly glorious to be inwardly gratefull, and it is the exile of y° [eye, which looking wi] th such afeccion upon the picture, cannot but w° inf[inite contentment behold] y° life. But when his m° shall pceane his [endeavours are] to becom a true supp° tore of her, a dischardge of care, a [watchman of her person, a scholar of her wisdom] an instrum° of [her operation, and a conduit of her virtue, this with his diligences, accesses, humility and patience, may move her to give him further degrees and approaches to her favour. So that I conclude I have traced him the way to that which hath been granted to some few, amare et sapere, to love and be wise.
The Squyors speach.

Wandering Hermit, Storming Souldier, and hollow penman, [the enchant-ting Orators of Philantlia, wth have attempted by yor high [charms to turne resolued Erophilus into a statua deprived of accon, or [into a vulture attending about deade bodies, or into a monster wth [a double harte; wth infinite assurance, but wth iust indignacon, and for [ced pacience, I have suffered you to bring in play yor whole forces. [For I would not vouchsafe to combatte you one by one, as if I trusted [to the goodnes of my breath and not to y° goodnes of my strength, wth little needeth the advantage of yo° seeuering, and much lesse of yo° dis [agreeing. Therfor, first, I would learne of you all w° assurance you haue of [the fruit whereunto you aspire, You (Father) that pente truth & kno[wledge, how are you assured that you adore not vaine cimeres and imagine [tions? that in your high pseucts, when you see men wander vp & down, [that they stande not indeed still in their place, and it is some smoke [or cloud betweene you and them moueth, or else the dazzling of your [own eyes? Haue not manie wth take themselues inward counsellors wth[nature proud but idle beleeuers, that tould vs tales y° were no such matter? And, souldier, w° securitic haue you for theise victories & garlandes wth you pniue to yo° selfe? Knowe you not many wth haue made puisson lawrell for the victorie, and haue ben fayne to chaunge it wth cipres for the funerals! Of many wth haue bespoken fame to sounde their triumphes and haue ben glad to pray her saie nothing of them, and not to discover them in their flyghtes? Corrupte Statsman, you that thinke by yo° by engins and moons to governe the wheele of fortune; knowe ye not y° clockes cannot be long in temper, that Juglers are no longer in re[quest when their trickes and sleightes are once perceaued? Nay do you not see that neuer any man made his owne cunning and practize (w°out regard of religion, honor, or morsall honesty) his foundacon but he overbuilt himselfe, and in the ende made his house but a windf[all? But give ear now to the comparison of my m° condicion, I acknowlw[edge such a difference as is beethen the melting hailestone and y° solyde pear]le. Indeedse it seemeth to depend on the globe of y° earth seemeth to hang in the ayre; but yett it is firme and stable in itselue. It is like a c[ube or die] forme, wth tosse it or throwe it any way, it euer lighteth vpp[on a square.] Is he denied his hopes of favors of come? He can resorte to the] chaunce of contentm° past; Destiny cannot repeale y° wth is [past. Doth he find the] acknowledgment of his affecon the greater; [fortune cannot have power over that] wth is w°in. Naie his falls are [like the falls of Antaeus; they renew his strength.] His cloudes are like the [clouds of harvest, which make] the [sun break forth with greater force; his wanes and changes are like the moon, whose globe is all light toward the sun when it is all dark toward the world; such is the excellance of her nature and of his estate.
The Squyors speach.

Attende you beadesman of the Muses, you take yor pleasure in witnesses of varietie; but it is but of shadowes. You are a man richt in pictures, metallis, and christalls. Yor minde is as of water wth taketh all fourmes and impressions, but weat of substance. Will you compare shadowes wth bodies, pictures wth life, the varietie of many beauties with y* pearles excellencie of one? Such is y* comparison betweene knowledge and loue. Some one man of warr must euer be in noyse. You will gue lawes, and advancen forces, and trouble natio, and remove the landmarks of kingdome, and hunt men, and pen tragedies in bloude: and that wth is worst of all, make all y* vertues accessarie to your bloudshed. Hath y* practise of force depryed you of yor use of reason? as that you will compare y* interrupcon of societie wth y* perfeccion of societie, the conquastes of bodies wth y* conquastes of spiritts, y* terrestriall fyre wth destroyeth and dissolueth, wth the celestiall wth quickeneth and giueth life? Such is the comparison between the souldier & y* louer. And as for you, vntrue politicke, but trewest bondman to Philautia, you that psume to bynde occasion, and overworke fortune, I would ask you but one question. Did euer any Ladie (hard to please, or disposed to exercise her loue) enioye him so harse tasks & comandem as Philautia exacteth of you? While yor life is nothing but a continuall acting upon a stage; and that yor minde must serue your humor, and yett yor outward parts must serue your endes; so that you Carrie in one psone two seuerall seruitors to two contrarie m*th. But I will leave you to the scorne of that m*whom you vndertake to governe; y* is, to fortune, to whom Philautia hath bounde you. And yett, you commisioners of Philautia, I will proceeve one degree further. If I allowed both your assurance and yor valewes as you haue sett them, may not my m* enjoye his owne feliciteit, and haue all yors for advantage? I meane not y* hee should deuide himselfe in both pursuities, as in yor fainting tales towards the conclusion you did yelde to him. But because all these are in the handes of his m*th more fullie to bestowe then they can be attayned by your addresses, knowledge, fame, and fortune. For the Muses they are tributarie to her Ma*ie for y* greate libertie they haue enjoyed in her kingdome during her most flourishing time. In regarde wherof they have adorned and accomplished her wth the gifteis of all y* sisters. W* library can present such a storie of great accons as hir Ma*ie carrieth [in her royall breast by the often returne of this happie daie? W* worthie or favorite of the Muses is not familiar wth her? or w* language the] Muses haue ben vsed to speake is vnknowne vnto her? Th[erefore the he*aring her, the observing her, the reasoning, the intruccon [from her may] be to Erophiile a lecture exceeding all deade monum* [of the Muses. For Fame], can all the expoytes of warr winne him s[uch a title, as to have the name] favorite and selected servante to s[uch a Queen? For Fortune, can any insolent politike promise to himself such a fortune by making his own way, as the excellency of her nature cannot deny to a careful, obsequious, and dutifull servant? And if he could, were it equal honour
to attaine it by a shape of cunning, then by the guifte of such a ha\nd. Therfor Erophi\n's resolution is fixed: He renounceth Philautia, and [all her inchaunt\ntem]. He exp\ecteth nothing and all things from his m\ris. [For her recreacon he will conferr w\th the Muses; for her defence and honor [he will sacrifize his life in the warres, hoping to be embalmed in the swe\[et odours of her remembraunce; to her service he will consecrate all his [watch full indevers; and will euer beare in his hearte, the picture of her beau\ntie, in his acons of her will, and in his fortune of her grace and favor.

See Note on page 57.
by a shop of cunning.—Gib\nson.
He exp\ecteth nothing and all things from his mistress.
This is omitted from the Gibson Manuscript.
for the Earle of Sussex at ye tilt, an: 96.

MS. Folio 53-54.

NOTHING is known of the authorship of this short speech, and no other copy has been found either in print or in manuscript. The date [1596] on which it was spoken has been preserved, and so it naturally follows the preceding speeches, which were delivered in November, 1595. Mr. Spedding suggests that “this is a speech made to be spoken at one of the Court triumphs, and is written in the artificial style which it was the fashion to affect in them; which makes it the more difficult to supply the lost words. It is addressed to the Queen, and meant apparently to convey an apology for the absence of the Earl of Essex, who was very likely keeping aloof in one of his fits of discontent.”

The speaker was Robert Ratcliffe, son of Henry Ratcliffe, the fourth Earl, he was born circa 1570, and succeeded as fifth Earl of Sussex in 1593.
for the Earle of Sussex at ye tilt an: 96

Most devine and more mightie then ye Queene to whom all other Queene are subject, I meane fortune, ye making chance as firme as certainty: turns each to other that both may be neyther. Ye in being ye slave of her who endes the misteries of her rule, commandes death to beginne the taking away ye inioyers of riches, bestowes them on others that can so possesse them. Even she, most absolute Princesse, of her, hath made [the knight himself before he was himselfe, who not able to rule her bounty at ye greatest, now being lesse, they rule him, and he is become ye servant of that he is lorde. So that in his power his service is limited, while his will is infinite. Often and most movinglie hath the graue genious of yor Ma most faithfull servant his vncle, and of his honoured father unchangeablelie appeared vnto him, still objecting to his yong & wandering eyes the auncient and constant honor of his howse; but sustaining in [most of his accors, repulse of his indevers. At last they invited sickenes, who is strongest in weakness, to applie himself to his imperfeccions, and in subjecting his sensuell parte, to give his soule ye conquest and manndage of his acts. By whose forcible importunite, he then vowed to theise noble apparitons vpon his recoverie, to retire himself so long from himselfe, till he loste [him selfe in them, and then come forward to their perfecions. In signe of wch unfained conversion he was pacient that sickenes should alter his forme, as their counsells had reformed his minde. The wounds of whose disease still sticking in his foreheade, shalbe no maines vnto his favor, ye yeur high bounties intitle them the markes of yors. Then most deare sover [aigne notwhstanding absence in affecccon will still sitt in yor servaunts bosom, like heathe and cold in the wombe of thunder, and be readie in concealm[ent of his loue to lighten out his lie wth impulsion. Voutesalfe the formal [ity of an] easie suite of his retreate, that in the humble roofe of a poore Ho [use he may] liue as secure wth out pompe, as heere he was pompous wth [out policie, ye directs favor, and state ye exactes riches; wth dismisse him from personall audience. Therfor making a thoughts of yor favors past and wsoeuer present grace to imparte in depth of his vncheerfull solitude he will conforte as the eternall fountaine from whence it springs he humblie resignes his consecrated launce it offers vp his hearte for pledge

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

feared and beloued most sweet and gratious soveraigne, to seeke excuses for this my boldnes, and to arme the acknowledging the acknowledged reasons for might better shoue. I knewe I did amisse amisse then ami diminishse the attempt especiallie in your judgm, who are able linelie to looke the thing downe ye were follie in your self scandale

in your h refusing
h himself
h h h h armes
he h h h h ar armes
thirty

(65)
Letter to Queen Elizabeth, dissuading her from marrying the Duke of Anjou.

Written in 1580 by Sir Philip Sidney.

MS. Folio 55-61.

This letter was written by Sir Philip Sidney in opposition to the proposed marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Anjou, the younger son of Catherine de' Medici. Negotiations for the marriage began in 1571, when the suitor (who was then Duke d'Alençon) was not seventeen years of age, and Elizabeth was forty; they continued for thirteen years, and were only terminated by the death of the prince in 1584.

It has never been determined whether this lengthy courtship was mere acting on Elizabeth's part, or a case of absolute infatuation. The prince was a dwarf and scarred with smallpox. His face was disfigured and his nose had a double enlargement at its end, which prompted the wits to say that it was a symbol of his double-facedness. His appearance, as he sat, huddled up in a chair, was so frog-like that the Queen gave him the nickname of "petite grenouille." This he did not resent, as a letter (now preserved at Hatfield) from Simier, the French ambassador, proves. Mr. Hume gives the following translation of it in his book, "The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth":

"Madame, I must tell you how little rest your frog had last night, he has done nothing but sigh and weep. At eight o'clock he made me get up to discourse to him of your divine beauty, and of his great grief at leaving your Majesty, the jailor of his heart, the mistress of his liberty. Only his hope that he will soon see you again gives him some consolation. He has sworn to me a thousand times, but for that he would not wish to live another quarter of an hour. Do not then be so cruel to him, as he desires only to preserve his life so long as you are kind. Before he was out of bed he seized the pen and has ordered me to send off Captain Bourg with this, pending my own return to you, which will be as soon as I see him at sea with his sails spread. The weather is beautiful and the sea calm and I expect he will have a fair passage, unless he swell the waves with the abundance of his tears. The monkey takes the liberty of humbly kissing your lovely hands."

(66)
It can well be understood that such a marriage would provoke opposition. Many pamphlets were printed, vehemently denouncing the alliance, and the Queen, in return, issued a fierce proclamation calling them "seditious and lewde." John Stubbs, the author of one of them entitled "The discovery of a gaping gulf wherein England is likely to be swallowed by another French Marriage," had his right hand cut off for writing it, and was imprisoned for eighteen months.

It was under these circumstances that Sidney penned the remarkable letter here printed, and to Elizabeth's credit it must be said that she received his nobly-worded remonstrance with less displeasure than could have been expected. His punishment was exclusion from the Court for a year. He spent the time in the country (according to Aubrey, at Ivychurch), and solaced himself with literature, for to this date is attributed the composition of his great work, the "Arcadia."

From 1580 to 1584 the letter had a limited circulation in manuscript. It first appeared in print in the "Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra," published in 1663, but this must have been printed from a very imperfect copy, as it contains many blunders. The missing portions of the letter have been supplied from the edition of Sidney's Miscellaneous Works, edited by Mr. William Gray in 1893.
Sidney's letter to the Queen.

Mos' feared and beloved, most sweet and gracious Lady.

Most feared and beloved, most sweete and gracious soueraigne. To seek out excuses of this my boldnes, and to arme the acknowledging of a fault
with reasons showe for it, might better showe I knewe I did amisse, than any diminuishing the attempt, especiallie in ye' judgm's, with is able liuelie to
discerne into the thing donne, ye' were folie with laiszong on better coulours,
to make it more acceptable. Therfore carrieng no other branch of inter-
cession, then the laieng me at ye' feet; nor no other insinuacion eyther for
attention or pardon, but true vowed sacrifice of vnfained loue; I will, in
simple and direct termes (as hoping they shall onelie come to yo' mer [ciful
eyes,] sett downe the ouerflowing of my minde in this most matter, import[ing]
as I thinke, the continuance of yo' saftietie; and as I knowe, the ioyes of [my
life. And because my wordes (shallow I must needes confesse, but coming
from the welspring of, my loiall affeccion) haue delievered to yo' gracios
ears w' is the some of my travelling thoughts therein, I will but onelie declare
w' be the reasons that make me thinke the marriage of Mounsieier to be vn-
profitable for you; then will answere, the obiections of those feares y' might
procure so violent a refuge. The good and evil that may come to you by [it
must be considered eyther according to yo' estate or persone. To yo' estate,
w' can be added to the being an absolute borne, and accordinglie respecked,
Princesse? But as they say the Irishmen are wont to tell them that die
that "they are riche, they are faire, w' neede they dye : so trewlie": not vn-
fittlie to you, endowed with felicitie above all others, a man might well
aske "whe in such a calme you chaunce course; to so helthful a boddie
to applye so needlesse a medicine; w' hope can recompence so hazardous
an adventure." Hazardous indeed were it for nothing but the altring
of a well maintained and well approued trade: for, as in bodyes naturall
any sudden chaunce is not without perrill; so to this bodie politice whereof you are the onelie heade, it is so much the more as there are
more humors to receyue hurtfull impression. But hazardes are
the more to be regarded, when the nature of the agent and patient are
fittely composed to occasion them. The patient I account the realme, the
agent Mounsieur and his followers; for neither outward accidents do
much prevale against a true inward strength; nor inwarde weaks
lightlie subuerit itselfe without being hurt by some outward force. [Your
inward force (for as for yo' treasure the sinewes of yo' crowne, [you Majesty
dothe best and onelie know] consisteth in yo' subiects, yo' subjectts [generally
vexpert in warlike defence; and as they are diuided into [mighty
faccons, (and faccons bounde vpon the nuer looseable knot [of religion]
the] one is of them, to whom yo' maide hath grunted the [free exercise of
the eternal truth; with theisie by the continuance of [time, by the mul-
titude of them, by the] principall offices and strength [they hold, and lastly
by your dealings both at home] and abroad w the [adverse party: your
state is so entrapped, as it were impossible for you, without excessive
trouble, to pull yourself out of the party so long maintained. For such a course
once taken in hand, is not so much unlike a ship in a tempest, which how
daungerouslie soeuer it be beaten wth waues, yet is there no saftetie no' succor wthout. Theise, therfor, as their soules live by yo' happie goverm', so are they ever yo' chief, if not yo' sole, strength: theise, howsoever the necessetie of human] life make them lacke, yet can they not look for better condition then they psentlie enjoy: theise, how their harts wilde gald if not alienated, when they shall see you take to a housband, a french man and Papist, in whom (howsoever fine witts maie find evasion of daunger by painted excuses,) the verie comons know that he is the, verie Jesabell of o', age: that he is y' brother of him that made obligation of his owne sisters marriagge, the easier to makes massacres of all sexes, that he himself contrarie to his oath to his owne promise, and against all gratefullnes, having had his libertie and principall estate chieflie by the Hugenottes' meanes did sacke LaCharitie, and utterlie fire it wth fire and sworde. This, I say, euens at first sight, giues occasion to all the true religious, to abhorre such a M', and consequentlie to diminishe much of that hopefull loue they haue long held to you. The other faccon, most rightlie, indeed, to be called a faccon, is that of the Papists: men whose spirrits are full of anguish, some being forced to oathes they accoint damnable; some having their ambition stopped, because they are not in the way of advancem'; some in prison and disgrace; some whose best frendes are banisht practisers; manie judging you rightfullie disabled by the Pope excommuicon; all burthened wth the weight of their consciences; men of great numbers, of great riches, because the affaires of state haue not layn upon them: men of united mindes (as all men y' deeme themselves oppressed are). Wth theise I would willinglie ioyne all discontented persons, such as want and disgrace keepes lower then they haue sett their harts; such as are resolved wth to looke for at yo' handes; such as Caesar saith, "quibus opus est bello civili," and are of Othus mind, "malle in acie quam in cadere." Theise be men by somuch the more to be doubted, because, as they do embrace all estates; so are they commonlie of the bravest and wakefullest sorte; and that know the advantage of the world most. This double race of people, how their mindes haue stode; the Northron rebellion, and divers other practices, haue well taught you: wth if it be said, it did not preuaile, it is trewe indeed: for if they had preuailed, it were to late now to deliberate. But, at this pnt, they want nothing so much as a heade, who in effecte needs but receiue their instruccions: since they may do mischiefe enoue but wth his countenance. [Let the singing man in kyng H: the fourths time, Perkyn Warbecke, in your grandfathers time; but of all, the most liuelie and proper is that of Lewes, the french kings sonne, in k. H. the 3 time: who h[aving at all no show of title, yet did halfe the nobilitie and more, to swear direct]feitie and vassalladge; and deliuered the strongest [holds unto him. Let these be] sufficient to proue, that occasion causeth mindes to [stranger things] then euer would haue ben imagined. If then [the affectionate side have their affe] con weakened, and the discontented a gap [to utter their discontent: I think it will seem an ill preparative for the patients (I mean your estate) to a great sickness.

Now the agent party, which is Monsieur; whether he be not apt to work on the disadvantage of your estate, he is to be judged by his will and power: his will to be as full of light ambition as is possible
besides the french disposition, and his owne education; his vnconstant [temper against, his thrusting himself into the Lowe Countrie matters; his some [time seeking the Kyng of Spaine his daughter, and sometimes yo' Ma'; are evident tokens and testimonies and his being carried away wth every [wind of hope. Taught to loue greatnes anie way gotten, and having for the [motioners and ministers of his minde, onelie such younge men as haue showed [they think euill discontentm' a sufficient ground of any rebellion, whose adge gi [to have seen no commonwealth but in faccon; and diuers of wth have [defiled their handes in odious mutrurers. Wth such fauncies and favorites [what is to be hoped; that he wilbe conteyned wthin the limitts of yo' conditions. Since [in truth he that cannot be content to be the second person in ffrance, & heir apparaunte, would come to be the second person in England where he [should no way pente soueraignetie. His power I imagine, is not to be [despised, since he is come into a countrie, where the waie of euill doing wilbe [presented unto him; where there wants nothing but a heade, to drawe together [all the ill affected humors. Himself a prince of great revenuws, of the most populous nation of the world, full of soouldiers, and such as serue [without paie, if they may haue showe of spoiile. And wthout question shall [have his brother, in suche a case readie to healpe him, as well for ould revenge, [as to diuerse him from troubling ffrance, and to deliever his owne country from euill humors. Neither is K. Phil. of o' adge herein anie example; seeing it was betweene two of one relligion, so that he in England, stoode onelie upon her strength, and had abroade K. H. of ffrance, readie to empeach anie enterprize he should make for his greatnes that waie. [And yett wth euents time would haue brought forth of that marriagde, your [most blessed raigne hath made voide all such consideracon. But things holden in the psest state, I thinke I maie iustlie conclude that yo' [country as well being by long peace, and fruittes of peace, as by the poysin of [division where the faithful shall by this meanes be wounded & the contrarie enabled and made fitt to receyue hurt; and Monsieur being euerie waie apt to vse [the occacon to hurte, there can almost happon no worldlie thing of more [eminent daunger to yo' estate roiall and to yo' person. The verie seale of y' hapiiness, w' may there come to ballaunc the losse of so honorable a constancy: trewilie, yett I perceiue not. I will not shew so much mallice as to [object the vniversall doubt of all that races vnhelthfullnes; neither will I [lay to his] chardge the auelike manner of proceeding, sometimes, sometimes cold, [in the time] of pursue wth alwayes rightlie is most fervent; and I will tem[per my spee]ches from anie other vnreuerent disgracing of him, apeculer [{though they might] be neuer so trew] this onelie will I saie, if he do come hither, [he must live here in] farr meaner reputacon then his minde will brooke having [no other royal] tie to content him wth; or else you must deliever him [the keys of your kingdom,] and liue at his discreacon; or lastlie he most sep[erate himself have [heard you with with more dishonour and further disuni]ng of harte then euer before. Ofte, protestation say that] no pruite pleasure nor [self affection could lead you to it; but if it be both unprofitable for your kingdom, and unpleasent to you, certainly it were a dear purchase of repentance. Nothing can it add unto you, but the bliss of children, which I confess, were a most unspeakable comfort; but yet no more appertaining unto him, than to any other
Sidney's letter to the Queen.

[To whom the height of all good haps, were allotted to be your husband; and] there[ for I maie assuredlie affirme that w' good soeuer maie followe marriage, is] no more his then anie bodies; but the evills and daungers are persiculerlie his person and conicon. For as for the enriching yo' countrie w'h treasure, which] eyther he hath not, or hath otherwise to bestowe it; nor the staieng of your] servauntes mindes w'h new exceptaons and liberaltie, w'h is more daungers than fruitfull; or the easing your Matie of yo' cares, w'h is as much as to say] as the easing you to be a Queene and Soveraigne. I thynke euerie bodie p[ercues this waie to be eyther full of hurt or voide of helpe. Now resteth to] consider w'be the motives of this sodaine chaunge, as I haue heard you in m]oft wordes deliuer: feare of standing alone in respecle, feare of conteempt. Trewlie as standing alone, w'h good foresight both of peace govern' and warr defence, is the honorabler that can be to a well established monarchie. Thosebuildingesueuer being mostsure and durablew'hleaning on other, remaine firme vpon their owne foundations. So yet in the paticularities of yo' estate psent, I will not deny altogether denne but a trewe Masinissa were verie fitt to counter Mine the enterprizes of mightie Carthage: but how this generall truth can be applied to Monsieur, in truth I perceiue not. The wisest that haue gien best rules, w'h whom strongest leagues are to be made, haue ever said that it must be betweene such as eyther vehement desire of the third thing, or a vehement feare doth knitt their minde together. Desire is counted the weaker bond, but yet that knott so manie princes together to the expedtion of the Hollie Lande, that united the invincible K. H. 5. w'h Philipp the good Duke of Burgundy, the one desiros to winne the Crowne of Fraunce from the Dolphin, the other desiros to reuenge his fathers mother upon the Dolphin: both w'h tended to one. That coupled Lewes the 12 and Ferdinando of Naples, to the conquest of Naples. Of feare there are innuerable examples: Monsieur's desires & yo's, how they should meet in publicke matters, I thynke no oracle can tell, for as the Geometricians say, parallells because they maintaine generall diuers, can neuer meete, so trewlie, two, having in their beginings diuerse principles, to bring forth one doctrine, surelie must be some miracle. He of the Romish religion; and therfor if he be a man, must neeses haue that manlie disposition, to desire all men be of his minde. You, the erector and defender of the contrarie, and the onelie sunne that dazeleth their eyes. He French, and desiring to make Fraunce great: yo's Matie English, and desiring nolesse than that Fraunce should waxe great. He both by his owne fancy and youthfull govern', embracing all ambitious hopes having Alexa[n]der's image in his heade, but perchaunce ill painted. Yo's Matie w'h excellent vir[tue taught w'should hope, and by no lesse wisdom[e] w't you may [hope. W'h a counsell renowned over all christians for their well temp[ered minds] having set the vettermost of their ambition in your favour, and [the study of] their soules in yo's safetie. Feare hath as little shew of reason [or outward appear]ance to match you together. For in this state he is in, w'hom shold he fear,—his] brother? while alas his brother is afraide of him, [since the King of Navarre is to] stepp into his place. Neither can his brother[be safer by his fall, but he] may be the greater by his brothers; whereto, [whether you will be an accessory you are to] determine. The King of [Spain certainly cannot make war upon him, but it must be upon all the crown of France,
which is no likelihood he will do. Well may Monsieur (as he hath done) seek to enlarge the bounds of France upon this state: which likewise, whether it be safe for you to be a countenance unto, cannot anie waie be seen. So that if neither fear nor desire be such [in him as are to binde anie publicke fastness, it may be said, that the onelie fortress of this marriagge is his priuate affeccon, a thing to incident to yo'er person laieng it vp in such gordian knotts. The other objeccon of contempt in [your subiects I do assure yor Mare, if that I had not heard it proceed from [you do all the rest most dearelie reverence, it would as soone (considering the perfecons of yo'er bodie and minde [have] sett to all mens eyes by the height [of your estate] have come to the possibilitie of my imagination, as if one [should have toold me on the contrarie side, that the greatest princess of the [world should envie the estate of some poore deformed pilgrime. W't is whin y'ou, or w'out, that can possibly fall into the degree of contemple, to whom [our fortunes are tied by twoo long dissent of yo' roill auncesto? Ou'er minds [rejoice w'h experience of yo'inward vertues and o' eyes delighted w't he sight o' you. But because yo' owne eyes cannot see yo' selfe, neither can there be in the [world any example founde fitt to ghuesse you by, I beseeche you to weig the [grounds thereof. As I imagine you suppose to natural causes thereof, and two [effects you thinke will followe thereof. The natural causes be the length of gov[ernment, and vncertainty of succession; the effects be as you terme it looking to y[ face of the sunne and some abominable speaches certaine hellshe minded people have vttered. The longer a good prince doth raigne, ytt is certaine the more he is esteemed; for there is no man that euer is weare of well being. And good, encreased to good, makes the same good greater and stronger, for it vseth them to knowe no other course, when eyther men are borne in the time, and so hinder saw other; or have spent most part of their floreshing time, and so haue no ioye to sekke other. In evill princes, abuse growing upon abuse, accor[ding to the nature of evill, w't increase of time, ruins itself. But in so r[are a govern'mt, where neibourys fyres giues vs light to see o' owne quietnes, [where nothing wants, that trew administracon of justice brings forth; rather breed[s a mind to thinke on no other life then but that then anie tediousenes of so fruit full sweetenes. Examples of good princes do euer confirme this, who, the longer they raigned, the deeper still they see into their subiects' harte. Neither will I trouble you w't examples, being so manie and so manifest. Looke in[to yo' owne estate, see how willingly they graunte, and how dutifullie they p[ay such subsidies as you demaunde of them: how they are now lesse troublesome to yo' Mare in certaine requests, than they were in the begining of yo' raigne; and you shall fynd yo' ma'th hath a people more then euer deuoted to you. As for certaintie of succession, althouge for my owne part I haue cast y[ on-termost anchor of my hope: yet for England's sake, I would not saie anathing again[st such a determinacon; but that vncertaine good should bring contem[pt to a cer] taine good, I thinke it is beyonde all reache of reason; naie, trewlie [if there were no other cause (as there are infinite) vere common pffitt would teach us] to hould that deare Jewell deare, the losse of w'th should bring [us to we know not what; ] w'h likewise is to be said of the rising sonne; a speach first used in Rome, by] Scilla, as then a popular Cittie where indeed [men were to rise and fall, ac[ording to the foolishbreath of manie headed [confusion. But in so lineal a monar-chie, where euer the infants [sucke the love of
Sidney’s letter to the Queen.

MS. Folio 60.

[their rightful prince, who would leave the beams of so fair a sun, for the
dreadful expection of a divided company of stars. Virtue and justice are
the only bonds of people’s love; and as for that point, many princes have
lost their crowns, whose own children were manifest successors; and some
that had their own children used as instruments of their ruin; not that I
deny] the bliss of children but onelie to show religion and equitie to be of
themselves sufficent staie. Neyther is the loue was borne you anie fitt
addecon hereunto; for the oppresson of that religion, liued in manie
mens harts, you were known to be the faveror. By her losse was the excellent
one to succeede; by you all blindenes light upon a time, that sees not her
misery]. Lastlie, and most properlie to this purpose, she had made an odious
match wth a straunger (wth is now in question whether your Maue
should do] or noe) so that if your subiectes do at this psent looke to any afterchance,
it] is but as the pilott to the shipboate, if his shipp should perish; driuen
by] extremetie to the one, but as long as he can wth his life, tending the other.
And this I saie, not onelie for the louelie partes wth are in you; but even for
their owne sakes, since they must needs forsee wth tempest threatens them.
The last proofe of this contemp, should be the venimous matter, certaine harts
impostunied wth wickednes should vttier against you. Certainelie not to be
evill spoken of, neyther Christ’s holllines nor Cæsars might could A warrant anie;
there b) eing for that no other rule but to doe soe, that they may not lustlie saie euill
of you;) wth whether your Maue hath not done, I leaue it you, to the sincerenes
of your conscience, and wisedome of yo’ judgm’t in the world, to the most manifest
fruites and fame thoroughe Europe. Augustus was told, men spake much
hurt of him. “It is no matter,” said he, “so long as they are not able to do much hurt.”
And lastlie Charles the 5, to one that tould him, “Les Hollandois parlent mal”;
“Mais ils parlent bien,” answered he. I might make a schollerlike reckoning
of many such examples; it sufficeth that these great princes knew well enough
vpon w’ winges they flew, and cared little for the barking of a few curres.
And trewlie in the behalfe of yo’ subiectes, I durst wth my bloud aunswer it,
that there was neuer monarche helde in more precious reckoning of her people;
and before God how can it be otherwise? For my part, when I heare some lost
wretche hath defiled wth such a matter, I consider the right nature of
blasphemy, whose vnbridede soule doth delighte to teare that, wth generally
is accounted most high and hollie. No, no, most excellent Ladie, do not
raze out the impression you haue made in such a multitude of harts; and lett
not the scume of such vile mindes beare anie witnes against yo’ subiecte’s
devotion: wth to procede one point further, if it were otherwise, could little
be helped, but rather nourished, and in effect beganne by this. The onelie a-
voying of contempt is loue and feare; love, as you haue by diuers mea[n]
sent into the depth of their soules; so if anithing can staie so true a for[m
it must be the bringing of yo’, not self into yo’ owne likenes, but in
new colours] vnto them. Their feare by him cannot be increased, wthout ap-
pearance of] French forces, the manifest death of your estate. But well maie [it
against] him, breale that face, wth [as the tragicke Seneca saith] “Metu [s in
authoremredit,”] Then it is daunger to yo’ state, as well because by in [ward
weakness (principallie caused by deuision) it is fitt to receyue h[arm.

See Note on page 68.

Neither is the love borne in
the Queen your sister’s days,
any contradiction herunto,
for she was the oppressor of
that religion which lived in
many men’s hearts, where-
of you were known, etc.—
GRAY.

the lively parts that he in you.
GRAY.

impostunied = swollen or
bloated.
GRAY.

to your mostmanifest.—GRAY.

Mais ils parlent bien.—GRAY.

upon what way they flew.—
GRAY.

hath defiled such a name with
his mouth.—GRAY.

The only means of avoiding.
GRAY.

anything can stain.—GRAY.

the trimmings yourself, not in
your own likeness.—GRAY.

bear that face.—GRAY.
Sidney’s letter to the Queen.

(as because both in will and power it is like to do harme. Since to your person it can be no way comfortable, you not desiring marriadge; and neither to person or estate he is to bring any more] good than anie bodie; [but more evil he may, since the causes that should drive you to this, are either fears of that which cannot happen, or by this means cannot be prevented: I do with most humble heart say unto your Majestie (having assayed this dangerous help) for your standing alone.)

you must take it as a singular honor God hath donne, to be indeed the onelieth protector of his Church; and yet in worlde respects your kingdom verrie sufficiënt so to doe, if you make that religion, upon which you stand, to carrie the onlie [strength, and haue abroade those that shall maintaine the cause; who as long as they may be kepe from vitter falling, yo’ Ma’s is sure enoughe from yo’ mightiest enemies. As for this man, so long as he is but Mounseur, and a Papist in profession, he neither can, nor will, greatelie steeede you, and if he grow King, his defence wilbe [like Ajax’s shield, with waighed downe, rather than defended those that ware it. [Against contempt at home, if there be anie, (with I will neuer believe,) lett yo’ excellen[t] virtues of pietie, justice, and liberalitie, dailie, (if it be possible) more and more [shine. Lett such peticuler accions be found out (with) easie I thinke to be done) by [which you may gratifie all the heartes of your people: lett those in whom you find [trust, and to whom you haue committed trust, in yo’ waightie affaires, beheld [up in the eyes of yo’ people. Lastlie, doing as you dce, you shallbe, as you be, ye [eye of princes, the ornamt of this adge, the comfort of the afflicted, the delight of people, the most excellent fruit of all yo’ progenitors, the perfect mirror to yo’ posterity.

S' Phillip
The
Most ex. S' Ph
cellent fruit
excellent progenitors
excellent fruit of all yo' progenitors the perfect M
all posterite excellent fruit of all your prog
held in more precious account than all yo' frends
And I will remayne in this sort disconsola
And most worthie to be most deare

The of first this that is to
The thousand pound of gold reverseth
And when the same remaineth in little
worth remaying in the full
Of such glories as will last not for a year
all eternitie remembered this yo' th
and tread under yo' feet the

the third | reason of | the manner | of this | ladies | death | maie be |

your frend | shipp cannot | bring.
LEYCESTER’S COMMONWEALTH.

MS. Folio 63-90.

THIS MS. contains a little less than half of this celebrated political pamphlet; about fourteen folios are missing from the beginning, and a similar number at the end. It was first printed in 1584 upon the Continent and most probably in Antwerp, under the title:—

THE
COPIE OF A
LETER, VVRYTEN BY A
MASTER OF ARTE OF CAMBRIGE,
TO HIS FRIEND IN LONDON, CON-
cerning fome talke past of late between two vvor-
shipful and graue men, about the present state, and
fome procedinges of the Ertle of Leycefter and
his friendes in England.

CONCEYVED, SPOKEN
and publyshed vvith moft earneft prote-
tation of al duetyful good vvyl and affec-
tion, towrdes her moft excellent Ma.
and the Realm, for whose good onely it is
made common to many.

Iob. Cap. 20. Verf. 27.
Reuelabunt coeli iniquitatem eius, & terra confugret
aduerfus eum.

The heauen's fhal receile the vvicked mansiniqui-
tie, and the earth fhal ftand vp to beare vvitnes
agaynst hym.

ANNO M. D. LXXXIII.

The title-page is surrounded by an ornamental border. It was immediately translated into French and Latin, and reprinted in both languages. It circulated in England extensively in manuscript, and was reprinted in 1641 without a printer’s name or place of publication. There has been preserved in the
Public Record Office, a letter to the Wardens of the Company of Stationers, dated October 13, 1641, in which the writer, Edward Nicholas, states:—

"I hear there is now printing at one Dawson's, a printer in Thames Street, a book called Leicesterc's Commonwealth, which I am told is very scandalous to divers of the Lord's ancestors, and a book unfit to be divulged. . . . I pray give order forthwith to stay the printing or dispersing of any of those books until the Lords of Parliament or the Lords of the Council shall meet."

It is to be presumed that this was done, but the result was that it was reprinted by other printers, who succeeded in getting copies into the market. Thus there are three editions dated 1641, one of which—the suppressed copy—is much rarer than the others.

The first edition, although printed on the Continent, must have had a considerable circulation in England, for the Queen in Council on June 20th, 1585, found it necessary to repudiate its assertions. In a letter addressed to the Magistrates of Cheshire she writes:—

"Her Highness not only knoweth to assured certainty the books and libels against the said Earl to be most malicious, false and scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true.

The authorship of the pamphlet has never been settled. At the time of publication, and for some years afterwards, it was attributed to Robert Parsons, the Jesuit missionary and controversialist, so much so that it was colloquially termed by his contemporaries, "Father Parson's Greencoat." This was in allusion to the somewhat unusual colour of the binding and edges of the book. It is interesting to note that one of the two copies preserved in the British Museum, still retains the colour upon its edges. The second copy (the Grenville) has, however, been recently rebound, and mirabile dictu, the edges have been carefully girt, and the distinctive feature of the work destroyed. A letter has been preserved in the manuscript collections of William Cole, now in the British Museum, in which the authorship of the book is discussed. It is addressed to the Rev. Dr. Mosse, at Gray's Inn, and signed C. A. Internal evidence is adduced to prove that Parsons could not have written the work, and Dr. Mosse notes upon the back of the letter that

"Parsons . . . many years after the death of L[eicester] denies himselfe to be author of it. . . . In short the author is very uncertain, and for any thing that appears in it, it may as well be a Protestant's, as a Papist's. I sh'd rather think it the work of some subtle courtier, who, for safety got it printed abroad, and sent into England under the name of Parsons."

It has been thought well to reprint the whole of the pamphlet. The missing portions and the side notes are taken from the quarto edition of 1641.
LEYCESTERS
Common-wealth:

CONCEIVED, SPOKEN AND PUBLISHED WITH MOST EARNEST protestation of all Dutiful good will and affection towards this Realm, for whose good onely, it is made common to many.

Job the 20. verfe the 27.

The Heavens shall reveale his iniquity, and the Earth shall rife up against him.

Printed 1641.
**The Epistle Directory** ;

**To M. G. M. In Gratus Street in London.**

Dear and loving friend, I received about tenne dayes agone your letter of the 9, of this present: wherein you demand and sollicit againe the thing, that I so flaily denied you, at my late being in your chamber: I meane, to put in writing the relation which then I made unto you, of the speech had this last Christmas in my presence, betwene my right worshipfull good friend and patron, and his guest the ould Lawyer, of some matters in our state and country. And for that you presse mee very seriously at this instant, both by request and many reasons, to yeeld to your desire herein, and not onely this, but also to give my consent for the publishing of the same, by such secret meanes as you assure mee you can there find out: I have thought good to confer the whole matter with the parties themselves, whom principally it concerneth (who at the receipt of your letter were not farre from mee:) And albeit at the first, I found them averse and nothing inclined to grant your demand: yet after upon consideration of your reasons, and assurance of secresie: (especially for that there is nothing in the same contained, repugnant to charity or to our bounden duty toward our most gracious Princes or Country, but rather for the special good of them both, and for the forewarning of some dangers imminent to the same) they have referred over the matter to mee, yet with this Proviso, that they will know nothing, nor yet yeeld consent to the publishing hereof, for feare of some future flourish of the ragged Staffe to come hereafter about their eares, if their names should breake forth: which (I trust) you will provide, shall never happen, both for their security, and for your owne. And with this I will end, assuring you that within these five or six dayes, you shall receive the whole in writing by an other way and secret meanes, neither shall the bearer suspect what hee carrieth: whereof also I thought good to premonish you. And this shall suffice for this time.
NOT long before the last Christmasse, I was requested by a letter from a very
worshipfull and grave Gentleman, whose sonne was then my pupill in Cambridge,
to repair with my said Scholar to a certaine house of his neare London, and there to
passe over the Holy-dayes in his company: for that it was determined that in Hillary
tearme following, his said sonne should bee placed in some Inne of Chancery, to follow
the study of the Common-law, and so to leave the University. This request was
grateful unto mee in respect of the time, as also of the matter, but especially of the
company. For that, as I love much the yong Gentleman, my pupile, for his
towardlines in religion, learning, and vertue: so much more I doe reverence his
Father, for the riper possession of the same ornaments, and for his great wisedome,
experience, and grave judgement in affaires of the World that doe occurre: but namely
touching our owne Countrey, wherein truly I doe not remember to have heard any
man in my life, discourse more substantially, indifferently, and with lesse passion, more
love and fidelity, then I have heard him: Which was the cause that I tooke singular
delight to be in his company, and refused no occasion to enjoy the same. Which also
hee perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently with mee, then with many other of
his friends, as by the relation following may well appeare.

When I came to the foresaid House by London, I found there among other
friends, an ancient man that professed the law, and was come from London to keepe
his Christmasse in that place, with whom at divers former times I had beene well
acquainted, for that hee haunted much the company of the said Gentleman my friend,
and was much trusted and used by him in matters of his profession, and not a little
beloved also for his good conversation, notwithstanding some difference in religion
betwene us. For albeit, this Lawyer was inclined to bee a Papist, yet was it with
such moderation and reservation of his duty towards his Prince and Countrey and
proceedings of the same: as hee seemed always to give full satisfaction in this point
to us that were of contrary opinion.

Neither did hee let to protest often times with great affecttion, that as hee had
many friends and kinsfolke of contrary religion to himselfe: so did hee love them never
the lesse for their different conscience, but leaving that to God, was desirous to doe
them any friendship or service that hee could, with all affection, zeale, and fidelity.
Neither was hee wilfull or obstinate in his opinion, and much lesse reprochfull in
speech (as many of them bee) but was content to heare whatsoever wee should say to
the contrary (as often wee did:) and to reade any booke also that wee delivered him,
for his instruction.

Which temperate behaviour, induced this Gentleman and mee, to affect the more
his company, and to discourse as freely with him in all occurrents, as if hee had beene
of our owne religion.
The Entrance to the Matter.

ONE day then of the Christmass, we three retiring ourselves after dinner, into a large Gallery, for our recreation, (as often we were accustomed to doe, when other went to cards and other pastimes:) this Lawyer by chance had in his hand a little booke, then newly set forth, containing *A defence of the publique justice done of late in England, upon divers Priests and other Papistes for treason*: Which booke, the Lawyer had read to himselfe a little before, and was now putting it up into his pocket; but the Gentleman my friend, who had read over the same once or twice in my company before, would needs take the same into his hand againe, and asked the Lawyer his judgement upon the booke.

The Lawyer answered: That it was not evil penned in his opinion to prove the guiltines of some persons therein named in particular, as also to perswade in generall, that the Papistes both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with defence and increase of their religion (for these are not all, said he) doe consequently wish and labour some change in the state: but yet whether so farre forth, and in so deepe a degree of proper treason, as here in this booke both in generall and particular is presumed and inforced, that (quoth hee) is somewhat hard (I weene) for you or mee (in respect of some other difference betwenee us) to judge or discern with indifferently.

Nay truly said the Gentleman, for my part I thinke not so, for that reason is reason in what religion soever. And for my selfe, I may protest, that I beare the honest Papist (if there bee any) no malice for his deceived conscience, whereof among others, your selfe can bee a witness: mary his Praetizes against the state, I cannot in any wise digest: and much lesse may the Common-wealth beeare the same (whereof wee all depend,) being a sinne of all other, the most heinous, the least pardonable. And therefore seeing in this, you grant the Papist both in generall abroad, and at home; and in particular such as are condemned, executed and named in this booke to bee guilty: how can you insinuate (as you doe) that there is more presumed or enforced upon them by this booke, then there is just cause so to doe.

Good Sir, said the other, I stand not here to examine the doings of my superiors, or to defend the guilty, but wish hartily rather their punishment that have deserved the same. Onely this I say, for explication of my former speech: that men of a different religion from the state wherein they live, may bee said to deal against the same state in two sorts: the one, by dealing for the increase of their said different religion, which is always either directly, or indirectly against the state. (Directly) when the said religion containeth any point or article directly impugning the said state, (as perhaps you will say that the Roman Religion doth against the present state of England in the point of Supremacy:) and (Indirectly) for that every different religion divideth in a sort and draweth from the state, in that there is no man who in his heart would not wish to have the chiefe Governour and state to bee of his religion, if hee could: and consequently misliketh the other in respect of that: and in this kind, not onely those whom you call busie Papists in England, but also those whom we call hote Puritans among you, (whose difference from the state especially in matters of government is very well knowne,) may bee called all traytors, in mine opinion: for that every
one of these in deed, doe labour indirecly, (if not more) against the state, in how much soever each one endeavoureth to increase his part or faction that desireth a Governour of his owne religion.

And in this case also, are the Protestants in France and Flanders under Catholique Princes: the Calvinists (as they are called;) under the Duke of Saxony, who is a Lutheran: the Lutherans under Casimere, that favoreth Calvinists: the Grecians and other Christians under the Emperour of Constantinople, under the Sophy, under the great Chame of Tartary, and under other Princes that agree not with them in religion. All which Subjects doe wish (no doubt) in their hearts, that they had a Prince and state of their owne religion, in stead of that which now governeth them: and consequently in this first sense, they may bee called all traytors, and every act they doe for advancement of their said different religion (dividing betwene the state and them) tendeth to treason: which their Princes supposing, doe sometimes make divers of their acts treasonable or punishable for treason. But yet so long as they breake not forth unto the second kind of treason which containeth some actuall attempt or treaty against the life of the Prince, or state, by rebellion or otherwise: wee doe not properly condemne them for traytors, though they doe some acts of their religion made treason by the Prince his lawes, who is of a different faith.

And so to apply this to my purpose: I thinke, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kind of treason, as well the zealous Papist, as also the Puritans in England, may well bee called and proved traytors: but in the second sort (whereof wee speake properly at this time) it cannot bee so precisely answered, for that there may bee both guilty and guiltles in each religion. And as I cannot excuse all Puritans in this point: so you cannot condemn all Papists, as long as you take mee and some other to bee as wee are.

I grant your distinction of treasons to bee true, (said the Gentleman,) as also your application thereof to the Papists and Puritans (as you call them,) not to want reason, if there bee any of them that dislike the present state (as perhaps there bee:) all bee it for my part, I thinke these two kinds of treasons, which you have put downe, bee rather divers degrees then divers kinds: wherein I will refer mee to the judgement of our Cambridge friend here present, whose skill is more in logickall distinctions. But yet my reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree to the other, not differing in nature, but rather in time, ability or opportunity. For if (as in your former examples you have shewed) the Grecians under the Turke, and other Christians under other Princes of a different religion, and as also the Papists and Puritans (as you term them) in England (for now this word shall passe betwene us for distinction sake,) have such alienation of mind from their present regiment, and doe covet so much a governour and state of their owne religion: then no doubt but they are also resolved to imploy their forces for accomplishing and bringing to passe their desires, if they had opportunity: and so being now in the first degree or kind of treason, doe want but occasion or ability, to breake into the second.

True Sir, said the Lawyer, if there bee no other cause or circumstance that may with hold them.

And what cause or circumstance may stay them I pray you (said the Gentleman) when they shall have ability and opportunity to doe a thing which they so much desire?
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Divers causes (quoth the Lawyer) but especially and above all other (if it bee at home in their owne Country,) the feare of servitude under foraine nations, may restraine them from such attempts: As wee see in Germany that both Catholiques and Protestants would joyne together, against any stranger that should offer danger to their liberty. And so they did against Charles the fift. And in France not long agoe, albeit the Protestants were up in armes against their King, and could have beene contente, by the helpe of us in England, to have put him downe, and placed an other of their owne religion: yet when they saw as once seazed of New-haven, and so, like to proceed to the recovery of some part of our states on that side the Sea, they quickly joyned with their owne Catholiques againe to expell us.

In Flanders likewise, though Monsieur were called thither by the Protestans, especially for defence of their religion, against the Spaniard: yet wee see how dainty divers chiefe Protestants of Antwerp, Gaunt, and Bruges were, in admitting him, and how quick in expelling, so soon as hee put them in the least feare of subjection to the French.

And as for Portugal, I have heard some of the chiefest Catholiques among them say, in this late contention about their Kingdom: that rather then they would suffer the Castilian to come in upon them, they would bee content to admit whatsoever aids of a contrary religion to themselves, and to adventure whatsoever alteration in religion or other inconveniency might befall them by that meanes, rather then endanger their subjection to their ambitious neighbour.

The like is reported in divers histories of the Grecians at this day, who doe hate so much the name and dominion of the Latines: as they had rather to endure all the miseries which dayly they suffer under the Turke for their religion and otherwise: then by calling for aid from the West to hazard their subjection to the said Latines. So that by these examples you see, that feare and horror of externall subjection may stay men in all states, and consequently also both Papists and Puritans in the state of England, from passing to the second kind or deegree of treason, albeit they were never so deepe in the first, and had both ability, time, will, and opportunity for the other.

Here I presumed to interrupt their Speech, and said: that this seemed to mee most cleare, and that now I understood what the Lawyer meant before, when hee affirmed, that albeit the most part of Papists in generall might bee said to deal against the state of England at this day, in that they deale so earnestly for the maintenance and increase of their religion, and so to incurre some kind of treason: yet (perhaps) not so far-forth nor in so deepe a degree, of proper treason as in this booke is presumed or inforced: though for my part (said I) I doe not see that the booke presumeth or inforceth all Papists in generall to bee properly traytors, but onely such as in particular are therein named, or that are by law attainted, condemned or executed: and what will you say (quoth I) to those in particular.

Surely (quoth hee) I must say of these, much after the manner which I spake before: that some here named in this booke are openly known to have beene in the second degreee or kind of treason: as Westmerland, Norton, Sanders, and the like. But divers others (namely the Priests and Seminaries that of late have suffered,) by so much as I could see delivered and pleaded at their arraignements, or heard protested by them at their deaths, or gathered by reason and discourse of my selfe, (for that no
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forraine Prince or wise counsellor would ever commit so great matters of state to such instruments:) I cannot (I say) but thinke, that to the wise of our state, that had the doing of this busines, the first degree of treason (wherein no doubt they were) was sufficient to dispatch and make them away: especially in such suspitious times as these are: to the end that being hanged for the first, they should never bee in danger to fall into the second, nor yet to draw other men to the same: which perhaps was most of all misdoubted.

After the Lawyer had spoken this, I held my peace, to heare what the Gentleman would answer: who walked up and downe, two whole turnes in the Gallery, without yeelding any word againe: and then staying upon the sudden, cast his eyes sadly upon us both, and said;

My Masters, how so ever this bee, which indeed appertaineth not to us to judge or discusse, but rather to perswade our selves, that the state hath reason to doe as it doth, and that it must often times, as well prevent inconveniences, as remedy the same when they are happened: yet for my owne part I must confesse unto you, that upon some considerations which use to come unto my mind, I take no small griefe of these differences among us (which you terme of divers and different religions) for which wee are driven of necessity, to use Discipline towards divers, who possibly otherwise would bee no great malefactours. I know the cause of this difference is grounded upon a principle not easie to cure, which is the judgement and conscience of a man, whereunto obeith at length his will and affection, whatsoever for a time he may otherwise dissemble outwardly. I remember your speech before of the doubtfull and dangerous inclination of such as live discontented in a state of a different religion, especially, when either indeed, or in their owne conceipte, they are hardly dealt withall, and where every mans particular punishment, is taken to reach to the cause of the whole.

I am not ignorant how that misery procureth amity, and the opinion of calamity, moveth affection of mercy and compassion, even towards the wicked: the better fortune alwayes is subject to envy, and hee that suffereth, is thought to have the better cause, my experience of the divers raignes and proceedings of King Edward, Queene Mary, and of this our most gratious soveraigne hath taught mee not a little, touching the sequell of these affaires. And finally, (my good friends) I must tell you plaine (quoth hee: and this hee spake with great asseveration) that I could wish with all my heart, that either these differences were not among us at all, or els that they were so temperatly on all parts pursued: as the Common-state of our Countrey, the blessed raigne of her Majesty, and the common cause of true religion, were not endangered thereby. But now: and there hee brake of, and turned aside.

The Lawyer seeing him hold his peace and depart, hee stepped after him, and taking him by the gowne said merrily: Sir, all men are not of your complexion, some are of quicker and more stirring Spirits, and doe love to fish in water that is troubled, for that they doe participate the Black-moores humour, that dwell in Guinea (whereof I suppose you have heard and seene also some in this Land) whose exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch, and sell the other, and always the stronger to make money of the weaker for the time. But now if in England we should live in peace and unity of the state, as they doe in Germany, notwithstanding their differences
of Religion, and that the one should not pray upon the other: then should the great Fawcons for the Field (I mean the favorites of the time) fail whereon to feed, which were an inconvenience as you know.

Truly Sir, said the Gentleman, I think you rove nearer the mark than you weene: for if I bee not deceived the very ground of much of these broiles whereof wee talke, is but a very pray: not, in the minds of the Prince or state (whose intentions no doubt bee most just and holy) but in the greedy imagination and subtle concept of him, who at this present in respect of our sinnes, is permitted by God, to tyrannize both Prince and state: and being himselfe of no religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our differences in religion, to the fatting of himselfe and ruine of the Realme. For whereas by the common distinction now received in speech, there are three notable differences of religion in the Land, the two extreames, whereof are the Papist and the Puritan, and the religious Protestant obtaining the meane: this fellow being of neither, maketh his gaine of all: and as hee seeketh a Kingdome by the one extreme, and spoile by the other: so hee useth the authority of the third, to compass the first two, and the counter-mine of each one, to the overthrow of all three.

To this I answered: In good sooth Sir, I see now where you are: you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary talke and conference in the university: for I know that you meane my L. of Leicester, who is the subject of all pleasant discourses at this day throughout the Realme.

Not so pleasant as pitifull, answered the Gentleman, if all matters and circumstancies were well considered, except any man take pleasure to jeast at our owne miseries, which are like to bee greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) then by all the wickednesse of England besides: hee being the man that by all probability, is like to bee the bane and fatall destiny of our state, with the eversion of true religion, whereof by indirect meanes, hee is the greatest enemie that the Land doth nourish.

Now verily (quoth the Lawyer) if you say thus much for the Protestants opinion of him, what shall I say for his merits towards the Papists? who for as much as I can perceive, doe take themselves little beholding unto him, albeit for his gaine he was some yeares their secret friend against you: untiill by his friends hee was perswaded, and chiefly by the L. North by way of policy, as the said L. bosteth in hope, of greater gaine, to step over to the Puritans, against us both, whom notwithstanding it is probable, that hee loveth as much, as hee doth the rest.

You know the Beares love, said the Gentleman, which is all for his owne paunch, and so this Beare-whelp, turneth all to his owne commodity, and for greedines thereof will overturne all if he bee not stopped or mouzeled in time.

And surely unto mee it is a strange speculation, whereof I cannot pick out the reason (but onely that I doe attribute it to Gods punishment for our sinnes) than in so wise and vigilant a state as ours is, and in a Countrey so well acquainted and beaten with such dangers: a man of such a Spirit as hee is knowne to bee, of so extreame ambition, pride, falshood and trechery: so borne, so bred up, so noosed in treason from his infancy, descended of a tribe of traytors, and flesched in conspiracy against the Royall bloud of King Henries children in his tender yeares, and exercised ever since in driftes against the same, by the bloud and ruine of divers others: a man so well knowne to beare secret malice against her Majesty, for causes irreconcileable, and
most deadly rancour against the best and wisest Councellours of her highnesse: that such a one (I say so hatefull) to God and man, and so markeable to the simplest subject of this Land by the publique insignes of his tyrannous purpose, should bee suffered so many yeares without check, to aspire to tyranny by most manifest wayes, and to possesse himselfe (as now hee hath done) of Court, Councell, and Countrey, without controlement: so that nothing wanteth to him but onely his pleasure, and the day already conceived in his mind to dispose as hee list, both of Prince, Crowne, Realme, and Religion.

It is much truly (quoth I) that you say, and it ministreth not a little marvaile unto many, whereof your worship is not the first, nor yet the tenth person of accompt which I have heard discourse and complaine. But what shall we say hereunto? there is no man that ascribeth not this unto the singular benignity and most bountifull good nature of her Majesty who measuring other men by her owne Heroycll and Princely sincerity: cannot easily suspect a man so much bounden to her grace, as hee is, nor remove her confidence from the place, where shee hath heaped so infinite benefites.

No doubt (said the Gentleman) but this gracious and sweet disposition of her Majesty is the true originall cause thereof: which Princely disposition, as in her highnesse it deserveth all rare commendation, so lieth the same open to many dangers often times, when so benigne a nature meeteth with ingrate and ambitious persons: which observation perhaps, caused her Majesties most noble Grandfather and Father (two renowned wise Princes) to withdraw some time upon the sudden, their great favour from certaine Subjects of high estate. And her Majesty may easily use her owne excellent wisedome and memory, to recall to mind the manifold examples of perilous hapes fallen to divers Princes, by to much confidence in obliged proditours: with whom the name of a Kingdome, and one houres raigne, weyeth more, then all the duty, obligation, honesty, or nature in the World. Would God her Majesty could see the continuall feares that bee in her faithfull Subjects hearts, whiles that man is about her noble person, so well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to bee the calamity, of her Princely bloud and name.

The talke will never out of many mouths and minds, that divers ancient men of this Realme, and once a wise Gentleman now a Councellour, had with a certaine friend of his, concerning the presage and deepe impression, which her Majesties Father had of the House of Sir John Dudley, to bee the ruine in time of his Majesties Royall house and bloud, which thing was like to have beene fulfilled soone after (as all the World knoweth) upon the death of King Edward by the said Dudley this mans Father: who at one blow, procured to dispatch from a possession of the Crown, all three children of the said noble King. And yet in the middest of those bloody practizes against her Majesty that now is and her sister (wherein also this fellowes hand was so farre, as for his age hee could thrust the same,) within sixeene dayes before King Edwards death (hee knowing belike that the King should die) wrote most flattering letters to the Lady Mary (as I have heard by them who then were with her) promissing all loyalty and true service to her, after the descease of her brother, with no lesse painted words, then this man now doth use to Queene Elizabeth.

So dealt hee then with the most deare children of his good King and Master, by whom hee had beeene no lesse exalted and trusted, then this man is by her Majesty.
And so deeply dissembled he then when hee had in hand the plot to destroy them both. And what then (alas) may not wee feare and doubt of this his sonne, who in outrageous ambition and desire of raigne, is not inferiour to his Father, or to any other aspiring Spirit in the World, but farre more insolent, cruel, vindicative, expert, potent, subtle, fine, and fox-like then ever hee was? I like well the good motion propounded by the foresaid Gentleman, to his friend at the same time, and doe assure my selfe it would bee most pleasant to the Realme, and profitable to her Majesty to wit, that this mans actions might bee called publiquely to triall, and liberty given to good subjects, to say what they knew against the same, as it was permitted in the first yeare of King Henry the eight against his Grandfather, and in the first of Queene Mary against his Father: and then I would not doubt, but if these two his Ancestors were found worthy to leese their heads for treason: this man would not bee found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries doe farre surpasse them both.

After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himselfe, and looking round about him, as though hee had beene halfe afeard, and then said. My masters, doe you read over or study the statutes that come forth? have you not heard of the proviso made in the last Parliament for punishment of those who speake so broad of such men as my L. of Leycester is?

Yes, said the Gentleman, I have heard how that my L. of Leycester was very carefull and diligent at that time to have such a Law to passe against talkers: hoping (belike) that his L. under that generall restraint might lie the more quietly in harbour from: the tempest of mens tongues, which tattled busily at that time, of divers his Lordship's actions and affaires, which perhaps himselfe would have wished to passe with more secrisie. As of his discontentment and preparation to rebellion, upon Monsieurs first comming into the Land: of his disgrace and checks received in Court: of the fresh death of the noble Earle of Essex: and of this mans hasty snatching up of the widdow, whom hee sent up and downe the Countrey from house to house by privy wayes, thereby to avoid the sight and knowledge of the Queenes Majesty. And albeit hee had not onely used her at his good liking before, for satisfying of his owne lust, but also married and remarried her for contentation of her friends: yet denied hee the same, by solemnne oath to her Majesty and received the holy Communion thereupon (so good a conscience hee hath) and consequently threatned most sharp revenge towards all subiects which should dare to speake thereof: and so for the concealing both of this and other his doings, which hee desired not to have publike, no marvaile though his Lordship were so diligent a procurer of that law for silence.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable that his Lordship was in great distresse about that time, when Monsieurs matters were in hand, and that hee did many things and purposed more, whereof hee desired lesse speech among the people, especially afterwards, when his said designements tooke not place. I was my selfe that yeare not farre from Warrwicke when hee came thither from the Court a full Mal-Content, and when it was thought most certainly throughout the Realm, that hee would have taken armes soone after, if the marriage of her Majesty with Monsieur had gone forward. The thing in Cambrige and in all the Countrey as I rode, was in every man's mouth: and it was a wonder to see not onely the countenances, but also the behaviour, and to heare the bold speeches of all such as were of his faction.
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My Lord himselfe had given out a little before at Killingworth, that the matter would cost many broken heads before Michelmasse day next: and my Lord of Warwick had said openly at his table in Greenwich, Sir Thomas Hennige being by (if I bee not deceived,) that it was not to bee suffered (I meane the marriage) which words of his once comming abroad (albeit mislied by his owne Lady then also present) every Serving-man and Common-companion, tooke then up in defence of his Lordships part against the Queenes Majesty. Such running there was, such sending and posting about the Realme, such amplification of the powers and forces of Casimere and other Princes, ready, (as was affirmed) to present themselves unto his aid, for defence of the Realme and Religion against strangers: (for that was holden to bee his cause) such numbring of parties and complices within the Realme, (whereof himselfe shewed the Catalogue to some of his friends for their comfort) such debasing of them that favoured the marriage (especially two or three Councillors by name, who were said to bee the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to bee sharply punished to the terour of all others:) such letters were written and intercepted of purpose, importing great powers to bee ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest and open warre: as I began heartily to bee afeard, and wished my selfe backe at Cambridge againe, hoping that being there, my Scholars gowne should excuse mee from necessity of fighting, or if not, I was resolved (by my Lords good leave) to follow Aristotle, who prefereth alway the Lyon before the Beare: assuring my selfe withall, that his Lordship should have no better successe in this (if it came to triall) then his Father had in as bad a cause, and so much the more for that I was privy to the minds of some of his friends, who meant to have deceived him, if the matter had broken out. And amongst other, there was a certaine Vice-president in the World, who being left in the roome and absence of an other, to procure friends: said in a place secretly not farre from Ludlow, that if the matter came to blowes, hee would follow his Mistresse, and leave his Master in the briars.

Marry Sir (quoth the Gentleman) and I trow many more would have followed that example. For albeit I know, that the Papists were most named and misdoubted of his part, in that cause, for their open inclination towards Monsieur, and consequently for greater discredit of the thing it selfe, it was given out every where by this Champion of religion, that her Majesties cause was the Papists cause, (even as his Father had done in the like enterprise before him, though all upon dissimulation, as appeared at his death, where hee professed himselfe an earnest Papist:) yet was there no man so simple in the Realme, which discrived not this Vizard at the first: neither yet any good subject (as I suppose) who seeing her Majesty on the one part, would not have taken against the other part, what so ever hee had beene. And much more the thing it selfe in controversie (I meane the marriage of her Royall Majesty with the brother and heire apparent of France,) being taken and judged by the best, wisest and faithfuell Protestant of the Realme, to bee both honourable, convenient, profitable and needfull. Whereby onely, as by a most soveraigne, and present remedy, all our maladies both abroad and at home, had at once bee cured: all forraine enemies, and domestick conspirators, all differences, all dangers, all feares had ceased together: France had beeene ours most assured: Spain would not a little have trembled: Scotland had beeene quiet: our competitors in England would have
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quaked: and for the Pope hee might have put up his pipes. Our differences in religion at home, had beene either lesse, or no greater then now they are, for that Monsieur being but a moderate Papist, and nothing vehement in his opinions, was content with very reasonable conditions, for himselfe and his strangers onely in use of their conscience not unlikely (truly) but that in time hee might by Gods grace, and by the great wisedome and virtue of her Majesty have beene brought also to embrace the Gospell, as King Ethelbert an heathen was by noble Queene Bertha his wife, the first Christian of our English Princes.

Unto all which felicity, if the Lord in mercy should have added also some issue of there royall bodies, (as was not impossible, when first this noble match was moved,) wee then (doubtles) had beene the most fortunate people under heaven, and might have beene (perhaps) the meane to have restored the Gospell throughout all Europe besides, as our Brethren of France well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular benefits both present and to come, both, in Re and Spe, this Tyrant for his owne private lucre (fearing lest hereby his ambition might be restrained, and his treachery revealed) hath bereaved the Realme, and done what in him lieth besides, to alienate for ever and make our mortall enemy this great Prince, who sought the love of her Majesty with so much honour and confidence as never Prince the like, putting twice his owne person to jeopardy of the Sea, and to the perill of his malitious enviours here in England, for her Majesties sake.

When you speake of Monsieur (said the Lawyer) I cannot but greatly bee moved, both for these considerations well touched by you, as also for some other: especially one wherein (perhaps) you will thinke mee partiall, but truly I am not: for that I speake it onely in respect of the quiet and good of my Countrey, and that is, that by Monsieurs match with our noble Princesse, besides the hope of issue (which was the principall) there wanted not also probability, that some union or little tolleration in religion, betweene you and us, might have beene procured in this state, as wee see that in some other Countries is admitted to their great good. Which thing (no doubt) would have cut of quite all dangers and dealings from forraine Princes, and would have stopped many devises and plots within the Realme: whereas now by this breach with France, wee stand alone as mee seemeth without any great union or friendship abroad, and our differences at home grow more vehement and sharp then ever before. Upon which two heads, as also upon infinit other causes, purposes, drifts and pretences, there doe ensue dayly more deepe, dangerous and desperate practizes, every man using either the commodity or necessity of the time and state for his owne purpose, especially, now when all men presume that her Majesty (by the continuall thwartings which have been used against all her marriage) is not like to leave unto the Realme, that pretious Jewell so much and long desired of all English hearts, I mean the Royall heires of her owne body.

Thwartings call you the defeating of all her Majesties most honourable offers of marriage? (said the other) truly in my opinion you should have used an other word to expresse the nature of so wicked a fact: whereby alone, if their were no other, this unfortunate man, hath done more hurt to his Commonwealth, then if hee had murdered many thousands of her subjects, or betrayed whole armies to the professsed enemy. I can remember well my selfe, foure treatises to this purposes, undermined
by his meanes; The first with the Sweten King: the second with the Archduke of Austria: the third with Henry King of France that now reigneth: and the fourth with the brother and heir of the said Kingdome. For I let passe many other secret motions made by great Potentates to her Majesty for the same purpose, but these foure are openly known, and therefore I name them. Which foure are as well known to have beene all disturbed by this Dawes, as they were earnestly pursued by the other.

And for the first three Suters, hee drove them away, by protesting and swearing that himselfe was contradicted unto her Majesty, whereof her highnesse was sufficiently advertised by Cardinall Chatillian in the first treaty for France, and the Cardinall soone after punished (as is thought) by this man with poison. But yet this speech hee gave out then, every where among his friends both strangers and other, that hee (forsooth) was assured to her Majesty and consequently that all other Princes must give over their sutes, for him. Whereunto notwithstanding, when the Sweten would hardly give eare, this man conferred with his Privado to make a most unseemely and disloyall profe thereof for the others satisfaction, which thing I am enforced by duty to passe over with silence, for honour to the parties who are touched therein: as also I am to conceale his said filthy Privado, though worthy otherwise for his dishonestly to bee displayed to the World: but my Lord himselfe, I am sure, doth well remember both the man and the matter. And albeit there was no wise man at that time who knowing my L. suspected not the false-hood, and his arrogant affirmation touching this contract with her Majesty, yet some both abroad and at home might doubt thereof perhaps: but now of late, by his knowne marriage with his Minion Dame Lettice of Essex, hee hath declared manifestly his owne most impudent and disloyall dealing with his soveraigne in this report.

For that report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that it was common and maintained by many, for divers yeares: yet did the wiser sort make no accompt thereof, seeing it came only from himselfe, and in his owne behalfe. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty who refused so noble Knights and Princes as Europe hath not the like: would make choise of so meane a peere as Robin Dudley is, noble onely in two descents, and both of them stained with the Block, from which also himselfe, was pardoned but the other day, being condemned thereunto by law for his deserts, as appeareth yet in publike records. And for the widdow of Essex, I marvaile Sir (quoth hee) how you call her his wife, seeing the canon law standeth yet in force touching matters of marriage within the Realme.

Oh (said the Gentleman laughing) you meane for that hee procured the poisoning of her Husband, in his journey from Ireland. You must thinke that Doctor Dale will dispence in that matter, as hee did (at his Lordships appointment) with his Italian physitian Doctor Iulio, to have two wives at once: at the least wise the matter was permitted, and borne out by them both publiquely (as all the World knoweth) and that against no lesse persons then the Archbishop of Canterbury himselfe, whose overthrow was principally wrought by this Tyrant for contrarrying his will, in so beastly a demand. But for this controversie whether the marriage bee good or no, I leave it to bee tried hereafter betweene my yong L. of Denbighe, and M. Philip Sidney, whom the same most concerneth. For that it is like to deprive him of a goodly inheritance if it take place, (as some will say that in no reason it can,) not onely in respect of the precedent
adultery and murder betwene the parties: but also for that my L. was contracted, at least, to an other Lady before, that yet liveth, whereof M. Edward Dior and M. Edmond Tilney both Courtiers can bee witnesses, and consumated the same contract by generation of children. But this (as I said) must bee left to bee tried hereafter by them which shall have most interest in the case. Onely for the present I must advertise you, that you may not take hold so exactly of all my L. doings in Womens affaires, neither touching their marriages, neither yet their husbands.

For first his Lordship hath a speciall fortune, that when hee desireth any womans favour, then what person so ever standeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly for the finishing of his desire. As for example: when his Lordship was in full hope to marry her Majesty, and his owne wife stood in his light, as hee supposed: hee did but send her aside, to the house of his servant Forster of Cunner by Oxford, where shortly after shee had the chance to fall from a pair of staires, and so to breake her neck, but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But Sir Richard Varney who by commandement remained with her that day alone, with one man onely, and had sent away perforce all her Servants from her, to a market two miles of, hee (I say) with his man can tell how shee died, which man being taken afterward for a fellony in the marches of Wales, and offering to publish the manner of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison. And Sir Richard himselfe dying about the same time in London, cried pitiously, and blasphemed God, and said to a Gentleman of worship of mine acquaintance, not long before his death: that all the Divels in Hell did teare him in peeces. The wife also of Bald Butler Kinsman to my L. gave out the whole fact a little before her death. But to returne unto my purpose, this was my Lords good fortune to have his wife die, at that time when it was like to turne most to his profit.

Long after this, hee fell in love with the Lady Sheffield whom I signified before, and then also had hee the same fortune to have her Husband die quickly with an extreame reume in his head (as it was given out;) but as other say, of an artificiall Catarre that stopped his breath. The like good chance had hee in the death of my Lord of Essex (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose: for when hee was comming home from Ireland, with intent to revenge himselfe upon my Lord of Leicester, for begettine his wife with child in his absence (the child was a daughter and brought up by the Lady Shandoys, W. Knooles his wife:) my Lord of Ley hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputie, as among other, a couple of the Earles owne servants, Crompton (if I misse not his name) yeoman of his bottels, and Lloid his Secretary entertained afterward by my Lord of Leicester. And so hee died in the way of an extreame Flux, caused by an Italian Recipe, as all his friends are well assured: the maker whereof was a Surgion (as is believed,) that then was newly come to my Lord from Italy. A cunning man and sure in operation, with whom if the good Lady had beene sooner acquainted and used his helpe, shee should not have needed to have sitten so pensive at home and fearefull of her husbands former returne out of the same Countrey, but might have spared the yong child in her belly, which shee was enforced to make away (cruelly and unnaturally) for clearing the house against the good mans arrivall.

Neither must you marvaile though all these died in divers manners of outward diseases, for this is the excellency of the Italian art, for which this Surgion and D. Iulio
were entertayned so carefully, who can make a man die, in what manner or shew of sicknesse you will; by whose instructions no doubt but his Lordship is now cunning, especially adding also to these the counsell of his Doctor Bayly, a man also not a little studied (as hee seemeth) in his art. For I heard him once my selfe in publique act in Oxford (and that in presence of my Lord of Leycester if I bee not deceived) maintaine, that poison might so bee tempered and given as it should not appeare presently, and yet should kill the party afterward at what time should bee appointed. Which argument belike pleased well his Lordship and therefore was chosen to bee discussed in his audience, if I bee not deceived of his being that day present. So though one die of a Flux, and an other of a Catarre, yet this importeth little to the matter, but sheweth rather the great cunning and skill of the Artificer.

So Cardinall Chatilian (as I have said before.) having accused my Lord of Leycester to the Queenes Majesty, and after that, passing from London towards France about the marriage, died by the way at Canterbury of a burning Fever: and so proved Doctor Baylies assertion true, that poison may bee given to kill at a day.

At this the Lawyer cast up his eyes to Heaven, and I stood somewhat musing and thinking of that which had beene spoken of the Earle of Essex, whose case indeed moved mee more then all the rest, for that hee was a very noble Gentleman, a great Advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students, and towards mee and some of my friends in particular, hee had beene in some things very beneficial: and therefore I said that it grieved mee extremly to heare or thinke of so unworthy a death contrived by such meanes to so worthy a Peere. And so much the more, for that it was my chance, to come to the understanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one Lea an Irish-man, Robin Honnisie and other, that were present at Penteneis the Marchants house in Develing upon the kay, where the Murder was committed. The matter was wrought especially by Crompton yeoman of the bottels, by the procurement of Lloyd as you have noted before, and there was poisoned at the same time and with the same cup (as given of curtesie by the Earle) one Mistresse Ales Draykot a goodly Gentlewoman, whom the Earle affectioned much, who departing thence towards her owne house, (which was 18 miles of, the foresaid Lea accompanying her, and wayting upon her,) shee began to fall sick very grievously upon the way, and continued with increase of paines and excessive torments, by vomiting, untill shee died, which was the Sunday before the Earles death, ensuing the Friday after, and when shee was dead, her body was swolne unto a monstrous bignesse and deformity, whereof the good Earle hearing the day following, lamented the case greatly, and said in the presence of his Servants, Ah poore Ales, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it were thy hard destiny to tast thereof.

Yong Honnisie also whose Father is Master of the children of her Majesties Chappell, being at that time Page to the said Earle, and accustomed to take the tast of his drinke (though since entertained also among other by my Lord of Leycester for better covering of matter) by his tast that hee then took of the compound cup, (though in very small quantity, as you know the fashion is:) yet was hee like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end, (being yong) with the losse onely of his haire: which the Earle perceiving, and taking compassion of the youth: called for a cup of drinke a little before his death, and drunk to Honnisie, saying: I drinke to thee my
Robin, and be not afeard, for this is a better cup of drinke then that, whereof thou tookest the tast when wee were both poisoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy haire and I must loose my life. This hath yong Honnies reported openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen of worship sithe his comming into England, and the foresaid Lea Irishman at his passage this way towards France, after hee had bene present at the forenamed Mistresse Draykoles death, with some other of the Earles Servants, have and doe most constantly report the same, where they may doe it without the terrore of my Lord of Leczyesters revenge. Wherefore in this matter there is no doubt at all, though most extreame vile and intollerable indignity, that such a man should bee so openly murdered without punishment. What Noble-man within the Realme may bee safe if this bee suffered? or what worthy personage will adventure his life in her Majesties service if this shall bee his reward? But (Sir) I pray you pardon mee, for I am somewhat perhaps to vehement in the case of this my Patron and noble Peere of our Realme. And therefore I beseech you to goe forward in your talke whereas you left.

I was recounting unto you others (said the Gentleman) made away by my Lord of Leczyester with like art, and the next in order I think be was Sir Nicholas Throgmarton, who was a man whom my Lord of Leczyester used a great while (as all the World knoweth) to over-thwart and crosse the doings of my Lord Treasurer then Sir Will. Cicill, a man specially disliked alwayes of Leczyester, both in respect of his old Master the Duke of Somerset, as also for that his great wisedome, zeale and singular fidelity to the Realme, was like to hinder much this mans designemens: wherefore understanding after a certaine time that these two Knights were secretly made friends, and that Sir Nicholas was like to detect his doings (as hee imagined,) which might turne to some prejudice of his purposes: (having conceived also a secret grudge and grife against him, for that hee had written to her Majesty at his being Embassadors in France, that hee heard reported at Duke Memorances table, that the Queene of England had a meaning to marry her Horse-keeper) hee invited the said Sir Nicholas to a Supper at his house in London and at Supper time departed to the Court, being called for (as hee said) upon the sudden by her Majesty, and so perforce would needs have Sir Nicholas to sit and occupie his Lordships place, and therein to bee served as hee was: and soone after by a surfeit their taken, hee died of a strange and incurrable vomit. But the day before his death, hee declared to a deare friend of his, all the circumstance and cause of his disease, which hee affirmed plainly to bee of poison, given him in a Salat at Supper, inveying most earnestly against the Earles cruelty and bloudy disposition, affirming him to be the wickedest, most perilous, and perfidious man under heaven. But what availed this, when hee had now received the bait.

This then is to shew the mans good fortune, in seeing them dead, whom for causes hee would not have to live. And for his art of poisoning, it is such now and reacheth so farre, as hee holdeth all his foes in England and els where, as also a good many of his friends in feare thereof, and if it were known how many hee hath dispatched or assaulted that way, it would bee marvellous to the posterity. The late Earle of Sussex wanted not a scruple for many yeares before his death, of some dramme received that made him incurrable. And unto that noble Gentleman Monsieur Simiers, it was discovered by great providence of God, that his life was to bee attempted by that art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his owne good circumspefection,) it was
concluded that the same should be assaulted by violence, whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

It hath been told me also by some of the Servants of the late Lady Lenox, who was also of the bloud Royall by Scotland as all men know, and consequently little liked by Leicester: that a little before her death or sickness, my Lord tooke the paines to come and visit her with extraordinary kindnesse, at her house at Hackney, bestowing long discourses with her in private: but as soone as hee was departed, the good Ladie fell into such a Flux, as by no meanes could bee stayed so long as she had life in her body, whereupon both shee her selfe, and all such as were neare about her, and saw her disease and ending day, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her dispatch at his being there. Whereof let the Women that served her bee examined, as also Fowler that then had the chiefe doings in her affaires, and since hath beene entertained by my Lord of Leicester. Mallet also a stranger borne, that then was about her, a sober and zealous man in religion, and otherwise well qualified, can say somewhat in this point (as I thinke) if hee were demanded. So that this art and exercise of poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord than praying and hee seemeth to take more pleasure therein.

Now for the second point, which I named, touching marriages and contracts with Women: you must not marvaile though his Lordship bee somewhat divers, variable and inconstant, with himselfe, for that according to his profit or his pleasure, and as his lust and liking shall vary (wherein by the judgement of all men, hee surpasseth, not onely Sardanapalus and Nero, but even Heligabalus himselfe:) so his Lordship also changeth Wives and Minions, by killing the one, denying the other, using the third for a time, and hee fawning upon the fourth. And for this cause hee hath his tearmes and pretences (I warrant you) of Contra\text{cts}, Precontra\text{cts}, Postcontra\text{cts}, Protra\text{cts}, and Retra\text{cts}: as for example: after hee had killed his first wife, and so broken that contrac\text{t}, then forsooth would hee needs make himselfe Husband to the Queenes Majesty, and so defeat all other Princes by vertue of his precontrac\text{t}. But after this, his lust compelling him to an other place, hee would needs make a postcontrac\text{t} with the Lady Sheffield, and so hee did, begetting two children upon her, the one a boy called Robin Sheffield now living, some time brought up at Newington, and the other a daughter, borne (as is knowen) at Dudley Castle. But yet after, his concupiscence changing againe (as it never stayeth) hee resolved to make a retra\text{ct}, of this postcontrac\text{t}, (though it were as surely done (as I have said) as Bed and Bible could make the same) and to make a certaine new, protra\text{ct}, (which is a continuation of using her for a time) with the Widdow of Essex. But yet to stop the mouths of our criars, and to bury the Synagogue with some honour, (for these two wives of Leicester, were merrily and wittily called his old and new Testaments, by a person of great excellency within the Realme) hee was content to assigne to the former a thousand pounds in money with other petty considerations, (the pitifulliest abused that ever was poore Lady) and so betake his limmes to the latter, which latter notwithstanding, hee so useth (as we see) now confessing, now forswearing, now dissembling the marriage: and hee will alwayes yet keepe a voyd place for a new surcontrac\text{t} with any other, when occasion shall require.

Now by my truth Sir (quoth I) I never heard nor read the like to this in my life: yet have I read much in my time, of the carnality and licentiousnesse of divers
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outrageous persons, in this kind of sinne, as namely these whom you have mentioned before: especially the Emperour Heliogabalus who passed all other, and was called Varus, of the variety of filth which hee used in this kind of carnality, or carnall beastliness. Whose death was: that being at length odious to all men, and so slaine by his owne Souldiers, was drawn through the City upon the ground like a dogge, and cast into the common privy, with this Epitaph. Hic projectus est indomita & rabida libidinis catulus. Here is thrown in, the Whelpe of unruly and raging lust: which Epitaph, may also one day chance to serve my Lord of Leycester (whom you call the Beare-whelp,) if hee goe forward as hee hath begunne, and die as hee deserveth.

But (good Sir) what a compassion is this, that among us Christians, and namely in so well governed, and religious a Common-wealth as ours is, such a riot should bee permitted upon mens wives in a subject: whereas wee read that among the very Heathens, lesse offences then these, in the same kind, were extremelly punished in Princes themselves, and that not onely in the person delinquent alone, but also by extirpation of the whole family for his sake, as appeareth in the example of the Tarquinians among the Romans. And here also in our owne Realme, wee have registred in Chronicle, how that one King Edwin above six hundred yeares past was deprived of his Kingdome, for much lesse scandalous facts then these.

I remember well the story (quoth the Gentleman) and thereby doe easily make conjecture, what difference there is betwixt those times of old, and our dayes now: seeing then, a crowned Prince could not passe unpunished with one or two outrageous acts, whereas now a subject raised up but yesterday from the meane sort, rangeth at his pleasure in all licentiousnes, and that with security, void of feare both of God and man. No mans wife can bee free from him, whom his firie lust liketh to abuse, nor their Husbands able to resist nor save from his violence, if they shew dislike, or will not yeeld their consent to his doings. And if I should discover in particular how many good Husbands hee had plagued in this nature, and for such delights, it were intollerable: for his concupiscence and violence doe runne joyntly together, as in furious beasts wee see they are accustomed. Neither holdeth hee any rule in his lust besides onely the motion and suggestion of his owne sensuality. Kindred, affinity or any other band of consanguinuity: religion, honour or honesty taketh no place in his outrageous appetite. What hee best liketh that hee taketh as lawfull for the time. So that Kins-woman, allie, friends wife, or daughter, or whatsoever female sort besides doth please his eye: (I leave out of purpose and for honour sake tearmes of kinred more near) that must yeeld to his desire.

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her Daughters at once or successively, is no more with him, then the eating of an Henne and her Chicken together. There are not (by report) two Noble women about her Majesty (I speake upon some acconpt of them that know much) whom hee hath not solicited by potent wayes: Neither contented with this place of honour, hee hath descended to seeke pasture among the waiting Gentlewomen of her Majesties great Chamber, offering more for their allurement, then I thinke Lais did commonly take in Corinth, if three hundredth pounds for a night, will make up the summe: or if not, yet will hee make it up otherwise: having reported himselfe (so little shame hee hath) that hee offered to an other of higher place, an hundredth pound lands by the yeare with as many Jewels as
most Women under her Majesty used in England: which was no meane bait to one that used trauffe in such marchandise: shee being but the leavings of an other man before him, whereof my Lord is nothing squemish, for satisfying of his lust, but can bee content (as they say) to gather up crummes when hee is hungry, even in the very Landry it selfe, or other place of baser quality.

And albeit the Lord of his great mercy, to doe him good, no doubt, if hee were revokeable, hath laid his hand upon him, in some chastisement in this World by giving him a broken Belly on both sides of his bowels whereby misery and putrifaction is threatened to him dayly: and to his yong Sonne by the Widdow of Essex, (being Filius peccati) such a strange calamity of the falling sicknesse in his infancy,* as well may bee a winness of the Parents sinne and wickednesse, and of both their wasted natures in iniquity: yet is this man nothing amended thereby, but according to the custome of all old adulterers, is more libidinosus at this day then ever before, more given to procure love in others by Conjuring, Sorcery, and other such meanes. And albeit for himselfe, both age, and nature spent, doe somewhat tame him from the act, yet wanteth hee not will, as appeareth by the Italian Ointment, procured not many yeares past by his Surgeon or Mountianack of that Country, whereby (as they say) hee is able to move his flesh at all times, for keeping of his credit, howsoever his inability bee otherwise for performance: as also one of his Physicians reported to an Earle of this Land, that his Lordship had a bottle for his Bed-head, of tenne pounds the Pint to the same effect. But my Masters whether are wee fallen, unadvised? I am ashamed to have made mention of so base filthynesse.

Not without good cause (quoth I) but that wee are here alone and no man heareth us. Wherefore I pray you let us returne whereas wee left: and when you named my Lord of Leycestres Daughter borne of the Lady Sheffield in Dudley Castle, there came into my head a pritty story concerning that affaire: which now I will recompt (though somewhat out of order) thereby to draw you from the further stirring of this unsavoury pudle, and foule dunghill, whereunto wee are slipped, by following my Lord somewhat to farre in his paths and actions.

Wherefore to tell you the tale as it fell out: I grew acquainted three Moneths past with a certaine Minister, that now is dead, and was the same man that was used at Dudley Castle, for complement of some sacred Ceremonies at the birth of my Lord of Leycestres Daughter in that place: and the matter was so ordained, by the wily wit of him that had sowed the seed, that for the better covering of the harvest and secret delivery of the Lady Sheffield, the good wife of the Castle also (whereby Leycestres appointed gossips, might without other suspition have accesse to the place) should faigne herselfe to bee with child, and after long and sore travell (God wot) to bee delivered of a cushion (as shee was indeed) and a little after a faire Coffin was buried with a bundell of cloutes in shew of a child: and the Minister caused to use all accustomed prayers and ceremonies for thesolemne interring thereof: for which thing, afterward, before his death hee had great grieve and remorse of conscience, with no small detestation of the most irreligious devise of my Lord of Leyester in such a case.

Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace both at the devise and at the Minister, and said now truly if my Lords contracts hold no better, but hath so many infirmities, with subtilities, and by-places besides: I would bee loth that hee were married to my Daughter, as meane as shee is.
But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two bee his wife for the time then his guest: especially if the Italian Surgion or Physition bee at hand.

True it is (said the Lawyer) for hee doth not poison his Wives, whereof I somewhat marvaile, especially his first wife, I muse why hee chose rather to make her away by open violence, then by some Italian confortive.

Hereof (said the Gentleman) may bee divers reasons alleadged. First that he was not at that time so skilfull in those Italian wares, nor had about him so fit Physitians and Surgions for the purpose: nor yet in trueth doe I think that his mind was so setled then in mischiefe, as it hath beene sithence. For you know, that men are not desperate the first day, but doe enter into wickednesse by degrees, and with some doubt or staggering of conscience at the beginning. And so hee at that time might bee desirous to have his wife made away, for that shee letted him in his designements, but yet not so stony harted as to appoint out the particular manner of her death, but rather to leave that, to the discretion of the murderer.

Secondly, it is not also unlikely that hee prescribed unto Sir Richard Varney at his going thither, that hee should first attempt to kill her by poison, and if that tooke not place then by any other way to dispatch her, howsoever. This I prove by the report of old Doctor Bayly who then lived in Oxford (an other manner of man then hee who now liveth about my Lord of the same name) and was Professor of the Physick Lecture in the same University. This learned grave man reported for most certaine, that there was a practize in Cunner among the conspirators, to have poisoned the poore Lady a little before shee was killed, which was attempted in this order.

They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that well knew by her other handling that her death was not farre of) began to persuade her, that her disease was abundance of Melancholly and other humours, and therefore would needs counsaile her to take some potion, which shee absolutely refusing, to doe, as suspecting still the worst: they sent one day, (unawares to her) for Doctor Bayly, and desired him to persuade her to take some little potion at his hands, and they would send to fetch the same at Oxford upon his prescription, meaning to have added also somewhat of their owne for her comfort as the Doctor upon just causes suspected, seeing their great importunity, and the small need which the good Lady had of Physick, and therefore hee flatly denied their request, misdoubting (as hee after reported) least if they had poisoned her under the name of his Potion: hee might after have beene hanged for a cover of their sinne. Marry the said Doctor remained well assured that this way taking no place, shee should not long escape violence as after ensued. And the thing was so beaten into the heads of the principall men of the University of Oxford, by these and other meanes: as for that shee was found murdered (as all men said) by the Crowners inquest, and for that shee being hastily and obscurely buried at Cunner (which was condemned above as not advisedly done) my good Lord, to make plaine to the World the great love hee bare to her in her life, and what a grief the losse of so vertuous a Lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up again and re-buried in the University Church at Oxford, with great Pomp and solemnity: That Doctor Babington my Lords Chaplainne, making the publique funerall Sermon at her second buriall, tript once or twice in his speech, by recommending to there memories that vertuous Lady so pitifully murdered, instead of so pitifully slaine.
Leycester’s Commonwealth.

A third reason of this manner of this la: death maie be the [disposition of my Lord’s nature; wth is bold & violent where it feareth no restraint (as all [cowardly natures are by kinde) and where any difficultie or daunger appeareth, there, [more ready to attempt all by art, subtletie, treason or treacherie. And so for the doubt [ed no great resistance in the poor la: to withstande the handes of them that should offer to [break her neck; he durst attempt the same more openlie. But in men whom he p[oisone for, for that they were such valiant knights y* most part of them, as he durst a[s soon as eaten his scabberd, as drawen his sword in publique against them (as all wretched cowards are): he was inforced to supplante them by fraud & other [men's hands, as at other times, he hath sought to doe vnto diuss other noble and [valiant personages, when he was afraid to haue met them in the field as a knight should [have done. His treacheries towards, the late noble Earle of Sussex in the ir many breaches, is notorious to all England. As also his bloudie practises against [diverse others. But as amongst many, none were more odious & disliked of all, then those [against Monsieur Simier] a straneger and Ambassadour! whom first he practised to have poisoned [as hath been] touched before) and when that devise tooke no place, then he appoint [ed that Robin Tider] his seruaunt) was to slaine him at y* Blackefriers at [Greenwich, as he went) loft at y* garden gate; but missing also of that purpose, for y* he profound the Gentleman better pro- uied & garded then he excepted, he delt with certaine Flush [iniers and other Pirates] to sink him at sea and other Englishse gent his fauourers, y* accompanied [him at his] returne into Fraunce. And though they missed of this practise also [as not daring to] sett vpon him for feare of some of her Ma* ships, who, to beaque of th[is designment attended] by speciall commanlment, to waste him ouer in safteye) yet the foresaid [id English gentlemen] were holden foure houres in chace at their coming backe: as Mr Rawley [well knoweth] being then present, and two of the chasers named Clarke and Harris confess[ed afterward] y* whole designm. The Earle of Ormond hath likewise often declared [, and will avouch it to my Lord) of Lcy: face, whensoever he shalbe called to y* same, y* at such time as he [had a quarrel] wth him and therby was like to be inforced to the feild (wth he trembled [to think of]) he sought by all meanes to haue him made away by secrett murder, o[fering £500 for] the doing thereof! And secondlie when y* deuice tooke no place, he appointed [with him the field, but secretlie suborning William Killiegrew his servaunt to lie in the waie wh[ere Ormond should passe & so to massacre him wth a callivyer, before he came to the place appointed. Wth murder though it tooke no effect, for y* matter was taken vp, before y* davies of the meeting; yet he was Killiegrew placed afterwardes in her Ma* priuie chamber by [Leycester after showing his readeie minde, to doe for his m* so faithfull a service.

So faithfull a service? (quoth I) trulie, in my opinion, it was but an vnfit pre[ferment, for so fa]cinosus an act. And as I would be loath y* manie of his Italias, or other of [that art, should come] neare about her Ma* kitchin: so much lesse would I, y* manie such his bloudie [champions] should be placed by him in her Ma* chamber. Albeit for this gent in pictuer, it [may be, that with] change of his place in service, he hath changed also his minde and eefccons [and received] better instruccon in y* feare of y* Lord.

But yet in generall I must needes saie, y* it cannot but be piudiciall & exce[eding dangerous] vnto o* noble Princes Realme, y* anie one man w'soeu* (especiallie such a one
[as the World] taketh this man to be) should grow to so absolute authoritie & commandie in y* C[ourt, as to place] about the Princes person (the heade, the harte, the life of the lande) w[ho people liked] him best, & y* not vp their deserts towards y* Prince, but towards himselfe: wh[o]se fidelity being more obliged to their advauncer then to y* Soueraigne, do serue for [watchmen about] y* same, for y* plitt of him, by whose appointm't they were placed. Who by their [means casting] indeede but netts and chains, & invisible bonds about that psone, whom he ptedeth [to serve], he shutteth vp his Prince in a prison most sure, though sweet and [senseless. Neither] is this arte of aspiring new or strangue vnto any man y* is e[perience in affairs of former] times: for y* it hath ben from y* beginning of all governm's [a troden path of all aspirers. In Stories both] Sacred and Ppahan, forreyne and domesticall of all [Nations, Kingdoms, Countries, & States you] shall reade, y* such as ment to mount above [others, & to govern all at their own discretion: did lay] this for the first ground and principle of [their purpose: to possess themselves of all such as were in] place about the [principal: even as hee who contending to hold a good City at his owne disposition, not dareth make open warre against the same: getheth secretly into his hands or at his devotion, all the Townes, Villages, Castles, Fortresses, Bulwarke, Rampires, Waters, Wayes, Ports and Passages, about the same, and so without drawing any sword against the said City, hee bringeth the same into bondage to abide his will and pleasure.

This did all these in the Romane Empire, who rose from subjects to bee great Princes, and to put down Emperours. This did all those in France and other Kingdomes, who at sundry times have tyrannized their Princes. And in our owne Country the examples are manifest of Vortigern, Harold, Henry of Lancaster, Richard of Warwick, Richard of Gloucester, John of Northumberland, & diverse others, who by this means specially have pulled downe their lawful sovereignes.]

[And] to speake a word or two of the last, for y* he was this mans Father: doth not all Eng : knowe, y* he [first over] othew the good Duke of Somersett, by drawing to his devocon y* Frends & servants of y* Duke? [And after] wards did he not possesse himself of y* king's owne person & brought him to y* most shamefull [dis]inheriting of his owne Roiall Sisters: and all this, by possessing fyrrst the principall men y* were in authoritie about him?

Wherfor S* if my Lo: of Ley, haue y* same plott in his heade (as most men thynke) by the lyne & y* he meane one [day] to giue y* same push at the Crowne of Huntington, against all y* race & lyne of K.H. 7. in [ge] narrant w*th his Father gane before him, by ptence of y* house of Suffolke, against y* children of K.H. 8: in pticular: he wanteth not reason to follow y* same meanes & plattforme of planting speciall psone, for his purpose about the Prince for surelie his Fathers plott wanted no wittie deuice or pparacon, but onelie y* God overthrew it at y* instant: as happelee he maie do this mans also notw*standing any dilligence y* humane wisdome can vse to y* contrarie.

To this said y* Gent y* my Lo. of Ley* hath a purpose to shoote one daie at the diadem by y* title of Count: is not a thing obscure in it selfe, and it shalbe more plainlie proved heereafter. But now will I shew vnto yo* how well this fellow hath followed his Fathers platforme (or rather passed y* same) in possessing himselfe of all
her Ma" servants, frends, forces, to serue his turne at y' time for execucôn, and in the meanes space for pparacon.

First, in the priuie chamber, next to her Ma" Persoun, y" most p' are his owne creatures (as he calleth them) y' is, such as acknowledg their being in y' place, from him: and y' rest he overruleth [ei]ther by flatterie, or feare, as none maie dare but to serue his turne. And his raigne is so absolute in this place, (as also in all other p" of y" Courte) as nothing can passe but, his admissio, nothing can be said, donne, or signified, wherof he is not pticulerlie advertised: No bill, no supplicaciô, no complaint, no suite, no speach, can passe from anie man to y" Princess (except it be from one of the counsell) but by his good liking: or if there do, the being admonished therof (as psentlie he shall,) y" partie delinquent is sure after to endure the smart therof. Wherby he holdeth as it were a Locke vpon the [cares] of his Prince, and y" tongs of all Her Ma" Servants so surelie chained to his girdle, as no man dareth to speake anie one thing y' maie offend him, though it be never so treu or be soonefull for her Ma" to know.

As well apered in his late marriage w' Dame Essex, w' albeit y' was celebrated twyce: firste att Killingworth, and secondly att Wansteede (in the prence of the Earle of Warwick, L. Northe, Sir Fraunces Knowells and others) and this expeclty known to the whole courte, w" the very day, the place, the witneses, and the mynister thatt marryed them togeber; yet durst no man open his mouth to make her Ma" privy therevnto, vntill Mounsuer Simiers disclosed the same, (and thereby incurred his highe displeasure) nor yet in many dayes after for feare of Leicester. W' is a subiection most dishonorable and daungerous to any P[rince] lyvinge, to stand att the devoco of his subiecte, what to heare or not to heare, of things that passe w' in his owne [Realm.] And hereof y' followeth that noe sute can pvaile in [Court, be it] never soe meane, excepte he firste be made a[equist]ward therewth, and receave not onely the thanks, but also [bee admitted] vnto a greate pte of the gayne and comodetye th[creoe]. Which as yt is a greate inyrv to the suter: Soc is y' [far] greater to the bounty, honor and security of the [Prince, by] whose liberallity this man feedeth onely, and [fortifieth himself,] deprivinge his souaigne of all grace, thank[s and goodwill of th]e same. For w" cause he gieuth onl [ordinarily, to every suit]er, thatt her Ma" is nigh and Par[simonious of herself, and] very difficult to graunt any sute, [where it is not only upon his] incessant solicitacon. [Whereby he fillith his owne pursre the more, and emptieth the hearts of such as receive benefit, from due thankes from their Princes for the sute obtained.

Hereof also ensueth, that no man may bee preferred in Court (bee hee otherwise never so well a deserving servant to her Majesty) except hee bee one of Leicester's faction]

or followers: none can be advancd, excepte he [bee liked and] pffered by him: none can receave grace, excepte he [stand in his] good favoure, noe one may lyve in c unconence, or qu [iet of life,] excepte he take yt, vse yt, ane acknowledge yt fr [om him, so as all the favours, graces, dignities, pfer, riches & [rewards,] w' her Ma" bestoweth, or the Realme can yefld: in [must serve] to purchase this man private frends, and favoure [onely to] advance his pty, and to fortyse his faction. W[faction if] by theis meane y' be greate, (as in deede y' [is:] you) may not maruaile, seeinge the riches and
wealth, [of so] worthie a comon weale, doe serve him but for a [price to] buy the same. Wh[th] thinge himselfe well knowing, [frameth] his spryts of pceedinge accordingly. And first, upon confyndence thereof, is becom see Insolent and [impotent of his] ire that noe man may beare the same, how [justly] or vniustlie soever yt be conceived: for albeut he [begin to] hate may, vpon bare surmise onely (as comon[ly it falleth] out, Ambition beinge alwayes the mother of [suspcion]) yet he psceuteth the same, wth suche implac[able cruelty,] as there is noe longe abidinge for the ptye [in that place. As mighte be shewed by the examples [of many] whome he hath chased from the courte, [upon his] onely displeasure wthoute other cause, being [known to be otherwise moste zealous Protestants. As [Sir Jerome] Bowes, Mr Gorge Scot, and others that we [could name.] To this insolency is alsoe joiyned (as by nature [it followeth] moste absolute and pemptory de[aling] in all thinges wherof y' pleaseth to dispose, w[ithout] respecte either of Reason, order, due, rigthe, s[ubordination, custome, convieniency, or the like: whereof not[withstanding] Princes them selues are wonet to haue regarde [in] disposicion of theire matters: As for example a [mong the servants of the Q Ma. household, y' is an a[ncient] and most comendable order and custome, that [when] a place of highere rowmes falleth voide, he that in succession is nexte, and hath made p[e] of his [worthiness] in an inferior place, shold rise and possess th[e same] (except it be for som extraordinary cause) to [the end that noeman vnexperienced or vntrained, shold [be placed] in the higher Rowmes the fyrst[day, to the prejudice] of others, and difference of the [Prince. Which most rea]sonable custome, this man [contending and breaking at] his pleasure, [thrusteth into higher rooms any person whatsoever, so he like his inclination or feel his reward: albeit he neither be fit for the purpose, nor have been so much as clerk in any inferior office before. The like he uses out of the court, in all other places where matters should pass by order election or degree: as in] the Universties, in elecon of Scholers & heads of houses, in Ecclesiastical persons] for dignities of Church, in Officers, Maiestrates, Stewarde of land, Sheriffs & Knights] of the Shires, in Burgesses of y' Pliam', in Comissioners, Judges, & Justices of the peace, (wherof manie in euerie shire must weare his liu'ey) all other the like where this mans will, must stand for reason, & his lres for absolut[e laws,] nether is their any man, maiestrate, or cominer, in the Realme, who dareth not[] sooner denie, their peticcō of her Ma'n lres, vpon just causes, (for that her highness is content afterwards to be satisfied wth reason) then to resiste ye com'amend'mat of this mans lres, who will admitt no excuse or satisfaiō, but only the execucon of his sd comanand'm [bee it right or wrong.]

To this anwsered y' Lawier new, verelie (S') yo' pointe vnto me a very straung patt]erne of a pfect Potentate in the Court: belike y' straunger, who calleth o' Stat[e] in his printed booke Leicestren's remp.; a Leycestrian Communwealthe or the comweth of my Lo: of L'; knoweth much of these matters. But to holde (S') still[w] in the Court: I do assure yo' y' by consideracō, wth yo' haue laid downe, I do begin] now to pceyve, y' his ptie must needs be verie great & strong wth in the Court, seing y' he hath so manie waies & meanes to increase, inrych, & incorradg y' same,
and] also strong abilitye to treade downe his enemies. Y* Comon speach of manie want*th not] reason I pceuye, w*th call him y* harte and life of y* Court.

The] y w*th call him y* harte (sd y* Gent) vpon, a little occasion more, would call him also the] heade, and then I myveile w* would be lefte for her Ma*ie when they take from her both] life, hart, & headshipp in her owne Realme ? But y* truth is, y* he hath the Court at] this daie in almost the same case, y* his father had it in K Ed : daisies, by y* same] deuice (y* Lo : forbid,) y* it eu come fullie to the same estate, for then we know w* ensued] to y* principall :) and if yo* would have an evident demonstracc* of this mans colour & favour in that place : call yo* but to mynde y* times when her Ma*ie vpo* most j]ust and vrgent occassions did w*th draw : but a little her wonted favour & countenance to]wardz him, did not all the Court as it were, mutiney psentlie ? did not euie man hang the lipp ? except a few who afterwards paid sweetly for their mirth, were there not euie daie new deuises wrought out, y* some should be on their kne*es to her M*ie, some should weep & put finger in the eye : other should fynd out certaine cout manner of threatening: other reasons, & psawions of lone : other of profit : other of hon[our other of necessitie ; and all to get him recalled backe to favour againe? And] had her Ma*ie any rest pmitted vnto her, vntill she had yelded and graunted to] the same.

Consider then (I praiye yo*) y* if at y* time, in his disgrace, he had his faccon so fast] assured to him self: w* hath he nowe in his prosperitie, after so manie years of fo]rtificacon? Wherin by all reason he hath not be* negligent, seing that in policy the] first point of fortificacon, is to make y* fort impregnable, w*th once h]ath been in] danger to be lost. Wherof yo* have example in Ric D: of Yorke, in the time of Henry the sixt] who being once in the Kings handes by his owne submissi, & as then for his deserts, he should haue suffered: puied after, y* y* King [should never be able to] oureache him y* seconde time, or haue him in his power [to do him hurt, but made] himself strong enough to pull downe y* other w*th extirpac [of his family. And] thus much of y* Court, houeshold and chamber of her Ma*ie. But now if wee shall passe] from Court to counsell, we shall fynd him no lesse [fortified but rather more : for albeit] the puidence of God hath ben such, y* in the most [honourable assembly,there hath not] wanted some two or three of y* wisest, grauest, [most experienced in our State, that have seene] and marked this mans perilous proceeding [from the beginning (whereof notwithstanding two are now deceased,) and their places supplied to Ley[casters good liking:) yet (alas) the wisdome of these worthy men, hath discovered alwayes more, then their authorities were able to redresse: (the others great power and violence considered) and for the residue of that bench and table, though I doubt not but there bee divers, who in heart detest his doings (as there were also, no doubt among the Councillours of King Edward, who misliketh this man's Father's attempts, though not so hardy as to contrary the same :) yet for most part of the Council present, they are knowne to bee so affected in particular, the one for that hee is to him a brother, the other a father, the other a kinsman, the other an allie, the other a fast obliged friend, the other a fellow]
pmitteth him to pearce, and passe at his pleasure, in w'soever h[is] is will is once setled to obtaine.

And wherof (were I not staied for respec[e] of some whom I will [not name] I could alledge strange examples, not somuch in affaires belonging t[o] subjects and to private men, (as were y't cases of Snowden forestes, Denbigh [of Killingworth, of his faire Pastures fowle] pured by Southam, of y'r Archbishop [of Canterbury, of the Lord Barklie, of St John Throckmorton, of M'r Robynson & y't like;) wh[e]rein those of the counsell y't disliked his doings, least dared to oppose themselves to [the] same; but also in things y'ptaine direcdlie to y'r Crowne & dignitie, to y'st State and to [Commonweale, & to] the saftie and continewance therof. It is not secure for one c[ounsellor, or other] of auth[oritic] to take notice of my Lo: errors or misdeeds, but w'th e[x]treme peril of their owne ruine.

As for example: in the begining of the rebellion in Ireland, when my [Lord of Leycest[er] was] in some disgrace, and consequentlie, as he imagined but in fraile [state] at home, he thought it not unexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some [intelligence] also y't, waie, for all events, and so he did: wherof there was so good [evidence and testimonie] founde, vpon one of y't fyrst account, y't was there slaine (as honourable person[es of their knowledge have assured me]) as would have ben sufficient, [to touch the life of anie subiect in y't lande, or any state Xrian, but onelic my Lo: of [Leycest]: who is a subiect w'thout subiecon.

fior w'thinke yo'? durst anie man take notice heerof, or anouc[y] he h[ath] seen thus much? durst he y'took it in Ireland, deli[n] the same where especiallie [he should have done? or they who receyued it, in England, for it came to great hands] use [it to the benefit] of their Prince & countrey? No surelie; for if it had ben but onelic sus[pected, that they] had but onelic seen such a thing, it would haue ben as daungerous to th[em, as it] was to Acton to haue seen Diana and her maidens naked: whose case [is so common] now in England as nothing more, & so do y't examples of dius well decl[are: whose] vnfortunate knowledge of to manie secretts, brought them quicklie to [unfortunate] enedes.

fior we heare of one Salvator slaine in his bed, long vsed in great mis[teries] of base affaires & dishonest accons, who afterwards vpon w'th demerot[l] I know not [sustained a harde fortune for being late in his studie, well neare vnto midnight, [if I be rightlie informed] went home to his chamber, & y't next morninge was [foun] slaine in his bed. We heare also of one Doughtie hanged in hast by Cap't D[rake] upon y't sea, and y't by order (as is thought) before his departure out of England, [for that he was] ouer priuie to the secretts of this good Earle.

There was also this last sommer past one Gates hanged at Tibborne [among other, for robbing of carriers w'th Gates had ben lateli clarke of my Lo: rds kitching, and had laied out (as he sd) much money of his owne for my Lo: puision, [being also otherwise,] in so great favo[re] and grace w'th his Lo: as no man living w[as] thought to bee more priuie of his secretts then this man, whervpon also it is to bee [thought that he presumed the rather to committ this robberie, (for to such things doth [my Lords good favo[re] most extende :) and he being apphended and in daunger for y'te same, [hee made his recourse] to his honour for, ptecon, (as y'te fashio is) and y'te he might be le[borne out, as divers of le]ss meritt had ben by his Lo: in more heinous causes be[fore him.
The good Earle aunswered his seruaunt & deare Priuado courtesly, and assured him, for his life, howsoeuer for outward show or complent ye forme of Law [might pass against him, But] Gates seing himselfe condemned, & nothing now being [betwene his head and the halter, but the] worde of ye maiestrate wth might come [in an instant, when it would bee too late to] sende to his Lo: rememberring also [the small assurance of his said Lords word by his former] dealings [towards o]ther [men, whereof this man was too much privy: hee thought good] to [solicit his case] also [by some other of his friends, though not so puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed, both diligently and effectually in his affaire, found the matter more difficult a great deale than either hee or they had imagined: for that my Lord of Leycester, was not onely not his favorer, but a great hastener of his death under hand; and that with such care, diligence, vehemently, and irresistable means, (having the Law also on his side,) that there was no hope at all of escaping: which thing when Gates heard of hee easily beleaved for the experience hee had of his Masters good nature, and said, that he alwayes mistrusted the same, considering how

much his Lo: was indebt to him, & he made priuie to his Lo: sowle secretts wth secrets hee] would there haue yttered pntlie in the face of all ye World, but ye he feared torment [or] speedie death, wth some extraordinarie crueltie, if he should so haue done, & ther[e]fore he disclosed ye same onelie to a Gent of Wo: whom he trusted especiallie whose nae I maie nott ytter for some causes (but it begineth wth H.) and I am in hope eare it be long, by meanes of a frende of myne, to haue a sight of that discours & reporte of Gates, wth hetherto I haue not seen nor never spake I wth ye Gent that keepeth it, though I well assured ye the whole matter passed in substance as I haue heere recomputed it.

Whervnto I aunswered, ye in good faith it were pittie ye this relacon should be lost, for ye it is verie like, ye manie things be declared therin, seing it is done by a man so priuie to the affaires themselves, wherin also he had ben vsed an instrumt. I will haue it (quoth ye Gent) or else my frende shall faile me, howbeit not so soone as I would, for ye he is in the West Courte ye should pcurie it for me, and will not returne for certaine montthes, but after I shall see him againe, I will not leaue him vntill he pcurie it for me, as he hath pmiswed. Well (quoth I,) but what is become of thy euiden founde in Ireland vnnder my Lo: hands, wth no man dare pursue, auouch, or beholde.

Truelie (said ye Gent) I am informed that it lieth safely reserved in good custodie, to be brought forth and auouched, whensoea it shall please God so to dispose of her Ma: hart, as to lende an indifferent eare, as well to his accusers, as to himself, in judgm.

Neither must yo thinke, ye this is straunge, nor ye things are few, wth are in such sort reserued in decke for the time to come, even among great psonages, & of high calling, for aeing ye psnt state of his power to be such, & the tempest of his tiranie to be so strong and boistrous, as no man maie stande in the rage thereof, wth out pill, for ye even from her Ma: hersef, in ye lenite of her Princelie minde, he extorth wth he designeth,
either by fraud, flatterie, false informacõ, request, ptence, or violet importunitie, to y\textsuperscript{e} oubearing of all, whom he meaneth to oppresse: no mveile the though manie of the best and faithfulest subiects of y\textsuperscript{e} Lande, do yeilde to y\textsuperscript{e} pnt time, & do keepe silence in some matters, y\textsuperscript{w} otherwaise they would take it for dutie to vtter. And in this kinde, it is not longe sithen a Wo\textsuperscript{e}: and a Wise frende of mine told me a testimonie in secrete, from the mouth of as noble and graue a Counsellor\textsuperscript{e}, as Englend hath injoyed this manie hundredth yeares: I mean ye\textsuperscript{e} late Lo Chamb; w\textsuperscript{h} whom my saied frend being alone at his house in Londo, not xx\textsuperscript{d}e daies before his death, conferred somew\textsuperscript{e} familiarie about theisse matters, as w\textsuperscript{h} a true father of his Coutrey and Commonwealth: and after manie complaints in y\textsuperscript{e} behalfe of dius, who had opened their greife vnto counsellors, & saw y\textsuperscript{w} notice would be taken therof: ye\textsuperscript{e} said noblem\textsuperscript{a}, turning himself somew\textsuperscript{e} about from the water (for he sate neare his ponde side, [where] he behelde ye\textsuperscript{e} taking of a pike or carpe) said to my frend: it is no mveile (S') [for who dareth intermeddle himself in my Lo: affaires? I will tell yo\textsuperscript{e} (quoth he) [in confidence betwixt yo\textsuperscript{e} and me, their is as wise a man and as graue, & as faitefull a Consellor, as Englend breedeth (meaning therbie ye\textsuperscript{e} Lo: Trer who ha [th as much in his keeping of Ley: owne hand writing, as is sufficient to hange h [im if either] he durst psent the same to her Mat\textsuperscript{e}, or her Mat\textsuperscript{e} do justice when [it should be pre]sented. But in deed (quoth he) the time pmiteth neither of them [both, therefore] it is in vaine for anie man to struggle w\textsuperscript{h} him.

Theisse were that noblemans words, wherbie yo\textsuperscript{e} maie consider [whether my Lord of Leycester] be strong in counsell or no: and whether his fortificacon be sufficicent in that place.] But now if out of ye\textsuperscript{e} counsell, we will turne buto\textsuperscript{e} eyes [in the countryt abroad,] we shall finde as good fortificacon also there, as we ha [ye perused already in coun]tre & counsell: and shall well pceiuie y\textsuperscript{e} this mans [plot, is no fond or indiscreet]e plott, but excellent well grounded, [and such as in all proportions hath his due correspondencce.]

[Consider then, the cheife and principall parts of this land for martiales affaires, for use and commodity of armour, for stength, for opportunity, for liberty of the people, as dwelling farthest of from the presence and aspect of their Prince, such parts (I say) as are fittest for sudden enterprises, with a greaterer of interception: as are the North, the West, the Countries of Wales, the Firths round about the land, and sundry other places within the same: Are they not all at this day at his disposition?]

are they not all by his pcrmt in the onelie [hands of his friends and allies? or of such, as by other matches, haue ye\textsuperscript{e} same complott and [purpose with him?]

In York is president, ye\textsuperscript{e} man y\textsuperscript{e} of all other is fittest, y\textsuperscript{e} place; y\textsuperscript{e} is, his [nearest in affinitie, his dearest in friendshipp, ye\textsuperscript{e} heade of his faccon, & open [competitor of the Scepter. In Barwicke is cap\textsuperscript{e}, his wives vncele, most assured to himself [and Huntingtong, as one who at convenient time, maie advaunce their desigmn\textsuperscript{e}, as much as anie [one man in England.

In Wales ye\textsuperscript{e} cheifest authortie from the prince is in his one brother [in law: but among the people, of naturall afecon, is the Earle of Pembroke: who [both by marriage
adg of his sisters daughter is made his Allie, and by dependance is kept [to bee whom, at his dispositio. The west parte of England is vnder Bedford, [a man wholly devoted to his and ye* Puritan faccon. In Ireland was gouverne [of late the principall instrum' appointed for their purposes: both in respeecte of [his heat and affecon towards their designm', as also of some secrett discontent[ment, which he hath towards her Ma* and ye* state put for certeine hard speaches & ingratiate recempances, as he ptedeth: but indeed for ye* he is known to be of nature ferie, and [impatient of state, from seing ye* commo[wealth on foote, w* the next compeito* for [their gain, haue painted out to him & such others more pleasant then ye* terrestri[all paradise it selfe.

This then is the Hector, this is ye* Ajax appointed for the enterprise, when the time shall come. This must be (forsooth) another Ric of Warwicke, to gaine ye* cro[wne for Henry] the ixth of the house of York: as the other Ric did put done Hen: ye vi* of [the House of] Lanc: and placed Edward ye* 4, from whom Hunting: deriueth his title: therof* [re this man] is necessarilie to be intertained from time to time, (as we see now he is) in [some charge] and mei[call accion, to ye* ende his experience. Power, and creditt maie grow [the more, and] he be able at the time to haue souldiers at his commaundm'. And for the [former charge] w* he helde of late in Ireland, as this man had not ben called awaie, for [exe] cucon of some other secrett purposes, for advauncm' of their designm': [so be well] assured ye* for ye* time to come, it is to be furnished againe w* a sure and [fast friend] to Ley. and to ye* faccon.

In ye* Isle Weight I graunt ye* Lei: hath lost a great frend & a trustie serv[ant by the death of Cap* Horsete, but ye* matter is supplied by the successi* of [another, no lesse assured vnto him then ye* former or rather more throughe ye* ban[d of affiniiy by his wife. The two Ilands of Gersey & Guernise are in the possessi* of two frends and most oblied dependants. The one, by reason he is exceedingly [addicted to the Puritan pceeding: the other, as now being ioyned vnto him by ye* mar[riage of M* Besse his wifes sister, both daughters to St* fraines, Knowles, or (at least) to my La. Knowles, and so become a Riuall, companio a brother, who was [before] (thoughghe trustie) yett but his servaunt.

And these are the cheife K* of Fortresses and Bulwarks, w*hin, w*h out and [about the Realme, w* my Lo: of L: [as he doth] he maie be assured of ye* [body within: wh[ere notwithstanding (as hath ben shewed) he wanteth no due ppar[ation for strength:] having at his disposicon (besid[s all other aides and helps espec[ied before, her Majesties] horse, & stables, by interest of his owne office: her Armo', Artill[e and Munition, by] the office of his brother ye* Earle of Warw: ye* tower of Lo: and [treasure therein, by the] dependance of his sworne servaunt St* Owen Hop: as [ready to receive and] furnishe him w* ye whole (if occasi* served) as one of his pde[cessors was, to receive his Father] in k. Ed: daies, for ye* like effect, against her Ma* [and her sister. And in the City of London itself wh] at this man at a pinch could doe, by ye* h[elp of some of the principal men, and chief leaders,] and (as it were) comanders of [the Commons there, and by the bestirring of Fleetwood his made] Recorder, and other such [his instruments: and also in all other Townes, Ports, Cities, of importance,] by such of his own seing up, as he hath placed there to serve his designements, and justices of peace with other, that in most Shires doe weare his livery, and are at his appointment: the simplest man within the Realme doth consider.]
[Whereunto if you adde now his owne forces and furniture, which hee hath in 
Killingworth Castle, and other places, as also the forces of Huntington in particular, 
with their friends, followers, allies, and Compartenors: you shall find that they are 
not behind in their preparations. For my Lord of Hunttings forwardnesse 
in the cause (said I) there is no man, I thinke, which maketh doubt :]

MS. Folio 70.

marie for his priuate forces, albeit they may be verie good, for anything I do [know] 
to y° contrarie (especiallie at his house w°in 5 miles of Killing: where one [told] me 
some yeares past, y' he had furniture readie for 5,000 men) yet do I not thinke, but 
y° theies are farre inferior to my Lo : of Ley : who is taken to haue excessive stooere, 
& y° in diuise places. And as for y° castle last menconed by yo°, th° are men of 
good intelligence, of no smale judgm°, who reporte, y° in y° same, he hath well to 
furnish, ten 1,000 good soouldiers, of all things necessarie both for horse and mæ, 
besides all other munitio, armor, and artillerie, (wherof great store was brought thither 
vnder ptence of triumph, when her ma° was there, & neuer as yett carried backe 
againe) and besides y° greate aboundaunce of readie coine, there laid vp (as is said) 
sufficient for any exploit to be done w° in the Realme.

And I knowe y° y° estimacon of this place was such, among diuise, manie yeares 
agoe: as when at a time her ma° laie daungerouslie sick, & like to die, at Hapt° 
Court, a certen Gent of the Court came to my Lo : of Hunting °, & told him, y° for 
asmuch as he tooke him to be next in successio after her Ma°, he would offer him 
a meane of great helpe, for compassing of his purpose, after y° decease of her Ma° w° 
was, y° possessio of Killingworth Castle (for at y° tyme theyse two Earls were not verie 
frend, nor confederates together) and y° being had he shewed to y° Earle y° great 
furniture & welth, w° thereby he should possesse for y° pursue of his purpose.

The pposicon was well liked, & y° matter esteemed of great importauce & 
consequentlie receyued w° many thankes. But yett afterwards her Ma° by y° good 
prudence of God, recoouering again, letted the execucion of y° bargaine, & my Lo : of 
Huntinge : hauing occasio to ioyne amitie w° Ley : had more respect to his owne 
comoditie, then to his frends securitie (as comonlie in such psous & cases it falleth out) 
and so discovered y° whole devise unto him, who forgott not after, to plague y° deusier 
from time to time, by secreat meanes, vntill he hath brought him to y° poor estate, as 
all the World seeth; thouch he manie men be not acquainted w° y° cause of this 
disgrace and bare fortune.

To this aanswered y° laweier: In good faith (Gent) yo° open great misteries vnto 
me, w° eyther I knew not, or considered not paticularlie before, & no myvelle for y° my 
ppessio and exercise of law restraine me from much companie keeping: & when I 
happen to be amongst some y° would tell be much therein, I dare not either ask, or 
heare if any of himself begynne to talke, least afterwards y° speach come to light, I 
be fetched ouer the cooles (as y° pverbe is) for y° same, vnder pten [of] another thing. 
But yo° (who are not suspected for religion) haue much greater pruiledge in such 
matters, both to heare and speake againe, w° men of my [estate] dare not doe: onely 
this I know before, y° throughout all England my Lord [of Leyester is] taken for 
Dominus factota: whose excellencie above others is infinite, whose authoritie is absolute,
whose commandment is dreadful, whose dislike is daun[gerous, &] whose favour is omnipotent. And for his will, though he be seldome I[aw yet always] is his power aboue law, and therfore we Lawiers in all cases brought [unto us, have as] great regard to his inclination, as Astronomes haue to the planets [dominant, or as] seamen haue to the North Pole.

For as they y' saile do direct their course, according to the s[ituation and direction of] that starr wth guideth them at y' Pole, and as Astronomes [who make prognosti-
cations,] do fortell things to come, according to y' aspeet of y' planets [dominant, as 
bearing] rule for y' time: so we do guide our clients barke, and do p[rognosticate which 
is like to ensue] of his cause, by the aspeet and inclinac of my Lord [of Leyester. And for that reason, as] sooner as euer we heere a case ppounded, our custome 
is to ask, what part my Lord of Leyester is like] to favour in y' matter (for in all 
subjects matters of any importance, he hath [a part] for what may be gathered] of his 
inclinac therin: [and according to that we give a ghesse, more or less, what end will 
ensue. But this (my Masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your 
former speech again, I do say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular 
provisions of my Lord and his friends, in such and such places: yet feeling him 
accompt Lord general over all the whole Realme, and to have at his commandment, 
all these several commodities and forces pertaining to her Majesty which you have 
mentioned before, and so many more as be in the Realme, and mentioned by you (for in fine, he hath all:) I could not but accompt him (as he is a] 

Potent Prince of our state, for all furniture needfull [to defence or offence] or rather 
the onelie Monarch of our nobilitie, who hath suf[icient for himself] to plunge his 
Prince, if he should be discontented, espec[ially for his aboun] daunce of monie, (wth, 
by y' wise, is tearmed the sinewes of m[artiall actions where] in by all mens judgm[ns], he 
is better furnishd at this daie, then [any other subject] of our land, either hath ben 
heretofore, or lightlie maie be [hereafter, both for] banckes wthout the Realme, and 
stuffed coffers wthin. Insom[uch that being] my self in y' last Parliam[nt], when the matter 
was moued, for y' [grant of a sub] sidie, after y', one for her Ma[ns] counsell had giuen 
viear good reasons, [why her high]nes was in want of money, & consequentlie needed 
y' assist [ance of her] faithfull subie[cts] therein, another y' satt next me of good accou[pt 
said in mine] eare secrete: theise reasons I do allow, and am content [ed to give my 
part] in money: but yett, for her Ma[ns] neede, I could make aunsw[er as one answe-] 
red once the Emperor Tiberius in y' like case and cause: [Abunde ei pecuniam] fore 
si a liberto suo in societatem recipere: y' her Ma[ns] shou[ld have money] enoughe, 
yf one of her servaunts would voutsaf[e to make] [her highness par] take wth him: 
meaning therbie my Lo: of Ley:; whose treasur[re] must needs be greater than y' of 
her Ma[ns]: for y' he laieth [up whatsoever he] geteth, & his expence he casteth vpon y' 
purse of his Princes.

For y' (said y' Gent) whether he doe or no, it importeth little to the matter: seeing 
both) y' wth he spendeth, and y' he hordeth, is truelie & pperlie his Princes [Treasure: 
and] seing he hath so manie and dious waies of gaining, wth should he make acco[mpt of 
his] owne private expence? If he lai out one for a thousand, wth can that make [him 

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Gentianman.

The infinite waies of gaining that Leyester hath.
the poorer? he y' hath so goodlie landes, possessiouns seigniouries and rich offices [of his own] as he is knowne to haue: he that so especiall fauour and auuthoritie [with the prince,] as he can obtaine w'so eu he liketh to demaunde: he y' hath his parte [portion in] all suites besides, y' passe by grace or else (for y's most pte) are ended by L[aw: he] maie chopp and chauge w' landes he listeth w'h her Maie, dispoile the [m of all their] woodes & other commodities, & racke them afterwandes to the vtermost [penny], & then returne y' same, so tenterstretched & bare shorne, into her Maie [hands agine,] by freshe exchaunge, rent for rent, for other landes neu inhaunsed before: [he that] posseseth so manie gainefull licenses to himselfe alone of wine, oyles, c[arrants,] cloth, veluett, w'h his new office for licence of alienacon, most priciss to y' commonwelth, as he vseth the same, w'h manie other y' like, w'h were [sufficient] to enrich whole townes, corporacon, countries, and comowelth: he [that hath] y' arte to make gainefull to himselfe euerie offence, displeasure & f[alling out] of her Maie w'h him, and euie aungrte countenaunce cast upon him: [he that hath] his share in all offices of great pfitt and holdeth an absolute Monopolie [of the same:] he that disposeth at his will y' Ecclesiastical liuings of the Reallme, may [keth Bishops, none,] new but such as will do reason, or of his chaplens whom he lifteth, & re[taineth to himself somuch of the liuings as liketh him best: he y' swepteth awaie [the glebe from so] manie benefices throughout the land & compoundeth w'h the pson for [the rest. Hee that so] souereeth y' Unisunities & Colledges where he is chauncello, & sellett [both headships] and scholol places, & all other offices, Roomes & dignities, y' by art or [violence can yee]ld money: he y' maketh title to w' land or other things he pl[e] [ase and driveth the parties to] compounde for the same: he that taketh in whole Forrests C[ommons, Woodes, and Pastures to] himself, compelling the Tenaunts to paieth him now re[nt and what hee cesseth: he that vexeth and oppresseth whomsoe he list, and maketh his [owne claim, sute, and end as] he list: he y' sellett his favoure w'h his Prince, [both abroad in forraigne countries, and] at home, and setteth y' price thereof w'h himself [will demand: hee that hath and doth] all this, & besides all this, hath infinite presents [dayly brought unto him of great valew, both] in Jewells, Plate, all kinde of Furniture [and ready coine: this man (I say) may easily] beare his owne expences, [and yet lay up] sufficiently also to weary his Prince when needs shal r[equire.

You have said much Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) and such matter as toucheth neerly both her Majesty and the Common-wealth: and yet in my conscience if I were to plead at the barre for my Lord: I could not tell which of all these members to deny. But for that which you mention in the last part, of his gaining by her Majesties favour, both at home and abroad: touching his home gain it is evident, seeing all that he hath is gotten onely by the opinion of her Majesties favour towards him: and many men do repair unto him, with fat presents]

rather] for that they suppose, he maie by his favoure doe them hurt if he [feele no]t their rewarde, then for y' they hope he will labour a[nything] in their affairs.

You remember (I doubt not) the storie of him, y' offred his Prince a great yearly rent, to haue but his favoure onelie, y' he might come euerie daie in open audiee, to saie in his ear God saue yo' Maies, assvring himself, that by y'opinion of confidence
Leyester's Commonwealth.

and secreatt fauour, w^th hereby y^e people would conceiue to be in y^e Prince, towards him, he should, easelie gett vp his rent againe doble told. Wherfor my Lo: Ley: receuying dailie from her Ma^e greater tokens of grace and fauour then [t]his, & himself being no euill mchaunt, to make his owne bargaine for y^e best of his commoditie: cannot but gaine excedinglie at home by his fauours.

And for his Lucre abroad vpon the same cause, I leaue to other men to conceiue, ye beigne of w^t it maie be, sithence her Ma^e Raigne, the times wherof and condicon of all Christendome hath ben such, as all y^e Princes and Potentates round about vs, haue ben constrained at one time or other, to sue to her highnes for aide, grace, [or] fauour: in all w^th suites men vse not to forgett (as yo^e knowe) the pties most able by their creditt, to further or lett y^e same.

In ptculer onelie this I can saie, that I haue heard of sundrie Frenchmen y^e at such time as the treatie was betweene Fraunce & England, for y^e redeluie of Callis, vnto vs againe, in the first yeare of her Ma^e raigne y^e now is, when the Frenchmen were in great distresse and miserie, and King Phillip refused absolutlie to make peace w^th them, except Callis were restored to England (whether for y^e purpose he had now deliuere the French hostages) y^e Frenchmen do reporte (I saie) y^e my Lo: of Ley: stooede them in great steede at that necessitie for his reward, (w^th yo^u maie imagine was not small, for a thinge), y^e peace might be concluded, w^th the release of Callis to the French: w^th was one of the most impios facts, (to saie the truth), y^e eu could be deuised against this Comwellth. A smalle matter in him (sd y^e Gent) for in this he did no more, but as Christ said of the Jewes, y^e they filled vp the measure of his Fathers sinnes. And so if yo^u read the storie of King Edward's time, yo^u shall finde it most evident, y^e this mans father before him sold Bulleyn to the French by like treacherie. For it was deliu'd uppon condicon, w^thout necessitie or reason, ye xxvth of April in the 4 yeare of K. Ed: 6, when he (I meane Duke Dudley) had now put in y^e Tower y^e Lo: Pro:, and thrust out of the counsell whom he listed: as namelie the E^e of Ar: and South [and] so inuaded the whole govertv himself, to sell, spoile and dispose at his ple[asure.] Wherfor this is but naturall to my Lo: of Ley: by descent, to make mch[andize] of the state, for his Grandfather Edm: also, was such a kinde of copesma[n]. An euill race of Marchaunts for y^e Comwellth (quothe y^e Lawier) but [yet, Sir, I] pray yo^u (sd he) expounde vnto me somew' more at lardg y^e nature of [these licences] w^th yo^u named, as also of chaunging of lands w^th her Ma^ie, if yo^u sett [it downe any] plainelie: for they seeme to be things of excessie gaine: especi[ally his way] of gaining by offendinge her Ma^ie, or by her hyghnes offence [toward him, for it seemeth to be a devise, abouve all skill or reason.

Not so (quothe the Gent) for yo^u know that euie falling out must [have an attonment] againe, whereof he being sure by the manie and puissant [meanes of his friends in Couart, as I have shewd before, who shall not gaine her Ma^ie [rest until it be done: then for] this attonem', and in pfect reconciliacon on her Ma^e [part, she must grant my Lord, some] suite or other, w^th he will haue alwaies ready [provided for that purpose, & this] shalbe well able to rewarde his friends, y^e [laboured for his reconcilement & leave also] a good remainder, for himself. And [this is now so ordinary a practice with him as the all the Realme observeth the same and disdaineth that her Majesty should be so unworthily abused. For if her highness fall not out with him as]
[often as he desireth to gain this way, then he picketh some quarrel or other, to show himself discontenteth with her, so that one way or other, this gainful reconciliation must be maid, and that often for his commodity. The like art he exercises in inviting her Majesty to his banquets and to his houses, where if she come, she must grant him in suits, ten times so much as the charge of all amount unto: So that Robin playeth the Broker in all his affairs, and maketh the uttermost penny of her Majesty every way.]

Now for his change of lands, I thinke I haue ben reasonable plaine [before: yet for your] fuller satisfacon, yo
\[s shall understand his further dealing therein, [to be in this sort.] Besides the good landes, & of auncien' possession to the crowne, pured at her [Majesty's] hand, and] vsed as before was declared: he vseth the same tricke for his worst landes, [that he possesseth] anie waie, whether they come to him, by extort meanes & plaine oppre[ssion, or through] maintenance of broken titles, or by cooing of simple gent to make him their [heir or by] w[i] hard title or vnhonest meanes soe\[n] & for he practiseth score of such and [thinketh little] of ye reckon, after he hath tried them likewise to the uttermost touch, & lefte [them out] to such as shall gaine but little by the bargain: then goeth he and changes [the same] w[h] her Ma\[n] for ye\[s] best lande he can picke out of the crowne, to the ende he [thereby] may both enforce her Ma\[n] to the defence of his bad titles, and himself free [his cooers with] the fynes & uttermost commoditie of both the lands.

His licenses do stand thus: first he gott license for a\[s] great number of c[loaths, to be] transported out of y\[e] land, w[he] might haue ben an vndoing to the mcha[nt subjects, if] they had not redeemed the same w[he] great sumes of mone: so y\[s] rede[ned to great] damage of all y\[e] occupied about that kind of commoditie. After that he had [the grant] for carieng ou of barrell staues & of some other such like wares. Then [procured he] a monopolie, for bringing in of sweet wines, oiles, currants, & the like: y\[e] gain whereof\[s] is instemible. He had also the forfeites of all wines to be drawne aboue the ord[inary price,] w[i] licence to giue au\[c]lhoritie to sell aboue that price wherein Cap\[n] Hersey [was in] strum, by w[he] means it is incredible w[he] treasure and yearlie rent was [gathered] of ye\[s] Vyntners throughout the lande.

To this ad now his license of silkes, and veluets, w[he] onelie were enough to [enrich the] Maior and Alderman of London, if they were all decayed (as I haue often heard diuise mchaunts affirme.) And his Licence of alienacon of landes, w[he] (as [in part] I have opened before) serveth him not onelie to excessie gaine, but also for an [extreme] scourge wherw[he] to plague whom he please in the Realme. For seing that w[he] out [this] license, no man can buie sell, passe or alienate, any lande that any wayes [may be] drawn to ye\[s] teno\[ns], as holde in cheife of ye\[s] Prince (as commonlie now [most land] may) w[he] calleth into question w[soeu] liketh him best, be it neu so\[n] cl: [and under] thy couler, not onelie enrychet hymself w[he] out all measure, but re\[ven]geth himself shall so, where he will, w[he] out all order.

Heere the Lawier stooode still a prettie while, byting his lipp, as he were a[stonished,] & then said; Verely I haue not heard so manie & so apparant things [or so odious,] of any man that euer liued in our commowelth. And I mveile much
Leyester's Commonwealth.  

of [my Lord Leyester, that his Grandfather's fortune doth not move him much, who lost his head [in the] beginning of H: 8: dayes, for much lesse and fewer offences, in the same kynde, [committed in] the tyme of H: 7: for he was thought to be ye inventor of ye pollings & mo [lestation, where] wth the people were burthened, in the latter daies of the said K: And [yet had he] grate prence of reason to alledge for himself: in y those exaccons [were made to the King's] vse, & not to his, (albeit no doubt) but his owne gayne was also therein. [Master Stowe writeth] in his Chronicle, y in the time of his imprisonm' in the Tower, he [wrote a notable] booke, intituled The Tree of Commō welth, wth booke, the sd Stowe [saith, that he hath delivered] to my Lo: of Ley: manie yeares agoe. And if the sd booke [be so notable as Mr Stowe] affirmeth, I nevile, whie his Lo: in so many yeares, [doth not publish the same, for] the glorie of his auncestors?

It may be (said the Gentleman) that y' secretts therein conteyned, be such, as [it seemeth good to my Lord, to use them only] hymselfe, & to gather the fruite of [that tree into his owne house alone. For if the tree of] y' Commō in Edm: Dudley's [book, be the Prince] and his race: and the fruite to be gathered from that tree, be riches, honours, dignities, and preferments: then no doubt, that as the writer Edmund was cunning therein: so have his two followers, John and Robert, well studied and practised the same, or rather have exceeded and far passed the author himself. The one of them gathering so eagerly, and with such vehemence, as he was like to have broken down the main boughs for greediness: the other yet plucking and keeping so fast to himself and his friends, as it is]

and may be, most justly doubted, that when they have cropped all the sap [from] the tree lefte them by their Father Edmund (I mean the race of K: H: 7:) then will [they plucke vp the stemm it self, by the roots, as vnplaitable; and pitch in his place another Fruncke, (y'is the lyne of Hunt;) y' may beginne to feede againe anew wth [fre] sh fruite againe, & so for a time content their appetites, vntill of gatherers [they] may become trees, (wth is their finall purpose) to feede themselues at their disc[retion.]

And howsoeuer this be, it cannot be denied, but that Edmund Dudley broode, haue learned by this booke and by others meanes to be more cuning gatherers, then et their fyrst pgenito was y' made the booke. First for y' he made piessio to gather to his Prince [(thou]gh wickedlie) & those men make demonstracon, y' y haue gathered for themself: [and] y' wth much more inquietie. Secondlie, for that Edmund Dudley thoughge he gott himself neere about the tree, yett was he content to stand on the ground, & to serve himself from the tree, as commoditie was offered, but his children not esteeming y' selfe gathering will needes mount alofte vpon the tree to pull crop and ryffle at their pleasure. And as in this second point the Sonne John Dudley was more subtle than Edmund the Father: so in a third point the Nephew Robt Dudley is more craftie then they both. For y' he seeing the euill successe of those two y' went before him, he hath pvided to gather so much in convenient time & to make himself therwth so fatt and strong (wherin the other two failed) as he will nev be in daunger more, to be called to account for the same.

In good faith Sr (quoth ye Lawier) I thanke yo' hartelie for this pleasant discourse vpon Edmund Dudleys tree of Commōwelth. And by yo' opinion of my Lo: of Ley:
is ye most learned of all his kinred and a verie cuning Logitioner indeed, ye can draw for himself so commodius conclusions out of ye perilous pmisses of his pgenito. No mweile (quoth ye Gent) for ye his Lo: is M of Art in Oxford, & Chauncellor besides of the same Uniätie, where he hath stooe (as ye know) of manie fine witts & good Logitions, at his comaundem: and where he learneth not onelie the rules and art of cuning: gathering but also ye verie practize (as I haue touched before) seing there is no one Colledge or other thing of comoditie wthin that place, where thence he hath not pulled, wsoe was possible to be gathered, eyther by art or violence. Touching Oxford (sd I) for ye I am an Uniästitie man myself, & haue both experience of Cambridge, & good acqaintaunce with diutse students of the other Uniätie: [I] cann tell ye enough, but infyne all tendeth to this conclusïo, ye by his Chancellorship, is cancelled almost all hope of god in that Uniästitie: & by his ptecon, it is like soon [to] come to destruccon. And surelie ye there were no other, to declare the [odds and difference betwixt him, & o' Chauncelio², (whom he cannot beare, for ye euerie [way he seeth him, to passe him in all honor & vertue) it were sufficient to behold [the present state of ye two Uniätitie, wherof they are heades and governors.

For our owne, I will not say much, least phaps I might seeme [partial: but let the thing] speake for itself. Consider ye fruitie of ye Garden, and therbie ye may [judge of the gardener's diligence. Looke vpon the Bishopricks, Pastors², & Pulpitts in [England, & see whence] principallie they haue receyued their furniture for aduauncement of the Gospel. And] on the contrairie syde, Looke vpon the Seminaries of Papistry & Roome [& Rhems, upon the Colledge of Jesuists] and other companies of Papists beyonde the seas, [and see where hence they are especially] fraught. The Priests & Jhesuists heere ex[ecuted within the land, & other] eieh in prison, or abroad in corners: [are they not all (in a manner) of the University? I speak not to] ye disgrace of [any good that remain there, or that have issued out thence unto the Lord's Vineyard: but for the most part there; of this our time have that not either gone beyond the seas, or left their place for discontentment in Religion, or else become serving-men, or followed the bare name of Law or Physic, without profiting greatly therein, or furthering the service of God's Church or their Commonwealth?]

[And whence (I pray you) ensueth all this, but by reason that the chief Governor thereof is an atheisht himself, and uses the place only for gain and spoil? For here - hence it cometh, that all good order and discipline is dissolved in that place, the fervour of study extinguished :)
And as for Leases of Farmes, Woodes, Pastures, Psonages, Benefices, or the like, which belonge anie waie to anie pte of the Uniusitie, to lett or bestowe, theee, his Servaunts haue so fleeceed, shorne, and scrapt alreadie, ye there remayneth, little to feed upon hereafter: albeit he want not still his spies and intelligence in that place, to aduertize him from time to time, when any little new morsell is offered. And the Principal instrum, for his purpose, he hath had there before [this, have been] two Phisicons Balie and Culpep, both known Papists, a little [while ago] but now just of Galens religio, and so much ye fitter for my Lo: humor: for his Lordship dothe alwaies covet, to be furnished with certen chosen men about [him, for diverse] affaires: as these two Galenists for agents in the Uniusitie: Dee & Allen, tw Atheists, for figuring & conjuring; Julio the Itali and Lofas ye Jew, [for poisoning, & for ye art of destroieing childrē in womens bellies: Vernies for [murdering: Digbies for Baudes: and ye like in other occupacion wth his Lo? exercizeth. Wherfor to returne to the speach where we beganne: most cleare it is, [that my Lord of Ley: hath meanes to gaine and gather also by ye Uniusitie, as well as by [the country abroad. Wherin (as I am told) he beareth himself so absolute a Lo; as if [he were their king, & not their chauncello: Naie far more then, if he were [the general] and pticuler founder of all their Colledges & other houses of ye Uniusitie: [no man] daring to contrarie or interrupt the least word or signification of his [will, but] wth his extreme daunger: wth is a pceeding more fitt for Phalaris [the Tyrant.] or some Governor in Tartarie, then for a chauncello of a learn'd [Universiti.]

To this answered the Lawier, for my Lo: wrath, towadrs such as will not [stand to] his judgm' & opinion, I can my self be a sufficient witnes: who hauing [had ofte] occasiō to deale for compositō of matters, betwixt his Lo: and others, haue [seen by] experience, ye y' alwaies haue sped best, who stood least in contention [with him.] w' seen their cause were. For as a great & violent river, ye more it is [stopped or] contraried, ye more it swelleth & riseth bigg, & in ye ende, deieclēth wth [more force] the thing ye made resistance: so his Lo: being the great and mightie Po[tentate of] this Realme, & accustomed now to haue his will in all things, cannot bear [to be crossed] or by any man, though he were in his owne necessarie [defence. Thereof] I have seen examples, in the causes of Snowden forrest in Wales, of [Denbigh, of Killing] worth, of Droton and others: where ye pties ye had interest, or th[ought themselves] wronged, had ben happie, if they had yielded them selves at first to his [Lordship's pleasure, without f]rther questō: for then they had escaped much trouble, pl char[ges, displeasure, and vex]atio, wth by resistance they incurred, to their great ruine, [and loss of life to some, and in] ye ende were faine also to submit themselves unto his [will, with far worse conditions] then at first were offred unto them, wth thing indeed [was pitiful to behold, but yet] such is my Lo: disposicion.

A noble disposition (quoth the) Gent) ye I must give him my coat [if he demand the same, and that quickly also, for fear lest I] stagger or make doub[t thereof, he compel me to yield both coat and doublet in penance of my stay. I have read of some such Tyrants abroad in the World. Marry their end was always in accordance with their life, as it is very like it will be also in this man, for that there is small hope of his amendment, and God passeth not over commonly such matters unpunished in this life, as well as in the life to come.]
[But I pray you Sir, seeing mention is now made of the former oppressions, so much talked of throughout the Realm, that you will take the pains, to explain the]

substan[ce thereof vnto me: for albeit in generall, euerie man doth know y* same & in heart do det] est * Tiraunie therof: yett we abroade in y* countrie, do not understande it [so well and distinctly as] yo* y* be Lawiers, who haue seen and understoode y* whole pcesse of y* same.

The case of Killingworth & Denbigh (sd y* Lawier) are much a like in matter & maner of [proceeding] though different in time, place and importaunce. For y* y* Lo: of Denbigh [in Nor]thwales being giuen vnto him by her Ma* a great while agoe att y* begining of [his ris]ing (w* is a Lo: of singula* great importaunce in y* country, hauing (as I haue [heard]) well neare two hundred Gent freeholde* to the same:) y* tennaunts of the place. [Consid]ering y* estate of things, and hauing learned, y* hungrie dispiscon of y* Lo: made [a common] purse of a 1000c, fo sell him w*h*all at his first entrance. W*h though he re[ceiv]ed (as he refuseth nothing) yett accompted he y* some of smale effect for satisfacci* of his appetite: & therfor applied himself, not onelie to make y* ytermost y* he could by this, and such like waies of commoditie: but also would needes enforce y* freeholdere, to [raise] their owne rent of the Lo:, from a yeare or therabouts (at w* rate he [had] received y* same in guifft from her Ma*) vnto 8 or 900c by y* yeare. For y* he had fend [out] (for sooth) an old record (as he said) wherby he could prove, y* in auncie[n] time long past, [the Lordship] had yelded somuch old rent; & therfor he would now enforce the said tenants, to [make] up somuch againe vpon their Landes, w*h thought they was against all reason [for] them to doe: but my Lo: of force, would haue it so, & in y* ende compelled them to yeld [to his will] to y* impouising of all y* whole countrie about.

The like pceeding he used w*h y* tenants about Killingworth, where he receyying y* sd [Lordship] and Castle from the Prince, in guifft of 29c yearlie rent or therabouts, hath made [it] now better by 500 by y*: yeare: by an old record also founde by great fortune in y* hole [of a w] all as is given out foor he hath, singular good lucke alwaies in finding out records [for] his purpose by vertue wherof, he hath taken from y* tennaunts, rounde about, their lands, Woodes, Pastures, & Commons, to make himself Parkes, Chasses, & other commodities there [with, to the] subvsio* of many a good familie, w*h was maintemd ther, before this deuoner set foot in the countrie.

But the matter of Snowden Forrest, doth passe all the rest, both for curing and crueltie: y* tragedie wherof was this he had learned by his intelligencers abroade (wherof he hath great store in euerie part of the Realme) y* there was a goodlie auncie[n] forest in Nor*h Wales, w*h hath almost infinite borders about y* same: for it lieth almost in the midst of y* countrie, begining at the hills of Snowden (wherof it hath his name) in Carnau[n]shire and reache]th euerie waie towards ditis shires. When my Lo: hard of this he entred pntl[y] [into the con]ceit of a great praie: & going to her Ma* signified that her highnes was of[ten times] abusd by y* encroching of such as dwelt vp* her Forrests, w*h was necessarie to [be] restrained & therfor beseeched her Ma* to bestowe vpon him y* incrochmnt oneli, [which he should be] able to fynd out, vpon y* forest of Snowden w*h was granted.
And thervpon he chose out Comissione* fitt for y* purpose, and sent them into Wales with the like Com]missiō as a certen Emperor was wont to giue his Maiestratstes, when [they departed from him] to governe as Suetonius writeth: scitis quid velim et quibus off[us habeo]. You know what I wou]ld haue, and what I haue need of. Wh* recomendacons, these [Commissioners taking to heart, o]mitted no diligence in executing the same: and so going [into Wales by such means as] they used, of setting one man to accuse another; brought [quickly all the country round about in 3 or] 4 shires, in compasse of forrest ground: [and so entered upon the same for my Lord of Leycest*].
When y* people were [amazed : and expected what order my Lord himself would take therein: his Lordship was] so farr of from [refusing any part of that, which his Commissioners had presented and offered him: as hee would yet further stretch the Forest beyond the Sea, into the Ile of Anglesey, and make that also within his compass and bounder.]

[Which when the commonalty saw, and that they profited nothing, by their complaining and crying out of this Tyranny: they appointed to send some certaine number of themselves, to London, to make supplication to the Prince: and so they did: choosing out for that purpose a dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Countrey of Llin, to deal for the whole. Who comming to London and exhibiting a most humble supplication to her Majesty for redresse of their oppression: received an]
Nero.

I would often thinke vpon ye ende of Nero, who after [all his glory,] vpon furie of ye people was adiudged to haue his heade thrust into a Pillorie, & so [to be beaten] to death, wth rodds and thongs.

Or rather I should feare ye successse of Vitellis the third Empror after Nero, [who for his] wickednes and oppressio of ye people, was taken by them at length, when ffortune [began to] faile him & ledd out of his pallace naked wth hookes of iron fastened in his flesh, [and so drawn] through ye citty wth infamie where loaden in the streets wth filth and ordure c[ast upon on] & a pricke put vnder his chin to ye ende he should not looke downe nor hide his face, [was] brought to the bancke of Tiber and there after manie wounds receyued was cast in ye riuer. So implacable is the furie of a multitude, when it is once stirred & hath revenge. And so heauie is the hande of God upon Tiraunts in this World, when it please [th His] diuine Ma in to take revenge of ye same.

I haue read in Leander, in his desripcio of Italie how y in Spoletto (if I be not deceived) ye chief citty of ye cuntrey of Vmbria there was a straung Tyrant: who in ye t[ime of his] prosperitie condemned all men, & forbore to inuere no man y came wth his [clawes] : esteeming himself sure enogh, for eu being called to render accompt in this [life, and for] ye next he cared little. But God vpon ye sudden turned vpside downe ye wheele [of his felicitie], & cast him into peoples handes: who tooke him and bound his naked body [upon a plank, in] the mkett place, wth a fier and iron tongs by him, & then made pelamaco ye seing [this man was] not otherwise able to make satisfacon, for ye publique inuries ye he had d[one: every private] person annoyed by him, should come in order and wth ye hett burning ton [ges there ready, shou]ld take of his fleshe so much, as was correspondent to ye inuirie received, as indeed they did] vntill ye miserable man gaue vp ye ghost, & after to: as this [author writeth. But to the purpose] seeing my Lo: careth little for such examples, and is bec[ome so hardy now, as he maketh no] accompt to inuirie and oppresse whi countries & common[alities together: it shall be bootles to] speake of his pceedings towards ptcicular men, who have [not so great strength to resist, as] a multitude hath. And yett I can assure yo, [that there are so many and so pitifull things] published dailie of his Tirauny in this k[ind: as do move great compassion towards the party that do suffer, &] horror against him, shal[eth not daily to offer such injury. As for example: whose heart would not bleed to] heare [the case before mentioned, of Master Robinson of Staffordshire: a proper young Gentleman, and well given both in Religion and virtues, whose Father died at Newhaven in her Majesty's service, under this mans brother the Earle of Warwick: and recommended at his death, this his eldest son, to the special protection of Leycester and his Brother, whose servant also this Robinson hath been, from his youth upward, and spent the most of his living in his service. Yet notwithstanding all this, when Robinsons lands were intangled with a certaine Londoner, upon interest for his former maintenance in their service, whose title my Lord of Leycester (though craftily, yet not covertly) under Ferris his cloak, had gotten to himselfe: hee] ceased not to pursue ye sd gent even to imprisonm, arraignm, and sentence of death, for greedines of ye sd liuing: together wth ye vexacon of his brother in law [Master
Harcourt & all other his frends, vpon pteence, for sooth, y' there was a man slaine [by Robinsons] ptie in defence of his owne possessios against Ley: intruders, y' would by violence breake into y' same.

What shall I speake of others, wherof there would be no ende? as of his dealing wth Mr. Ric [hard Lee] for his Manor of Hooknorton (yf I faile not of y' name: wth Mr Lodow Grevill, [by] seeking to bereause him of all his lying at once, yf y' drafe had taken place? [With] Georg Whitey, in y' behalf of H: Leigh, for enforcing him to forgoe y' controllo [ll] orshp of Woodytoocke, wh' he holdeby by patent from king H: 7? Wh' my Lo: Barkle whom he enforcde to yeld vp his lands to his brother W, wh' his ancestors had held quetlie for almost two hundred yeares together?

What shall I saie of his intollerable Tyrauny vp to y' last Arch: of Can:; for Dr: Julo [hi]'s sake, & y' in so fowle a matter? vpon St. John Trockmoran, whom he brought pittifullie to his graue before his time, by continuall vexacon, for a peece of faithfull seruice done by to his countrie, (to all y' line of H agaynst this mans Father in King Edward and Queene Ma' daies? Vpon diuse of y' Lands for one mans sake before menconed, y' offred to take Killing: Castle? vpon some of y' Giffords, and other for Throckmortons sake? (for y' is also his Lo disposicon, for one mans takes whom he brok keth not, to plague a whole generacon, y' anie way ptaineth, or is allied to y' same:) His enldes pseucuting St. Dew: Drew:; and manie other courtiers both men and women? All these (I saie) & manie other, who dailie suffer injuries, rapines, & oppressions, through out y' Realme, w' should it auaile to name them in this place: seeing neither his Lo: careth anie thing for the same, neither the pties agreeed are like to attaine anie y' least release of affliccon therby, but rather double oppressio for their cplaining.

Wherfor, to returne agayne wherat we beganne, yo' see by this little, who, & how gret, & w' manner of man, my Lo: of Ley: is this daie in the state of England. You see & his strength, & may gather in some pt, by y' w' hath ben spoken, his welth, his cunning & his disposicon; His welth is exceesive in all kind of riches for a private man, and must needs be much more, then anie bodie can lightlie imagine, for y' infinite waies he hath of gaine, so manie yeares together.

His Strength and power is irresistible, as hath ben shewed, both in chamber, court, counsell, & countrie. His cunning in plotting, & fortisfing y' same, both by Force & Fraude, by Myynes and countermyns, by Trenches, Bulwarkes, Flankers & by Frends, Enemies, Allies, Servants, Creatures & Dependants, or any other [that may serve his turne: is verie rare, & singuler. His disposicon to Crueltie, [Murder, Tre]son and Trauny: & by all these to Supremae Soueraigntie ouer other: is made [evident &] cleare. And then judge yo' whether her Ma' y' now raigneth (whose life may, ye Lo: in mcie long pserue) haue not iust cause to feare, in respect [to these things onelie: if there were no other pticulers to proue his aspiring intent [beside?]

No doubt (quoth y' Lawer) but these are great matters, in y' question [of such a cause] as is a crowne. And we haue seene by example, y' y' least of these [four, which you] haue heere named, or rather some little braunch contained in [any of them, hath been sufficient] to fround just suspcion, distrust or jealosie, in y' [heads of most wise Princes tow]arde the pceedings of more assured subiects, then my Lord [of Leyester, in reason may be pre]umed to be. For y' y' safetie of a state & Prince, sta[ndeth

Master Harcourt.


Lord Barkle.


Last. Gifford.

Sir Drew Drewy.

The present state of my Lord of Leyester.

Leyesters Strength. Leyesters Cunning.

Leyesters disposition.

Lawyer.

Causes of just feare for her Majesty.
not only in the readiness and ability] to resist open attempts, when they shall [fall out: but also (and that much more as Statutes] write in a certen prouident watch [fulnesse, of preventing all possibilities and likelihood of] daunger or suppressiō: for [that no Prince commonly, will put himself to the courtesy of another man (be he never so obliged) whether he shall retain his crown or no: seeing the cause of a Kingdom, acknowledgment neither Kindreth, duty, faith, friendship, nor Society.

I know not whether I do expound or declare myself well or no, but my meaning is, that whereas every Prince hath two points of assurance from his subject, the one, in that he is faithful and lacketh will, to annoy his soverain: the other, for that he is weak and wanteth ability, to do the same: the first is alway of more importance than the second, and consequently more to]

be eyed and obserued in Pollicie: for ye'our will maie be changued at once [pleasure but] not our abilitie.

Considering then, upon ye' wth hath ben said & specified before, how ye' my [Lord of Leycaster, hath] possessed himself of all ye'strength, powers and sinewes of ye'Realm, hath [drawn all to] his owne direcon, and hath made his ptie so strong as it seemeth not [resistable: you have] great reason to saie, ye' her Maie laicall that the same conceiue some doubt, [that if his will were] according to his power, most assured it is, ye' her Maie were not in safe [ty].

Saie not so, good S' (quoth I) for in such a case truelie, I would repose lit[tle] upon his will, which] is so manie waies apparaunt, to be most insa[tile of ambitiō. Rather w[ould I think that] as yet his abilitie serueth not, either for time, place, or some other circumstan: [than that any] pt of good will should want in him: seing ye' onelie his desire of soveraintie: [but also his] intent and attempt to aspire to ye'same, is sufficientie declared (in [my conceit by] ye' verie picklers of his power & plotts alreadie sett downe. Wth ye' yede' haue ye' pacience to heare a Schollers argum', I will prove by a Principle [of our Philosophy] For ye if it be true as Aristotle saith, there is no agent so simple in ye' [World, which worketh] not for some finale ende, (as ye' bird buildeth not her nest but to dwell & he[th her young ones] therein :) & not onelie ye': but also ye' ye'same agent, doth alwaies frame his worke [according to the pportion of his intended ende: (as when the Fox or Badger maketh a wide [earth or denne], it is a signe ye' he meaneth to draw thether great strooe of pray:) then [must we also in reason] thinke, ye' so wise & politicke an agent, as is my Lo: of Ley: for himself, [wanteth not] his ende in these plottings & pparations of his: I meane an ende p[ortable in] greatnes of his pparacons. Wth ende, can be no meaner nor lesse then Su'[preme Sover]aingtie, seing his puision and furniture do tend ye' waie, & are in euie point [fully corr] esponde[n] to the same.

W' meaneth his so dilligent beseiging of ye' Princes psoun? his taking vp ye' [ways and] passages about her? his insolencie in court? his singularitie in counsel? [his violent pparacon of strength abroade? his enriching of his Complices? the band[ing of his fact] con, wth the aboundance of frends euiewhere? W' do these things signifie [(I say) and so] manie other, as yo' haue well noted & signified before: but onelie his
intend [and purpose] of Supmacie? W[e] did ye same things portende in times past in his Father, [but even that which] now ye portende in the Sonne. Or how should we thinke, ye Sonne hath [no other meaning] in ye verie same accorns, then had his Father before, him whose steppes he t[o]weth. I remember I haue heard, oftentimes of divs auncient & graue men in Cr[ambridge, how] ye in K: Ed: dayes ye Duke of Northubeland this mans Father, was genallie [suspected] of all men, to meane indeed as after he shewed, especiallie when he had once [joined with] ye house of Suff; & made himself principall of ye faccon by marraige. [But] ye he was potent, & ptested euie where & by all occasions his great love, duty [and special] care, aboue all others, ye boore towards his Prince & countrey no man durst [accuse him] openlie, vntill it was to late to w[al]stane his power: (as commonlie it falleth [out] in affaires) & ye like is evidente in my Lo: of Ley: accorns now (albeit to her Ma[jesty, I doubt not, but that he will ptende and pteste, as his Father did to her Brother) especiallie [now after his open] an associacion w[th] ye faccon of Huntig: w[th] no lesse impugneth vnder [this man's protection the] whole line of H 7 for right of ye crowne, then ye house of Suff: did [under his Father the parti] culer pgenie of K. H. 8:

Nay rather mu[ch more (quoth ye Gent) for ye I do not reade in K: Ed: re[ign, (when the matter was in plotting] notw[standing] ye ye house of Suff: durst eu make [open claim to the next succession. But now] ye house of Hastings is become so con- fident, [upon the strength and favour of their favours, that] they dare both ploote, pratie, and ptende, [all at once, and fear not to let out their title in] euie place whereat they come.

And do they not fear the statute (said) ye Lawier) so rigorous on this point, as it maketh the matter treason to determine of titles!

No, they need not (quoth the Gentleman) seeing their party is so strong and terrible, as no man dare accuse them: seeing also they well know, that the procurement of that stature, was only to endanger or stop the mouths of the true Successors, whilst themselves, in the mean space, went about under-hand, to establish their own ambushment. Well, (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of Huntingdon to the Crowne, I will not stand with you, for that it is a matter sufficiently known and seen through the Realm. As also that my Lord of Leycester is at this day, a principal favourer and patron of that cause, albeit

some years past, he were an adusarie an enemie to ye same. But yett haue I heard some frende of his, in reasoning of these matters, denie stoultie a point or two, w[th] ye haue touched heere, and do seeme to believe ye same.

And ye is, first, ye howsoeuer my Lo: of Ley: do meane to helpe his frend, when time shall serve, yett, pteneth he nothing to the Crowne himself. Ye second is, that w[soe] maie be mens for ye tittle, or compassing ye Crowne after her Ma[nty, death, yett nothing is ptened during her Raigne. And of both these points they alledge reasons.

As for ye first, ye my Lo: of Ley: is verie well knowne, to haue no title to ye Crowne himself, eyther by descent in bloud, alliaunce or other waies. For ye second, ye his Lo[pe]: hath no cause to be a Malcontent in ye present goverm, nor hope for more
pfermt, if my Lo: of Hunt: were King to morrow next, then he receaneth now at her Ma\textsuperscript{s} handes: having all ye Realme (as hath ben shewed) at his owne disposicion.

For ye first (quoth ye Gent) whether he meanes ye Crowne for himself, or for his frend, it importeth not much: seing both waies it is evident, ye he meaneth to have all at his owne disposicion. And albeit now for ye auidoing of envie, he gaue it out as a Craftie Fox, ye he meaneth not but to rume wth other men, & to hunt wth Hunt: and other hounds in ye same chase: yett it is onlike, but ye he will plaie ye Beare, when he cometh to deuidoing of ye prae, & will snatch ye best pt to himself. Yea and theseis selfe same psons whom yo call his frends, though in publieke to excuse his doings, & to cou ye whole plott, ye\textsuperscript{vr} will and must deny ye matters be so meant yet otherwaies they both thinke, hope & know ye contrarie, & will not stick in secreatt to speake it, and amongst theselues, it is their talke of consolacon.

The wordes of the speciall Counsellor ye Lo North, are knowne, wth he spake to his trustie Pooie: vpon the receipt of a Ire from Court, of her Ma\textsuperscript{s} displeasure towards him, fo his being a wintes at Ley: second mariage wth dame Lette: (althoogh I do not knowe he was\textsuperscript{pris} ignoraunt of ye first) at Wanstead: of wth displeasure, this Lo: making farr lesse account then, in reason he should, of ye just offence of his souaigne, said ye for his owne pte he was resolved to sink or swim wth my Lo; of Ley: who (saith he) if once ye cardes maie come but to shuffling (I will vse but his owne verie words) I make no doubt but he alone shall beare awaie ye Bucklers;

The words also of Sr Tho: Leyton, to Sr H: Nevill\textsuperscript{sr} at Windsore are knowne, who told him, after long discouer of their happie conceyued Kingdome, ye he doubted [not but to see him one daie, hold ye same office in Windsor, of my Lo: of Ley: wth now my Lo: did hold of ye Queene. Meaning therbie ye goodlie office of Constableshep wth all rich [Royal] ties & honors belonging to the same, wth now ye sd Sr Hen: exerciseth onelie as Deputie to the Earle. Wth was plainelie to signifie, ye he doubted not but [to see my] Lo; of Ley: one daie King, or else his other hope could not possibly take [effect or] come to passe.

To ye same point, tended ye wordes, Mis Anne West Dame Lette\textsuperscript{sr} sister, [unto the La\textsuperscript{sr} Askew] in ye\textsuperscript{pris} great chamber vpon a daie when her brother [Robert Knowles] had daunced disgraciouslie and skornfullie before ye Queene in [presence of the French. Wth thing for ye her Ma\textsuperscript{s} took to peced of will in him, & for dislike of the [straungers in psence, & for ye Quarrell of his sister Essex]: it pleased her highness to check him for ye same, wth addicon of a reproachfull worde or to full [well deserved as tho'] donne for dispight of ye forced absence, from ye place of ho[nour, of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate ye wordes) his Sister. Wth wordes ye other [younger twig receiving in de]p e dudgeon, brake forth in great choller to her [forenamed companion, and said, she no thing doubted, but ye one daie she should see [her sister, upon which the Queen railed now so] much (for so it pleased her to term [her Majesties sharp speech] to sit in her place & throne,) being much [worthier of the same, for her qualities and rare virtues, then was the other. Which undutiful speech, albeit it were overheard and condemned of divers that set about them: yet none durst ever report the same to her Majesty; as I have heard sundry Councellors affirm, in respect of the revenge which the reporters should abide at my Lord of Leycester’s hands whensoever the matter should come to light.]
And this is now concerning ye opinio and secret speaches of my Lord's [own friends, who] cannot but vter their conceipt & judgm in tyme and place con[venient, whatsoever they] are willed to give out publike to ye contrarie, for deceiiig of such as will believe] faire painted wordes against evident and manifest demonstracon [of reason.]

I saie reason, for yf none of these signs & tokens were, none of these [preparations] nor anie of these speaches & deteecs, by his frends yf know his hart: [yet in force of plaine reason, I could alledge vnto yo three argum onelie weh to [any man of intelligence, would easelie pswade and giue satisfaccion, ye my Lord of Ley: meaneth beast and] first for himself in this suite. Weh three argum for ye yo seeme to be attente. I will not] sticke to rune o in all breutie.

And ye fyrst is ye nature and qualltitie of ambitio it self, weh is such [as you know that it nea staieth, but passeth from degree to degree, & y more it obteyn[eth the more it coueteth & y more it esteemeth it self both worthie & able to obtaine. [And in our matter] yf now we handle, even as in wooing, he yf sueth to a La: for another, & obt[aineth her] good will, entreath easelie into conceipt of his owne worthines therby, & so co[mmonly into] hope of speding himself, while he speaketh for his frend: somuch more in King[doms: he that] seeth himself of power to put ye crowne o another mans heade, will quic[kly step to the] next degree weh is, to sett[on his owne, seing yf alwayes ye charitie of such [good man, is] wont to be so orderlie, as (according to ye pcept) it beginneth weh himself fyrst.

Add to this, that ambition is as suspitious, & fearefull of it self, especially [when it is] joyned weh y guilt of manye crimes, wherof he would [be loath to] be called to account, or be subieckt to any man yf might by authortie take re[view of his] life and accouns, when it should please him. In weh kynd, seing my Lo; of Ley: hath [so much to] increase his feare, as before hath ben showed by his wicked dealings: it is not, [that ever] he will putt himself to another mans courtesie, for passing his Auditt in pt[icular recco]nings, weh he can nowaie aunswer or satisfie but rather will stand vp o ye g [ross Sum] & generall Quietus est by making himself chief Audito' & M' of all accomp[ for his own] pte in this life, howsoeu he do in the next: wherof such humo haue little reg[ard. And] this is for ye nature of ambitio in it selfe.

The second argum maie be taken from my Lo. pticuler disposition: weh is su[ch, which may] giue much light also to the matter in questi: being a disposition much liking [and inclined] to kingdome as it hath ben tampring about ye same, from ye first daie yf he [came into] favour. Fyrst by seeking openlie to marrie weh ye Queenes Ma he selfe & so [draw] ye crowne vpon his owne heade, and to his posteritie. Secondlie, when ye attem[pt took not] place, then he gaued it out, as hath ben showed before, ye he was privilie cont[acted to] her Ma weh (wherin as I told yo his dealing before for satisfaccion of a straunger, [so let him] weh shame and dishonest remember now also, ye spactacle he secretlie made [for the per]swading of a subieckt and Counsellor of great honor in the same cause) to the [end that if her] Ma weh should by anie waie haue miscarried, then he might haue entitled [any one of his owne] broode (wherof he hath stoor in manie places as is knowne) to ye [lawful succession] of ye Crowne vnder couler of ye priuie and secrete marritage, [pretending the same to be] by her Ma weh: wherein he will want no witnes to depose w he will.
Thirdly] when he saie also yt this devise was subie ct to daunger, for yt his [privy contracd might be d] ened more easelie, then he able iustlie to prose the same a [fter her Majestys decea ce: he had a] new fetch to strenghten yt matter yt & was to cause yt [words [of (Natural issue) to be put into] yt statute of successi o for yt Crowne, against all [order and custom of our Realme, and against] yt known commo stile of law, accustomed to be u[sed in statutes of such matter: whereby he might be able after yt death of her Ma tie [to make legitimate to the Crown, any one bastard of his own] by any of so many ha [cknes as he keepeth, affirming it to be the Natural issue of her Majesty by himself. For no other reason can be imagined why the ancien usual words of, Lawful issue should so cunningly be changed into Natural issue; Thereby not only to endanger our whole Realm with new quarrels of succession but also to touch (as far as in him lieth) the Royal honour of his Sovereign, who had been to him but too bountiful a Princes.]

[Fourthly, when after a time these fetches and devices, began to be discovered, he changed his course, and turned to the Papists, and Scottish faction, pretending the marriage of the Queen in prison. But yet after)

this againe, finding therin not such successe as contented him throughlie, and hauing [in the] meant space new occasion offerd of baite he betooke himself fifttie to yt ptie of Hunt: hauing [therein] (no doubt) as good meanig to himself, as his Father had by ioyning wth Suffolke. Marie yett of late, he hath cast, anew about, once againe, for himself in secrret, by treating yt marriag [of you] ung Arbella wth his Sonne intituled yt Lo Denbighe. So yt by this disposicon of this man [bent wh] ole to a scepter. And albeit in right title and desent of bloud (as yo saie) he can iustlie claime neither kingdome nor cottage (considering the basenes or disloialtie of his Aunceste) yett in respect of his pnt state and power, & of his naturall pride, ambition, and craftie coneyauence receyued from his Father: he hath learned how first to put himself in cheif rule, vnder other ptences, & after to deuise yppeon yt title at his pleasure.

But now to come to the argum: I saie more and above all yt, yt yt nature and state of yt matter it selfe, pmitteth not, yt my Lo: of Lei: should meane sincerelie yt crowne for Hunt: speciallie seing there hath passed between them so manie yeares of dislike and enmitie: wth albeit, for yt time & present commoditie, be covrd and pressed downe: yett by reason & experie ne we knowe, yt afterwardes when they shall deale together againe in matters of importance, & when iealousie shalbe ioyned to other circumstauces of yt accons: it is impossible yt yt former dislike should not breake out in higher degrees, then euer before.

As we saw in yt examples of reconcialicon, made betwixt this mans Father and Ed: D: of S bearing rule vnnder K: E: 6: & betweenee Ric: D: of Yo: & Ed: D: of Som:; bearing rule in yt time of K: H: 6: Both wth Du: of Som, after reconciaco wth their old, craftie & [amb]ilities enemies, were brought by yt same to yt destraccon soone after. Wherof I doubt not, but my Lo: of Ley: will take good heede in ioyning by reconciliacon wth Hunt: after so long breach: & will not be so improuiden, as to make him his Soaigne after now is but his dependant. He remembreth to well yt successe of yt Lo: Stanley (who helped H. 7. to yt crowne): of yt Duke of Buck: who
did ye same for Rycye 3, of ye Earle of Warwicke, who sett vp K: Ed: 4: and of ye 3 Percies who advancement to ye Scepter K. H: 4. All wth Noble men vp occasions wth after fell out were rewarded wth death, by the self same Princes, whom ye had pf eered.

And ye not wthout reason as Seigni Matchianuell my Lo: Counsellor affirmeth. For ye such Prince afterwa rds can nee give sufficient satisfacon to such frends, for so great a benefitt receauned. And consequentlie least vpon discontinu, they maie chaine to do as much for others against them as they haue done for them against others: ye surest waie is to recompence them wth such a reward as they shall nee after be able to complains of.

Wherfor I can nee thinke ye my Lo: of Ley: will putt himself in daunger of ye like success [at] Hunt: hands; but rather will follow ye plott of his owne Father wth the D. of Suff.: when [no doubt] but he meant one to vse for a ptese & helpe, wherbie to place himself in supream [dignity] & afterwards wsoen had befallen of ye State, ye other heade could nee haue come [to other] ende then it enjoyed. For if Q. Ma: had not cutt it of K. John of Northa: would have done] ye same in time, & so all men do well know, that were priuie to anie of his [cunning deelings.] And wth Hunt: secrete opinion of Ley: is (notwthstanding this outward show of [dependance] it was my chaine to learne, from ye mouth of a speciall man of ye hasty [King who was] leigder or agen in London: and at a time falling in talke of his Mtitle, [declared that he had] heard him diues times in secrret, complices to his La: (Ley: sister) [as greatly fearing] ye in ye ende, he would offer him wrong & ptende some title for himselfe.

Well (quoth ye Lawier) it seemeth by this laste point, ye these two [Lords are cunning practicioners in] ye art of dissimulacon: but for the former wherof yo speak [in truth I have heard men of] good discourse affirme, ye ye Duke of Northa: had stra[nge devices in his head for deceiving] of Suff: (who was nothing so fine as himself) & for [bringing the crown to his own family.] And amongst other deuises it is thought, ye [he had most certain intention to marry the Lady] Marie himself, (after once he had brought her into his owne hands) and to have bestowed her Majesty that now is upon some one of his [children (if he should have been thought best to give her life,) and so consequently to have shaken off Suffolk and his pedigree, with condign punishment, for his bold behaviour in that behalf.

Verily (quoth I) this hath been an excellent stratageme, if it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) how could he himselfe have taken the Lady Mary to wife, seeing he was already married to another? Oh (quoth the Gentleman) you question like a Schollar. As though my Lord of Leycester had not a wife alive] when he first begannto ptende marriage to the Queenes Ma. Do yo not [remember the story] of K. R: 3: who at such time as he thought best for establishing of his title: [to marry his own Neece, ye afterwards was married to K. H. 7., how he caused secrete to [be given abroad] ye his owne wife was dead, whom all ye World knew then to be aliue and in good [health, but that yet] soone afterwarde she was soone dead indeed. Theise grea psonages, in matters [of such weight] as is a Kingdom, haue priuedics to dispose of Womens bodys, mariadge, [ives and deaths] as shalbe thought for ye time most convenient.
And w'd do yo thinke (I praiye you) of this new Triuvariat so latelie concluded [about Arbella?] (for so must I call ye same, though one of ye 3 psons be no Vir but Virago) [I mean of the] marriadge bewteene yong Denbigh and y som little daughter of Lenox, wherby [the Father-in-Law,] ye Grandmother & ye Uncle of ye new designed Q. haue conceived to themselves [a singular] triumphant raigne. But w'd do yo thinke maie ensue hereof? is there nothing [of the old plot] of Duke John of Northub: in this?

Marrie S' (quoth ye lawier) if this be so, I dare assure yo thers, sequele enough pretended thereby. And fyrst no doubt, but their goeth a depe drift, by ye wife & sonne, aga [inst old Abrah' ham (ye Husband & Father) w' th ye well lyned large pouche. And secondlie, a farr [deeper by] trustie Robert against his best M's: but deepest of all by ye whole crew, against [the designments] of ye hastie Earle: who thirsteth a Kingdome, w' great intemperance, and see [meth (if there) were plaine dealing] to hope by these good people to quench shortlie his drought. [But either] pt in truth, seeketh to decaye other & therfor it is hard to saie where ye gaine [in fine will rest.]

Well, my ye be (quoth ye Gent) I am of opinion, ye my Lo: of Ley: will vse both this p[ractice and] manie more, for bringing ye Scepter finallie to his owne heade: & ye he will not [only imploie] Hunt: to defeate Scotland & Arbella to defeate Hunt: but also would vse ye marr [iage of the] Q. imprisoned, to defeate them both, if she were in his haende: and any one of th [ree to dis] possesse her Ma's: y now is: as also the authuritie, of all fower to bring it to him [self: with] manie other fetches, flings, and friscoes, besides, w' th simple men do not as yet [conceive.] And howsoever these two conioyned Earles, as seeme for ye time to draw together, [and to play] bootie: yet am I, of opinion, that the one will beguil/e, the other at the vpshot. And [Hastings for ought I see, when he cometh to the stanling, is like to haue no better lucke [by the Beare.] then his Ancestors once had by the Bore. Who using his helpe first in murthering [the Son and] Heire of K: H: 6, and after in destroying the faithfull Frends & kinsmen of Ed. 5, for [his easier] waie to vsurpacon: made an ende of him also in the Tower, at the vere same date [and hour.] ye the other were by his counsell destroyed in Pomfret Castle. So ye where ye [Goale and] price of the game is a Kingdome: there is neyth er faith, nor good fellowship, [nor fair] plaine amongst ye Gamsters. And this shall be enoue for ye first pointe: (viz) [what good my Lord] of Ley: meaneth to himselfs in respect of Hunt. Touching ye second, [whether the attempt] ye be purposed in her Ma's days or no, the matter is much lesse doubt [full, to him that knoweth] other can imagine, w' a torn ye delaie of a Kingdome is, to such a one [as suffereth hunger the] reas and feare ye enerieower maie breed some alteracon, to ye [prejudice of his conceiv'd] hope. We see oftentimes ye ye child is impacien't this matter, [to expect the natural] ende of his parents life. Whom, not w'standing, by nature [he is enforced to love: and who] also by nature, is like long to leau ye World before him: [and after his disease he is sure] to obtaine his desire: butt most certeine of [dangerous event, if he attempt to get it, whi]le yett his paren' liueth. W' th fore con[siderations, are (no doubt) of great force to containe a] child in dutie, & to bridle his desire: [albeit sometimes not sufficient to withstand the greedy] appetit of raigning.

[But what shall we think, when none of these four considerations do restraine? when the present Possessor is no Parent? where she is like by nature, to out-live the
Leycaster’s Commonwealth.

prospous, as he cannot expect better in ye next change w’soeu should be: is of small
[moment in] ye concei of an ambitious heade, whose eye and hart is alwaies vpon ye,
he hopeth for, [and] enioyeth no: & no vpon ye wth alreadie he posseseth, be it neuer
so good. Especiallie in marks of honor and authortie, it is an infallible rule, ye’ one
desired degree & no obtayned, afflicte more then five degrees alreadie possessed,
can giue consolacion: ye’ storie of D. Aman, confirmeth this evidentlie, who being ye’
greatest subiect in ye world vnder K. Assuerus, after he had reckoned vp all his pompe,
riches, gorie & felicitiie to his frends, yett he se, ye’ all this was nothing vnto him, untill
he could obtaine ye’ revenge, wth he desired, vp Marsdenus his enemy: & heerby it
cometh ordinarielie to passe, ye’ amongst highest in authortie, are found ye’ greatest
store of Malcontents, ye’ most do endaunger their Prince & Contray.

When ye’ Percies took pe wth H. of Boll:; against King Ric. 2. their lawfull
Souveraigne: it was not for lacke of pferm: for ye’ were exceedinglie advaunced by ye’
SD King, & possessd ye’ three Eardomes of Northumberland, Worster, & Staff. together,
besides manie other office & dignities of hono:.

In like sorte, when ye’ two Nevills, tooke vpon them to ioyne wth Ric of Yorke, to
pu’ downe ye’ most benigne Prince K: H. 6: & after againe on ye’ other side; to putt
downe K. Ed. 4: it was no vpon wan’ of advauncm: they being Earls both of Salsib.
War:; & Lo: of manie notable places besides. But i is was vpon a vaine imaginatiō
of future fortune, wherby such men are comonlie lead: & yett had not they anie smell
in their nostrills, of getting ye’ kingdome for themselves, as this man hath to pricke
him forwarde.

If yo’ saie ye’ theise men hated their soueraigne, & therby were led to pcur his
destrucon; ye’ same I aie aunswere of my Lo: living, though of all men living he hath
least cause so to doe. But ye’ such is ye’ nature of wicked ingratitud, ye’ were it oweth
most, & disdaineth to be bounde: there vpō etie little discontent’m’, it tourne the
doble obilagcon into triple hatred.

This he shewed euidentlie in the time of this disgrace, wherin he did no’ onelie
diminish, vilipend, & debase amongst his frends, ye’ inestimable benifiits he hath
receaned frō her Ma’st, butt also vse to expatre his owne good services & merits, &
to touch her highnes wth ingrate consideracōs & recompence of ye’ same, wth behauio’
together wth his hastie pparacon to rebellion, & assault vpon her Ma’st Roiall person
& dignitie, vpon so smale a cause given: did well show w’ minde inwardlie he bareth
unto his soueraigne, & w’ her Ma’st maie expect, if by offending him, she should once fall
wthin ye’ compass of his furious pawes; seing [such] a smoake of disdain could no’
peeade, but̄ from a fierie furnace of hatred wthin.

And surelie it is a wonderfull matter to consider w’ a little checke, or rather ye’ bare
imagination of a smale outhwrratt, maie worke in a proude & disdainfull stomackle.
The causes of hatred in Leicester towards her Majesty.

The remembrance of his marriage, ye he much pted and desired, wth her Maist, [doth stick] deep and in his breast stirreth him dailie to revenge. As also doth disdaine of [certain checks] & disgraces receaved at some times, especiallie ye of his last marriage: [which irketh him so] much yore more, by howmuch greater faire and danger it brought him into, [at that time, and did] putt his Widdow in such open phrensis, as she raged manie monethes [after against her] Maist, & is not cold yeit: butt remaineth as it were a sworne enemie, for [that injury, and standeth] like a fiende or furie a ye elbowe of her Amadis, to stirr him forward [when occasion should] serue. And wy effect such female suggestiōs maie worke, when ye [find an humour proud and] pliable to their purpose; yo maie remember by ye example [of the Duchess of Somerset, who i]nforced her Housband to cutt of ye heade, of his onelie deare [Brother, to his own evident de] struccon for her contentacon.

[Wherefore,] to conclude ye matter wthou further dispute [or reason: saying there is so much discovered in] ye case as there is: so great desire of [raigne, so great impatience of delay, so great hope and habilitie of successse if it be aempted, under the good fortune and present authority of the competitors: seeing the plots be so well laid, the preparation so forward, the favourers so furnished, the time so propitious, and so many other causes convitiong together: seeing that by differing, all may be hazarded, and by hastening, little can be endangered, the state and condition of things well weighed: finding also the bands of duty so broken already in the conspirators, the causes of dislike and hatred so manifest, and the solicitours to execution, so potent and diligent, as women, malice and ambition, are wont to be: it is more than probable, that they will not leese their present commoditie, especially seeing they have learnt by their Archi-type or Proto-plot which they followed]

(I meane ye conspiracie of Northu. & Suff: in K. Ed: daies) ye hee [in there was some error] committ at ye time, wth ouerthrew ye whole, and ye was, ye differing [of some things until] after ye King's death, wth should haue ben pu in execuccon before. For [if in the time of their] plotting, when as yeett their designes were not publish to ye World, [they had under the] countenunce of ye King (as well they might haue done) gotten in to their [hands the two Sisters: & dispatched some other few affaires, before they had causd ye yong [Prince to die: no doubt] but in mans reason ye whole designes had taken place: consequentlie [it is to be preso]posed, ye these men (being no fooles in their owne affaires) will take heede [of falling into] ye like error by delaie: butt rather will make all sure, by stricking while [the iron is hot], as our puerbe warmeth them.

Itt cannot be denied in reason (quoth ye Lawier) but ye they haue many [helps of doing] what they list now, vnder ye ptt fauour, countenunce & authority of her [Majesty, which they] should no haue after highnes decease: when each man should remain [more at liberty] for his supreme obedience, by reason of ye statute puided for uncertein successor; and therfor I for my pte, would rather counsell them, to make [much of her Majesty's] life: for after ye, they little knowe wth maie ensue, or befall yeir designes.

They will make ye most thereof (quoth ye Gent) for their owne advantage, [but
after that] w is like to follo\*, y\# examples of Ed; and Ric 2, as also of H: and Ed. 6 do [sufficiently] forwarne vs; whose lifes were plongd vntill y\#e dea\#thes were thought [more prof\#table for y\#e conspirator\#s & no longer. And for y\#e statute yo\# spake of, pcured [by themselves,] for establishing y\#e uncertainie of y\#e next\# successor (wheras all our former [statutes] were won\# to be made for y\#e declaracon & certeintie of y\#e same) it is well to [Proviso, (as you know) y\# it shal no\# endure longer then y\#e life of her Ma\#e, y\# now raigneth: [that is, indeed,] no longer then vntill themselv\#s be readie to place another. For then, no doute, we shall see a faire declamacon y\# my Lo\# of Hunt: is y\# onelie next heire: w\# [a bundle of] halte\# to hange all such as shall dare once open their mouth for deni\#all of y\#e [same].

At these wordes y\# old Lawier stepped backe as some\# astonni\#d & began to [make] crosses in the aire, after y\#e\#e fashion, wherat we laughed, and then he said: t\#ruly my Masters] I had thought y\# no man had coneyused so euill imaginacon of this statute, [as myself \#] but now I pceu y\# I alone am not malicious. For my owne pte, I must confess [unto\#] yo\#, y\# as often as I read ouer this statute, or thinke of y\#e same (as by diu\#e occas\#ions) manie times I doe) I feel ye myself much grei\#n & affli\#d in mynd, vpon fears [which] I conceaue w\# maie be y\#e ende of this statute to ouer Countrie, & w\# priue me [an\#ing the chief\#] pcurers therof might haue for y\#e\#e owne drifts, against y\# Realme, and life of he[r Majestie that] now raigneth.

And somuch y\# more it maketh me to doube, for y\# in all o\# records of lawe yo\# shall [not find (to) my remembrance) anie one example of such a deuise, for concealing of y\# true [inheritor: but] rather in all ages, states, & times (especial\#e from Ric i\# downwards) yo\# shall find statu\#tes, ordinances & pu\#sions, for declaracon and mani\#econ of y\#e same, [as you have well ob\#erved & touched before. And ther\#e\#y stra\#nge and new deuise must [needs have some stra\#unge and vna\#om\#ed meani\#g, and God of his meie graunt, y\# it haue \# [some strange and unex\#pected even\#.

[In sight of] all men, y\# is alreadie evident, y\# ne\# Countrie in y\#e world was [brought into more apparent] daunger of yt\#e ruine, then o\# is at this daie, by p�tence of [this statute. For where as there is no\#] Gent so meane in y\#e Realme y\# cano\# give a [guess more or less who shall be his next heir,] & his ten\#nts soone conie\#ture, w\# maie of pt [shall be their next Lord: in the title of our no\#ble Crowne, wherof all rest dependeth; [neither is her Majestie permitted to know or say, who) shalbe her next successor, nor [her subjects allowed to understand or imagine, who in right may be their] future sou\#aigne: [An intolerable injury in a matter of so singular importance.]

[For (alas) what should become of this our native Countrie if God should take from us her most excellent Majestie (as once he will) and so leave us destitute upon the sudden what should become of our lives, of our states, and of our whole Realme, or Government? Can any man promise himself, one day longer of rest, peace, possession, life or liberty, within the land, when God shall lend us her Majestie to reign over us? Which albeit, we do and are bound to wish that it may be long: yet reason tel\#leth us, that by course of nature, it cannot be of any great continuance, and by a thousand accidents it may be much shorter.]
And shall then our most noble Commowelth & Kingdome, wth is of ppetuitie and must continew [to ours] elues and our posteritie, hange onelie vpon y* life of her highnes alone, well strooken in [year]s & of no great good helth or robustus & strong complexion.

I was, wth in hearing some six or seuen yeares agoe when S* X. Hatten in a verrie great assemblie made an eloquent oracon (wth after I weene was putt in print) at y* pardoning & deli[veri]e of him from y* gallowes, y* by error as was, thought had discharged his peece vpon her M* Barge & hurt certaine psons in her highnes prence. And in y* oratiō he declared & descri[bed] verrie effectuallie, w* inestimable damadge had insued to y* Realme, if her Mat* by y* or any other meanes should haue ben taken from vs. He sett forth most liuelie before y* eies of all men, w* diuision, w* dissent, w* bloudshed had insued, & w* fatall daungers were most cten to fall vpon vs, whensoeũ y* dolefull daie should happen wherein no man should be sure of his [life.] of his goodes, of his wife, of his children; no man certaine whether to flie when [to follow, or] where to seeke repose and ptecon.

And as all y* hearers there psent did easelie graunt y* he therin said troth & far lesse then might haue ben saide in y* behalf, things standing as they doe: so manie one (I trow) y* heard theise wordes pceede from a Councello*, y* had good cause to know y* state of his Contrey: entred into this cogitatīō w∗ punishment they might deserve then, at y* whole States & Comowelths handes, who first letting her Mat* from mariage & therby puring this statute of dissembling y* next inheritō: had brought y* Realme into so euiden* & inequitable daungers? For euie one well considered & weyed wth him-self y* y* things wth yet onelie letts these daungers and miseries sett downe by Sir Crr*, must necessarilie one daie faile vs all, y* is, y* life of her Mat*: now pnt (and then saie we) how falleth it out y* so generall a calamitie as must needes ouertake vs eare it be long (and maie for anie thing we know to morrow next) is no* puided for, as well as forseen.

Is there no remedie, bu* we must willinglie & wittinglie rune into our owne ruine & for y* fauour or feare of some few aspirato*, betraie o* countrie & y* bloude of so manie thousands innocen*, as live wth in y* lande?

For tell me (good S*) I praiue yo*, If her Mat* should die to morrow next (whose life God [long] pserue & blesse) but if she should be taken from vs, as by condicon of nature & humaine failtie she maie) w∗ would yo* doe? w∗ waiie would yo* looke? or w* heade or pt, knew anie good subiēct in y* Realme to followe? I speake not of y* conspirato* for I know they will be readie and resolued whom to follow: but I speake of y* plaine simple & well meaning subiēct who following now y* vtrer ire of y* fraudulent statute (fraudulent I meane in secreatt conceipt of y* cuning aspirato*?) shalbe taken on y* suddein & being put [in amaze] by y* vnexpected contencon about y* Crowne, shalbe brought into a wood, both of bodie & goodes, wth now are thought vpon, them who are most in daunger for [the same.] And this is for y* commowelth and countrie.

But vnto her Mat.; for whose good & saftey, y* statute is onelie ptended to [be made, no doubt,] but y* it bringeth farr more daunger, then anie deuise y* they haue vsed be[sides. For hereby un] der couler of restra y* claimes & titles of trew successo*, (whose end [cavours, notwithstanding] ding are comonlie more calme and moderate
then of vsurpers, (they make unto themselves,) a meane to foster and sett forward their owne conspiracie wbut co[ntrolment: seeing no] man of might maie exposse himself against him, but wth suspicon, [that he meaneth to claim] for himself. And so they being armed, on the one syde, wth their a[uthority and force of present for]tune, and defended, on y^e other syde, by y^e pentence of y^e statute: [they may securely worke and] plott at their pleasure, as yo^e haue well pronounced before [that they do. And whencesoever their grounds and] foundations shalbe ready, it c[annot be denied] [but that her Ma]jesties life, lieth much at their di]scretiō, to take it, or vse it, to their best [commodity: (and there is no doubt, but they will,) as such men are] wont to do in such [affaires. Marry one thing standeth not in their powers, so absolutely and that is, to prolong her Ma]jesties dayes or favour towards themselves, at their pleasures: whereof it is not unlike but they will have due consideration, least perhaps upon any sudden accident, they might bee found unready.]

[They have good care thereof I can assure you, (quoth the Gentleman) and mean not to bee prevented by any accident, or other mishap whatsoever: they will bee ready for all events: and for that cause, they hasten so much their preparations at this day, more than ever before: by sending out their spies and]

solicito ete where, to proue and confirme their frends: by delu[ing [their Common Watch-word]: by complaining on all hands on our pestant Bishops & Clergie, & [of all the present state] of our irreformed religion, (as they call it:) by amplifieng onelie y^e [danger of] Papists & Scottish faccon: by giving out openlie y^e now her Ma^es is past [hope of Child-]birth, and consequentlie seing God hath given no better successe y^e way [in two Women] one after y^e other: it were not convenien^t (saie they) y^e another of y^e sex should [ensue: with high] commendacion of y^e Law Salicke in Fraunce, wherby women are forbidden to [succeed. Which] speach though in shew it be deluied in shew against the Queene of Scots [and other of Henry the 7] his line, y^e discen^d of Sisters: yet all men see y^e it toucheth as well y^e disabling [of her Majestuy,] y^e is ppt, as others to come: & so tendeth directlie to Maturacon of y^e principal [purpose] w^ch I haue declared before.

Heere said I, for y^e rest w^ch yo^e speake of, besides y^e Watchword, it is comon and e[verywhere trea]ted in talke amongst them: but yett for y^e Watchword it self (for y^e yo^e name it) [I thinke (Sir)] manie knowe it not, yf I were the first y^e told y^e storie, as phappes I was. [For in truth] I came to it by a rare hap (as then I told yo^e) y^e thing being vttred & expounded by a Baron] of their owne faccon, to another Nobleman of y^e same degree & religiō, though [not of the same] opinion in these affairs. And for y^e I am requested no^t to vtt y^e second, who [told it mee in se]crett, I must also spare y^e name of y^e first: w^ch otherwise I would no^t, no^t y^e [time and place] where he vttred y^e same.

To this (said y^e Lawier) yo^e do well in y^e: but yett I beseech yo^e lett me know y^e W[atchword (if)] there be anie such) for my instruccon and helpe, when neede shall require. For [I assure you] y^e this Gents former speach of halte^h hath so terrified me, as if anie, should come [and asker or] see my inclinacon in these matters, I would aunswer them fullie to their [good content]m^t, if I knew y^e Watchword, wherby to know them. For of all things, I looke [not to be han]ged for quarrells of Kingdomes.
Leycester's Commonwealth.

MS. Folio 87 (contd.)

Scholar.
Are you settled?

A great mystery.

Lawyer.

Assemblies at communions.

Strangers within the Land.

The perill of our Country if Huntington claim take place.

The red rose and the white.

The Watchword is, (said I) whether ye be settled or no? and yf ye answer ye, [and seeme] to understand ye meaning therof: then are ye knowen to be of their faccon, and [so to bee accompl]ted and dealt wth for things to come. But if ye stagger or doubt in atswering, as if ye know no' pectlie ye mysterie (as ye Noblemā my good Lo:) imagining ye it had (beene meant) of his religion, wth was well knowen to be good and settled in ye Ghospell) [then are] ye descried therby, euyher no' to be of their side, or else to be but a Puny no' well [instructed,] & consequentlie, he ye moueth ye ye questio, will pntlie breake of ye speach, [and turne to some other talke, vntill afterward occasio be gven to pswade ye or else [instruct] ye better in ye affaire.

Marrie ye Noblem, whereof I spake before, receving by ye demaundung, ye [there was some] mysterie in covert, vnder ye questio: tooke hold of ye wordes, & would not [suffer the propounder to passe awaie (as he indeured) but wth much intreatie, brought him [at length, to expound] ye full meaning and purpose of ye riddle. And this was ye first occasion [(as I think) whe]rby this secret came abroade. Albeit afterwardes att ye public [communions, which] were made thoroughou so manie shires, ye matter became more [common: especially] among the strangers ye inhabitt (as ye know) in great numbers [with us at this day. All wth (as ye saie) are made most assured to ye faccon, & ready [to assist the same with great] forces at all occasions.

[Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer)] how manie mysteries & secreteats be there abroad [in the World, whereof wee simple men] know nothing & suspec' lesse. This Watch[word should I never have imagined: and for the great] & often assemblies vnder ptence [of Communions, though of themselves and of their owne na]ture, they were vnaccust[omed, and consequentlie subject to suspicion: yet did I never conceive so far forward as nowe I doe: as neither of the lodging and entertaining of so many strangers in the Realme, whereof our Artizans doe complain everywhere. But now I see the reason thereof, which (no doubt) is founded upon great policy for the purpose. And by this also I see, that the house of Huntington, presseth farre forward for the game, and shou'dreth neare the goal to lay hands upon the same. Which to tell you plainly, liketh mee but a little: both in respect of the good will I beare to the whole line of King Henry, which hereby is likely to bee dispossessed; as also for the misery, which I doe foresee, must necessarily ensue upon our Countrey, if once the chalenge of Huntington]
I will no' stand here to sett downe y° ptcule°, observed and gathered by y° foresaid author, though a straunger, wch for y° most pt he saw himself, while he lived about y° D. of Bur° [and] Lewes of frraunce of y° time: namele y° pittifull descripon of diuers right Noblemē of our Realme, who besides all other miseries were druen to beg openlie in forreigne pts, and y° like. Myne owne observatiō in reading on ol' Countries affaires, is sufficient, to make me abhor y° memorie of y° time, and to dreation all occasions, y° maie leade vs to y° like in time to come: seing y° in my judgm, neither y° Cuill Warres of Marius & Silla, or of Pompey & Casar among y° Romanes, nor yet y° Guelphians and Gibelines in among y° Italians did eu' worke so much woe, as this did to ol' poore Countrey. Wherin by reason of y° contentiō of Yorke & Lancaster were foughten sixteen or 17 pitched fields in lesse than an 100 yeres, y° is from y° 11 or 12 yere of Ric y° 2: his raigne (when this cōtrouise first beganne to bud vp) vnto y° 13 yere of H. 7. At w° time by cutting of y° chief titler of H°: house, to wit, yong Ed. Plant. Earle of War; sonne & Heire of G. D. of Clarence; y° contentiō most hapelle was quenched and ended, wherin so manie feilds (as I hau' said) were foughten, between Brethren and Inhabitants of our owne natiō. And therein, and otherwise onelie about y° same quarrell, were slaine murthered & made awaie, ix or x Kings Sonnes besides, aboue 40 Earles, Marquesesses, and Dukes of name: but manie more [Lords], & Knightes, and Gent, & cap°, and of y° commō people, wch number & by ptcular confection verie neare about 200,000. For y° in one battale foughten by Ed. 4: there are recorded to be slaine on both pts 35,711, besides others wounded & taken prisoners to be putt to death afterwaeres at y° pleasure of y° Conquero°: at diūse battalleis [after.] 10,000 slayne at a battale. As of those of Barnett, Tewksburie, fought both [in one] yere. This suffred o' afflicte country in those daies, by this unfortunete [and deadly] contentiō, wch could neū be ended, but by ye happie conunction of both those [houses toge]ther, in H. 7: neyther yet (so as appereath by chronicle) vntill [as I have saied] the state had cutt of y° issue of y° D° of Clarence, who was cause of diūse pills [of King Henry VII, tho'] he were in prison. By whose sister ye faccon of Hunt. at this daie doth [seek to raise up] y° same contentiō againe wch far greater daunger both to the [Realme and to her] Ma'm y° now raigneth, then euer before.

And for y° Realme it is euydent, by y° it geueth roome to straungers, [Competitors of the] house of Lancaster, better able to mainteyne their own tittle [by sword than ever was any] of y° linage before him. And for her Ma's perrill pnt, it [is nothing hard to conjecture:] seing y° same title in y° foresaid Earle of War: [was so dangerous and troublesome] to her Grandfather (by whom she holdeth) as hee [was faine twice to take armes in] defence of his right against y° said tittle, [which was in those dayes preferred and advanced by] y° frends of Clarence, be[fore that of Henry]: as also this of Huntington is at this day, by his faction before that ol' her Ma's [though never so unjustly].

[Touching Huntington's title, before her Majesty (quoth the Lawyer) I will say nothing: because in reason, I see not by what pretence in the World, hee may thrust himself so farre foorth: seeing her Majesty is descended, not onely of the House of Lancaster: but also before him most apparently, from the House of Yorke itseflse, as from the eldest daughter of King Edward IV, being the eldest brother of that House. Whereas Huntington claimeth onely, by the daughter of George Duke of Clarence the younger brother. - Marry yet I must confesse that if the Earle of Warwick's title, were better]
then yt of king H. 7, (weak is most false, though manie attempted to [defend the same by sword:;] then hath H some wrong at this daie, by her Ma[nie. Albeit in verie truth [the *attaints of so] manie of his Auncestors by whom he claimeth: would aunswere him [also sufficiently] in yt behalf, though his title were otherwise allowable.

But I know bysides this they haue another fetch of Ryc 3, wh[ereby hee would needs] proue, his elder brother k: Ed: to be a Bastard: and consequentlie his [whole line as well] male as female to be voide. Wh[ereby devise though it be ridiculous, and w[as at the time when it] was first invented: yet, as Ryc found at ye tyme a Do: Shawe yt sh[amed not to publish and] defende yt same, at Paule’s Crosse in a Sermon: and John of North: my [Lord of Leycester’s Father] founde ou’ diu’ Preachers in his time, to sett vp yt right of Sufft.; and to [debaste the right of] H. daughters both in London, Cambridge, Oxford, & other places, most app[arently against] all law and reason: so I doubt not, but those men will finde ou’ also, both Shawe & [Sands, and] other, to sett out yt title of Clarence, before yt whole interest of k: H. 7, and [his posterity, if] occasion seru’d. Wh[i] is a pointe of importance to be consider’d by her Ma[nie [albeit for my] part, I meane no’t now to stande therupon, but onelie vppr yt
other of the [House of Lancaster, as] I haue said.

For as yt most honorable, lawfull, and happie coniunctio of yt two advsary [Houses, in King] H 7 and his wife, made an ende of the shedding of innocen’ bloude w[hit in itslef and brought] vs yt desired peace, w[hit en since we haue injoyde, by the reigne of their [two most noble issue:] so yt plott that now is in hande for yt cutting, of yt residue of yt issue, and for [recalling back] of the whole to the onelie House of Yorke, againe: is like to plunge vs deeper, [than ever] in civile discorde, and to make vs yt baite of all forreigne Princes: seing [there bee among] them at this daie, some, of no small power (as I haue said) who ptende to [be the next heires] by yt house of Lan: & consequentlie are not like to giue ouer or abandon yt owne right,] if once the doore be opened, to contencen for yt same, by disseanulling yt Line of king [Henry VII. wherein] onelie yt keies of all concord remaine knit together.

And albeit I know well yt such as be of my Lo: of H: ptie will make smale acc[ompt of the title] of Lancaster as, lesse rightfull a grea’t deale then yt of Yorke, and I for my pte [meane not] greatlie to avow yt same, as now it is placed, being myself no fauourer of forraigne [titles:] (yett indifferen’ men haue to consider, how it was taken in tymes past and [how it may] againe in time to come, yt contentio should arise: how manie Noble pson [ages of our] Realme did offer themselves to die in defence thereof: how manie oathes & laws [were] given and receaue’d throughout yt Realme for maintenance of yt same, against [the House] of Yorke: for et: how manie worthie Kings were crowned, and raigned of that [House and race] to witt yt 4 most Noble H1 one after another, yt 4 yt 5 yt 6 and yt 7, who [both in number,] governt, sanctitie, courage, & feates of armes, were nothing inferior (if [not superiour] to those) of yt other house and line of Yorke, after yt divisioon betwene the families.

[It] is to be considered also, as a special signe of the fauour & affecon, of our [whole nation unto that famili:ie: yt H. Earle of Rychmond though descending but of the last sonne & [third wife of John of] Gaunt Du: of Lan: was so respected, for that onelie by yt vnissall [Realme: as they inclined] wholie, to call him from banishtm’ & to make him King w[th the deposition of Richard which then ruled] of the House of Yorke,
Leycester's Commonwealth.

vpon conditio onelie y' ye said Henry [should take to wife a] daughter of the contrarie familie: so great was in those daies the [affection of English hearts,] towards the line of Lan; for ye great worthines of [such Kings as had raigned of that] race, how good or bad soever their title were: wth I stand [not here at this time to discusse] but onelie to insinuate, wth ptie the same found [in our Realme in times past, and consequeuentlie how extreame daungerous ye contentiō [for the same may bee hereafter: especially] seing y' at this daie, ye remainder of ye title [is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger,] whose power is verie great. Wth we [lawyers are wont to esteeme as a point of no small] importaunce, for [justifying any mans title to a Kingdom.]

[You Lawyers want not reason in that Sir (quoth I) howsoever you want right: for if you will examine the succession of governments, from the beginning of the World, unto this day, either among Gentile, Jewe, or Christian People, you shall find that the sword hath beene alwayes better than halfe the title, to get, establish, or maintaine a Kingdome: which maketh mee the more apalled to heare you discourse in such sort of new contenotions, and forraaine titles, accompanied with such power and strength of the titlers. Which cannot bee but infinitely dangerous and fatale to our Realme, if once it come to action, both for the division that is like to bee at home and the variety of parties from abroad. For as the Prince whom you signify, will not]

faile (by all likelihoode) to pursue his title wth all forces y' he can make if [occasion were of]red: so reason of state and policie will inforse other Princes adioyning, to lett & hinder [him] therin w' they can: and so by this meanes shall we become Iuda and Israel among [ourselves,] one killing & vexing another wth ye sword, and to forraaine princes we shall be ye Iland of Salamina was in old time to ye Athenians and Megarians: and as ye Iland of [Cecilia] was afterwarde to ye Gretians, Carthaginians, and Romaines: and as in our daies, [the] Kingdome of Naples hath ben to ye Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germanes & Vetonians. [That is] a baite to feede vpon, and a game to fight for. Wherfor I beseech the Lord to avert from vs [all] occasions of such miseries. And I praye ye S' for y' we are fallen into mentio of these matters, to take some pains as to open vnto me ye ground of these y' so long now [quiet] betweene Yorke and Lancastor: seing they are now like to be raised againe. For albeit in generall I have heard much therof, in particular, I either conceiue no', or imagine [not,] ye foundacon of ye same: and much lesse ye state of their seaul titles at this daie, for y' it is a studie no' ppleyng into my pestio.

The controwesi between ye House of Yorke and Lancastor (quoth Lawier) tooke his actuall begining in ye issue of K. Ed 3, who died some more then 200 yeares agone: but ye occasiō, pttence or cause of quarrell, began, in the chidren of K. H. 3, who died a 100 yeares before y' & lefte 2 sonsns, Edward who was K. after him, by ye name of Ay' first, and Grandfather to Ed 3: and Ed[mond] (for his deformite called Crookebacke) Earle of Lanc: and beginer of y' house, whose inheritance afterwaers in the 4th descen fell vpon a Daughter named Bllauich, who was married to ye [fourth] sonne of K. Ed: 3, named John of Gaunt, for y' he was borne in ye Cittie of Gaunt in Flanders, and so by this his first wife he became D. of Lanc: and heire of y' house. And for y' his sonne H. [of] Bollingbrooke (afterward called King H. 4) ptended among
other things y\textsuperscript{e} Edm: Crookebacke, great Grandfather to Blaunch his mother, was y\textsuperscript{e} oldest Sonne of K. H. 3, and vniustlie put by y\textsuperscript{e} inheritaunce of y\textsuperscript{e} Crowne, for y\textsuperscript{e} he was Crookebacked and deformed: he tooke by force [the] Kingdome from Ric y\textsuperscript{e} 2, Nephew to K. Ed: 3 by his first Sonne, & placed y\textsuperscript{e} same in y\textsuperscript{e} house of Lanc, where it remained for 3 whole dissents, vntill afterwards, Ed. D. of Yorke descended of Iohn of Gaunts yonger brother, making claime to y\textsuperscript{e} Crowne by title of his Grandm\textsuperscript{e}ther, y\textsuperscript{e} was heire to Lionell D. of Clarence, Iohn of Gaunts elder Brother: tooke y\textsuperscript{e} same by force from H. 6 of y\textsuperscript{e} House of Lan & brought it backe againe to y\textsuperscript{e} House of Yorke: where it continued w\textsuperscript{th} much trouble in 2 Kings onelie, vntill both Houses were ioyned together in K. H. 7 and his noble issue.

Hereby we see how y\textsuperscript{e} issue of Iohn of Gaunt D. of Lanc, 4 Sonne to K. Ed. 3, ptended [right to the] Crowne by Edm: Crookebacke, before y\textsuperscript{e} issue of all the other 3 sonnes of Ed. 3, albeit [they were] the elder brothers, whereof we shall speake more hereafter. Now Iohn of Gaunt though he [had] manie children, yett had he foure onelie of whom issue remaine, 2 Sonnes & 2 Daughters. [The] first Sonne was H. of Bollingbrooke Duke of Lanc, who tooke y\textsuperscript{e} Crowne from Ric [the second, his Unkles] Sonne, as hath ben saied, & first planted y\textsuperscript{e} same in y\textsuperscript{e} House of Lanc: y\textsuperscript{e} [remained in two discen\textsuperscript{e}] after him, y\textsuperscript{e} is in H. his Sonne H. 5, & in his Nephewe H. 6, who afterward [was destroyed together] w\textsuperscript{th} Ed. Prince of Wales, his onelie Sonne and heire, & consequentlie [all that Line of Henry] Bollingbrooke extinguished, by Ed. 4 of y\textsuperscript{e} House of Yorke.

The other Sonne of Iohn of Gaunt was Iohn D. of Somsett by Katherine [Sinsford, his third wife :] Iohn had issue another Iohn, and he, Margarett his Daughter and [heir, who being married] to Edmond Tedoer, Earle of Rich, had issue H. Earle of Rich, who [after was named King Henry VII., whose] line yet endureth.

The Daughters of Iohn of Gaunt, were married to Port[ygall and Castile: that is, Philip born of] Blaunch, heire to Edm Crookebacke, as hath ben [said, was married to John King of Portugal, of whom is descended] y\textsuperscript{e} K. y\textsuperscript{e} now possesseth Por: and [the other Princes which have or may make title to the same: and Katherin] borne of consequence

Heir of Castile was married back againe to Henry King of Castile in Spaine, of whom King Philip is also descended. So that by this, wee see, where the remainder of the House of Lancaster resteth, if the Line of King Henry the seventh were extinguished: and what pretext foraine Princes may have to subdue us, if my Lord of Huntington either now or after her Majesties dayes, will open to them the doore, by shutting out the rest of King Henry\textsuperscript{e} Line, and by drawing back the title to the onely House of Yorke againe: which hee pretendeth to doe, upon this that I will now declare.

King Edward the third, albeit hee had many children, yet five onely will wee speake of, at this time. Whereof three were elder then Iohn of Gaunt, and one yonger. The first of the elder, was named Edward the black Prince, who died before his Father, leaving one onely Sonne named Richard who afterward being King and named Richard the second, was deposed without issue, and put to death by his Cosin germain, named Henry Bollingbrooke Duke of Lancaster, Sonne to John of Gaunt as hath beene said, and so there ended the Line of King Edwards first Son.

King Edwards second Sonne, was William of Hatfield that died without issue.
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His third Sonne, was Leonell Duke of Clarence, whose onely Daughter and Heire called Philip, was married to Edmond Mortimer Earle of March: and after that, Anne the Daughter and Heire Mortimer, was married to Richard Plantaginet Duke of Yorke, Sonne and Heire to Edmond of Langley the first Duke of Yorke: which Edmond was the fist Sonne of King Edward the third, and yonger Brother to John of Gaunt. And this Edmond of Langley may bee called the first beginner of the House of Yorke: even as Edmond Croockbuck the beginner of the House Lancaster.

This Edmond Langley then, having a Sonne named Richard, that married Anne Mortimer sole Heire to Leonell Duke of Clarence, joynd two Lines and two Titles in one: I meane the Line of Leonell and of Edmond Langley, who were (as hath beene said) the third and the fist Sonnes to King Edward the third. And for this cause, the child that was borne of this marriage, named after his Father Richard Plantaginet Duke of Yorke, seeing himselfe strong, and the first line of King Edward the thirds eldest Sonne, to bee extinguished in the death of King Richard the second: and seeing William of Hatfield the second Sonne dead likewise without issue: made demand of the Crowne for the House of Yorke, by the title of Leonell the third Sonne of King Edward. And albeit hee could not obtaine the same in his dayes, for that hee was slaine in a Battell against King Henry the sixt at Wakefield: yet his Sonne Edward got the same, and was called by the name of King Edward the fourth.

This King at his death left divers children, as namely two Sonnes, Edward the fist and his brother, who after were both murdered in the Tower, as shall bee showed: and also five Daughters: to wit Elizabeth, Cicily, Anne, Katherine, and Briget. Whereof, the first was married to Henry the seventh. The last became a Nunne, and the other three, were bestowed upon divers other husbands.

Hee had also two Brothers: the first was called George Duke of Clarence, who afterward upon his deserts (as is to bee supposed,) was put to death in Callis, by commandement of the King, and his attainer allowed by Parliament. And this man left behind him a Sonne named Edward Earle of Warwick, put to death afterward without issue, by King Henry the seventh, and a Daughter named Margaret, Countesse of Salisbury, who was married to a meane Gentleman named Richard Poole, by whom shee had issue Cardinall Poole that died without marriage, and Henry Poole that was attainted and executed in King Henry the eight his time (as also herselfe was) and this Henry Poole left a Daughter married afterward to the Earle of Huntington, by whom this Earle that now is maketh title to the Crowne. And this is the effect of my Lord of Huntington's title.

The second Brother of King Edward the fourth, was Richard Duke of Glocester, who after the Kings death, caused his two Sonnes to bee murdered in the Tower, and toke the Kingdom to himselfe. And afterward hee being slaine by King Henry the seventh at Bosworth-field, left no issue behind him. Wherefore King Henry the seventh descending as hath bee shewed of the House of Lancaster, by John of Gaunts last Sonne and third Wife, and taking to wife Lady Elizabeth Eldest Daughter of King Edward the fourth of the House of Yorke: joynd most happily the two Families together, and made an end of all controversies about the title.

Now King Henry the seventh had issue three Children: of whom remaineth posterity. First, Henry the eight, of whom is descended our soveraigne, her Majesty
that now happily raigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line. Secondly, hee had two Daughters: whereof the first named Margaret, was married twice, first to James King of Scotland from whom are directly descend the Queen of Scotland that now liveth and her Sonne: and King James being dead, Margaret was married againe to Archibald Douglas Earle of Angushe by whom shee had a Daughter named Margaret, which was married afterward, to Mathew Steward Earle of Lenox, whose Sonne Charles Steward, was married to Elizabeth Candish Daughter to the present Countesse of Shrewsbury, and by her hath left his onely Heire, a little Daughter named Arbella, of whom you have heard some speech before. And this is touching the Line of Scotland, descending from the first and eldest Daughter of King Henry the seventh.

The second Daughter of King Henry the seventh called Mary, was twice married also: first to the King of France by whom shee had no issue: and after his death to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke, by whom shee had two Daughters, that is, Francis, of which the Children of my Lord of Hartford doe make their claime: and Elenore by whom the issue of the Earle of Darby pretendeth right, as shall bee declared. For that Francis the first Daughter of Charles Brandon by the Queene of France, was married to the Marquesse of Dorset, who after Charles Brandon's death was made Duke of Suffolke in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in Queene Marie's time, for his conspiracy with my Lord of Lecesters Father. And shee had by this man three Daughters: that is, Jane, that was married to my Lord of Lecesters Brother, and proclaimed Queene after King Edwards death, for which both shee and her husband were executed: Katherine the second Daughter, who had two Sonnes, yet living, by the Earle of Hartford: and Mary the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The other Daughter of Charles Brandon by the Queene of France called Elenor, was married to George Clifford Earle of Cumberland, who left a Daughter by her named Margaret, married to the Earle of Darby, which yet liveth and hath issue. And this is the title of all the House of Suffolke, descended from the second Daughter of King Henry the seventh, married (as hath beene shewed) to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke. And by this, you see also how many there bee, who doe thinke their titles to bee sat before that of my Lord of Huntingtons, if either right, law, reason, or consideration of home affaires may take place in our Realme: or if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad, are like to joyne and buckle with Huntingtons Line for the preemience: if once the matter fall againe to contention by excluding the Line of King Henry the seventh which God forbid.

Truly Sir (quoth I) I well perceive that my Lords turne is not so nigh as I had thought, whether hee exclude the Line of King Henry, or no. For if hee exclude that, then must hee enter the Cumbat with foraine titlers of the House of Lancaster: and if hee exclude it not, then in all appareance of reason and in Law to (as you have said) the succession of the two Daughters of King Henry the seventh (which you distinguish by the two names of Scotland and Suffolke) must needs bee as clearely before him and his Line, that descendeth onely from Edward the fourth his Brother: as the Queenes title that now raigneth is before him. For that both Scotland, Suffolke, and her Majesty doe hold all by one foundation, which is, the union of both Houses and Titles together, in King Henry the seventh her Majesties Grandfather.

This is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enongh in every mans eye: and
therefore no doubt, but that as much is meant against her Majesty if occasion serve, as against the rest that hold by the same title. Albiet her Majesties state (the Lord bee praised) bee such at this time, as it is not safety to pretend so much against her, as against the rest, whatsoever bee meant. And that in truth, more should bee meant against her highnesse, then against all the rest, there is this reason: for that her Majesty by her present possession letteth more their desires, then all the rest together with there future pretences. But as I have said, it is not safety for them, nor yet good policy to declare openly, what they mean against her Majesty: It is the best way for the present, to hew downe the rest, and to leave her Majesty, for the last blow and upshote to their game. For which cause, they will seeme to make great difference at this day, betweene her Majesties title, and the rest, that descend in likewise from King Henry the seventh: avowing the one, and disallowing the other. Albiet, my Lord of Leycesters Father, preferred that of Suffolke, when time was, before this of her Majesty, and compelled the whole Realme to sweare thereunto. Such is the variable policy of men, that serve the time, or rather, that serve themselves, of all times, for their purposes.

I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and was present my selfe, at some of his Proclamations for that purpose. Wherein my Lord his Sonne that now liveth: being then a doer, (as I can tell hee was:) I marvaille how hee can deale so contray now: preferring not onely her Majesties title before that of Suffolke (whereof I wonder lesse because it is more gainefull to him,) but also another much further of. But you have signified the cause, in that the times are changed, and other bargaines are in hand of more importance for him. Wherefore leaving this to bee considered by others, whom it concerneth, I beseech you, Sir, (for that I know, your worship hath beene much conversant among their friends and favourers) to tell mee what are the barres and lettes which they doe alleadge, why the House of Scotland and Suffolke descending of King Henry the seventh his Daughters, should not succeed in the Crowne of England after her Majesty, who endeth the Line of the same King by his Sonne: for in my sight the matter appeareth very plaine.

They want not pretences of barres and lets against them all (quoth the Gentle\-man) which I will lay downe in order, as I have heard them alledged. First in the Line of Scotland there are three persons as you know that may pretend right: that is, the Queene and her sonne by the first marriage of Margaret, and Arbella by the second. And against the first marriage I heare nothing affirmed: but against the two persons proceeding thereof, I heare them alledge three stops: one, for that they are strangers borne out of the land, and consequently incapable of inheritance within the same: another, for that by a speciall testament of King Henry 8. authorized by 2. severall Parliaments they are excluded : the third for that they are enemies to the religion now received among us, & therfore to be debarred.

Against the second marriage of Margaret with Archibald Douglas, whereof Arbella is descended, they alledge, that the said Archibald had a former wife at the time of that marriage, which lived long after: & so neither that mariage lawful, nor the issue thereof legitimate.

The same barre they have against all the house and Line of Suffolk, for first they say, that Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke, had a knowne wife alive when he married
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Mary Queene of France, and consequently, that neither the Lady Frances nor Elenor, borne of that marriage, can be lawfully borne. And this is all, I can heare them say against the succession of the Countesse of Darby descended of Elenor. But against my Lord of Hartford's children, that come from Frances the eldest daughter, I heare them alledge two or three bastardies more besides this of the first marriage. For first, they affirm that Henry Marquesse Dorset, when he married the Lady Frances, had to wife the old Earle of Arrundels sister, who lived both then and many yeares after, and had a provision out of his living to her dying day: whereby that marriage could no way be good. Secondly, that the Lady Katherine daughter to the said Lady Frances, by the Marques (by whom the Earle of Hartford had his children) was lawfully married to the Earle of Pembroke that now liveth, & consequently, could have no lawfull issue by any other during his life. 3ly. that the said Katherine was never lawfully married to the said Earle of Hartford, but bare him those children as his Concubine, which (as they say) is desined and registred in the Archbishop of Canterbury's court, upon due examination taken by order of her Majesty that now reigneth, and this is in effect so much as I have heard them alledge, about these affaires.

It is much (quoth I) that you have said, if it may be all proved, Marry yet by the way, I cannot but smile to heare my Lord of Leicester allow of so many bastardies now upon the issue of Ladie Frances, whom in time past, when Jane her eldest daughter was married to his brother, he advanced in legitimation before both the daughters of King Henry the eight. But to the purpose: I would gladly know what grounds of veritie these allegations have, and how far in truth they may stoppe from inheritance: for indeed I never heard them so distinctly alledged before.

Whereeto answered the Gentleman, that our friend the Lawyer could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speake without his fee: though in some points alledged every other man (quoth he) that knoweth the state and common goodernment of England, may easily give his judgement also. As in the case of bastardie, if the matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no right to inheritance can justly be pretended: as also (perhaps) in the case of forraine birth, though in this I am not so cunning: but yet I see by experience, that forreiners borne in other lands, can hardly come and claime inheritance in England, albeit, to the contrary, I have heard great and long disputes, but such as indeed passed my capacity. And if it might please our friend here present to expound the thing unto us more clearely: I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with attention.

To this answered the Lawyer. I will gladly, Sir, tel you my mind in any that it shall please you demand: and much more in this matter wherein by occasion of often conference, I am somewhat perfect.

The impediments which these men alledge against the succession of K. Henry the 8 his sisters, are of two kindes, as you see: The one knowen and allowed in our law, as you have well said, if it may bee proved: and that is bastardie: whereby they seeke to disable all the whole Line and race of Suffolke: as also Arbella, of the second and later house of Scotland. Whereof it is to small purpose to speake any thing here: feeing the whole controversie standeth upon a matter of fact onely, to be proved or improved by records and witnesses. Onely this I will say, that some of these bastardies, before named, are rife in many mens mouths, and avowed by divers that yet live:
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but let other men looke to this, who have most interest therein, and may bee most damned by them, if they fall out true.

The other impediments, which are alledged onely against the Queene of Scots and her Sonne, are in number three, as you recite them: that is, foraine birth, King Henries Testament and Religion: whereof I am content to say some what, seeing you desire it: albeit there bee so much published already in booke of divers languages beyond the sea, as I am informed, concerning this matter, as more cannot bee said. But yet so much as I have heard passe among Lawyers my betters, in conference of these affaires: I will not let to recite unto you, with this Proviso and Protestation alwayes, that what I speake, I speake by way of recitall of other mens opinions: not meaning my selfe to incurre the statute of affirming or avowing any persons title to the Crowne, whatsoever.

First then touching foraine birth, there bee some men in the World that will say, that it is a common and general rule of our law, that no stranger at all may inherit any thing, by any means, within the Land: which in truth I take to bee spoken without ground, in that generall sense. For I could never yet come to the sight of any such common or universall rule: and I know, that divers examples may bee alledged in sundry cases to the contrary: and by that, which is expressly set downe in the seventh and ninth yeares of King Edward the fourth, and in the eleventh and foureteenth of Henry the fourth, it appeareth plainly that a stranger may purchase lands in England, as also inherite by his Wife, if hee marry an inheritrix. Wherefore this common rule is to bee restrained from that generality, unto proper inheritance onely: in which sense I doe easily grant, that our Common law hath beene of ancient, and is at this day, that no person borne out of the allegiance of the King of England whose Father and Mother were not of the same allegiance at the time of his birth, shall bee able to have or demand any heritage within the same allegiance, as heire to any person. And this rule of our Common law is gathered in these selfe same words of a statute made in the five and twentieth yeare of King Edward the third, which indeed is the onely place of effect, that can bee alledged out of our law against the inheritance of strangers in such sense and cases, as wee now treat of.

And albeit now the Common law of our Countrey, doe runne thus in generall, yet will the friends of the Scottish claime affirm, that hereby that title is nothing let or hindred at all towards the Crowne: and that for divers manifest and weighty reasons: whereof the principall are these which ensue.

First it is common, and a generall rule of our English lawes, that no Rule, Axiome, or Maxima of law (bee it never so generall) can touch or bind the Crowne, except expresse mention bee made thereof, in the same: for that the King and Crowne have great privilidge and prerogative, above the state and affaires of subjects, and great differences allowed in points of law.

As for example, it is a generall and common rule of law, that the wife after the decease of her husband, shall enjoy the third of his lands: but yet the Queene shall not enjoy the third part of the Crowne, after the Kings death: as well appeareth by experience, and is to bee seene by Law, Anno 5. and 21. of Edward the third: and Anno 9. and 28. of Henry the sixt. Also it is a common rule, that the Husband shall hold his wives lands after her death: as tenant by courtesie during his life, but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdome.
In like manner, it is a generall and common rule, that if a man die seased of Land in Fee simple, having Daughters and no Sonne: his lands shall bee devided by equall portions among his Daughters: which holdeth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldest Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if shee were the issue male. So also it is a common rule of our law, that the executour shall have all the goods and chattels of the Testatour, but yet not in the Crowne. And so in many other cases which might bee recited, it is evident that the Crowne hath priviledge above others, and can bee subject to rule, bee it never so generall, except expresse mention bee made thereof in the same law: as it is not in the former place and a statute alleaged: but rather to the contrary, (as after shall bee shewed) there is expresse exception, for the prerogative of such as descend of Royall blood.

Their second reason is, for that the demand or title of a Crowne, cannot in true sense bee comprehended under the words of the former statute, forbidding Aliens to demand heritage within the allegiance of England: and that for two respects. The one, for that the Crowne it selfe cannot bee called an heritage of allegiance or within allegiance, for that it is holden of no superiour upon earth, but immediately from God himselfe: the second, for that this statute treateth onely and meaneith of inheritance by descent, as Heire to the same, (for I have shewed before that Aliens may hold lands by purchase within our Dominion) and then say they, the Crowne is a thing incorpore and descendeth not according to the common course of other private inheritances: but goeth by succession, as other incorporations doe. In signe whereof, it is evident, that albeit, the King bee more favoured in all his doings then any common person shall bee: yet cannot bee avoid by law his grants and letters patents by reason of his nonage (as other infants and common heires under age may doe) but alwayes bee said to bee of full age in respect of his Crowne: even as a Prior, Parson, Vicar, Deane, or other person incorporate shall bee, which cannot by any meanes in law bee said, to bee within age, in respect of their incorporations.

Which thing maketh an evident difference in our case, from the meaning of the former statute: for that a Prior, Deane, or Parson, being Aliens and no Denizens: might alwayes in time of peace, demand lands in England, in respect of their incorporations, notwithstanding the said statute or common law against Aliens, as appeareth by many booke cases yet extant: as also by the statute made in the time of King Richard the second, which was after the foresaid statute of King Edward the third.

The third reason is, for that in the former statute it selfe, of King Edward, there are excepted expressly from this generall rule, Infantes du Roy, that is, the Kings offspring or issue, as the word Infant doth signifie, both in France, Portugal, Spain, and other Countries: and as the latin word Liberi (which answereth the same) is taken commonly in the Civill law. Neither may wee restraine the french words of that statute Infantes Dv Roy, to the Kings children only of the first degree (as some doe, for that the barrennesse of our language doth yeild us no other word for the same) but rather, that thereby are understood, as well the Nephewes and other descendants of the King or blood Royal, as his immediate children. For it were both unreasonable and ridiculous to imagine, that King Edward by this statute, would goe about to disinherit his owne nephewes, if hee should have any borne out of his owne allegiance (as easily he might at that time) his sonnes being much abroad from England, and the
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blacke Prince his eldest sonne having two children borne beyond the seas: and consequently, it is apparent, that this rule or Maxime set downe against Aliens is no way to be stretched against the descendents of the King or of the blood Royall.

Their fourth reason is, that the meaning of King Edward and his children (living at such time as this statute was made) could not be, that any of their linage or issue might be excluded in law, from inheritance of their right to the Crowne, by their forraine birth wheresoeuer. For otherwise, it is not credible that they would so much have dispersed their own blood in other countries, as they did: by giving their daughters to strangers, and other meanes. As Leonel the kings third sonne was married in Millan: and Iohn of Gaunt the fourth sonne gave his two daughters, Philip and Katherine to Portugall and Castile: and his neice Iohan to the King of Scots: as Thomas of Woodstocke also the youngest brother, married his two daughters, the one to the King of Spaine, and the other to Duke of Britaine. Which no doubt (they being wise Princes, and so neere of the blood Royal) would never have done: if they had imagined that hereby their issue should have lost all clayme and title to the Crowne of England: and therefore it is most evident, that no such barre was then extant or imagined.

Their fift reason is, that divers persons borne out of all English dominion and allegiance, both before the conquest and since, have beene admitted to the succession of our Crowne, as lawfull inheritors, without any exception against them for their forraine birth. As before the conquest is evident in young Edgar Etheling borne in Hungarie, and thence called home to inherit the Crowne, by his great Vncle King Edward the Confessor, with full consent of the whole Realme, the Bishop of Worcester being sent as Ambassador to fetch him home, with his father named Edward the out-law.

And since the conquest, it appeareth plainly in King Stephen and King Henry the second, both of them borne of English dominions, and of Parents, that at their birth, were not of the English allegiance: and yet were they both admitted to the Crowne. Young Arthur also Duke of Bretaigne by his mother Constance that matched with Geffray King Henry the seconds sonne, was declared by King Richard his Vncle, at his departure towards Ierusalem, and by the whole Realme, for lawfull heire apparent to the Crowne of England, though he were borne in Britaine out of English allegiance, and so he was taken and adjudged by all the world at that day: albeit after King Richards death, his other Vncle Iohn, most tyrannously took both his kingdome and his life from him. For which notable injustice he was detested of all men both abroad and at home: and most apparently scourged by God, with grievous and manifold plagues, both upon himselfe and upon the Realme, which yeelded to his usurpation. So that by this also it appeareth, what the practice of our countrye hath beene from time to time in this case of forraine birth: which practice is the best Interpreter of our common English law: which dependeth especially, and most of all, upon custome: nor can the adversary allege any one example to the contrary.

Their sixth, is of the judgement and sentence of King Henry the seventh, and of his Councell: who being together in consultation, at a certaine time about the mariage of Margaret his eldest daughter into Scotland: some of his Councell moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the Kings issue male should faile, and so the
succession devolve to the heires of the said Margaret, as now it doth? Whereunto
that wise and most prudent Prince made answer: that if any such event should be, it
could not be prejudiciall to England, being the bigger part, but rather beneficall: for
that it should draw Scotland to England: that is, the lesser to the more: even as in
times past it hapned in Normandy, Aquitane, and some other Provinces. Which
answer appeased all doubts, and gave singular content to those of his Councell, as
Polidore writeth, that lived at that time, and wrote the speciall matters of that reigne,
by the Kings owne instruction. So that hereby wee see no question made of King
Henry or his Counsellors touching forraine birth, to let the succession of Lady Margaret's
issue: which no doubt would never have beene omitted in that learned assembly, if any
law at that time had been esteemed or imagined to barre the same.

And these are sixe of their principal reasons, to prove, that neither by the
words nor meaning of our common lawes, nor yet by custome or practice of our
Realme, an Alien may be debarred from claime of his interest to the Crowne, when it
falleth to him by rightfull descent in blood and succession. But in the particular case
of the Queene of Scots and her sonne, they doe addde another reason or two: thereby
to prove them in very deed to be no Aliens. Not onely in respect of their often and
continuall mixture with English blood from the beginning (and especially of late, the
Queenes Grandmother and husband being English, and so her sonne begotten of an
English father) but also for two other causes and reasons, which seeme in truth of very
good importance.

The first is, for that Scotland by all English men, (howsoever the Scots deny the
same) is taken and holden as subject to England by way of Homage: which many of
their Kings, at divers times have acknowledged: and consequently, the Queene and
her sonne being borne in Scotland, are not borne out of the allegiance to England, and
so no forrainers.

The second cause or reason is, for that the forenamed statute of Forrainers in the
five and twenty yeare of King Edward the third, is intitled of those that are borne beyond
the seas. And in the body of the same statute, the doubt is moved of children borne
out of English allegiance beyond the seas: whereby cannot be understood Scotland, for
that it is a peece of the continent land within the seas. And all our old Records in
England, that talke of service to be done within these two-countries: have usually
these latine words, Infra quatuor maria, or in French, deins les quatre mers, that is,
within the foure seas: whereby must needs be understood as well Scotland as England,
and that perhaps for the reason before mentioned, of the subjection of Scotland by way
of Homage to the Crowne of England. In respect whereof it may be, that it was
accounted of old, but one dominion or allegiance. And consequently, no man borne
therein can be accounted an Alien to England. And this shall suffice for the first
point, touching forraine Nativity.

For the second impediment objected, which is the Testament of King Henry the
eight, authorized by Parliament, whereby they affirm the succession of Scotland to bee
excluded: it is not precisely true that they are excluded, but onely that they are put
back behind the succession of the house of Suffolk. For in that pretended Testament
(which after shall be proved to be none indeed) King Henry so disposeth, that after his
owne children (if they should chance to die without issue) the Crowne shall passe to
the heires of Frances, and of Elenore, his nieces by his younger sister Mary Queene of France: and after them (deceasing also without issue) the succession to returne to the next heires againe. Whereby it is evident, that the succession of Margaret Queene of Scotland his eldest sister is not excluded: but thrust back only from their due place and order, to expect the remainder, which may in time be left by the younger. Whereof in mine opinion doe ensue some considerations against the present pretenders themselves.

First, that in King Henries judgement, the former pretended rule of forraigne birth, was no sufficient impediment against Scotland: for if it had beene no doubt, but that he would have named the same in his alleged testament, and thereby have utterly excluded that succession. But there is no such thing in the Testament.

Secondly, if they admit this Testament, which allotteth the Crowne to Scotland, next after Suffolke: then, seeing that all the house of Suffolke, (by these mens assertion) is excluded by Bastardie: it must needs follow, that Scotland by their owne judgement is next, and so this Testament will make against them, as indeed it doth in all points most apparently, but only that it preferreth the house of Suffolke, before that of Scotland. And therefore (I thinke Sir) that you mistake somewhat about their opinion in alleging this Testament. For I suppose, that no man of my Lord of Huntingtons faction, will allege or urge the testimonie of this Testament: but rather some friend of the house of Suffolke in whose favour, I take it, that it was first of all forged.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I stand obstinatly in the contrary: for that it is hard, sometime to judge of what faction each one is, who discourseth of these affaires. But yet I marvell (if it were as you say) why Leicesters father after King Edwards death, made no mention thereof in the favour of Suffolke, in the other Testament which then he proclaymed, as made by King Edward deceased, for preferment of Suffolke before his owne sisters.

The cause of this is evident (quoth the Lawyer) for that it made not sufficiently for his purpose: which was to disinherit the two daughters of King Henry himselfe, and advance the house of Suffolke before them both.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that a title so much exalted of late by the father, above all order, right, ranke, and degree: should now be so much debased by the sonne, as though it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be troden under foot for plaine bastardie. And you see by this, how true it is which I told you before: that the race of Dudlies are most cunning Merchants, to make their gaine of all things, men and times. And as wee have seene now two testaments alleged, the one of the Kings father, and the other of the Kings sonne, and both of them in prejudice of the testators true successors: so many good subiects begin greatly to feare, that wee may chance to see shortly a third testament of her Majesty for the intiulging of Huntington, and extirpation of King Henries bloud, and that before her Majesty can think of sickness: wherein I beseech the Lord I bee no Prophet. But now (Sir) to the foresaid Will and Testament of King Henry; I have often hearde, in truth, that the thing was counterfeite, or at the least not able to bee proved: and that it was discovered, rejected, and defaced in Queene Maries time: but I would gladly understand what you Lawyers esteeme or judge thereof.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot bee denied, but that in the
twenty and eight, and thirty and sixty yeares of King Henries raigne, upon consideration of some doubt and irresolution, which the King himselfe had shewed, to have about the order of succession in his owne children, as also for taking away all occasions of controversies in those of the next bloud: the whole Parliament gave authority unto the said King, to debate and determine those matters himselfe, together with his learned Councell, who best knew the lawes of the Realme, and titles that any man might have thereby: and that whatsoever succession his Majesty should declare as most right and lawfull under his letters patents sealed, or by his last will and testament rightfully made and signed with his owne hand: that the same should bee received for good and lawfull.

Upon pretence whereof, soone after King Henries death, there was shewed a will with the Kings stamp at the same, and the names of divers witnesses, wherein (as hath beene said) the succession of the Crowne, after the Kings owne children, is assigned to the Heires of Frances and of Eleanor, Necceus to the King, by his younger sister. Which assignation of the Crowne, being as it were a mere guilt in prejudice of the elder sisters right (as also of the right of Frances and Eleanor themselves, who were omitted in the same assignation, and their Heires intituled onely) was esteemed to bee against all reason, law, and nature, and consequently not thought to proceed from so wise and sage a Prince, as King Henry was knowne to bee: but rather, either the whole forged, or at leastwise that clause inserted by other, and the Kings stamp set unto it, after his death, or when his Majesty lay now past understanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers most evident reasons and prooves.

For first, it is not probable or credible, that King Henry would ever goe about, against law and reason, to disinhere the line of his eldest sister, without any profit or interest to himselfe: and thereby, give most evident occasion of Civill warre and discord within the Realme, seeing, that in such a case of manifest and apparent wrong, in so great a matter, the authority of Parliament, taketh little effect, against the true and lawfull inheritour: as well appeared in the former times and contentions of Henry the sixt, Edward the fourth, and Richard the third: in whose raignes, the divers and contrary Parliaments made and holden, against the next inheritour, held no longer with any man, then untill the other was able to make his owne party good.

So likewise, in the case of King Edward the third his succession to France, in the right of his Mother, though he were excluded by the generall assembly and consent of their Parliaments: yet hee esteemed not his right extinguished thereby: as neither did other Kings of our Countrey that ensued after him. And for our present case, if nothing els should have restrained King Henry, from such open injustice towards his eldest sister: yet this cogitation, at least, would have stayed him: that by giving example of supplanting his elder sisters Line by vertue of a testament or pretence of Parliament: some other might take occasion to displace his children by like pretence: as wee see that Duke Dudley did soone after, by a forged testament of King Edward the sixt. So ready Schollars there are to bee found, which easily will learne such Lessons of iniquity.

Secondly, there bee too many incongruitis and indignities in the said presented Will to proceed from such a Prince and learned Councell as King Henries was. For first what can bee more ridiculous, then to give the Crowne unto the Heires of Frances
and Elenor, and not to any of themselves? or what had they offended that their Heires should enjoy the Crowne in their right and not they themselves? What if King Henries children should have died, whiles Lady Francis had beeene yet alive? who should have possessed the Kingdome before her, seeing her Line was next? and yet by this testament shee could not pretend her selfe to obtaine it. But rather having married Adrian Stokes her Horsekeeper, shee must have suffered her Sonne by him (if shee had any) to enjoy the Crowne: and so Adrian of a serving man and Master of horses, should have become the great Master and Protectour of England. Of like absurdity is that other clause also, wherein the King bindeth his owne Daughters to marry, by consent and direction of his counsell, or otherwise to leesse the benefit of their succession: but yet bindeth not his Neices Daughters, to wit, the Daughters of Francis and Elenor (if that they had any) to any such condition.

Thirdly, there may bee divers causes and arguments alleaged in law, why this pretended will is not authenticall: if otherwise, it were certaine that King Henry had meant it: First, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended onely to give authority, for declaration and explication of the true title: and not for donation or intricating of the same, to the ruine of the Realme. Secondly, for that there is no lawfull and authenticall Copy extant thereof, but onely a bare inrollement in the Chancery, which is not sufficient in so weighty an affaire: no witnesse of the Privy Councell or of Nobility to the same: which had beeene convenient in so great a case (for the best of the witnesses therein named, is Sir John Gates, whose miserable death is well knowne:) no publike Notary: no Probation of the will before any Bishop, or any lawfull Court for that purpose: no examination of the witnesses: or other thing orderly done, for lawfull authorizing of the matter.

But of all other things this is most of importance: that the King never set his owne hand to the foresaid Will, but his stamp was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when hee was past remembrance: as the late Lord Paget in the beginning of Queene Maries dayes, being of the Privy Councell, first of all other discovered the same, of his owne accord, and upon meere motion of conscience, confessing before the whole Councell, and afterward also before the whole Parliament, how that himselfe was privy thereunto, and partly also culpable, (being drawn thereunto, by the instigation and forcible authority of others:) but yet afterward upon other more godly motions detested the device: and so of his owne free will, very honorably went and offered the discovery thereof to the Councell. As also did Sir Edward Montague, Lord chiefe justice, that had beeene privy and present at the said doings, and one William Clarke, that was the man that put the stamp unto the paper, and is ascribed among the other pretensed witnesses, confessed the whole premisses to bee true, and purchased his pardon for his offence therein. Whereupon Queen Mary and her Councell, caused presently the said inrollement, lying in the Chancery, to be cANCELED, defaced and abolished.

And sithence that time in her Majesties dayes that now liveth about the 11. or 12. yeare of her raigne, (if I count not amisse) by occasion of a certaine little booke spred abroad at that time, very secretly, for advancing of the house of Suffolk, by pretence of this Testament: I remember well the place where the late Duke of Norfolke, the Marquesse of Winchester (which then was Treasurer) the old Earles of Arundell and
Leycestere's Commonwealth.

Penbrooke that now are dead, with my Lord of Penbrooke that yet liveth, (as also my Lord of Leychester himselfe if I bee not deceived) with divers others, met together upon this matter: and after long conference about the foresaid pretensed will, and many proofes and reasons laid downe, why it could not bee true or authentickall: the old Earle of Penbrooke protesting that hee was with the King in his Chamber from the first day of his sickenes unto his laste houre, and thereby could well assure the falsification thereof: at length it was moved, that from that place they should goe, with the rest of the Nobility, and proclame the Queene of Scotland heire apparent in Cheapside. Wherein my Lord of Leychester (as I take it) was then as forward as any man els: how bee it, now, for his profit, hee bee turned aside, and would turne back againe tomorrow next, for a greater commodity.

And albeit, for some causes to themselves best knowne, they proceeded not in the open publishing of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of Penbrooke now living, can bee wittnesse that thus much is true: and that his Father the old Earle at that time, told him openly before the other Noblemen, that hee had brought him to that assembly and place, to instruct him in that truth, and to charge him, to witnesse the same, and to defend it also, with his sword (if need required) after his death. And I know that his Lordship is of that honour and nobility, as hee can not leave of easily the remembrance or due regard of so worthy an admonition. And this shall suffice for the second impedment, imagined to proceed of this supposed Testament of King Henry the eight.

As for the third impediment, of religion, it is not generall to all: for that only one person (if I bee not deceived) of all the Competitours in King Henries line, can bee touched with suspition of different religion, from the present state of England. Which person notwithstanding (as is well knowne) while shee was in governement in her owne Realme of Scotland, permitted all liberty of conscience, and free exercise of religion, to those of the contrary profession and opinion, without restraint. And if shee had not: yet do I not see, either by prescript of law, or practise of these our times, that diversity of religion, may stay just inheritours from enjoying their due possessions, in any state or degree of private men: and much lesse in the claime of a Kingdome: which always in this behalfe (as hath beeene said before) is preferred in privilege.

This wee see by experience, in divers Countries and parts of the World at this day: as in Germany, where among so many Princes, and so devided in religion as they bee: yet every one succeedeth to the state, wherunto hee hath right, without resistance for his religion. The examples also of her Majesty that now is, and of her sister before, is evident: who being knowne to bee of two different inclinations in religion, and the whole Realme devided in opinion for the same cause: yet both of them at their several times with generall consent of all, were admitted to their lawfull inheritance: excepting onely a few traytours against the former, who withstood her right as also in her, the right of her Majesty that is present, and that not for religion (as appeared by their owne confession after) but for ambition and desire of raigne. Monsieur, the Kings brother and heire of France, as all the World knoweth, is well accepted, favored and admitted for successour of that Crowne, by all the Protestants at this day of that Countrey, notwithstanding his opinion in religion knowne to bee different. And I doubt not, but the King of Navarre or Prince of Condé, in the
contrary part, would thinke themselves greatly injured by the state of France, which is different from them in religion at this day, if after the death of the King that now is and his brother without issue, (if God so dispose) they should bee barred from inheriting the Crowne, under pretence onely of their religion. My Lord of Huntington himselfe also, is hee not knowne to bee of a different religion from the present state of England? and that, if hee were King to morrow next, hee would alter the whole government, order, condition, and state of religion, now used and established, within the Realme?

But as I said in the beginning, if one of a whole Family, or of divers Families, bee culpable, or to bee touched herein: what have the rest offended thereby? will you exclude all, for the dislike of one? And to descend in order: if the first in King Henries line, after her Majesty may bee touched in this point, yet, why should the rest hee damned thereby? The King of Scotland her Sonne, that next ensueth (to speake in equity) why should hee bee shut out for his religion? And are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whose dissent is consequent, by nature, order, and degree?

For the yong King of Scotland (quoth I) the truth is, that alwayes for mine owne part, I have had great hope and expecation of him, not onely for the concept which commonly men have of such Orient youths, borne to Kingdomes: but especially for that I understood from time to time, that his education was in all learning, princely exercises and instruction of true religion, under rare and vertuous men for that purpose. Whereby I conceived hope, that hee might not onely become in time, an honourable and profitable neighbour unto us, for assurance of the Gospell in these parts of the World: but also (if God should deprive us of her Majestie without issue) might bee a meane by his succession to unite in Concord and Governement, the two Realmes together, which heretofore hath beene fought, by the price of many a thousand mens bloud, and not obtained.

Marry yet now of late (I know not by what meanes) there is begun in mens hearts a certain dislike or grudge against him, for that it is given out every where that hee is inclined to bee a Papist, and an enemy to her Majesties proceedings. Which argueth him verily, of singular ingratitude, if it bee true, considering the great helps and protection which hee hath received from her highnesse ever sithence hee was borne.

And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) as to beleive every report that you heare of this matter? know you not, that it is expedient for my Lord of Leycester and his faction, that this youth, above all other, bee held in perpetuall disgrace with her Majesty and with this Realme? You know, that Richard of Glocester had never beene able to have usurped as hee did, if hee had not first persuaded King Edward the fourth to hate his owne Brother the Duke of Clarence, which Duke stood in the way, betweene Richard and the thing, which hee most of all things coveted. That is, the possibility to the Crowne, and so in this case is there the like device to bee observed.

For truly, for the yong King of Scotlands religion, it is evident to as many as have reason, that it can bee no other of it selve but inclined to the best: both in respeck of his education, instruction, and conversation, with those of true religion: as also by his former Actions, Edicts, Governement, and private behaviour, hee hath declared. Marry these men whose profit is nothing lesse, then that hee or any other of that race should doe well: doe not cease dayly by all secret wayes, drifts, and molestations
possible, to drive him either to mislike of our religion, or else to incurre the suspicion thereof, with such of our Realme, as otherwise would bee his best friends: or if not this: yet for very need and fear of his owne life, to make recourse to such other Princes abroad, as may most offend or mislike this state.

And for this cause, they suborne certaine busie fellowes of their owne crew and faction, pertaining to the ministry of Scotland, (but unworthy of so worthy a calling) to use such insolency towards their King and Prince, as is not onely undecent, but intollerable. For hee may doe no thing, but they will examine and discusse the same in Pulpit. If hee goe but on hunting, when it pleaseth them to call him to their preaching: if hee make but a dinner or supper, when, or where, or with whom they like not: if hee receive but a coule of horses or other present from his friends or kinsmen beyond the seas: if hee salute or use courteously any man or messenger which commeth from them (as you know Princes of their nobility and courtesie are accustomed, though they come from their enemies, as often hath beene seene and highly commended in her Majesty of England:) if hee deale familiarly with any Ambassador which liketh not them: or finally if hee doe say, or signifie, any one thing whatsoever, that pleaseth not their humour: they will presently, as seditious tribunes of the people, exclaime in publique, and stepping to the Pulpit where the word of the Lord onely ought to bee preached: will excite the commonalty to discontentation, inveying against their soveraigne with such bitternesse of speech, unreverend tearmes, and insolent controlesments, as is not to bee spoken; Now imagine what her Majesty and her grave councell would doe in England, if such proceedings should bee used, by the Cleargy against them.

No doubt (quoth I) but that such unquiet Spirits should bee punished in our Realme. And so I said of late to their most reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate the Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in London, whither hee was come by his Kings appointment (as hee said) to treate certaine affaires with our Queene and Councell. And talking with him of this disorder of his ministry, hee confessed the same with much grieue of mind, and told mee, that hee had preached thereof before the King himselfe, detesting and accusing divers heads thereof, for which cause, hee was become very odious to them and other of their faction, both in Scotland and England. But hee said, that as hee had given the reasons of his doings unto our Queene: so meaneth hee shortly to doe the same unto Monsieur Beza, and to the whole Church of Geneva, by sending thither the Articles of his and their doings. Protesting unto mee that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men, was most scandalous, seditious and perilous, both to the Kings person, and to the Realme: being sufficient indeed, to alienate wholly the yong Prince from all affection to our religion, when hee shall see the chiefe Professours thereof, to behave themselves so undutifully towards him.

That is the thing which these men, his competiours, most desire (quoth the Gentleman) hoping thereby, to procure him most evill will and danger, both at home and from England. For which cause also, they have praecied so many plots and treacheries with his owne subjects against him: hoping by that meanes, to bring the one in distrust and hatred of the other, and consequently the King in danger of destruction by his owne. And in this machination, they have behaved themselves so
Leycester's Commonwealth.

dexterously, so covertly used the mannage and contriving hereof, and so cunningly conveyed the execution of many things: as it might, indeed, seeme apparent unto the yong King, that the whole plot of treasons against his Realme and Person, doth come from England, thereby to drive him into jealousie of our state, and our state of him: and all this for their owne profit.

Neither is this any new device of my Lord of Leycester, to draw men for his owne gaine, into danger and hatred with the state, under other pretences. For I could tell you divers stories and stratagemes of his cunning in this kind, and the one farre different from the other in device: but yet all to one end. I have a friend yet living, that was towards the old Earle of Arundell, in good credit, and by that meanes had occasion to deal with the late Duke of Norfolke in his chiefest affaires before his troubles. This man is wont to report strange things from the Dukes owne mouth, of my Lord of Leycestors most treacherous dealing towards him, for gaining of his bloud, as after appeared: albeit the Duke when hee reported the same, mistrusted not so much my Lords malice therein. But the summe of all, is this in effect: that Leycester having a secret desire, to pull downe the said Duke, to the end that hee might have no man above himselfe, to hinder him in that which hee most desireth: by a thousand cunning devises drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that marriage with the Queene of Scotland, which afterward was the cause or occasion of his ruine. And hee behaved himselfe so dexterously in this drift, by setting on the Duke on the one side, and intrapping him on the other: as Iudas himselfe never played his part more cunningly, when hee supped with his Master, and set himselfe so neere, as hee dipped his spoone in the same dish, and durst before others aske, who should betray him? meaning that night, to doe it himselfe, as hee shewed soone after supper, when hee came as a Captaine with a band of conspirators, and with a courteous kisse delivered his person, into the hands of them, whom hee well knew to thirst after his bloud.

The very like did the Earle of Leycester with the Duke of Norfolke for the art of treason, though in the parties betrayed there were great difference of innocency. Namely, at one time, when her Majesty was at Basing in Hampshire, and the Duke attended there to have audience, with great indifferency in himselfe, to follow or leave off his suite for marriage: (for that now he began to suspect, Her Maiestie liked not greatly thereof:) my Lord of Leicester came to him, and counselled him in any case to persevere and not to relent, assuring him with many oaths and protestations, that Her Majesty must and should be brought to allow thereof, whether she would or no, and that himselfe would seale that purpose with his blood. Neither was it to be suffered that Her Majesty should have her will herein; with many other like speeches to this purpose: which the Duke repeated againe then presently to my said friend: with often laying his hand upon his bosome, and saying; I have here which assureth me sufficiently of the fidelity of my Lord of Leicester; meaning not only the foresaid speeches, but also divers letters which he had written to the Duke of that effect, as likewise he had done to some other person of more importance in the Realme; which matter comming afterward to light, he couzened most notably her Maiestie, by shewing her a reformed copie of the said Letter, for the letter it selfe.

But now how well hee performed his promise, in dealing with her Majesty for the Duke, or against the Duke in this matter, her Highnesse can best tell, and the event
it selfe shewed. For the Duke being admitted soone after to Her Majesties speech, at an other place, and receiving a far other answer then hee had in hope conceived upon Leicesters promises: retiyred himselfe to London, where the same night following hee received letters both from Lecester, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, upon Leicesters instigation (for they were at that time both friends and of a faction) that he should presently flee into Norfolke as hee did, which was the last and finall compleoment of all Leicesters former devices, whereby to plunge his friend over the eares in suspition and disgrace, in such sort, as he should never be able to draw himselfe out of the ditch againe; as indeed he was not, but died in the same.

And herein you see also the same subtile and Machivilian sleight, which I mentioned before, of driving men to attempt somewhat, whereby they may incurre danger, or remaine in perpetuall suspition or disgrace. And this practice hee hath long used, and doth daily, against such as he hath will to destroy. As for example: What say you to the device he had of late, to intrap his well deserving friend, Sir Christopher Hatton, in the matter of Hali his Priest, whom hee would have had Sir Christopher to send away and hide, being touched and detected in the case of Ardent, thereby to have drawne in Sir Christopher himselfe, as Sir Charles Candish can well declare, if it please him, being accessory to this plot, for the overthrow of Sir Christopher. To which intent and most devilish drift pertained (I doubt not) if the matter were duly examined, the late interception of letters in Paris from one Aldred of Lyons then in Rome, to Henry Vmpton, servant to Sir Christopher, in which letters, Sir Christopher is reported to be of such credit and speciall favour in Rome, as if hee were the greatest Papist in England.

What meaneth also these pernicious late dealings against the Earle of Shrewsburie, a man of the most ancient and worthiest Nobility of our Realme? what meane the practises with his nearest both in bed and blood against him? what meane these most false and slanderous rumours cast abroad of late of his disloyall demeanours towards her Majesty and his countrey, with the great prisoner committed to his charge? Is all this to any other end, but only to drive him to some impatience, and thereby to commit or say something which may open the gate unto his ruine? Divers other things could I recite of his behaviour towards other noble men of the Realm, who live abroad in their countries much injured and malcontented by his insolence: albeit in respect of his present power they dare not complaine. And surely it is strange to see, how little account hee maketh of all the ancient Nobility of our Realme: how he contemneth, derideth and debaseth them: which is the fashion of all such as mean to usurpe, to the end they may have none who shall not acknowledge their first beginning and advancement from themselves.

Not only Vsurpers (quoth the Lawyer) but all others who rise and mount aloft from base lynage, bee ordinarily most contemptuous, contumelious, & insolent against others of more antiquity. And this was evident in this mans father, who being a Bucke of the first head (as you know) was intolerable in contempt of others: as appeareth, by those whom hee trode downe of the Nobility in his time: as also by his ordinary jests against the Duke of Somerset and others. But among other times, sitting one day at his owne table (as a Counsellor told me that was present) hee tooke occasion to talke of the Earle of Arundel whom he then had not only removed from
the Counsell, but also put into the Tower of London, being (as is well known) the first and chiefest Earle of the Realme. And for that the said Earle, shewed himselfe somewhat sad and afflicted with his present state (as I marvel not, seeing himselfe in prison, and within the compasse of so fierce a Bears pawes) it pleased this goodly Duke, to vaunt upon this Earles misery, at his owne table (as I have said) and asked the noble men and Gentlemen there present, what Crest or Cognizance my Lord of Arundel did give? and when every one answered, that he gave the white Horse: I thought so (quoth the Duke) and not without great cause: for as the white Paulfrey when hee standeth in the stable, and is well provendred, is proud and fierce, and ready to leape upon every other horses back, still neying and prauncing, and troubling all that stand about him: but when hee is once out of his hoat stable, and deprived a little of his ease and fat feeding, every boy may ride and master him at his pleasure: so it is (quoth he) with my Lord of Arundel: Whereat many marvelled that were present, to heare so insolent speech passe from a man of judgement, against a Peere of the Realme, cast into calamity.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had seen that which I did afterward, which was the most base and abject behaviour of the same Duke, to the same Earle of Arundel at Cambridge, and upon the way towards London: when this Earle was sent to apprehend and bring him up, as prisoner. If I should tell you how hee fell downe on his knees, how he wept, how he besought the said Earle to be a good Lord vnto him, whom a little before he had so much contemned and reproached: you would have said, that himselfe might as well be compared to this his white Paulfrey as the other. Albeit in this, I will excuse neither of them both, neither almost any other of these great men, who are so proud and insolent in their prosperous fortune, as they are easily led to contemne any man, albeit themselves be most contemptibl of all others, whencesoever their fortune beginneth to change: and so will my Lord of Leicester be also, no doubt at that day, though now in his wealth he triumph over all, and careth not whom, or how many hee offend and injure.

Sir therein I beleev you (quoth I) for wee have had sufficient tryall already of my Lords fortitude in adversity. His base and abject behaviour in his last disgrace about his marriage, well declared what he would doe, in a matter of more importance. His fawning and flattering of them, whom he hated most: his servile speeches, his feigned and dissembled teares, are all very well knowne: Then Sir Christopher Hatton, must needs be inforced, to receive at his hands the honourable and great office of Chamberlainship of Chester, for that he would by any means resign the same unto him, whether he would or no: and made him provide (not without his charge) to receive the same, though his Lordship never meant it, as after well appeared. For that the present pange being past, it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverbe, of such as in dangers make vowes to Saints: Scampato il pericolo, gabbato il Santo, the danger escaped, the Saint is deceived.

Then, and in that necessity, no men of the Realme were so much honoured, commended and served by him, as the noble Chamberlaine deceased, and the good Lord Treasurer yet living: to whom, at a certaine time, hee wrote a letter, in all fraud and base dissimulation, and caused the same to bee delivered with great cunning in the sight of her Maiestye; and yet so, as to shew a purpose that it should not be seen:
to the end, her Highnesse might the rather take occasion to call for the same and read it, as she did. For Mistris Frances Haward (to whom the stratagem was committed) playing her part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, neere the doore of the with-drawing Chamber, hee then comming from Her Majesty. And to draw the eye and attention of her Highnesse the more unto it, shee let fall the paper, before it touched the Treasurers hand, and by that occasion brought her Majesty to call for the same: Which after she had read and considered the stile, together with the metall and constitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was sent: Her Highnesse could not but breake forth in laughter, with detestation of such absurd and abiet dissimulation: saying unto my Lord Treasurer there present: my Lord beleevve him not, for if hee had you in like case hee would play the Beare with you, though at this present hee fawne upon you never so fast.

But now, Sir, I pray you goe forward in your speech of Scotland, for there, I remember you left off, when by occasion wee fell into these digressions.

Well then (quoth the Gentleman) to returne againe to Scotland (as you move) from whence wee have digressed: most certaine and evident it is to all the world, that all the broyles, troubles, and dangers procured to the Prince in that countrey, as also the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that title in our owne Realme, doe proceed from the drift and complot of these conspirators. Which besides the great dangers mentioned before, both domestical and foraine, temporall, and of religion, must needs inuerre great jeopardy also to Her Majesties person and present reqne, that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the aspirors ambition, inflamed and increased so much the more, by the nearnesse of their desired pray.

For as soldiers entred into hope of a rich and well furnished Citie, are more fierce and furious, when they have gotten and beaten downe the Bul-workes round about: and as the greedy Burglarer that hath pearsed and broken downe many wals to come to a treasure, is lesse patient of stay, stop and delay, when hee commeth in sight of that which he desireth, or perceiveth only some partition of wane-skot or the like, betwixt his fingers and the cofers or money bags: so these men, when they shall see the succession of Scotland extinguished, together with all friends and favourers thereof, (which now are to Her Majesty as Bulwarke and Walles, and great obstacles to the aspirors) and when they shall see only Her Majesties life and person, to stand betwixt them and their fiery desires, (for they make little account of all other Competitours by King Henries line:) no doubt, but it will be to them a great pricke and spurre, to dispatch Her Majesty also: the nature of both Earles being well considered, whereof the one killed his own wife (as hath beene shewed before) onely upon a little vaine hope of marriage with a Queene, and the other being so farre blinded and borne away, with the same furious fume, and most impotent itching humour of ambition: as his owne mother, when she was alive, seemed greatly to feare his fingers, if once the matter should come so neere, as her life had only stood in his way. For which cause, the good old Countesse, was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might die before Her Majesty, (which happily was granted unto her) to the end that by standing in her sonnes way (who shee saw to her griefe, furiously bent to weare a Crowne:) their might not some dangerous extremity grow to her, by that nearnesse: And if his owne mother feared this mischance, what may her Majesty doubt, at his
and his companions hands, when she only shall be the obstacle of all their unbridled and impatient desires?

Cleare it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the nearnesse of aspirours to the Crowne, endangereth greatly the present possessors, as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers examples, if it were need. For when Henry Bulingbrooke, Duke of Lancaster saw, not only Richard the second to be without issue, but also Roger Mortimer, Earle of March, that should have succeeded in the Crowne, to bee slaine in Ireland: though before (as is thought) hee meant not to usurpe, yet seeing the possibility and neere cut that he had: was invited therewith to lay hands of his Soveraignes blood and dignity, as he did. The like is thought of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, that he never meant the murder of his nephewes, until he saw their father dead, and themselves in his owne hands: his brother also Duke of Clarence dispatched, and his only sonne and heire Earl of Warwicke, within his owne power.

Wherefore, seeing it hath not pleased Almighty God, for causes to himselfe best knowne, to leave unto this noble Realme, any issue by her most excellent Majesty, it hath beene a point of great wisdome in mine opinion, and of great safety to Her Highnesse person, state, and dignity; to preserve hitherto, the line of the next Inheritors by the house of Scotland, (I meane both the mother and the son) whose deaths hath beene so diligently sought, by the other conspiritums, and had beene long ere this achieked, if her Majesties owne wisedome and Royall Clemency (as is thought) had not placed speciale eye upon the conservation thereof, from time to time. Which princely providence, so long as it shall endure, must needs be a great safety and forresse to Her Majesty, not onely against the claims, ayds, or annoyance of forraine Princes who will not be so forward to advance strange titles, while so manifest heires remaine at home, nor yet so willing (in respect of policy) to helpe that line to possession of the whole Iland: but also against practices of domesticall aspirours (as you have shewed) in whose affaires no doubt but these two branches of Scotland are great blocks, as also special Bulwarke to her Majesties life and person: seeing (as you say) these copartners make so little account of all the other of that line, who should ensue by order of succession.

Marry yet of the two, I thinke the youth of Scotland be of much more importance for their purpose, to be made away, both for that he may have issue, and is like in time to be of more ability, for defence of his owne inheritance: as also for that hee being once dispatched, his mother should soone ensue, by one sleight or other, which they would devise unwitting to Her Majesty: albeit, I must needs confesse, that her Highnesse hath used most singular prudence for prevention thereof: in placing her restraint with so noble, strong, and worthy a Peere of our Realme, as the Earle of Shrewsburie is: whose fidelity and constancy being nothing pliable to the others faction, giveth them little contention. And for that cause, the world seeth, how many sundry and divers devices they have used, and doe use daily to slandering and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his charge committed.

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himselfe, as though he had conceived some deepe matter in his head: and after a little pause he began to say as followeth.

I cannot truly but much marvaile, when I doe compare some things of this time
and government, with the doings of former Princes, progenitors to Her Majesty. Namely of Henry the seventh, and Henry the eight: who had so vigilant an eye to the laterall line of King Edward the fourth by his brother of Clarence, as they thought it necessary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might ensue that way, but even the possibilities of all perill: as may well appeare by the execution of Edward Earle of Warwick before named, Sonne and heire to the said Duke of Clarence, and of Margaret his Sister Countess of Salisbury, with the Lord Henry Montague her Sonne, by whose Daughter the Earle of Huntington now claimeth. All which were executed for avoiding of inconveniences, and that at such times, when no imminent danger could bee much doubted, by that Line, especially by the latter. And yet now when one of the same House and Line, of more ability and ambition, then ever any of his Ancestours were, maketh open title and claime to the Crowne, with plots, packs, and preparations to most manifest usurpation, against all order, all law, and all rightfull succession: and against a speciall statute provided in that behalfe: yet is hee permitted, borne out, favored, and friended therein: and no man so hardy, as in defence of her Majestie and Realme, to controle him for the same.

It may be, that her Majesty is brought into the same opinion of my Lord of Huntington’s fidelity, as Iulius Caesar was of Marcus Brutus, his dearest obliged friend: of whose ambitious practises, and aspiring, when Caesar was advertised by his carefull friends: hee answered, that hee well knew Brutus to bee ambitious, but I am sure (quoth hee) that my Brutus will never attempt any thing for the Empire, while Caesar liveth: and after my death, let him shift for the same among others, as hee can. But what ensued? Surely I am loth to tell the event, for omissions sake, but yet all the World knoweth, that ere many moneths passed, this most Noble and Clement Emperour, was pittifullly murdered by the same Brutus and his Partners, in the publique Senate, when least of all hee expected such treason. So dangerous a thing it is, to bee secure in a matter of so great sequell, or to trust them with a mans life, who may pretend preferment or interest, by his death.

Wherefore, would God her Majesty in this case, might bee induced, to have such due care and regard of her owne estate and Royall person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth: which containeth the blisse and calamity of so Noble and worthy a Kingdome, as this is.

I know right well, that most excellent natures are always furthest off from difference in such people, as proves love, and are most bounden by duty: and so it is evident in her Majesty. But yet surely, this confidence so commendable in other men, is scarce allowable often times in the person of a Prince: for that it goeth accompanied with so great perill, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, (as commonly by Gods appointment they are, for the speciall hand hee holdeth over Princes affaires,) or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same.

Wee know that the forenamed Emperour Caesar, had not onely the warning given him of the inclination and intent of Brutus to usurpation, but even the very day when hee was going towards the place of his appointed destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole treason, with request to read the same presently, which hee upon confidence omitted to doe. Wee read also of Alexander the great, how hee
was not onely forbidden by a learned man, to enter into Babylon (whether hee was then going) for that there was treason meant against him, in the place, but also that hee was foretold of Antipaters mischievous meaning against him, in particular. But the yong Prince having so well deserved of Antipater could not bee brought to mistrust the man that was so deare unto him: and by that meanes he was poisoned in a banquet, by three Sonnes of Antipater, which were of most credit and confidence in the Kings Chamber.

Here, truly, my heart did somewhat tremble with feare, horror, and detestation of such events. And I said unto the Gentleman. I beseech you, Sir, to talke no more of these matters, for I cannot well abide to heare them named: hoping in the Lord, that there is no cause, nor ever shall bee, to doubt the like in England: specially from these men who are so much bounden to her Majesty, and so forward in seeking out and pursuing all such, as may bee thought to be dangerous to her Majesties person, as by the sundry late executions wee have seene, and by the punishments every way of Papists, wee may perceve.

Truth it is (quoth the Gentleman) that justice hath beene done upon divers of late, which contenteth mee greatly, for the terrour and restraint of others, of what sect or religion soever they bee: And it is most necessary (doubles) for the compressing of parties, that great vigilance bee used in that behalfe. But when I consider, that onely one kind of men are touched herein: and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust, and watch, is of them alone; without reflexion of eye upon any other mens doings or designements: when I see the double diligence, and vehemency of certaine instruments, which I like not, bent wholly to rayse wonder and admiration of the people, feare, terrour, and attention, to the doings, sayings, and meanings of one part or faction alone, and of that namely and onely, which these conspirators esteeme for most dangerous and opposite to themselves: I am (believe mee) often tempted to suspect fraud and false measure: and that these men deale, as Wolves by nature in other Countries are wont to doe: Which going together in great numbers to assaile a flock of sheepe by night, doe set some one or two of their company upon the wind side of the fold a farre off, who partly by their sent and other bruteling which of purpose they make, may draw the dogges and shepheards to pursue them alone, whiles the other doe enter and slay the whole flock. Or as rebels that meaning to surprise a Towne, to turne away the Inhabitants from consideration of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter: doe set on fire some other parts of the Towne further off, and doe sound a false alarme at some gate, where is meant least danger.

Which art, was used cunningly by Richard Duke of Yorke in the time of King Henry the sixt, when hee to cover his owne intent: brought all the Realme in doubt of the doings of Edmond Duke of Somerset, his enemy. But John of Northumberland, Father to my Lord of Leycester, used the same art much more skillfully, when hee put all England in a maze and musing of the Protefort and of his friends: as though nothing could bee safe about the yong King, untill they were suppressed: and consequently, all brought into his owne authority, without obstacle. I speake not this, to excuse Papists, or to wish them any way spared wherein they offend: but onely to signifie that in a Countrey, where so potent factions bee, it is not safe, to suffer the one to make it selfe so puissant by pursuite of the other: as afterwards the Prince

The example of Alexander the great, how he was foretold his danger.

Scholler.

Late executions.

Gentleman.

Fraid to bee feared in pursuing one part or faction onely.

The comparison of Wolves and Rebels.

Richard Duke of Yorke.

DukeDedley.

A good rule of policy.
must remaine at the devotion of the stronger: but rather as in a body molested and
troubled with contrary humours, if all cannot bee purged, the best Physick is, without
all doubt, to reduce and hold them at such an equality: as destructive may not bee
fear'd of the predominant.

To this said the Lawyer laughing, yea marry Sir. I would to God, your opinion
might prevale in this matter: for then should wee bee in other tearmes, then now wee
are. I was not long since, in company of a certaine honourable Lady of the Court,
who, after some speech passed by Gentlemen that were present, of some apprehended,
and some executed, and such like affaires: brake into a great complaint of the present
time, and therewith (I assure you) moved all the hearers to grieve (as women you know
are potent in stirring of affections,) and caused them all to wish that her Majesty, had
beene nigh to have heard her words.

I doe well remember (quoth shee) the first douzen yeares of her highnesse raigne,
how happy, pleasant, and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and consolation.
There was no mention then of factions in religion, neither was any man much noted or
rejected for that cause: so otherwise his conversation were civill and courteous. No
suspition of treason, no talke of bloudshed, no complaint of troubles, miseries or
vexations. All was peace, all was love, all was joy, all was delight. Her Majesty
(I am sure) tooke more recreation at that time, in one day, then she doth now in a
whole weeke: and wee that served her highnesse, enjoyed more contentation in a
weeke, then wee can now in divers yeares. For now, there are so many suspitions,
every where, for this thing and for that: as wee cannot tell whom to trust. So many
melancholique in the Court, that seeme male-contented: so many complaining or
suing for their friends that are in trouble: other slip over the Sea, or retire themselves
upon the sudden: so many tales brought us of this or that danger, of this man
suspected, of that man sent for up, and such like unpleasant and unsavory stuffe: as
wee can never almost bee merry one whole day together.

Wherefore (quoth this Lady) wee that are of her Majesties traine and speciall
service, and doe not onely feel these things in our selves, but much more in the grie
er of her most excellent Majesty, whom wee see dayly molested herewith (being one of
the best natures, I am sure, that ever noble Princesse was indued with all:) wee
cannot but mone, to behold contentions advanced so farre foorth as they are: and wee
could wish most heartily that for the time to come, these matters might passe with such
peace, friendship and tranquillity, as they doe in other Countries: where difference in
religion breaketh not the band of good fellowship, or fidelity. And with this in a
smiling manner, shee brake off: asking pardon of the company, if shee had spoken
her opinion, over boldly, like a woman.

To whom, answered a Courtier, that sat next her: Madame, your Ladiship hath
said nothing in this behalfe, that is not dayly debated among us, in our Common
speech in Court, as you know. Your desire also herein is a publique desire, if it might
bee brought to passe: for there is no man so simple, that seeth not, how perilous these
contentions and divisions among us, may bee in the end. And I have heard divers
Gentlemen, that bee learned, discourse at large upon this argument: alleging old
examples of the Athenians, Lacedemonians, Carthagians, and Romans, who received
notable dammages, and destruction also, in the end, by their divisions and factions
among themselves: and specially from them of their owne Cities and Countries, who upon factiones lived abroad with Forrainers: and thereby were always as fire-brands to carry home the flame of Warre, upon their Countrey.

The like, they also shewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of Italy: which by their factionous and foruscites, were in continuall garboile, bloodshed and misery. Whereof our owne Countrey hath tasted also her part, by the odious contention betwenee the Houses of Lancaster and Yorke: wherein it is marvellous to consider, what trouble a few men oftentimes, departing out of the Realme, were able to worke, by the part of their faction remaining at home (which commonly encreaseth towards them that are absent,) and by the readines of forraine Princes, to receive alwayes, and comfort such, as are discontented in an other state: to the end, that by their meanes, they might hold an ore in their neighbours bote: Which, Princes that are nigh borderers, doe alwayes, above all other things most covet and desire.

This was that Courtiers speech and reason, whereby I perceived, that as well among them in Court, as among us in the Realme and Countrey abroad, the present inconvenience and dangerous sequell of this our home dissension, is espied: and consequently most English hearts inclined to wish the remedy or prevention thereof, by some reasonable moderation, or re-union among our selves. For that the prosecution of these differences to extremity, cannot but after many wounds and exulcerations bring matters finally to rage, fury and most deadly desperation.

Whereas on the other side, if any sweet qualification, or small tolleration among us, were admitted: there is no doubt, but that affaires would passe in our Realme, with more quietnes, safety and publique weale of the same, then it is like it will doe long: and men would easily bee brought, that have English bowels, to joynie in the preservation of their Countrey, from ruine, bloodshed, and forraine oppression, which desperation of factiones is wont to procure.

I am of your opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have seene the experience thereof, and all the World beholdeth the same at this day, in all the Countries of Germany, Polonia, Bavemland, and Hungary: where a little bearing of the one with the other, hath wrought them much ease, and continued them a peace, whereof all Europe besides, hath admiration and envy. The first dozen yeares also of her Majesties raigne, whereof your Lady of the Court discoursed before, can well bee a winnesse of the same: Wherein the commiseration and lenity that was used towards those of the weaker sort, with a certaine sweet diligence for their gaining, by good meanes, was the cause of much peace, contentation, and other benefit to the whole body.

Wee see in France, that by over much pressing of one part onely, a fire was inkindled not many yeares since, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole: had not a necessary moliification beene thought upon, by the wisest of that King's Councell, full contrary to the will and inclination of some great personages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other. And since that time, wee see what peace, wealth and re-union, hath insued in that Countrey, that was so broken, dissevered and wasted before. And all this, by yelding a little in that thing, which no force can master, but exulcerate rather, and make worse: I meane the conscience and judgement of men in matters of religion.
Leycester’s Commonwealth.

The like also I could name you in Flauders, where after all these broyles and miseries, of so many yeares warres (caused principally by too much streyning in such affaires at the beginning) albeit, the King be never so strict-laced, in yeelding to publike liberty, and free exercise on both parts: yet is he descended to this at length (and that upon force of reason) to abstain from the pursuite and search of mens consciences, not onely in the townes, which upon composition hee receiveth, but also where he hath recovered by force, as in Tornay, and other places: where I am informed that no man is searched, demanded, or molested for his opinion or conscience, nor any act of Papistry or contrary religion required at their hands: but are permitted to live quietly to God and themselves, at home in their owne houses: so they perform otherwise, their outward obedience and duties to their Prince and country. Which only qualification, tollerance, and moderation in our Realme (if I be not deceived, with many more that be of my opinion) would content all divisions, factions, and parties among us, for their continuance in peace: be they Papists, Puritanes, Familians, or of whatsoever nice difference or section besides, and would be sufficient to retain all parties, within a temperate obedience to the Magistrate and gouvernment, for conservation of their country: which were of no small importance to the contention of Her Majesty, and weale publike of the whole kingdom.

But what should I talke of this thing, which is so contrary to the desires and designments of our puissant Conspirators? What should Cicero the Senator use persuasions to Captaine Catilina, and his crew, that quietnesse and order were better then hurlebrulies? Is it possible that our Aspirours will ever permit any such thing, cause, or matter, to be treated in our state, as may tend to the stability of Her Majesties present government. No surely, it standeth nothing with their wisedome or policie: especially at this instant, when they have such opportunity of following their owne actions in Her Majesties name, under the vizard and pretext, of her defence and safety: having sowed in every mans head, so many imaginations of the dangers present both abroad and at home: from Scotland, Flauders, Spaine and Ireland: so many conspiracies, so many intended murders, and others so many contrived or conceived mischieves: as my Lord of Leicester assureth himselfe, that the troubled water cannot bee cleared againe, in short space, nor his baits and lines laid therein, easily espied: but rather, that hereby ere long, hee will catch the fish he gapeth so greedily after: and in the meane time, for the pursuite of these crimes, and other that daily he will find out, himselfe must remaine perpetuall Dictator.

But what meaneth this so much inculcating of troubles, treasons, murders, and invasions? I like not surely these ominous speeches. And as I am out of doubt, that Leicester the caster of these shadowes, doth looke to play his part, first in these troublesome affaires: so doe I heartily feare, that unlesse the tyrannie of this Leicestrian fury be speedily stopped, that such misery to Prince, and people (which the Lord for his mercies sake take from us) as never greater fell before to our miserable countrey: is farre nearer hand then is expected or suspected.

And therefore, for prevention of these calamities, to tell you plainly mine opinion (good Sirs) and therwith to draw to an end of this our conference (for it waxeth late: ) I would thinke it the most necessary point of all for Her Majesty to call his Lordship to account among other, and to see what other men could say against him, at length,
after so many yeares of his sole accusing and pursuing of others. I know and am very well assured, that no one act which Her Majesty hath done since her comming to the Crowne (as she hath done right many most highly to be commended) nor any that lightly Her Majesty may doe hereafter, can be of more utilitie to Her selfe, and to the Realme, or, more gratefull unto her faithfull and zealous subiects then this noble act of Justice would bee, for tryall of this mans deserts towards his countrey.

I say it would be profitable to Her Maiestie, and to the Realme, not only in respect of the many dangers before mentioned, hereby to be avoyded, which are like to ensue most certainly, if his courses be still permitted: but also for that Her Maiestie shall by this, deliver Her selfe from that generall grudge and grieve of mind, with great dislike, which many subiects, otherwise most faithfull, have conceived against the excessive favour shewed to this man so many yeares, without desert or reason. Which favour, he having used to the hurt, annoyance and oppression both of infinit several persons, and the whole Common-wealth (as hath beene said :) the grieve and resentment thereof, doth redound commonly in such cases, not onely upon the person diliuquent alone, but also upon the Soveraigne, by whose favour and authority hee offereth such injuries, though never so much against the others intent, will, desire, or meaning.

And hereof we have examples of sundry Princes, in all ages and countries; whose exorbitant favour to some wicked subiect that abused the same: hath beene the cause of great danger and ruin: the sinnes of the Favourite, being returned, and revenged upon the Favourer. As in the Historie of the Grecians is declared, by occasion of the pittifull murder of that wise and victorious Prince Philip of Macedonie, who albeit, that he were well assured to have given no offence of himselfe to any of his subiects, and consequently feared nothing, but conversed openly and confidently among them: yet, for that hee had favoured too much one Duke Attalus, a proud and insolent Courtier, and had borne him out in certaine of his wickednesse, or at least, not punished the same after it was detected and complayned upon: the parties grieved, accounting the crime more proper and hainous on the part of him, who by office should doe justice, and protecct other, then of the Perpetrator, who followeth but his owne passion and sensuality: let passe Attalus, and made their revenge upon the blood and life of the King himselfe, by one Pausanias, suborned for that purpose, in the marriage day of the Kings owne daughter.

Great store of like examples might be repeated, out of the stories of other countries, nothing being more usuall or frequent among all nations, then the afflictions of Realmes and kingdomes, and the overthrow of Princes and great Potentates themselves, by their too much affection sowards some unworthy particular persons: a thing indeed so common and ordinary, as it may well seeme to be the specialest Rocke of all other, whereat Kings and Princes do make their shipwacks.

For if wee looke into the states and Monarchies of all Christendome, and consider the ruines that have bin of any Princes or Ruler within the same: wee shall find this point to have beene a great and principall part of the cause thereof: and in our owne state and countrey, the matter is too evident. For whereas, since the conquest wee number principally, three just and lawfull Kings: to have come to confusion, by alienation of their subiect: that is, Edward the second, Richard the second, and Henry
Leycester's Commonwealth.

the sixt, this only point of too much favour towards wicked persons, was the chiefest cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the excessive favour towards Peter Gaveston and two of the Spencers. In the second, the like extraordinary, and indiscreet affection towards Robert Vere, Earle of Oxford, and Marquesse of Dubline, and Thomas Mowbray, two most turbulent and wicked men, that set the King against his owne Vncles and the Nobility.

In the third (being a simple and holy man) albeit, no great exorbitant affection was scene towards any, yet his wife, Queene Margarets too much favour and credit (by him not contolde) towards the Marques of Suffolke, that after was made Duke, by whose instinct and wicked counsell, she made away first the noble Duke of Glocester, and afterward committed other things in great prejudice of the Realme, and suffered the said most impious & sinfull Duke, to range & make havocke of all sort of subiects at his pleasure (much after the fashion of the Earle of Leicester now, though yet not in so high and extreme a degree: (this I say was the principall and originall cause, both before God and man, (as Polidore well noteth) of all the calamity and extreme desolation, which after ensued both to the King, Queene, and their only child, with the utter extirpation of their family.

And so likewise now to speak in our particular case, if there be any grudge or grieve at this day, any dislike, repining, complaint or murmure against Her Majesties government, in the hearts of her true and faithfull subiects, who wish amendment of that which is amisse, and not the overthrow of that which is well: (as I trow it were no wisdome to imagine there were none at all:) I dare avouch upon conscience, that either all, or the greatest part thereof, proceedeth from this man: who by the favour of her Maiestie so afflicteth her people, as never did before him, either Gaveston, or Spencer, or Vere, or Mowbray, or any other mischeivous Tyrant, that abused most his Princes favour within our Realme of England. Whereby it is evident, how profitable a thing it should bee to the whole Realme how honourable to Her Maiestie, and how gratefull to all her subiects, if this man at length might be called to his account.

Sir (quoth the Lawyer) you alleage great reason, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Majesty knew but the tenth part of this, which you have here spoken, as also her good subiects desires and complaint in this behalfe: shee would well shew, that Her Highnesse feareth not to permit justice to passe upon Leicester, or any other within her Realme, for satisfaction of her people, whatsoever some men may think and report to the contrary, or howeover otherwise of her owne mild disposition, or good affection towards the person, shee have borne with him hitherto. For so wee see, that wise Princes can doe at times convenient, for peace and tranquillity, and publike weale: though contrary to their owne particular and peculiar inclination.

As to goe no further, then to the last example named and alleged by your selfe before: though Queene Margaret the wife of King Henry the sixt, had favoured most unfortunately many yeares together, William Duke of Suffolke (as hath beene said) whereby he committed manifold out-rages, and afflicted the Realme by sundry means: yet shee being a woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Communality demand justice upon him for his demerites, albeit shee liked and loved the man still: yet for satisfaction of the people, upon so generall a complaint: she was content, first to commit him to prison, and afterward to banish him the Realme: but the providence
of God would not permit him so to escape: for that hee being encountered, and taken
upon the sea in his passage, hee was beheaded in the ship, and so received some part
of condigne punishment for his most wicked, loose, and licentious life.

And to seeke no more examples in this case, and wee know into what favour and
speciall grace Sir Edmond Dudley my Lord of Leycestors good Grandfather was crept,
with King Henry the seventh, in the latter end of his raigne: and what intollerable
wickednesse and mischiefe hee wrought against the whole Realme, and against infinite
particular persons of the same, by the polings and oppressions which hee practised:
whereby though the King received great temporall commodity at that time, (as her
Majesty doth nothing at all, by the present extortions of his Nephew:) yet for justice
sake, and for mere compassion towards his afflieted subjects, that complained
grievously of this iniquity: that most vertuous and wise Prince King Henry, was
content to put from him, this lewd instrument, and devilish suggestour of new
exactions: whom his Sonne Henry, that insued in the Crowne, caused presently before
all other businesse, to bee called publiquely to accompt, and for his deserts to leefe his
head: So as where the interest of a whole Realme, or common cause of many, taketh
place: the private favour of any one, cannot stay a wise and godly Prince, (such as all
the World knoweth her Majesty to bee) from permitting justice to have her free
passage.

Truly it should not (quoth the Gentleman) for to that end were Princes first
elected, and upon that consideration doe subjects pay them both tribute and obedience:
to bee defended by them from injuries and oppressions, and to see lawes executed, and
justice exercized, upon and towards all men, with indifferency. And as for our
particular case of my Lord of Leyester, I doe not see in right and equity, how her
Majesty may deny this lawfull desire and petition of her people. For if her highnesse
doe permit and command the lawes dayly to passe upon thieves and murderers,
without exception, and that for one fact onely, as by experience wee see: how then can
it bee denied in this man, who in both kinds hath committed more enormus acts, then
may bee well recounted.

As in the first, of theft, not onely by spoiling and oppressing almost infinite
private men: but also whole Townes, Villages, Corporations, and Countries, by
robbing the Realme with inordinate licenses, by deceiving the Crowne, with racking,
changing and imbezelng the lands, by abusing his Prince and soveraign in selling his
favour both at home and abroad: with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace,
request, supplication, or whatsoever sute els may depend upon the Court, or of the
Princes authority: with setting at saile and making open market, of whatsoever her
Majesty can give, doe, or procure, bee it spirituall or temporall. In which sort of
traffique, hee committeth more theft, often times in one day: then all the way-keepers,
cut-purses, cousiners, pirats, burglaires, or other of that art in a whole yeare, within
the Realme.

And as for the second, which is murder, you have heard before somewhat said
and prooved: but yet nothing, to that which is thought to have beene in secret
committed upon divers occasions at divers times, in sundry persons, of different
calling in both sexes, by most variable meanes of killing, poisoning, charming,
inchanting, conjuring and the like: according to the diversity of men, places,
opportunities and instruments for the same. By all which means, I thinke, he hath more bloud lying upon his head at this day, crying vengeance against him at Gods hands and her Majesty, then ever had private man in our Countrey before, were hee never so wicked.

Whereunto now, if wee add his other good behaviour, as his intollerable licentiousnesse in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all sort of Wives, Friends andkinswomen: if wee add his injuries and dishonours, done hereby to infinite: if wee add his treasons, treacheries and conspiracies about the Crowne; his disloyall behaviour and hatred against her Majesty, his ordinary lying, and common perjuring himselfe, in all matters for his gaine, both great and small; his rapes and most violent extortions upon the poore; his abusing of the Parliament and other places of justice, with the Nobility and whole communalty besides; if we add also his open injuries which hee offereth dayly to religion, and the Ministers thereof, by tithing them, and turning all to his owne gaine: together with his manifest and knowne tyranny practized towards all estates abroad, throughout all Shires of the Kingdome: his dispoyling of both the Universities, and discouraging of infinite notable wits there, from seeking perfection of knowledge and learning, (which otherwise were like to become notable) especially in Gods word (which giveth life unto the soule,) by defrauding them of the price and reward proposed for their travaile in that kind, through his insatiable Simonia call contracts: if I say, wee should lay together all these enormities before her Majesty, and thousands more in particular, which might and would bee gathered, if his day of triall were but in hope to bee granted. I doe not see in equity and reason, how her highnesse sitting in throne, and at the Royall Sterne, as shee doth, could deny her subjects this most lawfull request: considering, that every one of these crimes apart, requireth justice of his owne nature: and much more all together ought to obtaine the same, at the hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the World.

No doubt (quoth I) but that these considerations, must needs weigh much with any zealous Prince, and much more with her most excellent Majesty: whose tender heart towards her Realme and Subjects, is very well knowne of all men. It is not to bee thought also, but that her highnesse hath intelligence of divers of these matters alleaged, though not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty to doe? perhaps the consultation of this affaire, is not, what were convenient, but what is expedient: not, what ought to bee done in justice, but what may bee done in safety. You have described my Lord before to bee a great man, strongly furnished and fortified for all events. What if it bee not secure to bark at the Beare that is so well britched? I speake unto you but that which I heere in Cambridge and other places, where I have passed: where every mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free chiose to doe what herselfe best liketh in that case, at this day.

I know (said the Gentleman) that Leyesters friends give it out every where, that her Majesty now, is their good Lords prisoner, and that shee either will or must bee directed by him for the time to come, except shee will doe worse: Which thing his Lordship is well contented should bee spred abroad, and believed, for two causes: the one to hold the people thereby more in awe of himselfe, then of their Soveraigne: and secondly to draw her Majestie indeed by degrees to feare him. For considering with himselfe what he hath done: and that it is impossible in truth that ever Her Majesty
should love him again, or trust him after so many treacheries, as he well knoweth are come to Her Highnesse understanding: hee thinketh that he hath no way of sure standing, but by terbour, and opinion of his puissant greatnesse; whereby hee would hold Her Majesty, and the Realme in thraldome, as his father did in his time before him. And then for that he well remembret the true saying, Malus custos diurnitialis, mectus: he must provide shortly that those which feare him, be not able to hurt him: and consequently you know what must follow, by the example of King Edward, who feared Duke Dudley extremly, for that hee had cut off his two Vnces heads, and the Duke tooke order that hee should never live to revenge the same. For it is a setted rule of Machivel, which the Dudles doe observe: That, where you have once done a great injury, there must you never forgive.

But I will tell you (my friends) and I will tell you no untruth, for that I know what I speake herein, and am privie to the state of my Lord in this behalfe, and of mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realme. Most certaine it is, that he is strong by the present favour of the Prince (as hath been shewed before) in respect whereof, hee is admitted also as chiefc patron of the Huntington faction, though neither loved, nor greatly trusted of the same: but let her Majesty once turne her countenance aside from him in good earnest, and speake but the word only, that justice shall take place against him: and I will undertake with gaging of both my life and little lands that God hath given me, that without sturre or trouble, or any danger in the world, the Beare shall be taken to Her Majesties hand, and fast chained to a stake, with mouzel cord, collar and ring, and all other things necessary: for that Her Majesty shall baite him at her pleasure, without all danger of byting, breaking loose, or any other inconvenience whatsoever.

For (Sirs) you must not thinke, that this man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realme but by violence, and that only upon her Majesties favour and countenance towards him. Hee hath not any thing of his owne, either from his ancestors, or of himselfe, to stay upon, in mens hearts or conceits: he hath not ancient nobility, as other of our Realme have, wherby mens affections are greatly moved. His father John Dudley was the first noble of his line: who raysed and made himselfe bigge by supplanting of other, and by setting debate among the Nobility: as also his Grandfather Edmond, a most wicked Promoter, and wretched Petifoger, enriched himself by other mens ruines: both of them condemned Traytors, though different in quality, the one being a Cousener, and the other a Tyrant, and both of their vices conioyned, collected, and comprized (with many more additions) in this man (or beast rather) which is Robert, the third of their kinne and kind. So that, from his ancestors, this Lord receiveth neither honour nor honesty, but only succession of treason and infamy.

And yet in himselfe hath hee much lesse of good, wherewith to procure himselfe love or credit among men, then these ancestors of his had; he being a man wholly abandoned of humane vertue, and devoted to wickednesse, which maketh men odible both to God and man. In his father (no doubt) there were to bee seene many excellent good parts, if they had beene joyned, with faith, honesty, moderation, and loyaltie. For all the world knoweth, that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberall, and assured friendly where hee once promised: of all which vertues, my Lord his sonne, hath neither shew nor shadow, but only a certaine false representation of
Leycester's Commonwealth.

the first, being crafty and subtile to deceive, and ingenious to wickednesse. For as for valour, he hath as much as hath a mouse: his magnanimity, is base sordidity: his liberality, rapine: his friendship, plaine fraud, holding only for his gaine, and no otherwise, though it were bound with a thousand oaths; of which he maketh as great account, as hens doe of cackling, but only for his commodity; using them specially, and in greatest number, when most hee meaneth to deceive. Namely, if he sweare solemnly by his George, or by the eternall God, then be sure it is a false lye: for these are observations in the Court: and sometimes in his owne lodging; in like case his manner is to take up and sweare by the Bible, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that seemeth to follow him (as many doe that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space, he observed him, wittingly and willingly, to be forsworne sixteene times.

This man therefore, so contemptible by his ancestors, so odible of himselfe, so plunged, overwhelmed, and defamed in all vice, so envied in the Court, so detested in the countrey, and not trusted of his own and dearest friends: nay (which I am privie to) so misheld and hated of his owne servants about him, for his beastly life, nigardy, and Atheisme (being never seene yet, to say one private prayer within his Chamber in his life) as they desire nothing in this world so much as his ruine, and that they may be the first, to lay hands upon him for revenge. This man (I say) so broken both within and without, is it possible that Her Majesty, and her wise Counsell should feare? I can never beleive it; or if it be so, it is Gods permission without all cause, for punishment of our sinnes: for that this man, if hee once perceive indeed that they feare him, will handle them accordingly, and play the Beare indeed: Which inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent, and so I leave it to God, and them; craving pardon of my Lord of Leicest for my boldnesse, if I have beene too plaine with him. And so I pray you let us goe to supper, for I see my servant expecting yonder at the gallerie doore, to call us downe.

To that, said the Lawyer, I am content with all my heart; and I would it had beene sooner, for that I am afraid, lest any by chance have over-heard us here since night. For my owne part, I must say, that I have not beene at such a conference this seven yeares, nor meane to be hereafter, if I may escape well with this; wherof I am sure I shall dreame this fort-night, and think ofter of my Lord of Leicest, then ever I had entended: God amend him and me both. But if ever I heare at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quak-britch, and thinke every bush a theefe. And with that, came up the Mistris of the house, to fetch us downe to supper, and so all was hush, saving that at supper a Gentleman or two began againe to speake of my Lord, and that so conformable to some of our former speech (as indeed it is the common talke at tables every where) that the old Lawyer began to shrink and be appaied and to cast dry lookes upon the Gentleman our friend, doubting least something had beene discovered of our conference. But indeed it was not so.

FINIS.
PIA ET UTILIS MEDITATIO,

desumpta ex libro Iobi. CAP. 20.

A GODLY AND PROFITABLE MEDITATION,

taken out of the 20 Chapter of the Booke of Job.

The wicked mans p Pompe.
His joy.
His pride.
His fall.

His children.
His old age.
His bread.
His restitution.

His punishment.
His wickednesse.

His griefe.
His affliction.

His damnation.
His posterity.

THIS I know from the first, that man was placed upon earth, that the praise (or applause) given to wicked men, endureth but a little, and the joy of an hypocrite, is but for a moment. Though his pride were so great as to mount to heaven, and his head should touch the skies: yet in the end shall hee come to perdition as a dung-hill, and they who beheld him (in glory before) shall say, where is hee? he shall bee found as a flying dreame, and as a phantasie by night shall fade away. The eye that beheld him before, shall no more see him, not yet shall his place (of honour) ever more behold him. His children shall bee wore out with beggary, and his owne hands shall returne upon him his sorrow. His (old) bones shall bee replenished with the vices of his youth, and they shall sleepe with him in his grave. His bread in his belly, shall be turned inwardly into the gaule of Serpents. The riches which hee hath devoured, hee shall vomit forth againe, and God shall pull them forth of his belly. Hee shall suck the head of Cocatrices, and the (venomous) tongues of adders shall slay him. Hee shall sustaine due punishment for all the wickednesse that hee hath committed, nor yet shall hee have end or consumation thereof. Hee shall suffer according to the multitude of all his wicked inventions. For that by violence hee hath spoiled the poore, made havock of his house, and not builded the same. His wombe is never satisfied, and yet when hee hath that which hee desired, hee shall not bee able to possess the same. There remaineth no part of his meat (for the poore:) and therefore there shall remaine nothing of his goods. When his belly is full, then shall hee begin to bee straitened, then shall hee sweat, and all kind of sorrow shall rush upon him. I would his belly were once full, that God might send forth upon him the rage of his fury, and raine upon him his warre. Hee shall flie away from iron weapons, and runne upon a bow of brasse. A drawne sword comming out of his skabard shall flash as lightning in his bitterness. All darknesse lie hidden for him in secret: the fire that needeth no kindling shall devour him, and hee shall bee tormented alone in his tabernacle. The off-spring of his house shall bee made open, and pulled downe, in the day of Gods fury. This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and this is the inheritance of his substance from the Lord.

FINIS.

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FACSIMILE

OF THE

MANUSCRIPT.