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LEYCESTERS Common-wealth:

CONCEIVED, SPOKEN AND PUBLISHED WITH MOST EARNEST PROTESTATION OF ALL DUTIFULL GOOD WILL AND AFFECTION TOWARDS THIS REALM, FOR WHOLE GOOD ONELY, IT IS MADE COMMON TO MANY.

Job the 20. verse the 27.

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

Printed 1641.
Dear and loving friend, I received about tenne dayes agone your letter of the 9. of this present:wherein you demand and solicite againe the thing, that I so flatly 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 me very seriously at this instant, both by request and many reasons, to yeeld to your desire herein, and not onely this,

A 2
The Epistle Dedicatory.

but also to give my consent for the publishing of the same, by such secret means as you assure me 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 far from me:) 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 secrecy: (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 speciall good of them both, and for the forewarning of some dangers imminent to the same) they have referred over the matter to me, yet with this Proviso, that they will know nothing, nor yet yield consent to the publishing hereof, for fear of some future flourish of the ragged Staffe to come hereafter about their cares, if their names should breake forth: which (I trust) you will provide, shall never happen, both for their security, and for your own. And with this I will end, assuring you that within these five or six dayes, you shall receive the whole in writing by another way and secret means, neither shall the bearer suspect what hee carrieth: whereof also I thought good to premonish you. And this shall suffice for this time.
At long before the last Christmass, I was requested by a letter from a very worshipfull and grave Gentleman, whose sonne was then my pupil in Cambridge, to repaire 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 terme 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 gratefull 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 pupil, for his towardlines in religion, learning, and vertue: so much more I doe reverence his Father,
The Preface of the conference.

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 do 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 perceivings 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 Christmaffe 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 proffession, and not a little beleved also for his good conversation, notwithstanding some difference in religion betweene 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 Coun-
The Preface of the Conference.

Country and proceedings of the same: as hee seemed alwayes to give full satisfaction in this point to us that were of contrary opinion.

Neither did hee let to protest often times with great affection, 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 friendfhip 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 read 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 bee of our owne religion.
THE ENTRANCE
TO THE MATTER.

One day then of the Chriftmas, wee three retiring our selves after dinner, into a large Gallery, for our recreation, (as often we were accustomed to doe, when other went to cards and other pa’times;) 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 Papiftes 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 fame 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 evill penned in his opinion to prove the guiltines of some persons therein named in particular, as also to perswade in generall, that the Papiftes 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 of farre forth, and in so deepe a degree of proper treason, as here in this booke both in...
general and particular is presumed and enforced, that (quoth he) is somewhat hard (I weene) for you or mee (in respect of some other difference betweene us) to judge or difcern with indifferency.

Nay truly saide the Gentleman, for my part I thinke not so, for that reason is reason in what religion soeever. And for my selfe, I may protest, that I beare the honest Papift (if there bee any) no malice for his deceived conscience, whereof among others, your selfe can bee a witness: mary his Practizes against the state, I cannot in any wise disfeste: and much leffe may the Common-wealth beare the fame (whereof wee all depend,) being a sinne of all other, the most heinous, and leaft pardonable. And therefore seeing in this, you grant the Papift 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 innuate (as you doe) that there is more presumed or enforced upon them by this booke, then there is just cause to doe.

Good Sir, saide the other, I stand not here to examine the doings of my superiours, or to defend the guilty, but with hartily rather their punishment that have deserved the same. Onely this I say, for explanation of my former speech: that men of a different religion from the state wherein they live, may bee said to deale against the same state in two forts: 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 chief governor 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 wee call hote Puritans among you, (whose difference from
the state especially in matters of governement is very
well knowne,) may bee called all traytors, in mine opinion: for that every one of these in deed, doe labour
indirectly, (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 reli-
gion.

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 Cashmere, that fa-
voreth 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 reli-
gion, 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 betweene 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 trea-
son which containeth some actuall attempt or treaty a-
gainst the life of the Prince, or state, by rebellion or
otherwise: wee doe not properly condemn them for

The state of
all Subjects,
in a state of
different reli-
gion,

The second
kind of trea-
son.
The application of the former example.

Gentleman.

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 mislike the present state) as perhaps there bee all bee it for my part, I think these two kinds of treasons, which you have put downe, bee rather divers degrees then divers kinds: wherein I will refer mee to the judgment of our Cambridge friend here present, whose skill is more in logical 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 terme 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 employ 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?

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 forraaine nations, may refraine 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 fifth. And in France not long agoe, albeit the Protestants were up in armes against their King, and could have beene content, by the help of us in England, to have put him downe, and placed an other of their owne religion: yet when they saw us once feazed of New-haven, and so like to proceed to the recovery of some part of our states on that side the Sea, they quickly joynd with their owne Catholiques againe to expell us.

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

And as for Portugall, I have heard some of the chiefeft.
chiet Catholique among them say, in this late contention about their Kingdoms: 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 inconvenience might befall them by that means, rather then endanger their sujection 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: than by calling for aid from the West to hazard their sujection to the said Latines. So that by these examples you see, that feare and horour of externall sujection 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 degree of treason, albeit they were never so deepe in the first, and had both ability, time, will, and oportunity 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 general 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 general to bee properly
perly traytors, but oncly such as in particular are there-
in named, or that are by law attainted, condemned or
executed: and what will you fay (quoth I) to thofe in
particular.

Surely (quoth hee) I muft fay of thefe, much after the
manner which I fpake before: that some here named
in this booke are openly known to have beene in the
fecond degreee or kind of treafon: as Westmerland,
Norton, Sanders, and the like. But divers others
(namely the Priests and Seminaries that of late have
suffered,) by fo much as I could fee delivered and
pleaded at their arraignements, or heard protested by
them at their deaths, or gathered by reafon and dif-
cource of my felfe, (for that no forraine Prince or
wife counellor would ever commit fo great mat-
ters of flate to fuch instriments:) I cannot (I fay)
but thinke, that to the wife of our flate, that had the
doing of this busines, the firft degree of treafon
(wherein no doubt they were) was sufficient to
dispatch and make them away: especially in fuch
fuspitious times as thefe are: to the end that being
hanged for the firft, they fhould never bee in danger
to fall into the fecond, nor yet to draw other men
to the fame: which perhaps was moft of all mi-
doubted.

After the Lawyer had fpoken this, I held my peace,
to hear what the Gentleman would anfwere: who
walked up and downe, two whole turnes in the Gal-
lery, without yeelding any word againe: and then
ftaying upon the fudden, caft his eyes fadly upon us
both, and faid:

My Masters; how fo ever this bee, which indeed ap-
pertaineth not to us to judge or difcuffe, but rather to
perswade our felves, that the flate hath reafon to doe
as it doth, and that it muft ofte times, as well pre-
vent 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 grieve 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 malefactors. I know the caufe of this difference is grounded upon a principle not easie to cure, which is the judgement and conscience of a man, wherunto oblieth at length his will and affection, whatsoever for a time hee may otherwise dissemble outwardsly. 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 conceipt, they are hardly dealt withal, and where every mans particular punishment, is taken to reach to the caufe 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 gracious soveraigne hath taught mee not a little, touching the sequell of these affaires. And finally, (my good friends) I muft 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 else that they were so temperantly on all parts pursued: as the Common-state of our Countrey, the blessed raigne of her Majelie, and the common caufe of true religion, were not endangered thereby.
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 Blacke-moore's 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 alwayes 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) faile whereon to feed, which were an inconvenience as you know.

Truly Sir, said the Gentleman, I think you rove nearer the marke then 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 conceipt of him, who at this present in respect of our finnes, 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

**Lawyer.**

**The nature and practice of the Guinea.**

**Gentleman.**

**The Tyrant of English state.**

**Three differences of religion in England.**

**Purp.**
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 compasse 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 tale 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 pittifull, answered the Gentleman, if all matters and circumstances were well considered, except any man take pleasure to feast at our owne miseries, which are like to bee greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) then by all the wickedness 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 means, hee is the greatest enemy 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 hee was some yeares their secret friend against you: untill by his friends hee was perswaded, and chiefly by the L. Northby way of policy, as the said L. boseth, 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 Bear's love, said the Gentleman, which is all for his owne paunch, and so this Bear's whelp, turneth all to his owne commodity, and for greedines thereof, will overturne all if he bee not stop ped 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) that 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 extreme ambition, pride, falshood and treachery: so borne, so bred up, so nooseled in treason from his infancy, descended of a tribe of traytors, and fleshed in conspiracy against the Royall bloud of King Henry's 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 knownen to bee 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 himselle (as now hee hath done) of Court, Counsell, and Countrey, without controlement: so that nothing wanteth to him but onely his pleasure, and the day already conceived in his mind to dispose of hee lift, 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
accōmpt which I have heard discourse and complaine. But what shall wee 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 Heroicall and Princely sincerity: cannot easily suspect a man so much bounden to her grace, as he is, nor remove her confidence from the place, where she hath heaped so infinite beneiftes.

No doubt (said the Gentleman) but this gracious and sweet disposition of her Majesty is the true original 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, caufed her Majestyes most noble Grandfather and Father (two renowned wife Princes) to withdraw some time upon the sudden, their great favour from certain 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 happes fallen to divers Princes, by to much confidence in obliged proditours: with whom the name of a Kingdome, and one hours raigne, weyeth more, then all the duty, obligation, honesty, or nature in the World. Would God her Majesty could see the continual 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 Counsellour, had with a certaine friend of his, concerning the preladge and deepe:

The Queens Majesties most excellent good nature.
deep impression, which her Majesty's Father had of the House of Sir John Dudley, to be the ruin in time of his Majesty's 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 man's 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 midst of those bloudy 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 sixtene days 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) promising all loyalty and true service to her, after the decease 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 beene no lesse exalted and trusted, then this man is by her Majesty. And so deeply dissembled hee then when hee had in hand the plot to destroy them both. And what then (alas) may not wee fear and doubt of this his sonne, who in outragious ambition and desire of raigne, is not inferior to his Father, or to any other aspiring Spirit in the World, but farre more insolent, cruell, vindicative, expert, potent, sublime, 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 sub-
As to say what they knew against the same, as it was permitted in the first year 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 lose their heads for treason: this man would not be found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries do far surpass them both:

After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himselfe, and looking round about him, as though he had been half afeard, and then said. My masters, doe you read over or study the statutes that came 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 Leicester is?

Yes, said the Gentleman, I have heard how that my L. of Leicester 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 be the more quietly in harbour from the tempest of mens tongues, which talked busily at that time, of divers his Lordships actions and affaires, which perhaps himselfe would have wished to passe with more secrecy. 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 snatchinge 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 Queens Majesty. And albeit hee had not onely used her at his good liking before, for satisfying of his owne lust, but also married and re-married...
married her for contention of her friends: yet de- 
nied hee the same, by solemne oath to her Majesty 
and received the holy Communion thereupon ( so 
good a conscience hee hath) and consequently threat- 
ned most sharp revenge towards all subjects which 
should dare to speake thereof: and so for the concea- 
ling both of this and other his doings, which hee de- 
sired 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 Lord- 
ship was in great distreffe about that time, when Mon- 
sieurs matters were in hand, and that hee did many 
things and purposed more, whereof hee desired left 
speech among the people, especially afterwards, when 
his said designdments tooke not place. I was my selfe 
that yeare not farre from Warwicke 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 
marrige of her Majesty with Monsieur had gone for- 
ward. The thing in Cambridge and in all the Countrey 
as I rode, was in every mans 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.

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 suftred (I meane the marriage) 
which words of his once coming abroad (albeit 
misliked by his owne Lady then also present) every 
Serving-man and Common-companion, tooke then 
up.
up in defence of his Lordships part against the Queenes Majesty. Such running there was, such sending and potting 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 terror 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 be 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 preferreth 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 Wm, 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, bee would follow his Mistress, and leave his Master in the briars.

Marry
(17)

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 mid doubted of his part, in that cause, for their open inclination towards Monsieur, and consequently, for greater discredite of the thing itself, 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 himself an earnest Papist;) yet was there no man so simple in the Realme, which disdiered 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 felte in controversie (I mean the marriage of her Royall Majesty with the brother and heire apparant of France,) being taken and judged by the best, wisest and faithfulest Protestants of the Realme, to bee both honourable, convenient, profitable and needfall. Whereby onely, as by a most soveraigne, and present remedy, all our maladies both abroad and at home, had at once beene cured: all forraine enemies, and dometickall conspirators, all differences, all dangers, all feares had ceased together: France had beene ours moost assured: Spaine would not a little have trembled: Scotland had beene quiet: our competitors in England would have quaked: and for the Pope hee might have put up his pipes. Our differences in religion at home, had beene either little, 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.
King of
Keri, converted An. dom. 603.

Ethelbert
King of
An, dom. 603.

science not unlikely (truly) but that in time hee might by Gods grace, and by the great wisedome and vertue of her Majestie have beene brought also to embrace the Gospell, as King Ethelbert an heauen hen was by noble Queene Bertha his wife, the first Christian of our English Princes.

Into 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 beeene the most fortunate people under heaven, and might have beeene (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 (tearing left hereby his ambition might be refrained, 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 fought the love of her Majestie 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 enviiours 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 partial!, but truly I am not: for that I speake it onely in respect of the quiet and good of my Country, 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 toleration in religion, betweene you
you and us, might have been 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 foreign 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 infinite other causes, purposes, drifts and pretences, there do ensue daily more deep, dangerous and desperate practises, 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 beene used against all her marriage) is not like to leave unto the Realme, that precious Jewel so much and long desired of all English hearts, I meane the Royall heires of her owne body.

Thwartings call you the defeating of all her Majesty's 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 professed enemy. I can remember well my selfe, four treatises to this purpose, undermined by his means; the first with the Swetthen 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 heire of the said Kingdome. For I let
palTc many other secret motions made by great Potentates to her Majesty for the same purpose, but these four are openly known, and therefore I name them. Which four are as well known to have been 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 contracted unto her Majesty, whereof her highnesse was sufficiently advertised by Cardinal Chatilien in the first treatie for France, and the Cardinal 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 suits, for him. Whereunto notwithstanding, when the Sweten would hardly give care, this man conferred with his Privado to make a most uneemely and disloyall proofe 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 otherwaye for his dishonesty 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 onely from himselfe, and in his owne behalfe. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty who refused to noble Knights and Princes as Europe hath not the like: would make choice of so meane a peer 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 maruaile 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 phyfitian Doctor Iulio, to have two wives at once: at the least wife the matter was permitted, and borne out by them both publiquely (as all the World knoweth) and that against no lesser persons then the Archbishop of Canterbury himselfe, whose overthrow was principally wrought by this Tyrant for contrarying his will, in so beaftiy 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 reaason it can,) not onely in respect of the precedent adultery and murder betweene the parties: but also for that my L. was contracted, at least, to an other Lady.
The Lady of Sheffield now Embassadess in France. Lady before, that yet liveth, whereof M. Edward Durand M. Edward Tilney both Courtiers can bee witnesses, and confumated the fame 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. One only for the present I must advertise you, that you may not take hold so exactly of all my L. doings in Womens affairs, neither touching their marriages, neither yet their husbands.

For first his Lordship hath a speciell 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 Majestie, and his owne wife stood in his light, as he supposed: hee did but send her aside, to the house of his servant Forster of Curner by Oxford, where shortly after shee had the chance to fall from a pairre of stairs, and so to break 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 perfome all her Servants from her, to a market two miles of, hee (I lay) with his man can tell how shee died, which man being taken afterward for a felony 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 pieces.

Bald Butller. The wife also of Bald Butller Kinsman to my L. gave out the whole fact a little before her death. But to returne
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 coming home from Ireland, with intent to revenge himselfe upon my Lord of Leicester, for begettting his wife with child in his absence (the child was a daughter and brought up by the Lady Shandoies, 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 mistake not his name) yeoman of his bottels, and Llaid his Secretary entertained afterward by my Lord of Leycester. And so hee died in the way of an extreame Flux, caued 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 been sooner acquainted and used his helpe, shee should not have needed to have sitten so penive at home and fearefull of her husbands former returne out of the same Country, 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 Surgeon and D. Julio were entertained so carefully, who can make a man die, in what manner or shew offickneft you will: by whose instructions no doubt but his Lordship is now cunning, especially adding also to these the counfell of his Doctor Bayly, a man also not a little studied (as hee seemeth in his art. For I heard him once my felfe in publique act in Oxford (and that in preffe of my Lord of Leicester if I bee not deceived) maintaine, that poifon 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 difcufTed 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 Cardinal Chatilian (as I have faid before,) having accused my Lord of Leicester to the Queens Majesty, and after that, passing from London towards France about the marriage, died by the way at Canterbury of a burning Fever: and fo proved Doctor Baylies afferterion true, that poifon may bee given to kill at a day.

At this the Lawyer call up his eyes to Heaven, and I stood somewhat musing and thinking of that which had bee spoken of the Earle of Essex, whose case indeed moved mee more then all the reft, 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 bee in some things veru beneficill:
and therefore I said that it grieved mee extremedly 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 Honnies and other, that were present at Pentecost the Marchants house in Leveling 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 Draykol 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 increafe 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 Honnies also whose Father is Mafter 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 Leycefter for better covering of matter) by his tast that hee then tooke of the compound cup, (though in very small quantity, as you know
Know the fashion is: yet was he like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end, (being yong) with the loste 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 Honnies, saying: I drinketo thee my Robin, and bee not afraid, for this is a better cup of drinke then that, whereof thou tookest the tafi when wee were both poisoned, and whereby thou haft lost thy haire and I must lose my life. This hath yong Honnies reported openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen of worship sithence his comming into England, and the forefaid Lea Irishman at his passage this way towards France, after bee had beene present at the forenamed Mistrefles Draykots death, with some other of the Earles Servants, have and doe most constantly report the same, where they may doe it without the terrour of my Lord of Leycesters revenge. Wherefore in this matter there is no doubt at all, though most extreme 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 too 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 Leycester with like art, and the next in order I thinke was Sir Nicholas Throgmarton, who was a man whom my Lord of Leycester used a great while (as all the World knoweth)
knoweth) to over-thwart and crosse the doings of my Lord Treasurer then Sir Will. Cistill, a man specially misliked alwayes of Leicester, 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 designements: wherefore understanding after a certaine time that these two Knights were secretely made friends, and that Sir Nicholas was like to detects his doings (as hee imagined,) which might turne to some prejudice of his purposes: (having conceived also a secret grudge and griefe against him, for that hee had written to her Majesty at his being Embassador in France, that hee heard reported at Duke Memorances table, that the Queene of England had a meaning to marry her Horfe-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 incurable 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 bee 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 reached 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 knowen how many hee hath dispatched or assaulted that way, it would bee marvelous 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 incurable. 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 circumspection,) it was concluded that the same should bee 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 take the pains to come and visit her with extraordinary kindness, at her house at Hackney, bestowing long discouragements with her in private: but as soone as hee was departed, the good Lady fell into such a Flux, as by no means could shee stay: so long as shee 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. Malles also a stranger borne, that then was about her, a sober and zealous man in religion, and other wise well qualified, can say somewhat in this point (as I think) if hee
hee were demanded. So that this art and exercise of poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then 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 Sardana-palus and Nero, but even Heliogabalus 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 Contraclts, Precontraclts, Poftcontraclts, Procontraclts, and Retractts: as for example: after hee had killed his first wife, and so broken that contract, then forbothe would hee needs make himselfe Husband to the Queenes Majesty, and so defeat all other Princes by vertue of his precontract. But after this, his lust compelling him to an other place, hee would needs make a postcontract with the Lady Sheffield, and so hee did, begettning 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 knowne) at Dudley Castle. But yet after, his concupiscence changing againe (as it never stayeth) hee resolvd to make a retract, of this postcontract, (though it were as surely done (as I have said) as Bed and Bible could make the same) and to make a certaine new, protract, (which is a continuation of using her for a time) with the Widow of Essex: But yet to stop the mouths of out criars.
criars, and to bury the Synagogue with some honour, (for these two wives of Loughton, were meri-
rlly and wittily called his old and new Testaments,
by a person of great excellency within the Realme,
hee was content to affigne to the former a thousand
pounds in money with other petty considerations,
(the pitifullest abused that ever was poore Lady)
and to betake his limmes to the latter, which latter
notwithstanding, hee to useth (as we see) now con-
fessing, now forswearing, now dissembling the mar-
riage: as hee will always yet keepe a void place for
a new surcontract 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
outragious persons, in this kind of sinne, as namely
these whom you have mentioned before: especially
the Emperour Heliogabalus who pass'd all other,
and was called Varius, of the variety of filth which
hee used in this kind of carnality, or carnall beastli-
nesse. Whose death was: that being at length odious
to all men, and so slain by his owne Souldiers, was
drawn through the City upon the ground like a
dogge, and cast into the common privy, with this
Epitaph. His projettus est indomita & rabida libidi-
nis catulus. Here is thrown in, the Whelpe of un-
ruly and raging lust: which Epitaph, may also one day
came to serve my Lord of Loughton (whom you call
the Beare-whelp,) if hee goe forward as hee hath be-
gonne, and die as hee deserveth.

But (good Sir) what a compassion is this, that a-
 mong us Christians, and namely in so well gover-
ned, and religious a Common-wealth as ours is, such
a riot should bee permitted upon mens wives, in a
subject:
Subiect: whereas we read that among the very Heathens, lesse offences then these, in the same kind, were extremely 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 Kingdom, 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 meaner sort, rangeth at his pleasure in all licentiousnesse, and that with security, void of feare both of God and man. No mans wife can bee free from him, whom his sire 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 consanguinity: religion, honour or honestly taketh no place in his outrageous appetite. What hee best liketh that hee taketh as lawfull for the time. So that Kin-woman, allie, friends wife, or daughter, er...
or whatsoever female fort besides doth please his eye: (I leave out of purpose and for honour false tearmes of kinred more neare:) 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, than the eating of an Henne and her Chicken together. There are not (by report) two Noble women about her Majesty (I speake upon some accompt of them that know much) whom hee hath not sollicitied 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 hundred pounds for a night, will make up the summe: or if not, yet will hee make it up otherwise: having reported himselfe (to little shame hee hath) that hee offered to an other of higher place, an hundred 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 traffique in such marchandize: shee being but the leavings of an other man before him, whereof my Lord is nothing squeamish, 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 chaitement in this World by giving him a broken Belly on both sides of his bowels whereby misery and putrification is threatened to him dayly: and to his yong Sonne by the Widdow of Essex, (being Filius peccati) such a strange
Strange calamity of the falling sickness in his infancy, * as well may bee a witnesses 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 libidinous 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 Mountbanc 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 Physitians 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 filthinesse.

Not without good cause (quoth I) but that we 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 Leycestes 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

* The children of adulterers shall be consumed, and the seed of a wicked bed shall bee rooted out, saith God, Sap. 3.

Leycestes ointment.

Leycestes bottell.

Scholar.
A pretty de-vise.

An act of Atheism.

was used at Dudley Castle, for complement of some- 
sacred Ceremonies at the birth of my Lord of Leyce-
sters Daughter in that place: and the matter was so or-
dained, 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 Leycesters appointed goff-
ips, might without other suspicion have access to 
the place) should faine herself to bee with child, 
and after long and sore travell (God wot) to bee de-
ivered of a cushion (as shee was indeed) and a little 
after a faire Coffin was buried with a bundell of 
clothes in shew of a child: and the Minifter caufed 
to use all accustomed prayers and ceremonies for the 
solemne interring thereof: for which thing, afterward, 
before his death hee had great griefe and remorse of 
conscience, with no small detestation of the most ir-
religious devise of my Lord of Leyceftcr in such a 
cafe.

Lawyer. Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace both at the 
devise and at the Minifter, and said now truly if my 
Lords contracts hold no better, but hath so many in-
firmities, with subtilties, and by-places besides: I 
would bee loth that hee were married to my Daugh-
ter, as meane as shee is.

Gentleman. 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 Phyfition bee at 
hand.

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

Gentleman. Hereof (said the Gentleman) may bee divers rea-
sons
The first reason why Leicester slew his wife by violence, rather than by poison.

The second reason.

Doctor Bayly the elder.

sons acknowledged. First that he was not at that time so skillful in those Italian wares, nor had about him so fit Physicians and Surgeons for the purpose: nor yet in truth doe I thinke that his mind was so settled then in mischief, as it hath beene thence. 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 desiginements, 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 Cumner 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 perswade her, that her disease was aboundance 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 on.
A practise for poisoning the Lady Dudley.

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 own for her comfort as the Doctor upon just causes suspected, seeing their great importance, and the small need which the good Lady had of Physick, and therefore he 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 been 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 principal 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 Curman (which was condemned above as not advisedly done) my good Lord, to make plain to the World the great love hee bare to her in her life, and what a griece the losse of so vertuous a Lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up againe and re-buried in the University Church at Oxford, with great Pomp and solemnity: That Doctor Babington my Lords Chaplaine, making the publique funerall Sermon at her second burial, tript once or twice in his speech, by recommending to there memories that vertuous Lady so pittifully murdered, instead of so pittifully slaine.

A third reason. A third cause of this manner of the Ladies death, may bee the disposition of my Lords nature: which is bold and violent where it feareth no resistace (as all cowardly natures are by kind) and where any diff
ficulty or danger appeareth, there, more ready to at

tempt all by art, subtilty, treason and treachery. And
for that hee doubted no great resistance in the poore
Lady to withstand the hands of them which should
offer to breake her neck: hee durst the bolder attempt
the same openly.

But in the men whom hee poisoned, for that they
were such valiant Knights the most part of them, as
hee durst as soone have eaten his scabard, as draw his
sword in publicke against them: hee was inforced,
(as all wretched irrefull and daftardly creatures are)
to supplant them by fraud and by other mens hands.
As also at other times, hee hath sought to doe unto di-
vers other noble and valiant personages, when hee was
afraid to meet them in the field as a Knight should
have done.

His treacheries towards, the noble late Earle of
Sussex in their many breaches, is notorious to all En-
gland. As also the bloody practizes against divers o-
thers.

But as among many, none were more odious and
misliked of all men, then those against Monsieur Si-
miers a stranger and Ambaflador: whom first hee
practised to have poifoned (as hath beene touched
before) and when that devise tooke not place, then hee
appointed that Robin Tider his man) as after upon his
ale bench hee confessed ) should have slaine him at the
Black-friars at Greenewich as hee went forth at the
garden gate: but missing also of that purpose, for that
hee found the Gentleman better provided and guar-
ded then hee expected, hee dealt with certaine Flut-
siers and other Pirates to finke him at Sea with the
English Gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied
him at his returne into France. And though they
missed of this practize also, (as not daring to set upon
him.)
him for fear of some of her Majesties ships, who, to break off this designement attended by speciall commandement, to waft him over in safety yet the foresaid English Gentlemen, were holden foure houres in chace at their coming back: as Mr. Rawley well knoweth being then present, and two of the Chacers named Clark and Harris confessed afterward the whole designement.

The Earle of Ormond in like wise hath often declared, and will avowch it to my Lord of Leycesters face, when so ever hee shall bee called to the same, that at such time as this man had a quarrell with him and thereby was likely to bee enforced to the field (which hee trembled to thinke of) hee first sought by all means to get him made away by secret murder, offering five hundredth pounds for the doing thereof: and secondly when that devise took no place, hee appointed with him the field, but secretly suborning his Servant William Killegre to lie in the way where Ormond should passe, and so to maflaker him with a Calliver, before hee came to the place appointed. Which murder though it tooke no effect, for that the matter was taken up, before the day of meeting: yet was Killigre placed afterward in her Majesties privy Chamber by Leyceter, for shewing his ready mind, to doe for his Master to faithfull a service.

So faithfull a service (quoth I?) truly, in my opinion, it was but an unfit prefferment, for so facinorous a fact. And as I would bee loth that many of his Italians, or other of that art, should come nigh about her Majesties Kitchen: so much lesse would I, that many such his bloody Champions, should bee placed by him in her highnesse Chamber. Albeit for this Gentleman in particular, it may bee, that with change of
of his place in service, he hath changed also his mind and affection, and received better instruction in the fear of the Lord.

But yet in generall I must needs say, that it cannot bee but prejudiciall and exceeding dangerous unto our noble Prince and Realme, that any one man whatsoever (especially such a one as the World taketh this man to bee) should grow to so absolute authority and commandry in the Court, as to place about the Princes person (the head, the heart, the life of the land) whatsoever people liketh him best, and that now upon their deserts towards the Prince, but towards himselfe: whose fidelity being more obliged to their advanceer then to their soveraigne, do serve for watchmen about the same, for the profit of him, by whose appointment they were placed. Who by their meanes calling indeed but Nettes and Chaines, and invisible bands about that person, whom most of all he pretendeth to serve, he shutteth up his Prince in a prison most sure, though sweet and senseless.

Neither is this art of aspiring new or strange unto any man that is experienced in affaires of former time: for that it hath beene from the beginning of all government a troden path of all aspirers. In the stories both Sacred and Prophane, foraine and domestical of all Nations, Kingdomes, Countries, and States you shall read, that such as meant to mount above others, and to governe all at their owne discretion: did lay this for the first ground and principle of their purpose: to possesse themselves of all such, as were in place about the principall: even as hee who intending to hold a great City at his owne disposition, not dareth make open warre against the same: getteth secretly into his hands or at his devotion, all the Townes, Villages,
Villages, Castles, Fortresses, Bulwarkes, Rampires, Waters, Ways, Ports and Passages, about the same, and so without drawing any sword against the said City, he 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 downe 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 Vortiger, Harold, Henry of Lancaster, Richard of Warwick, Richard of Gloucester, John of Northumberland and divers others, who by this meanes specially, have pulled downe their Lawfull sovereigns.

And to speake onely a word or two of the last, for that hee was this mans Father; doth not all England know, that hee first overthrew the good Duke of Somerset, by drawing to his devotion the very servants and friends of the said Duke? And afterward did not hee possesse himselfe of the Kings owne person, and brought him to the end which is known, and before that, to the most shamefull disheriting of his owne Royall Sistres: and all this, by possessing first the principall men, that were in authority about him?

Wherefore Sir if my Lord of Leycest or have the same plot in his head (as most men thinke) and that hee meaneth one day to give the same push at the Crowne by the House of Huntington, against all the race and line of King Henry the seuenthe in generall, which his Father gave before him, by pretence of the House of Suffolk, against the Children of King Henry the eight in particular: hee wanteth not reason to follow the same meanes and platforme of planting
tong special persons, for his purpose about the Prince for surely his Fathers plot lacked no witty device or preparation, but only that God overthrew it at the instant: as happily he may doe this mans) also notwithstanding any diligence that humane wisedome can use to the contrary.

To this said the Gentleman: that my Lord of Leicester hath a purpose to shoot one day at the Diadem by the title of Huntington, is not a thing obscure in it selfe, and it shall bee more plainly proved hereafter. But now will I shew unto you, for your instruction, how well this man hath followed his Fathers platforme (or rather passed the same) in posessing himselfe of all her Majesties servants, friends, and forces, to serve his turne at that time for execution, and in the meaner space for preparation.

First in the privy Chamber, next unto her Majesties Person, the most part are his owne creatures (as he calleth them) that is, such as acknowledge their being in that place, from him; and the rest hee so over-ruleth either by flattery or fear, as none may dare but to serve his turne. And his raigne is so absolute in this place, (as also in all other parts of the Court) as nothing can passe but by his admission, nothing can bee said, done, or signified, whereof hee is not particularly advertised: no bill, no supplication, no complaint, no note, no speech, can passe from any man to the Princesse (except it bee from one of the Councell) but by his good liking: or if there doe: hee being admonished thereof (as presently hee shall:) the party delinquent is sure after to abide the smart thereof. Whereby hee holdeth as it were a lock upon the cares of his Prince, and the tongues of all her Majesties servants, so surely chained to his girdle, as no man dareth to speake any one thing that may offend him, though
it bee never so true or behoveful full for her Majesty to know.

As well appeared in his late marriage with Dame Essex, which albeit it was celebrated twice: first at Killingworth, and secondly at Wavenstead (in the presence of the Earle of Warwick, Lord North, Sir Francis Knollys and others) and this exactly known to the whole Court, with the very day, the place, the witnesses, and the Minister that married them together: yet no man durst open his mouth to make her Majesty privy thereunto, until Monsieur Simiers disclosed the same, (and thereby incurred his high displeasure) nor yet in many days after for fear of Leicester. Which is a subject most dishonorable and dangerous to any Prince living, to stand at the devotion of his subject, what to hear or not to hear, of things that passe within his owne Realme.

And hereof it followeth that no sute can prevaile in Court, bee it never so mean, except hee first bee made acquainted there with, and receive not onely the thanks, but also bee admitted unto a great part of the gaine and commodity thereof. Which, as it is a great injury to the sute: so is it a farre more greater to the bounty, honour and security of the Prince, by whose liberality this man feedeth onely, and forstitheth himselfe, depriving his soveraigne of all grace, thanks, and good will for the same. For which cause also hee giveth out ordinarily to every sute, that her Majesty is nigh and parsimonious of her sute, and very difficile to grant any sute, were it not onely upon his incessant solicitation. Whereby hee filleth his owne purse the more, and emptieth the hearts of such as receive benefit, from due thankes to their Princes for the sute obtained.

Hereof also ensueth, that no man may bee preferred.
red in Court (bee hee otherwise never so well a des-
serving servant to her Majesty except hee bee one of
Leicester's faction or followers: none can bee ad-
vanced, except hee bee liked and prefered by him: none
receive grace, except hee stand in his good favour, no
one may live in countenance, or quiet of life, except
hee take it, use it, and acknowledge it from him, so as
all the favours, graces, dignities, preferments riches
and rewards, which her Majesty bestoweth, or the
Realme can yeeld: must serve to purchase this man
private friends, and favourers, onely to advance his
party, and to fortifie his faction. Which faction if by
these meanes it bee great, (as indeed it is:) you may not
mar vaill, seeing the riches and wealth, of so worthy a
Common-weale, doe serve him but for a price to buy
the same.

Which thing himselfe well knowing, frameth his
spirit of proceeding accordingly. And first, upon
confidence thereof, is become so insolent and impo-
tent of his Ire that no man may beare the same, how
justly or unjustly so ever it bee conceived: for albe-it
hee begin to hate a man upon bare surmisef onely
(as commonly it falleth out, ambition being always
the mother of suspition) yet hee prosecuteth the same,
with such implacable cruelty, as there is no long
abiding for the party in that place. As might bee
shewed by the examples of many whom hee hath
chased from the Court, upon his onely displeasure,
without other cause, being knowne to bee other-
wise, zealous Protestants. As Sir Jerome Bowes,
Master George Scot, and others that wee could
name.

To this insolency is also joyned (as by nature it
followeth) most absolute and peremptory dealing in
all things whereof it pleaseth him to dispose, with-
out
out respect either of reason, order, due, right, subordination, custom, conveniency, or the like: whereof notwithstanding Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their matters: as for example among the servants of the Queen's Majesties household, it is an ancient and most commendable order and custom, that when a place of higher roometh falleth void, he that by succession is next, and hath made proofs of his worthiness in an inferior place, should rise and possesse the same, (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no man unexperienced or untried, should bee placed in the higher rooms the first day, to the prejudice of others, and disservice of the Prince.

Which most reasonable custom, this man contemning and breaking at his pleasure, thrusteth into higher rooms any person whatsoever, so he like his inclination or feele his reward: albeit he neither be fit for the purpose, nor have beene so much as clarke in any inferior office before.

The like hee useth out of the Court, in all other places where matters should passe by order election or degree: as in the Universities, in election of Scholars and heads of houses, in Ecclesiastical persons, for dignities of Church, in Officers, Magistrates, Stewards of lands, Sheriffs and Knights of the Shires, in Burgesses of the Parliament, in Commissioners, Judges, Justices of the peace, (whereof many in every shire must weare his livery) and all other the like: where this man's will, must stand for reason, and his letters for absolute lawes; neither is there any man, magistrate, or commener in the Realme, who dareth not sooner deny their petition of her Majesties letters, upon just causes (for that her highnesse is content after to bee satisfied with reason) then to resi"
resist the commandement of this mans letters, who
will admit no excuse or satisfaction, but only the
execution of his said commandement, bee it right or
wrong.

To this answered the Lawyer, now verily (Sir)
you paint unto mee a strange paterne of a perfect Po-
tentate in the Court: belike that stranger, who calleth
our state in his printed booke *Leycestrense rempublicam*, a Leycestrian Common-wealth, or the Com-
mon-wealth of my Lord of *Leycester*, knoweth much
of these matters. But to hold (Sir) still within the
Court: I assure you that by considerations, which you
have laid downe, I doe begin now to perceive, that
his party must needs bee very great and strong with¬
in the laid Court: I assure you that by considerations, which you
have laid downe, I doe begin now to perceive, that
his party must needs bee very great and strong within
the Court, seeing that hee hath so many wayes
and means to encrease, enrich, and encourage the
sams, and so strong abilities, to tread downe his ene¬
mies. The Common speech of many wanteth not
reason I perceive, which calleth him the heart and life
of the Court.

They which call him the heart (said the Gentle¬
man) upon a little occasion more, would call him
also the head: and then I marvaile what should bee
left for her Majesty, when they take from her both
life, heart, and headship in her owne Realme? But
the truth is, that hee hath the Court at this day, in al¬
mot the same case, as his Father had it, in King Ed¬
wards dayes, by the same device, (the Lord forbid,
that ever it come fully to the same state, for then
wee know what ensued to the principall:) and if
you will have an evident demonstration of this mans
power and favour in that place: call you but to mind
the times when her Majesty upon most just and ur¬
gent occasions, did with-draw, but a little her wonted
favour and countenance towards him: did not all

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*Lawyer.*

A Leycestrian Common-wealth.

*Gentleman.*

Leycester calleed the heart and life of the Court.
A demonstration of
Leicester's tyranny in the
Court.

If a deposition were ma¬
tained, mutiny presently? did not ever¬
ry man hang the tippe? except a few, who afterward
paid sweetly for their mirth, were there not every day
new devices fought out, that some should bee on
their knees to her Majesty, some should weep and
put finger in their eyes: other should find out certaine
cov'rt manner of threatening: other reasons and per¬
suasions of love: other of profit: other of honour: other
of necessity: and all to get him recalled back to fa¬
vour againe? And had her Majesty any rest permitted
unto her, untill shee had yeelded and granted to the
fame.

Consider then (I pray you) that if at that time, in
his disgrace, hee had his faction so fast assured to him¬
sel: what hath he now in his prosperity, after so many
years of fortification? wherein by all reason he hath
not beene negligent, seeing that in policy the first
point of good fortification is, to make that fort im¬
pregnable, which once hath beene in danger to bee
lost. Whereof you have an example in Richard Duke
of Yorke, in the time of King Henry the sixth, who being
once in the Kings hands by his owne submission, and
dimissed againe (when for his deserts, hee should have
suffered: provided after, that the King should never bee
able to over-reach him the second time, or have him
in his power to doe him hurt, but made himselfe strong
enough to pull downe the other with extirpation of
his family.

And this of the Court, household and Chamber of her
Majestie. But now if wee shall passe from Court to
Councell, wee shall find him no lesse fortified but ra¬
ther more: for albeit the providence of God hath
beene such, that in this most honourable assemblie,
there hath not wanted some two or three of the wi¬
felt, gravelt, and most experienced in our state, that
have

Anno Regni
31.

Leicester, pro¬
vided never
to come in
the Queene's
danger again.
have seen and marked this man's perilous proceedings from the beginning, (whereof notwithstanding two are now deceased, and their places supplied to Leycesters good liking:) yet (alas) the wisdome of these worthy men, hath discovered always 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 doe in heart detest his doings (as there were also, no doubt among the Counsellours of King Edward, who misliketh this mans Fathers attempts, though not so hardy as to contrary the same:) yet for most part of the Counsell 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 or follower in faction, as none will stand in the breach against him: none dare resist or encounter his designements: but every man yelding rather to the force of his flow, permittest him to peace, and passe at his pleasure, in whatsoever his will is once setled to obtaine.

And hereof (were I not stayed for respect of some whom I may not name) I could alledge strange examples, not so much in affaires belonging to subjects and to private men, (as were the cases of Snowden forest, Denbigh of Killingworth, of his faire Pastures fowly procured by Southam, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the L. Barkley, of Sir John Throgmorton, of Master Robinson and the like;) wherein those of the Counsell that disliked his doings, least dared to oppose themselves to the same: but also in things that appertaine directly to the Crowne and dignity, to the State and Common-weale, and to the safety.
safety and continuance thereof. It is not secure for any one Councellour, or other of authority, to take notice of my Lords errors or misdeeds, but with extreme perill of there owne ruine.

As for example: in the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, when my Lord of Leycefter was in some disgrace, and consequently, as hee imagined but in fraile state at home, hee thought it not unexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some intelligence also that way, for all events, and so hee did: whereof there was so good evidence and testimony found, upon one of the first of accompt, that was there slaine, (as honourable personages of their knowledge have assured mee) as would have beene sufficient, to touch the life of any subject in the land, or in any state Christian, but onely my Lord of Leycefter; who is a subject without subjection.

For what thinke you? durft any man take notice hereof, or avouch that hee had scene thus much? durst hee that tooke it in Ireland, deliver the same where especially hee should have done? or they who receiv'd it in England, (for it came to great hands,) use it to the benefit of their Princes and Country? No surely: for if it had beene but onely suspected, that they had scene such a thing, it would have beene as dangerous unto them as it was to Acteon to have scene Diana and her Maidens naked: whose case is so common now in England as nothing more, and so doe the examples of divers well declare: whose unfortunate knowledge of so many secrets, brought them quickly to unfortunate ends.

For wee heare of one Salvator a stranger, long ufed in great Mysteries, of base affaires and dishonest actions, who afterward (upon what demerit I know not) sustained a hard fortune, for being late with my Lord
Lord in his study, well near to until midnight, (if I be rightly informed) went home to his Chamber, and the next morning was found slain in his bed. We hear also of one Doughty, hanged in haste by Captaine Drake upon the Sea, and that by order (as is thought) before his departure out of England, for that he was over privy to the secrets of this good Earle.

There was also this last Summer past, one, Gates hanged at Tiberne, among others, for robbing of Carriers, which Gates had been lately Clarke of my Lords Kitching, and had layed out much money of his owne, (as he said) for my Lords provision, being also otherwise, in so great favour and grace with his Lord as no man living was thought to bee more privy of his secrets then this man, whereupon also it is to bee thought, that he presumed the rather to commit this robbery, (for to such things doth my Lords good favour most extend:) and being apprehended and in danger for the same, hee made his recourse to his honour for, protection, (as the fashion is) and that hee might bee borne out, as divers of lesse merit had beeene by his Lordship, in more heinous causes before him.

The good Earle answerd his Servant and deare Privado courteously, and assured him, for his life, how so ever for utter shew or complement the forme of Law might passe against him. But Gates seeing himselfe condemned, and nothing now betweene his head and the halter, but the word of the Magistrate which might come in an instant, when it would bee too late to send to his Lord: remembering also the small assurance of his said Lords word by his former dealings towards other men, whereof this man was too much privy: hee thought good to solicit his case also

Doughty hanged by Drake.

Gates hanged at Tiberne.

The story of

by H
by some other of his friends, though not so puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed, both diligently and effectually in his affairs, found the matter more difficult a great deal then either hee or they had imagined: for that my Lord of Leycester, was not only not his favorer, but a great hastener of his death under hand; and that with such care, diligence, vehemency, and irresistible meanses, (having the Law also on his side,) that there was no hope at all of escaping: which thing, when Gates heard of, hee easily believed for the experience hee had of his Masters good nature, and said, that hee always mistrusted the same, considering how much his Lordship was in debt to him, and hee made privie to his Lordships foule secrets, which secrets hee would, there presently have uttered in the face of all the World, but that hee feared torments or speedy death, with some extraordinary cruelty, if hee should so have done, and therefore hee disclosed the same onely to a Gentleman of worship, whom hee trusted specially, whose name I may not utter for some cause (but it beginneth with H.) and I am in hope ere it bee long, by means of a friend of mine, to have a sight of that discourse and report of Gates, which hitherto I have not seene nor ever spake I with the Gentleman that keepes it, though I bee well assured, that the whole matter passed in substance as I have here recounted it.

Whereunto I answered, that in good faith it were pitty that this relation should bee lost, for that it is very like, that many rare things bee declared therein, seeing it is done by a man so privy to the affaires themselves, wherein also hee had beene used an instrument. I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or els my friends, shall faile mee, howbeit not so soon

Scholar.
This relation of Gates, may serve hereafter for an addition in the second edition of this booke.
as I would, for that he is in the West country that should procure it for mee, and will not returne for certaine months, but after I shall see him againe, I will not leave him untill he procure it for mee, as hee hath promised well (quoth I,) but what is become of that evidence found in Ireland under my Lords hand, which no man dare pursuie, avouch, or behold.

Truly (said the Gentleman,) I am informed that it lieth safely reserved in good custody, to bee brought forth and avouched, when so ever it shall please God to to dispose of her Majesties heart, as to lend an indifferent care, as well to his accusers, as to himselfe, in judgement.

Neither must you thinke, that this is strange, nor that the things are few, which are in such sort reserved in deck for the time to come, even among great personages, and of high calling, for seeing the present state of his power to bee such, and the tempest of his tyrannie to bee so strong and boisterous, as no man may stand in the rage thereof, without perill, for that even from her Majesty her selfe, in the lenity of her Princely nature, hee extorteth what hee designeth, either by fraud, flattery, false information, request, pretence, or violent importunity, to the overbearing of all, whom hee meaneth to oppresse: No marvaile then though many even of the best and faithfulleri subjects of the Land, doe yeeld to the present time, and doe keepe silence in some matters, that otherwise they would take it for duty to utter.

And in this kind, it is not long sithence a worshipsfull and wife friend of mine told mee a testimony in secret, from the mouth of as noble and grave a Counsellour, as England hath enjoyed these

[51]
The Earle of Sussex his speech of the Earle of Leyses.

many hundred yeares: I meane the late Lord Chamberlaine, with whom my said friend being alone at his house in London, not twenty dayes before his death, conferred somewhat familiarly about these and like matters, as with a true Father of his Countrey and Common-wealth: and after many complaints in the behalfe of divers, who had opened their griefes unto Councellours, and saw that no notice would bee taken thereof: the said noble man, turning himself somewhat about from the water (for hee late neare his pond side, where hee beheld the taking of a pike or carpe) said to my friend: It is no marvaile (Sir) for who dareth intermeddle himselfe in my Lords affaires? I will tell you (quoth hee) in confidence betweene you and mee, there is as wise a man and as grave, and as faithful a Councellour, as England breacheth, (meaning thereby the Lord Treasurer) who hath as much in his keeping of Leysesters owne handwriting, as is sufficient to hang him, if either hee durste present the same to her Majesty, or her Majesty doe justice when it should bee presented. But indeed (quoth hee) the time permitteth neither of them both, and therefore it is in vaine for any man to strugge with him.

These were that noble mans words, whereby you may consider whether my Lord of Leysester bee strong this day in Councell or no; and whether his fortification bee sufficient in that place.

But now if out of the Councell, wee will turne but our eye in the Countrey abroad, wee shall find as good fortification also there, as wee have perused already in Court and Councell: and shall well perceive that this mans plot, is no fond or indiscreet plot, but excellent well grounded, and such as in all proportions hath his due corrspondence.
Consider then, the chief and principal parts of this land for martiall affairs, for use and commodi-
ty of armour, for strength, for opportunity, for liberty of the people, as dwelling farthest of from the pre-
dence and aspect of their Prince, such parts (I say) as are fittest for sudden enterprizes, without danger of interception: as are the North, the West, the Countries of Wales, the Islands 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 procurement) in the onely hands of his friends and allies? or of such, as by other matches, have the same complot and purpose with him?

In Yorke is president, the man that of all other is fittest for that place, that is, his nearest in affinity, his dearest in friendship, the head of his faction, and open competitor of the Scepter. In Barwick is Captaine, his Wives uncle, most assured to himselfe and Huntington, as one who at convenient time, may as much advance their designdements, as any one man in England.

In Wales the chief authority from the Prince, is in his owne brother in law: but among the people, of naturall affection, is in the Earle of Pembroke: who both by marriage of his fathers daughter is made his ally, and by dependence is known to bee wholly, at his disposition.

The West part of England is under Bedford, a man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans faction.

In Ireland was governour of late the principal instrument appointed for their purposes: both in respect of his heat, and affection toward their designdements, as also of some secret discontentment, which hee hath towards her Majestie and the state present for
Her Majesty for certaine hard speeches and ingrate recompen
ses, as hee pretendeth: but indeed for that hee is
knowne to bee of nature fyrne, and impatient of stay,
from seeing that Common-wealth on foote, which
the next competitours for their gain, have painted
out to him and such others, more pleasant then the
Terrestrial Paradiff it selffe.

This then is the Heliot, this is the Ajax, appointed
for the enterprise, when the time shall come. This
must bee (forsooth) an other Richard of Warwick, to
gaine the Crowne for Henry the ninth of the House
of Yorke: as the other Richard did put downe Henry
the sixth: of the House of Lancaster, and placed Edward
the fourth, from whom Huntington deriveth his title:
therefore this man is necessarily to bee entertained
from time to time, (as wee see now hee is) in some
charge and martial action, to the end his experience,
power, and credit may grow the more, and hee bee
able at the time to have Fouldiers at his commande
ment. And for the former charge which held of late
in Ireland, as this man had not beene called away, but
for execution of some other secret purpose, * for ad
vancement of their designations: to bee well assured
that for the time to come, it is to bee furnisht againe
with a sure and fast friend to Leicester and to that
faction.

In the Ile of Wight I grant that Leicester hath lost
a great friend and a trusty servant by the death of
Captaine Horsay, but yet the matter is supplied by
the succession of an other, no lesse assured unto him,
then the former, or rather more, through the band
of affinity by his wife. The two Islands of Gerse
and Germsey are in the possession of two friends and
most obliged dependents. The one, by reason hee
is exceedingly addicted to the Puritane proceedings:
the other, as now being joined unto him by the marriage of Mistress Bess his wives sister, both daughters to Sir Francis, or (at least) to my Lady Knole, and so become a rivale, companion and brother, who was before (though trusty) yet but his servant.

And these are the chiefest Keyes, Fortresses, and Bulwarkes, within, without and about the Realm, which my Lord of Leycestor possessing, (as he doth,) hee may bee assured of the body within: where notwithstanding (as hath beene shewed) hee wanteth no due preparation for strength: having at his disposition (besides all aydes and other helps specified before) her Majesties horse, and stables, by interest of his owne office: her Armour, Artillery and Munition, by the office of his brother the Earle of Warwick: The Tower of London and treasure therein, by the dependence of Sir Owin Hopton his owne servant, as ready to receive and furnish him with the whole (if occasion served) as one of his predecessours was, to receive his Father in King Edwards dayes, for the like effect, against her Majesty, and her sister.

And in the City of London it selfe, what this man at a pinch, could doe, by the helpe of some of the principall men, and chiefest leaders, and (as it were) Commanders of the Commons there, and by the bestirring of Fleetwood his madde Recorder, and other such his instruments: as also in all other Townes, Ports and Cities of importance, by such of his owne setting up, as he hath placed there to serve his designments, and justices of peace with other, that in most Shires doe wear his livery, and are at his appointment: the simplest man within the Realm doth consider.
Whereunto if you add 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 Huntington's forwardnesse in the cause (said I) there is no man, I thinke, which maketh doubt: marry for his private forces, albeit they may bee very good, for any thing I doe know to the contrary, (especially at his house within five and twenty miles of Killingworth, where one told mee some yeares past, that hee had furniture ready for five thousand men:) yet doe I not thinke, but that they are farre inferior to my Lord of Leycefter who is taken to have excessive store, and that in divers places. And as for the Castle last mentioned by you, there are men of good intelligence, and of no small judgement, who report, that in the same, hee hath well to furnish, ten thousand good souldiers, of all things necessary both for horse and man, besides all other munition, armour, & artillery, (whereof great store was brought thither under pretence of triumph, when her Majestie was there, and never as yet carried back againe,) and besides the great abundance of ready Coine, there laid up (as is said) sufficient for any great exploit to bee done within the Realme.

And I know that the estimation of this place was such, among divers, many yeares agoe: as when at a time her Majestie lay dangerously sick, and like to die, at Hampton Court, a certaine Gentleman of the Court, came unto my Lord of Huntington, and told him, that for so much as he: tooke his Lord to bee next in succession after her Majestie, hee would offer him a meane of great helps, for compassing of his purpose, after the
the disagree of her Majesty which was, the possession
of Killingworth Castle (for at that time these two
Earles were not yet very friends, nor confederate to¬
gether) and that being had, hee shewed to the Earle
the great furniture and wealth, which thereby hee
should possess for pursuite of his purpose.

The proposition was well liked, and the matter
esteemed of great importance, and consequently re¬
ceived with many thankes. But yet afterward her
Majesty by the good providence of God, recovering
againe, letted the execution of the bargaine: and my
Lord of Huntington having occasion to joyne amity
with Lepofeter, had more respect to his owne com¬
modity, then to his friends security, (as commonly
in such persons and cases it falleth out) and so dis¬
covered the whole device unto him, who forgat not
after, from time to time, to plague the deviser by se¬
cret meanes, untill hee had brought him to that poore
estate, as all the World seeth: though many men bee not
acquainted with the true cause of this his disgrace and
bad fortune.

To this answered the Lawyer: In good faith (Gen¬
tlemen) you open great mysteries unto mee, which
either I knew not, or considered not fo particularly
before, and no marvaile, for that my profession and
exercise of law, restraineth mee from much company
keeping, and when I happen to bee among some that
could tell mee much herein, I dare not either ask,
or heare if any of himselfe beginne to talke, least after¬
ward the speech comming to light, I bee fetched over
the coals (as the proverbe is) for the same, under pre¬
tence of an other thing. But you (who are not suspe¬
sted for religion) have much greater priviledge in
such matters, both to heare and speake againe, which
men of mine estate dare not doe: Onely this I knew

I
The prerogative of my Lord of Leicester is taken for Dominus fac totum: Whose excellency above others is infinite, whose authority is absolute, whose commandement is dreadful, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose favour is omnipotent.

And for his will, though it bee seldom law, yet alwayes is his power above law: and therefore wee Lawyers in all cases brought unto us, have as great regard to his inclination, as Astronomers have to the Planet dominant, or as Sea-men have to the North-Pole.

For as they that faile, doe direct their course, according to the situation and direction of that starre which guideth them at the Pole: and as Astronomers who make prognostications, doe foretell things to come, according to the aspect of the Planet dominant, or bearing rule for the time: so wee doe guide our Clients barke, and doe prognosticate what is like to ensue of his cause, by the aspect and inclination of my Lord of Leicester. And for that reason, as soone as ever wee heare a case proposed, our custome is to aske, what part my Lord of Leicester is like to favour in the matter: (for in all matters lightly of any importance, hee hath a part) or what may be gathered of his inclination therein: and according to that wee give a gheffe, more or lesse, what end will ensue.

But this (my Masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your former speech againe, I doe say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provisions of my Lord and his friends, in such and such places: yet seeing him accompted Lord general over all the whole Realme, and to have at his commandement, all these severall commodities and forces,
forces pertaining to her Majesty which you have mentioned before, and so many more as bee in the Realme, and not mentioned by you (for in fine, hee hath all.) I could not but acount him (as hee is) a potent Prince of our State, for all furniture needfull to defence or offence, or rather the onely Monarch of our nobility, who hath sufficient of himselfe to plunge his Prince, if hee should be discontented, especiall for his aboundance of money, (which, by the wise, is termed the Sinewes of Martiall actions) wherein by all mens judgements, hee is better furnish'd at this day, than ever any subject of our land, either hath beeene heretofore, or lightly may bee hereafter, both for bankes without the Realme, and stuffed coffers within. Insomuch that being my selfe in the last Parliament, when the matter was moved, for the grant of a Subsidie, after that, one for her Majesty had given very good reasons, why her highnesse was in want of money, and consequently needed the assistance of her faithfull subjects therein, an other that sat next mee of good accompt saide in mine ear secretly: these reasons I doe well allow, and am contented to give my part in money; but yet, for her Majesties need, I could make answer as one answered once the Emperour Tiberius in the like cafe and cause: 
Abundæ ei pecuniæ foræ, si à liberto suo in societatem recipieretur; that her Majesty should have money enough, if one of her servants would vouchsafe to make her highnesse partaker with him: meaning thereby my Lord of Leicester, whose treasure must needs in one respect bee greater, then that of her Majesty; for that hee layeth up whatsoever hee getteth, and his expenses hee calleteth upon the purse of his Princes.

For that (said the Gentleman) whether hee doe or no, it importeth little to the matter: seeing both that which...
which hee spendeth, and that hee hordeth, is truly
and properly his Princes Treasure; and seeing hee hath
so many and divers ways of gaining, what should
hee make accompt of his owne private expences? if
hee lay out one for a thousand, what can that make
him the poorer? hee that hath so goodly lands, pos-
sessions, Seignories, and rich offices of his owne, as
hee is knowne to have: hee that hath so speciall fa-
vour and authority with the Prince, as hee can ob-
taine whatsoever hee listeth to demand: hee that hath
his part and portion in all sutes besides, that passe by
grace, or else (for the most part) are ended by law: hee
that may chop and change what lands hee listeth
with her Majestie, dispoile them of all their woods
and other commodities, and rack them afterward to
the uttermost penny, and then returne the same, to
tenter-stretched and bare-borne, into her Majesties
hands againe, by fresh exchange, rent for rent, for o-
other lands never enhanched before: hee that possesseth
so many gainefull licences to himselfe alone of wine,
oyles, currants, cloath, velvets, with his new office
for licence of alienation, most pernicious unto the
Common-wealth, as hee useth the same, with many
other the like, which were sufficient to enrich whole
Townes, Corporations, Countries, and Common-
wealths: hee that hath the art, to make gainefull to
himselfe every offence, displeasure, and falling out of
her Majestie with him, and every angry countenance
cast upon him: hee that hath his share in all offices
of great profit and holdeth an absolute Monopolie
of the same: hee that disposeth at his will the Ecclesiasti-
call livings of the Realme, maketh Bishops, none, but
such as will doe reaon, or of his Chaplaines whom
hee listeth, and retaineth to himselfe so much of the
living as liketh him best: hee that sweepeth away the
glebe
glebe from so many benefices throughout the land and compoundeth with the person for thereof. Hee that so scourgeth the University and Colleges where hee is Chancellor, and selleth both headships and Scholars places, and all other offices, rooms and dignities, that by art or violence may yeeld money: hee that maketh title to what land or other thing hee pleases, and driveth the parties to compound for the same: hee that taketh in whole Forests, Commons, Woods and Pastures to himselfe, compelling the tenants to pay him new rent, and what hee ceaseth: hee that vexeth and oppresseth whomsoever hee list, taketh from any what hee list, and maketh his owne claime, sute, and end as hee list: hee that selleth his favour with the Prince, both abroad in forraigne Countries, and at home, and setteth the price thereof what himselfe will demand: hee that hath and doth all this, and besides this, hath infinite presents dayly brought unto him of great value, both in Jewels, Plate, all kind of Furniture and ready Coin: this man (I say) may easily bear his owne expences, and yet lay up sufficiently also to weary his Prince when needs shall require.

You have said much Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) and such matter, as toucheth neerely 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-gaine it is evident, seeing all that hee hath is gotten onely by the opinion of her Majesties favour towards him: and many men doe repair unto him, with fat presents, rather for that they suppose, hee may by his favour doe them hurt, if hee feele not
You remember (I doubt not) the story of him, that offered his Prince a great yearly rent, to have but this favour only, that he might come every day in open audience, and say in his ear, God save your Majesty, assuring himselfe, that by the opinion of confidence and secret favour, which hereby the people would conceive to bee in the Prince towards him, hee should easily get up his rent againe double told. Wherefore, my Lord of Leycestere receiving dayly from her Majestie greater tokens of grace and favour then this, and himselfe being no evil merchant, to make his owne bargaine for the best of his commodities: cannot but gaine exceedingly at home by his favour.

And for his Lucre abroad upon the same cause, I leave to other men to conceive, what it may bee, thence the beginning of her Majesties raigne, the times whereof and condition of all Christendome hath beene such, as all the Princes and Potentates round about us, have beene constrained at one time or other, to sue to her highnesse for ayd, grace, or favour: in all which suites, men use not to forget (as you know) the parties most able by their credite, to further or let the same.

In particular onely this I can say, that I have heard of sundry French-men, that at such time, as the treaty was betwene France and England, for the re-delivery of Callis unto us againe, in the first yeare of her Majesties raigne that now is, when the French-men were in great distresse and misery, and King Philip refused absolutely to make peace with them, except Callis were restored to England (whether for that purpose hee had now delivered the French hostages:)}
the French-men doe report (I say) that my Lord of Leicesters stood them in great stead at that necessity, for his reward, (which you may well imagine was not small, for a thing of such importance,) and became a father, that peace might be concluded, with the release of Callis to the French: which was one of the most impious facts (to say the truth,) that ever could be devised against his Commonwealth.

A small matter in him (said the Gentleman) for in this he did no more, but as Christ said of the Jews; that they filled up the measure of their Fathers sins. And so if you read the story of King Edwards time, you shall find it most evident, that this mans Father before him, could Bulloigne to the French by like treachery. For it was delivered up upon composition, without necessity or reason, the five and twenty of April, in the fourth year of King Edward the sixth, when hee (I mean Duke Dudley) had now put in the Tower the Lord Protevou, and thrust out of the Councell whom he lifted: as namely the Earles of Arundell and Southampton, and so invaded the whole government himselfe, to fell, spoile and dispose at his pleasure. Wherefore this is but natural to my Lord of Leicesters by descent, to make merchandize of the state, for his Grandfather Edmund also, was such a kind of Copeman.

An evil race of Merchants for the Commonwealth (quoth the Lawyer) but yet, Sir, I pray you (said hee) expound unto mee somewhat more at large, the nature of these licences which you named, as also the changing of lands with her Majesty, if you can set it downe any plainer: for they seeme, to bee things of excessive gaine: especially his way of gaining by offending her Majesty, or by her highness offence to-
wards him, for it seemeth to bee a device above all skill or reason.

Not so (quoth the Gentleman) for you know that every falling out must have an attonement againe, whereof hee being sure by the many and puissant means of his friends in Court, as I have shewed before, who shall not give her Majesty rest untill it be done: then for this attonement, and in perfect reconciliation on her Majesties part, she must grant my Lord some suit or other, which hee will have alwayes ready provided for that purpose, and this suit shall bee well able to reward his friends, that laboured for his reconcilement, and leave also a good remainder for himselfe. And this is now so ordinary a practize with him, as all the Realm observeth the same, and disdaigneth that her Majesty should bee so unworthily abused. For if her highnesse fall not out with him as often as hee desireth to gaine this way, then hee picketh some quarrell or other, to shew himselfe discontented with her, so that one way or other, this gaineful reconcilement must bee made, and that often for his commodity. The like art hee exerciseth in inviting her Majesty to his banquette and to his houses, where if she come, shee must grant him in suits, ten times so much as the charges of all amount unto: so that Robin playeth the Broker in all his affaires, and maketh the uttermost penny of her Majesties every way.

Now for his change of lands, I thinke I have beene reasonable plaine before: yet for your fuller satisfaction, you shall understand his further dealing therein, to bee in this sort. Besides the good lands and of ancient possession to the Crowne, procured at her Majesties hand, and used as before was declared, hee useth the same trick for his worst lands, that hee poffeth
Icfluth any way, whether they come to him, by extort means and plaine oppression, or through maintenance & broken titles, or by coufnage of simple Gentlemen, to make him their heire, or by what hard title or unhonest means so ever, (for hee practizeth store of such and thinketh little of the reckoning:) after hee hath tried them Likewise to the uttermost touch, and letten them out to such as shall gaine but little by the bargaine: then goeth hee and changeth the same with her Majesty for the best lands hee can pick out of the Crowne, to the end that hereby hee may both enforce her Majesty to the defence of his bad titles, and himselfe fill his coffers with the fines and uttermost commodity of both the lands.

His licences doe stand thus: first hee got licence for certaine great numbers of cloaths, to bee transported out of this land, which might have beene an undoing to the Marchant subject, if they had not redeemed the same with great summes of money: so that it redounded to great dammage of all occupied about that kind of commodity. After that hee had the grant for carrying over of barrell slaves and of some other such like wares. Then procured hee a Monopolie, for bringing in of sweet wines, oyles, currants and the like: the gaine whereof is inestimable. Hee had also the forfeit of all wine that was to bee drawne above the old ordinary price, with licence to give authority to sell above that price: wherein Captaine Horsey was his instrument, by which means it is incredible what treasure and yearely rent was gathered of the Vintners throughout the land.

To this adde now his licence of silkes and velvets, which onely were enough to enrich the Major and Aldermen of London, if they were all decayed.
(as often I have heard divers Marchants affirme.)

And his licence of alienation of lands, which (as in part I have opened before) serveth him not onely to excessive gaine, but also for an extreame scourge, wherewith to plague whom he pleaseth in the Realm.

For seeing that without this licence, no man can buy, sell, passe, or alienate, any land that any ways may bee drawne to that tenure, as holde[n] in chiofe of the Prince: (as commonly now most land may) hee calleth into question whatsoever liketh him best, bee it never so cleare: and under this colour, not onely enricheth himselfe, without all measure, but revengeth himselfe also, where hee will, without all order.

Heare the Lawyer stood still a pretty while, biting his lip, as hee were astonished, and then said; Verily I have not heard so many and so apparant things, or so odious, of any man that ever lived in our Common-wealth. And I marvaille much of my Lord of Leycester, that his Grandfathers fortune doth not move him much, who loft his head in the beginning of King Henry the eights dayes, for much lesse and fewer offences, in the same kind, committed in the time of King Henry the seventh: for hee was thought to bee the inventour of these poolings and molestations, wherewith the people were burthened, in the latter dayes of the said King. And yet had hee great pretence of reason to alleaged for himselfe; in that these exactions were made to the Kings use, and not to his, (albeit no doubt) but his owne gaine was also there. Master Stow writeth in his Chronicle, that in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, hee wrot a notable booke, intituled The tre[e] of Common-wealth, which booke, the said Stow faith, that hee hath delivered to my Lord of Leycester many yeares agoone. 

And
And if the said booke be so notable as Malt-
affirmeth: I marvel, that his Lord in so many yeares,
doth not publish the same, for the glory of his ance-
tors?

It may bee (said the Gentleman) that the secrets
therein contained, bee such, as it seemeth good to my
Lord, to use them onely himselfe, and to gather the
fruit of that tree into his owne house alone. For if
the tree of the Common-wealth in Edmund Dud-
leis booke, bee the Prince and his race: and the fruits
to bee gathered from that tree, bee riches, honours,
dignities, and preferments: then no doubt, but as the
writer Edmund was cunning therein: so have his two
followers, John and Robert, well studied and practized
the same, or rather have, exceeded and farre pas-
the authour himselfe. The one of them gathering so
cagery, and with such vehemency, as hee was like to
have broken downe the maine boughes for greedi-
ness: the other yet plucking and heaping so fast to
himselfe and his friends, as it is and may bee, most
justly doubted, that when they have cropped all they
can, from the tree left them by their Father Edmund
(I meane the race of King Henry the seventh:) then
will they pluck up the Stemme it selfe by the roots,
as unprofitable: and pitch in his place another Trunke,
(that is the line of Huntington) that may begin to
feed a new, with fresh fruits againe, and for a time
content their appetites, untill of gatherers, they may
become trees, (which is their finall purpose) to feed
themselves at their owne discretion.

And howsoever this bee, it cannot bee denied, but
that Edmund Dudleis brood, have learned by this
booke, and by other meanes, to bee more cunning ga-
thers, then ever their first progenitor was, that made
the booke. First for that hee made profession to ga-

The sup-
planting of
the race of
Henry the 7.
The inser-
ting of Hun-
tington.

Edmund
Dudleis
broode more
cunning then
himselfe.
Horthumber-land and Leicestersh with their Prince will not bee

ther to his Prince (though wickedly) and these men make demonstration, that they have gathered for themselves: and that with much more iniquity. Secondly, for that Edmund Dudley though he got himselfe nere about the tree, yet was hee content to stand on the ground, and to serve himselfe from the tree, as commodity was offered: but his children not esteeming that safe gathering, will needs mount aloft upon the tree, to pull, croppe, and rifle at their pleasure. And as in this second point the Sonne John Dudley was more subtile, then Edmund the Father: to in a third point, the Nephew Robert Dudley is more crafty then they both. For that, hee seeing the evill succeffe of those two that went before him, hee hath provided together so much in convenient time, and to make himselfe therewith so fat and strong, (where in the other two failed) as hee will never bee in danger more, to bee called to any accompt for the same.

Lawyer.

In good faith Sir (quoth the Lawyer). I thanke you heartily, for this pleasent discourse upon Edmund Dudley's tree of Common-wealth. And by your opinion, my Lord of Leicestersh is the most learned of all his kindred, and a very cunning Logitioner indeed, that can draw for himselfe so commodious conclusions, out of the perillus premises of his progenitors.

No marvaile (quoth the Gentleman) for that his L. is Master of Art in Oxford, and Chancelour besides of the same University, where hee hath store (as you know) of many fine wits and good Logitioners at his commandement: and where hee learneth not onely the rules and art of cunning gathering: but also the very practive (as I have touched before) seeing there is no one Colledge, or other thing,
thing of commodity within that place, where hence hee hath not pulled, whatsoever was possibly to bee gathered, either by art or violence.

Touching Oxford (laid I ) for that I am an University man my selfe, and have both experience of Cambridge, and good acquaintance with divers students of the other University: I can tell you enough, but in fine all tendeth to this conclusion, that by his Chancellorship, is cancelled almost all hope of good in that University; and by his protection, it is like soone to come to destruction. And surely if there were no other thing, to declare the oddes and difference betwixt him, and our Chancellour, (whom hee cannot beare, for that every way hee seeth him, to passe him in all honour and vertue) it were sufficient to behold the present state of the two Universities, whereof they are heads and governours.

For our owne, I will not say much, lest I might perhaps seeme partiall: but let the thing speake for it selfe. Consider the fruit of the Garden, and thereby you may judge of the Gardiners diligence. Looke upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of England, and see whence principally they have received their furniture for advancement of the Gospell. And on the contrary side, looke upon the Seminaries of Papistry at Rome and Rheims, upon the Colledges of Jesuists, and other companies of Papists beyond the seas, and see where-hence they are, especially, fraught:

The Priests and Jesuists here executed within the land, and other that remains either in prison, or abroad in corners: are they not all (in a manner) of that University? I speake not to the disgrace of any good that remaine there, or that have issued out thence into the Lords Vineyard: but for the most part there,
the disorders of Oxford by the wickedness of their Chancellour.

Leafes.

there, of this our time, have they not either gone beyond the seas, or left their places for discontentment in Religion, or else become serving men, or followed the bare name of Law or Physick, without profiting greatly therein, or furthering the service of Gods Church or their Common-wealth?

And where-hence (I pray you) ensueth all this, but by reason that the chief Governour thereof is an Atheist himselfe, and useth the place onely for gaine and spoile? for here-hence it commeth, that all good order and discipline is dissolved in that place, the fervour of study extinguished: the publique Lectures abandoned (I mean of the more part:) the Tavernes and Ordinary-tables frequented: the apparell of students growne monstrous: and the statutes and good ordinance, both of the University and of every College and Hall in private, broken and infringed at my Lords good pleasure, without respect either of oath, custome, or reason to the contrary. The heads and officers are put in and out at his onely discretion: and the Scholars places either sold, or disposed by his letters, or by thee of his servants and followers: nothing can bee had there, now, without present mony: it is as common buying and selling of places in that University, as of horsies in Smithfield: whereby the good and vertuous are kept out, and companions thrust in, fit to serve his Lord afterward, in all affaires that shall occurre.

And as for leaves of farmes, Woods, Pastures, Personages, Benefices or the like, which belong any way to any part of the University, to let or bestow, these, his Lord and his Servants have so fleeced, shorne, and scraped already, that there remaineth, little to feed upon hereafter: albeit hee want not still his spies and intelligencers in the place, to advertise him from
time to time, when any little new morsell is offered. And the Principall instruments, which for this purpose, hee hath had there before this, have beene two Physitian Bayly and Culpeper, both knowne Papists a little while agoe, but now just of Galens religion, and so much the fitter for my Lords humour: for his Lordship doth alwayes covet, to bee furnished with certaine chosen men about him, for divers affaires: as these two Galeniasts for agents in the University: Dee and Allen (two Atheiitcs) for figuring and conjuring: Iulio the Italian and Lopas the Jew, for poisoning, and for the art of detroying children in Wommes bellies: Vermeir for murdering: Digbies for *Bawdes: and the like in other occupations which his Lordship exerciseth.

Wherefore to returne to the speech where wee began: most cleare it is, that my Lord of Leicester hath meanes to gaine and gather also by the University, as well as by the Country abroad. Wherein (as I am told) hee beareth himselfe so absolute a Lord, as if hee were their King, and not their Chancellour: Nay farre more then, if hee were the generall and particular founder of all the Colledges and other houses of the University: no man daring to contrary or interrupt the least word or signification of his will, but with his extreame danger: which is a proceeding more fit for Phalaris: the Tyrant; or some Governour in Tartary; then for a Chancellour of a learned University.

To this answered the Lawyer, for my Lords wrath, towards such as will not stand to his judgement and opinion, I can my selfe bee a sufficient witness: who having had often occasion to deale for compoision of matters, betwixt his Lordship and others, have seene by experience, that alwayes they have speed, Lecesters instruments.

* At Digbies house in Warwick, shire Dame Lettie lay, and some other such pieces of pleasure.

Lawyer.
The perill of standing with Leycefer in any thing.

* Poore men resifting Warwicks inclosure at North-hall were hanged for his pleasure by Leycefer autho¬rity.

Gentleman.

Great Tyranny.

beft, who stood left in contention with him; what¬soever their cause were. For as a great and violent river, the more it is stopped or contraried, the more it rieth and swelleth bigge, and in the end, dejecteth with more force the thing that made resistance: so his Lordship being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realme, and accustomed now to have his will in all things, cannot beare to bee crossed or resisted by any man, though it were in his owne necessary defence.

Hereof I have seene examples, in the causes of Snowden forestt in Wales, of Denbighe, of Killingworth, of Drayton and others: where the parties that had intereft, or thought themselves wronged, had bee, happy, if they had yeelded at the first to his Lordships pleasure, without further question: for then had they escaped much trouble, charges, displeasure and vexation, which by resistance they incurred, to their great ruine, (and * losse of life to some) and in the end were faine also to submit themselves unto his will, with farre worfe conditions, then in the beginning were offered unto them: which thing was pittifull indeed to behold, but yet such is my Lords disposition.

A noble disposition (quoth the Gentleman,) that I must give him my Coat if hee demand the same, and that quickly also, for feare least if I staggar or make doubt thereof, hee compell mee to yeeld both coat and doublet, in pence of my stay. I have read of some such Tyrants abroad in the World: Marry their end was alwayes according to their life, as it is very like that it will bee also in this man, for that there is small hope of his amendment, and God paffeth not over commonly such matters unpunished in this life, as well as in the life to come.

But
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 substance thereof unto me: for albeit in general, every man doth know the same, and in heart doth detest the Tyranny thereof: yet we abroad in the Countrey, doe not understand it so well and distinctly as you that bee Lawyers, who have seen and understood the whole proccess of the same.

The case of Killingworth and Denbigh, (said the Lawyer) are much alike in matter and manner of proceeding, though different in time place and importance. For that the Lordship of Denbigh in North-wales, being given unto him by her Majesty a great while agoe at the beginning of his rising, (which is a Lordship of singular great importance, in that Countrey, having (as I have heard) well nere two hundred worshipfull Gentlemen free-holders to the same:) the tenants of the place considering the present state of things, and having learned, the hungry disposition of their new Lord: made a common purse of a thousand pounds, to present him withall, at his first entrance. Which though hee received (as hee refuseth nothing.) Yet accownted hee the summe of small effect for satisfaction of his appetite: and therefore applied himselfe, not onely to make the uttermost that hee could by leafes, and such like ways of commodity: but also would needs enforce the freeholders, to raise their old rent of the Lordship, from two hundred and fifty pounds a yeare or there abouts (at which rate hee had received the same in guift from her Majesty,) unto eight or nine hundred pounds by the yeare. For that hee had found out (forsooth) an old record, (as hee said) whereby hee could prove,
that in ancient time long past, that Lordship had yeelded so much old rent: and therefore hee would now enforce the present tenants, to make up so much againe upon their lands, which they thought was against all reason for them to doe: but my Lord perforce, would have it so, and in the end compelled them to yeeld to his will, to the impoverishing of all the whole Countrey about.

The like proceeding hee used with the tenants about Killingworth, where hee receiving the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in guift of twenty foure pounds yearely rent or there about, hath made it now better then five hundred by yeare: by an old record also, found by great fortune in the hole of a wall as is given out (for hee hath, singular good luck always in finding out records for his purpose) by vertue whereof, hee hath taken from the tenants round about, their Lands, Woods, Pastures, and Commons, to make him selfe Parkes, Chaces, and other commodities therewith, to the subversion of many a good family, which was maintained there, before this devourer set foot in that Countrey.

But the matter of Snowden Forest, doth passe all the rest, both for cunning and cruelty: the tragedy whereof was this hee had learned by his intelligenccs abroad, (whereof hee hath great store in every part of the Realme) that there was a goodly ancient Forrest in North-wales, which hath almost infinite borderers about the same: for it lieth in the middeft of the Countrey, beginning at the Hills of Snowden (whereof it hath his name) in Carnarvan-shire, and reacheth every way towards divers other shires. When my Lord heard of this, hee entered presently into the conceit of a singular great pray: and going to her Majestie, signified that her highnesse was
often times abused, by the incroaching of such as dwelt upon her Forests, which was necessary to be restrained: and therefore beseeched her Majesty, to bestow upon him the incroachments only, which he should be able to find out, upon the forest of Snowden, which was granted.

And thereupon he chose out Commissioners fit for the purpose, and sent them into Wales, with the like commission, as a certaine Emperor was wont to give his Magistrates, when they departed from him to govern, as Suetonius writeth: Scitis quid velim, & quibus opus habeo. You know what I would have, and what I have need of. Which recommendation, these Commissioners taking to heart, omitted no diligence in execution of 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 three or four shires, within the compass of forest ground: and so entred upon the same, for my Lord of Leczyber. Whereupon, when the people were amazed, and expected what order my Lord himselfe would take therein: his Lord was so farre off 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 Isle of Anglesey, and make that also within his compas 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 deale for the whole. Who comming to London and
exhibiting a most humble supplication to her Majesty for redresle of their oppression: received an answer, by the procurement of my Lord of Leycestcr, that they should have justice, if the commonalty would returne home to their houses, and the Gentlemen remaine there, to sollicitc the cause. Which as soone as they had yeelded unto, the Gentlemen were all taken and cast into prison, and there kept for a great space, and afterward were sent downe to Ludlow, (as the place most eminent of all these Countries) there to weare papers of perjury, and receive other punishments of infamy, for their complaining: which punishments notwithstanding, afterward upon great sute of the parties and their friends, were turned into great fines of money, which they were constrained to pay, and yet besides to agree also with my Lord of Leycestcr for their owne lands, acknowledging the same to bee his, and so to buy it of him againe.

Whereby not onely these private Gentlemen, but all the whole Countrey there about, was and is (in a manner) utterly undone. And the participation of this injury, reacheth so farre and wide, and is so generall in these parts: as you shall scarce find a man that commeth from that coast, who feeleth not the smart thereof: being either impoverishe, beggered, or ruinated thereby.

Whereby I assure you that the hatred of all that Countrey, is so universal and vehement against my Lord: as I thinke never thing created by God, was so odious to that Nation, as the very name of my Lord of Leycestcr is. Which his Lordship, well knowing, I doubt not, but that hee will take heed, how hee goe thither to dwell, or send thither his posterity.

For his posterity (quoth the Gentleman) I suppose hee.
Lice hath little cause to bee solicitous: for that God himselfe taketh care commonly, that goods and honours so gotten and maintained, as his bee, shall never trouble the third heire. Marry for himselfe, I confess (the matter standing as you say,) that hee hath reason to forbear that Countrey, and to leave of his building begunne at Dembigh, as I heare say hee hath done. For that the universall hatred of a people, is a perilous matter. And if I were in his Lordships cafe, I should often thinke of the end of Nero: who after all his glory, upon fury of the people was adjudged to have his head thrust into a Pillory, and so to bee beaten to death, with rods and thonges.

Or rather I should feare the successe of Vitellius, the third Emperor after Nero, who for his wickednesse and oppression of the people, was taken by them at length, when fortune began to faile him, and led out of his palace naked, with hookes of Iron fastened in his flesh, and so drawne through the City with infamy, where, laden in the streets with filth and ordure cast upon him, and a prick put under his Chinne, to the end hee should not looke downe or hide his face, was brought to the banke of Tyber, and there after many hundred wounds received, was cast into the River. So implacable a thing is the furour of a multitude, when it is once stirred, and hath place of revenge. And so heavy is the hand of God upon Tyrants in this World, when it pleaseth his divine Majesty to take revenge of the same.

I have read in Leander, in his description of Italy, how that in Spoleto (if I bee not deceived) the chief City of the Countrey of Umbria, there was a strange Tyrant: who in the time of his prosperity, contemned all men, and for bare to injury no man, that came within his clawes: esteeming himselfe sure enough, for the end of Tyrants.

Nero.

Vitellius.

A most terrible revenge taken upon a Tyrant.
ever being called to render account in this life, and
for the next he cared little. But God upon the
sudden turned upside downe the wheel of his felici-

ty, and cast him into the peoples hands: who tooke
him, and bound his naked body upon a planke, in the
market place, with a fire and iron tongues by him:
and then made proclamation, that seeing this man was
not otherwise able to make satisfaction, for the pub-
lique injuries that hee had done: every private person
annoyed by him, should come in order, and with the
boat burning tongues there ready, should take of his
flesh so much, as was correspondent to the inju-
ry received, as indeed they did untill the miserable
man gave up the ghost, and after to: as this authour
writeth.

But to the purpose: seeing my Lord careth little
for such examples, and is become so hardy now, as
hee maketh no accent to injury and oppress whole
Countries and Commonalties together: it shall bee
bootles to speake of his proceedings towards parti-
cular men, who have not so great strength to resist, as
a multitude hath. And yet I can assure you, that there
are so many and so pittifull things publilshed dayly
of his Tyranny in this kind: as doe move great com-
passion towards the party that doe suffer, and hor-
rour against him, who shameth not dayly 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 yong Gentleman, and well
given both in Religion and other vertues. Whose
Father died at Newhaven in her Majesties service,
under this mans brother the Earle of Warwick: and
recommended at his death, this his eldest Sonne, to the
speciall protection of Leycefter and his Brother, whose
servant
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 interrest 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 the poore Gentleman even to imprisonement, arraignment, and sentence of death, for greedines of the said living: together with the vexation of his brother in law Master Harcourt and all other his freinds, upon pretence, forthwith, that there was a man slaine by Robinsons party, in defence of his owne possession against Leycesters intruders, that would by violence breake into the same.

What shall I speake of others, whereof there would bee no end? as of his dealing with Master Richard Lee, for his Manor of Hookeyton (if I faile not in the name:) with Master Ludowick Grivell, by seeking to bereave him of all his living at once, if the drift had taken place? with George Witney, in the behalfe of Sir Henry Leigh, for enforcing him to forgoe the Controllership of Woodstock, which hee holdeth by patent from King Henry the seventhe? With my Lord Barkley, whom hee enforced to yeeld up his lands to his brother Warwicke, which his ancestors had held quietly for almost two hundreth yeares together?

What shall I say of his intollerable Tyranny upon the last Archbishop of Canterbury, for Doctor Julio his sake, and that in so soule a matter? Upon Sir John Throgmorton, whom hee brought pitifully to his grave before his time, by continuall vexations, for a peecce of faithfull service done by him to his Countrey, and to
The present state of my Lord of Leicester.

Leicester's Wealth.

Leicester's Strength.

Leicester's Cunning.

Wherefore, to returne againe whereas wee began, you see by this little, who, and how great, and what manner of man, my Lord of Leicester is this day, in the state of England. You see and may gather, in some part, by that which hath beene spoken, his wealth, his strength, his cunning, his disposition. His Wealth is excessive in all kind of riches for a private man, and must needs bee much more, then any body lightly can imagine, for the infinite ways hee hath had of gaine, so many yeares together. His Strength and power is absolute and irresistible, as hath beene shewed, both in Chamber, Court, Counsell, and Countrey. His Cunning in plotting and fortifying the same, both by Force and Fraud, by Mines and Counter-mines, by Trenches, Bulwarikes, Flankers, and Rampiers: by Friends, Enemies, Allies, Servants, Creatures, and Dependents, or any other that may serve his
his turne: is very rare and singular. His Disposition to Cruelty, Murder, Treason, and Tyranny: and by all these to Suprême Soveraignty over other: is most evident and clear. And then judge you whether her Majesty that now reigneth (whose life and prosperity, the Lord in mercy long preserve,) have not just cause to fear, in respect of these things only: if there were no other particulars to prove his aspiring intent besides?

No doubt (quoth the Lawyer) but these are great matters, in the question of such a cause as is a Crown. And wee have seen by example, that the least of these foure, which you have here named, or rather some little branch contained in any of them, hath been sufficient to found just suspicion, distrust or jealouse, in the heads of most wise Princes, towards the proceedings of more assured subjects, then my Lord of Leicester, in reason may bee presumed to bee. For that the safety of a State and Prince, standeth not only in the readiness and hability of resisting open attempts, when they shall fall out: but also (and that much more as Statistes write) in a certaine provident watchfulness, of preventing all possibilities and likelihoods of danger of surprisal: for that no Prince commonly, will put himselfe to the courtefe of another man) bee hee never so obliged) whether hee shall retaine his Crown or no: seeing the cause of a Kingdom, acknowledgeth neither kindred, duty, faith, friendship, nor society.

I know not whether I doe expound or declare my selfe well or no, but my meaning is, that whereas, every Prince hath two points of assurance from his subject, the one, in that hee is faithfull and lacketh will, to annoie his Soveraigne: the other, for that hee
A point of necessary policy for a Prince, is weak and wanteth ability, to do the same: the first is always of more importance than the second, and consequently more to be eyed and observed in policy: for that our will may be changed at our pleasure, but not our ability.

Considering then, upon that which hath beene said and specified before, how that my Lord of Leycester, hath possessed himselfe of all the strength, powers and sinewes of the Realme, hath drawne all to his owne direction, and hath made his party so strong as it seemeth not resistable: you have great reason to say, that her Majesty may justly conceive some doubt, for that if his will were according to his power, most assured it is, that her Majesty were not in safety.

Say not so, good Sir, (quoth) for in such a case truly, I would repose little upon his will, which is so many ways apparent, to be most insatiable of ambition. Rather would I think that as yet his ability serveth not, either for time, place, force, or some other circumstance: then that any part of good will should want in him: seeing that not onely his desire of sovereignty, but also his intent and attempt to aspire to the same, is sufficiently declared (in my conceit) by the very particulars of his power and plots already set downe. Which, if you please to have the patience, to heare a Schollar's argument, I will prove by a Principle of our Philosophy.

For if it bee true which Aristotle sayeth, there is no agent so simple in the World, which worketh not for some finall end, (as the bird buildeth not her nest but to dwell and hatch her yong ones therein:) and not onely this, but also that the same agent, doth alwaies frame his worke according to the proportion of his intended end: (as when the Fox or Badger maketh...
maketh a wide earth or denue, it is a signe that he means to draw thither great store of pray:) then must wee also in reason thinke, that so wise and politick an agent, as is my Lord of Leycester for himself, wanteth not his end in these plottings and preparations of his; I mean an end proportionable in greatness to his preparations. Which end, can be no lesse nor meaner then Supræme Soveraignty, seeing his provision and furniture doe tend that way, and are in every point fully correspondent to the same.

What meaneth his so diligent besieging of the Princes perion? his taking up the wayes and passages about her? his insolency in Court? his singularity in the Councell? his violent preparation of strength abroad? his enriching of his Complices? the banding of his faction, with the abundancy of friends everywhere? what doe these things signifie (I say) and so many other, as you have well noted and mentioned before: but onely his intent and purpose of Supremacy? What did the same things portend in times past in his Father, but even that which now they portend in the Sonne? Or how should wee thinke, that the Sonne hath an other meaning in the very same actions, then had his Father before him, whose steps he followeth.

I remember I have heard, often times of divers ancient and grave men in Cambridge, how that in King Edwards dayes the Duke of Northumberland this mans Father, was generally suspected of all men, to meane indeed as afterward he shewed, especially when hee had once joyned with the house of Suffolke, and made himselfe a principall of that faction by marriage. But yet for that hee was potent, and protested everywhere, and by all occasions his great love, duty, and special care, above all others, that hee bare to...
wards his Prince and Countrey: no man durft accuse him openly, untill it was to late to withstond his power: (as commonly it faileth out in such affaires) and the like is evident in my Lord of Leycesters acti-ons now (albeit to her Majesty; I doubt not, but that hee will pretend and pretfe, as his Father did to her Brother,) especiafly now after his open association with the faction of Huntingon: which no leffe impugneth under this mans protection, the whole line of Henry the seventh for right of the Crowne, then the House of Suffolk did under his Father the particu-lar progeny of King Henry the eight.

Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I doe not read in King Edwards raigne, (when the matter was in plotting notwithstanding) that the House of Suffolk durft ever make open emiaime to the next succession. But now the House of Hastings is become fo confident, upon the strength and favour of their fators, as they dare both plot, praftife and pretend, all at once, and feare not to fet out their title, in every place, where as they come.

And doe they not feare the Statute (said the Lawyer) fo rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter treason to determine of titles?

No, they need not (quoth the Gentleman) seeing their party is fo strong and terrible, as no man dare accuse them: seeing also they well know, that the procure-ment of that Statute, was onely to endanger or stop the mouths of the true Successours, whiles them-selves, in the meane space, went about under-hand, to establish their owne ambushment.

Well, (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of Huntingon to the Crowne, I will not stand with you, for that it is a matter sufficiently knowne and feene throughout the Realme. As also that my Lord
Lord of Leicester is at this day, a principal favourer and patron of that cause, albeit some years past, he was an earnest adversary and enemy to the same. But yet I have heard some friends of his, in reasoning of these matters, deny stoutly a point or two, which you have touched here, and do seeme to believe the same.

And that is, first, that howsoever my Lord of Leicester doe meane to helpe his friend, when time shall serve, yet pretendeth hee nothing to the Crowne himselfe. The second is, that whatsoever may be meant for the title, or compassing the Crowne after her Majesties death, yet nothing is intended during her raigne. And of both these points they allege reasons.

As for the first, that my Lord of Leicester is very well knowne, to have no title to the Crowne himselfe, either by descent in bloud, alliance or other-ways. For the second, that his Lord hath no cause to bee a Male-content in the present government, nor hope for more preferment, if my Lord of Huntington were King to morow next, then hee receives now at her Majesties hands: having all the Realme (as hath beene shewed) at his owne disposition.

For the first (quoth the Gentleman) whether hee meaneth the Crowne for himselfe, or for his friend, it importeth not much: seeing both wayes it is evident, that hee meaneth to have all at his owne disposition. And albei now for the avoiding of envy, hee give it out, as a crafty Fox, that hee meaneth not but to runne with other men, and to hunt with Huntingdon and other hounds in the same chase: yet is it not unlike, but that hee will play the Beare, when hee commeth to deviding of the pray, and will snatch the best part to himselfe. Yea and these selues same persons.
The words of the Lord North, to Master Pooey.

Pooey told this to Sir Robert Ure.

The words of Sir Thomas Layton, brother in law to my Lord.

The words of his speciall Councellour the Lord North, are knowne, which hee uttered to his trusty Pooey, upon the receipt of a letter from Court, of her Majesties displeasure towards him, for his being a witnesse at Leycesters second marriage with Dame Lattice (although I know hee was not ignorant of the first) at Wanstead: of which displeasure, this Lord making far lesse accompt than, in reason hee shoulde, of the just offence of his soveraigne, said: that for his owne part hee was resolved to linke or swimme with my Lord of Leycester: who( faith hee) if once the Cards may come to shuffling (I will use but his very owne words ) I make no doubt but hee alone shall beare away the Bucklers.

The words also of Sir Thomas Layton, to Sir Henry Novile, walking upon the Tarrest on at Windsor are knowne, who told him, after long discourse of their happy conceived Kingdome, that hee doubted not, but to see him one day, hold the same office in Windsor, of my Lord of Leycester, which now my Lord did hold of the Queene. Meaning thereby the goodly office of Constableship, with all Royalties and honours belonging to the same, which now the said Sir Henry exerciseth onely as Deputy to the Earle. Which was plainly to signifie, that, hee doubted not but to see my Lord of Leycester one day King, or els his other hope could never possibly take effect or come to passe.
To the same point, tended the words of Missreffe Anne West Dame Lettice Sister unto the Lady Anne Askew in the great Chamber, upon a day when her Brother Robert Knowles had danced disgratiously and scornfully before the Queene in presence of the French. Which thing for that her Majesty tooke to proceed of will in him, as for dislike of the strangers in presence, and for the quarrel of his Sister Essex: it pleased her highness to check him for the same, with addition of a reproachfull word or two (full well deserv'd) as though done for dispite of the forced absence, from that place of honour, of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the words) his Siter. Which words, the other yonger twigge receiving in deepen dudgeon, brake forth in great choler to her forenamed companion, and said, that she nothing doubted, but that one day she should see her Siter, upon whom the Queene railed now to much (for to it pleased her to tearne her Majesties sharp speech) to sit in her place and throne, being much worthier of the same, for her qualities and rare vertues, then was the other. Which undutifull speech, albeit, it were over heard and condemned of divers that sat about them: yet none durst ever report the same to her Majesty; as I have heard sundry Courters affirme, in respect of the revenge which the reporters should abide at my Lord of Leycesters hands, when so ever the matter should come to light.

And this is now concerning the opinion and secret speeches of my Lords owne friends, who cannot but utter their conceipt and judgement in time and place convenient, whateuer they are willing to give out publikely to the contrary, for deceiving of such as will believe faire painted words, against
Against evident and manifest demonstration of reason.

I say reason, for that if none of these signs and tokens were, none of these preparations nor any of these speeches and detections, by his friends that know his heart: yet in force of plain reason, I could allledge unto you three arguments onely, which to any man of intelligence, would easily persuade and give satisfaction, that my Lord of Leicesters meaneth best and first for himselfe in this suit. Which three arguments, for that you seeme to bee attent. I will not stick to runne over in all brevity.

And the first, is the very nature and quality of ambition it selfe, which is such, (as you know) that it never stayeth, but passeth from degree to degree, and the more it obtaineth, the more it covereth, and the more esteemeth it selfe, both worthy and able to obtaine. And in our matter that now wee handle, even as in wooing, hee that sueth to a Lady for an other, and obtaineth her good will, entereth easily into conceipt of his owne worthines thereby, and so commonly into hope of speeding himselfe, while hee speakeith for his friend: so much more in Kingdomes: hee, that seeth himselfe of power to put the Crowne of another mans head, will quickly step to the next degree which is, to set it of his owne, seeing that always the charity of such good men, is wont to bee orderly, as (according to the precept) it beginneth with it selfe first.

Adde to this, that ambition is jealous, suspitious, and fearfull of itselfe, especially when it is joyned with a conscience loaden with the guilt of many crimes, whereof hee would bee loth to bee called to accompt, or bee subiect to any man that might by authority take review of his life and actions, when it should
In which kind, seeing my Lord of Leicester hath so much to encrease his fear, as before hath been shewed by his wicked dealings: it is not like, that ever hee will put himselfe to an other mans courtesie, for passing his audiet in particular reckonings, which hee can no way answer or satisfie: but rather will stand upon the grosse Summe, and generall Quietus est, by making himselfe chiefe Auditor and Matter of all accompts for his owne part in this life, howsoever hee doe in the next: whereof such humours have little regard. And this is for the nature of ambition in it selfe.

The second argument may bee taken from my Lords particular disposition: which is such, as may give much light also to the matter in question: being a disposition to well liking and inclined to a Kingdome, as it hath beene tampering about the same, from the first day that hee came in favour. First by seeking openly to marry with the Queenes Majestie her selfe, and to to draw the Crowne upon his owne head, and to his posterity. Secondly, when that attempt tooke not place, then hee gave it out, as hath beene shewed before, how that hee was privily contracted to her Majestie (wherein as I told you his dealing before for satisfaction of a stranger, to let him with shame and dishonour remember now also, the spectacle hee secretly made for the perswading of a subject and Counsellour of great honour in the same cause) to the end that if her highnesse should by any way have miscarried, then hee might have entituled any one of his owne brood, (whereof hee hath store in many places as is knowne) to the lawfull succession of the Crowne, under colour of that privy and secret mariage, pretending the same to bee by her Majestie: wherein hee will want no witnesses to depose what hee

The second argument.
Leicester's particular disposition.

Leicester's disposition to tamper for a Kingdome.

I mean the noble old Earle of Pembroke.
The undivulged device of Natural issue, in the statute of succession.

Thirdly, when hee saw also that this devise was subject to danger, for that his privy contract might be denied, more easily, then hee able justly to prove the same, after her Majesties disease: hee had a new fetch to strengthen the matter and that was to cause these words of (Natural issue) to be put into the statute of succession for the Crowne, against all order and custom of our Realme, and against the knowne common style of law, accustomed to be used in statutes of such matter: whereby hee might bee able after the death of her Majesty to make legitimate to the Crowne, any one bastard of his owne by any of so many hacknies as he kepeth, affirming it to bee the Natural issue of her Majesty by himselfe. For no other reason can bee imagined why the ancient usuall words of Lawfull issue should so cunningly bee changed into Natural issue; Thereby not onely to indanger our whole Realme with new quarrels of succession but also to touch (as farre as in him lieth) the Royall honour of his soveraigne, who hath bee to him but to bountifull a Princesse.

Fourthly, when after a time these fetches and devises, began to bee discovered, hee changed straight his course, and turned to the Papists and Scottish faction, pretending the marriage of the Queene in prison. But yet after this againe, finding therein not such success as contented him throughly, and having in the mean space a new occasion offered of baite: hee beooked himselfe firstly to the party of Huntington: having therein (no doubt) as good meaning to himselfe, as his Father had by joining with Suffolk. Marry yet of late, hee hath cast a new about, once againe, for himselfe in secret, by treating the marriage of yong Arbella, with his Sonne intilled the Lord Denbigh.
So that by this we see the disposition of this man bent wholly to a scepter. And albeit in right, title and descent of blood (as you say) he can justly claim neither Kingdom nor Coitage (considering either the baseness or disloyalty of his Ancestours:) if in respect of his present state and power, and of his natural pride, ambition, and crafty conveyance received from his Father: he hath learned how to put himself first in possession of chief rule, under other pretences, and after to devise upon the title at his leisure.

But now to come to the third argument: I say more and above all this, that the nature and state of the matter it self, permitteth not, that my Lord of Leicester should mean sincerely the Crowne, for Huntington, especially seeing there hath passed betweene them to many yeares of dislike and enmity: which, albeit, for the time and present commodity, bee covered and pressed downe: yet by reason and experience we know, that afterward when they shall deal together againe in matters of importance, and when jealousy shall bee joyned to other circumstances of their actions: it is impossible that the former mislike should not break out in farre higher degree, then ever before.

As we saw in the examples of the reconciliation, made betwixt this mans Father and Edward Duke of Somerset, bearing rule under King Edward the sixt: and betwixt Richard of Yorke, and Edmund Duke of Somerset, bearing rule in the time of King Henry the sixt. Both which Dukes of Somerset, after reconciliation with their old, crafty and ambitious enemies, were brought by the same to their destruction soone after. Whereof I doubt not, but my Lord of Leicester will take good heed, in joyning by reconciliation with...
with Huntington, after so long a breach: and will not be so improvident, as to make him his soveraigne, who now is but his dependant. He remembret too well the suucess of the Lord Stanley who helped King Henry the seventh to the Crowne: of the Duke of Buckingham, who did the same for Richard the third: of the Earle of Warwick, who set up King Edward the fourth: and of the three Percies, who advanced to the Scepter King Henry the fourth. All which Noble men upon occasions that after fell out: were rewarded with death, by the selfe same Princes, whom they had preferred.

And that not without reason as Siegnior Machavell my Lords Councellour affirmeth. For that such Princes, afterward can never give sufficient satisfacion to such friends, for so great a benefit received. And consequently, leaft upon discontentment, they may chance doe as much for others against them, as they have done for them against others: the surest way is, to recompence them, with such a reward, as they shall never after bee able to complain of.

Wherefore I can never thinke that my Lord of Leycest to put himselfe in danger of the like successse at Huntington's hands: but rather will follow the plot of his owne Father, with the Duke of Suffolk, whom no doubt, but hee meant onely to use for a pretext and helpe, whereby to place himselfe in supreme dignity, and afterward whatsoever had befallen of the state, the others head could never have come to other end, then it enjoyed. For if Queene Mary had not cut it off, King John of Northumberland, would have done the same in time, and so all men doe well know, that were privy to any of his cunning dealings.
And what Huntington's secret opinion of Leicester is (notwithstanding this outward shew of dependence) it was my chance to learne, from the mouth of a speciall man of that halty King, who was his Ledger or Agent in London; and at a time falling in talke of his Masters title, declared, that hee had heard him divers times in secret, complaine to his Lady, (Leicester's Sister) as greatly fearing that in the end, hee would offer him wrong, and pretend some title for himselfe.

Well (quoth the Lawyer) it seemeth by this last point, that these two Lords, are cunning practisioers in the art of dissimulation: but for the former whereof you speake, in truth, I have heard men of good discourse affirm, that the Duke of Northumberland had strange devises in his head, for deceiving of Suffolk (who was nothing so fine as himselfe,) and for bringing the Crowne to his owne family. And among other devises it is thought, that hee had most certaine intention to marry the Lady Mary himselfe, (after once hee had brought her into his owne hands) and to have bestowed her Majestie that now is upon some one of his children (if it should have beene thought best to give her life,) and so consequently to have shaken of Suffolk and his pedegree, with condigne punishment, for his bold behaviour in that behalfe.

Verily (quoth I) this had beene an excellent Stratageme, if it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) how could himselfe have taken the Lady Mary to wife, seeing hee was at that time married to another?

Oh (quoth the Gentleman) you question like a Schollor. As though my Lord of Leicester had not a wife alive, when hee first began to pretend marriage
The practice of King Richard for dispatching his Wife.

A new Triumvirat between Leicester, Talbot, and the Countesse of Shrewsbury.

Marriage to the Queen's Majesty. Do not you remember the story of King Richard the third, who at such time as he thought best for the establishing of his title: to marry his own niece, that afterward was married to King Henry the seventh, how he caused secretly to be given abroad that his own wife was dead, whom all the World knew to be then alive and in good health, but yet soon afterward she was seen dead indeed. These great personages, in matters of such weight, as is a Kingdom, have privileges to dispose of Women's bodies, marriages, lives and deaths, as shall be thought for the time most convenient.

And what do you think (I pray you) of this new Triumvirat so lately concluded about Arbella? (for so I must call the same, though one of the three persons be no Wit, but, Virago;) I mean of the marriage between young Denbigh and the little Daughter of Lenox, whereby the Father in law, the Grandmother and the Uncle of the new designed Queen, have conceived to themselves a singular triumphant reign. But what do you think may ensue hereof? Is there nothing of the old plot of Duke John of Northumberland in this?

Marry Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) if this be so: I dare assure you there is sequell enough pretended hereby. And first no doubt, but there goeth a deep drift, by the wife and sonne, against old Abraham (the Husband and Father) with the well lined large pouch. And secondly, a farre deeper by trusty Robert against his best Mistresse: but deepest of all by the whole Crew, against the designements of the hasty Earl: who thirsteth a Kingdom, with great intemperance, and seemeth (if there were plaine dealing) to hope by these good people to quench shortly his drought.
But either part, in truth, seeketh to deceive others and therefore it is hard to say where the game in fine will rest.

Well howsoever that bee (quoth the Gentleman) I am of opinion, that my Lord of Leycester, will use both this practive and many more, for bringing the Scepter finally to his owne head: and that hee will not onely imploie Huntington to defeate Scotland, and Arbella to defeate Huntington: but also would use the marriage of the Queene imprisioned, to defeate them both, if shee were in his hand: and any one of all three to dispossess her Majesty that now is: as also the authority, of all sure to bring it to himselfe: with many other fatches, flinges and friscoes besides, which simple men as yet doe not conceive.

And howsoever these two conjoined Earles do seeme for the time to draw together, and to play booby: yet am I, of opinion, that the one will beguile, the other at the upshot. And Hastings for ought I see, when hee commeth to the scambling, is like to have no better luck by the Bear, then his Ancestors had once by the Boare. Who using his helpe first in murdering the Sonne and Heire of King Henry the sixt, and after in destroying the faithfull Friends and Kinsmen of King Edward the fift, for his easier way to usurpation: made an end of him in the Tower, at the very same day and houre, that the other were by his counsell destroyed in Pontfier Castle. So that where the Goale and price of the game is a Kingdom: there is neither faith, neither good fellowship, nor faire play among the Gamesters. And this shall bee enough for the first point: (viz.) what good my Lord of Leycester meaneth to himselfe in respect of Huntington.

Touching the second, whether, the attempt bee
That the conspirators meant in her Majesties dayes.

That the conspirators meant in her Majesties dayes, or no, the matter is much lesse doubtfull, to him that knoweth or can imagine, what a torment the delay of a Kingdom is, to such one as suffereth hunger thereof, and feareth that every houre may breed some alteration, to the prejudice of his conceived hope. Wee fee often times that the child is impatient in this matter, to expect the natural end of his parents life. Whom notwithstanding, by nature hee is enforced to love: and who also by nature, is like long to leave this World before him: and after whole dis ease, hee is aasured to obtaine his desire: but most certaine of dangerous event, if hee attempt to get it, while yet his parent liveth. Which fourue considerations, are (no doubt) of great force to containe a child in duty, and bridle his desire: albeit sometimes not sufficient to withstand the greedy appetite of raigning.

But what shall wee thinke, where none of these fourue considerations doe restraine? where the present Possessor is no parent? where shee is like by nature, to out-live the expектор? whose death must needs bring infinite difficulties to the enterprise? and in whose life time, the matter is most easie to bee achiev'd, under colour and authority of the present Possessor? shal we thinke that in such a case the ambitious man, will overrule his owne passion, and lese his commodity.

As for that, which is alleaged before, for my Lord in the reason of his Defenders: that his present state is so prosperous, as hee cannot expect better in the next change whatsoever should bee: is of small moment, in the conceipt of an ambitious head, whose eye and heart is alwayes upon that, which hee hopeth for, and enjoyeth not: and not upon that which already hee possesseth, bee it never so good. Especially
in matters of honour and authority, it is an infallible rule, that one degree desired and not obtained, aft
Followeth more, then five degrees already possessed, can give consolation: the story of Duke Haman, confirmeth this evidently, who being the greatest subject in the World under King Assuerus, after he had reckoned up all his pompe, riches, glory and felicity to his friends, yet hee said, that all this was nothing unto him, un-
till hee could obtaine the revenge, which hee desired, upon Mardochaeus his enemy: and hereby it commeth ordinarily to passe, that among highest in authority, are found the greatest store of Mal-contents, that most doe endanger their Prince and Countrey.

When the Percies tooke part with Henry of Boling-
broke, against King Richard the second their law-
full soveraigne: it was not for lack of preferments: for they were exceedingly advanced by the said King, and possessed the three Earledomes of Northumberland, Worcester, and Stafford together, besides many other offices and dignities of honour.

In like sort, when the two Neviles, tooke upon them, to joyn with Richard of York, to put downe their most benigne Prince King Henry the sixt: and after againe in the other side, to put downe King Edward the fourth: it was not upon want of advancement: they being Earles both of Salisbury and Warwick, and Lords of many notable places besides. But it was upon a vaine imagination of future fortune, whereby such men are commonly led: and yet had not they any smell in their nostrils, of getting the Kingdome for themselves, as this man hath to prick him forward.

If you say that these men hated their soveraigne, and that thereby they were led to procure his destru-
tion: the same I may answere of my Lord living, Leices-
ters harred to her

Majesty.
The evil nature of ingratitude.

Laycesters speeches of her Majesty in the time of his disgrace.

The causes of hatred in Laycester towards her Majesty.

though of all men hee hath least cause so to doe. But yet such is the nature of wicked ingratitude, that where it oweth most, and disdaineth to bee bound: there upon every little discontentment, it turneth double obligation into triple hatred.

This hee shewed evidently in the time of his little disgrace, wherein hee not onely did diminish, vilipend, and despare among his friends, the inestimable benefits hee hath received from her Majesty, but also used to exprobate his owne good services and merits, and to touch her highnesse with ingrate consideration and recompence of the same, which behaviour together with his hafty preparation to rebellion, and assault of her Majesties Royall person and dignity, upon so small a cause given: did well shew what mind inwardly hee beareth to his soveraigne, and what her Majesty may expect, if by offending him, shee should once fall within the compaffe of his furious pawses: seeing such a smoke of disdain could not proceed, but from a fire furnace of hatred within.

And surely it is a wonderfull matter to consider what a little check, or rather the bare imagination of a small overthrowt, may worke in a proud and disdainfull stomack. The remembrance of his marriage missed, that hee so much pretended and desired with her Majesty doth stick deeply in his breast and stirreth him dayly to revenge. As also doth the disdain of certaine checkes and disgraces received at sometimes, especially that of his last marriage: which irketh him so much the more, by how much greater feare and danger it brought him into, at that time, and did put his Widow in such open phrensie, as shee raged many moneths after against her Majesty, and is not cold yet: but remaineth as it were a sworne enemy.
enemy, for that injury, and standeth like a friend or fury at the elbow of her Amadin, to stirre him forward when occasion shall serve. And what effect such female suggestions may work, when they find an humour proud and pliable to their purpose: you may remember by the example of the Duchess of Somerset, who inforced her Husband to cut off the head, of his onely deare Brother, to his owne evident destruction for her contentation.

Wherefore, to conclude this matter without further dispute or reason: saying there is so much discovered in the case as there is: so great desire of raigne, so great impatience of delay, so great hope and ability of success, if it bee attempted, under the good fortune and present authority of the competitours: seeing the plats bee so well laid, the preparation so forward, the favorers so furnished, the time so propitious, and so many other causes conviting together: seeing that by differing, all may bee hazarded, and by hastening, little can bee indangered, the state and condition of things well weyed: finding also the bands of duty so broken already in the conspirators, the causes of mislike and hatred so manifest, and the solicitours to execution, so potent and diligent, as women, malice, and ambition, are wont to bee: it is more then probable, that they will not leefe their present commodity, especially seeing they have learned by their Archi-tipe or Proto-plot which they follow (I meane the conspiracy of Northumberland and Suffolk in King Edwards dayes) that herein there was some error committed at that time, which overthrew the whole, and that was, the differing of some things untill after the Kings death, which should have beene put in execution before.

For if in the time of their plotting, when as yet
their designations were not published to the World, they had under the countenance of the King (as well they might have done) gotten into their hands the two Sifters, and dispatched some other few affairs, before they had caused the young Prince to die: no doubt, but in mans reason the whole designement had taken place: and consequently it is to be presupposed, that these men (being no fools in their owne affairs) will take heed of falling into the like error by delay: but rather will make all sure, by striking while the iron is hot, as our proverbe warneth them.

It cannot bee denied in reason (quoth the Lawyer) but that they have many helpes of doing what they lift now, under the present a favour, countenance and authority of her Majesty, which they should not have after her highnesse disease: when each man shall remaine more at liberty for his supreme obedience, by reason of the statute provided for uncertainty of the next sucssor: and therefore I for my part, would rather counsell them, to make much of her Majesties life: for after that, they little know what may enue, or befall their designements.

They will make the most thereof (quoth the Gentleman) for their owne advantage, but after that, what is like to follow, the examples of Edward and Richard the second, as also of Henry and Edward the fixt, doe sufficiently fore-warn us: whose lives were prolonged, until their deaths were thought more profitable to the conspirators, and not longer. And for the statute you speak of, procured by themselves, for establishing the incertainty of the next true successor (whereas all our former statutes were wont to bee made for the declaration and certainty of the same) it is with Prov. (as you know) that it shall not endure.
dure longer, then the life of her Majesty, that now reigneth: that is, indeed, no longer then until theselves bee ready to place an other. For then, no doubt, but wee shall see a faire proclamation, that my Lord of Huntington is the only next heire: with a bundle of halters to hang all such, as shall dare once open their mouth for deniall of the same.

At these words the old Lawyer stepped back, as some what astonied, and began to make Crosses in the ayre, after their fashion, whereat wee laughed, and then hee saide: truly my Masters I had thought that no man had conceiv’d so evill imagination of this statute, as my selfe: but now I perceive that I alone am not malitious. For my owne part, I must confess unto you, that as often as I read over this statute, or thinke of the same (as by divers occasions many times I doe) I feele my selfe much greeved and afflicted in mind, upon feares which I conceive what may bee the end of this statute to our Countrey, and what privy meaning, the chiefe procurers thereof have for their owne drifts, against the Realme and life of her Majestie that now reigneth.

And so much more it maketh mee to doubt, for that in all our records of law, you shall not find (to my remembrance) any one example of such a devise, for concealing of the true inheritour: but rather in all ages, states, and times (especially from Richard the first downward) you shall find statutes, ordinances, and provisions, for declaration and manifestation of the same, as you have well observed and touched before. And therefore this strange and new devise, must needs have some strange and unaccustomed meaning: and God of his mercy grant, that it have not some strange and unexpected event.
In sight of all men, this is already evident, that never Country in the World, was brought into more apparent danger of utter ruine, than ours is at this day, by pretence of this statute. For where as there is no Gentleman to meane in the Realme, that cannot give a gefle more or leffe, who shall bee his next heire, and his tenants soone conjecture, what manner of person shall bee their next Lord: in the title of our noble Crowne, whereof all the rest dependeth; neither is her Majesty permitted to know or say, who shall bee her next successor, nor her subjects allowed to understand or imagine, who in right may bee their future sovereign: An intollerable injury in a matter of so singular importance.

For (alas) what should become of this our native Country, if God should take from us her most excellent Majesty (as once hee 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 himselfe, one day longer of rest, peace, possession, life or liberty within the land, then God shall lend us her Majesty to reign over us? Which albeit, wee doe and are bound to will, that it may bee long: yet reason telleth us, that by course of Nature, it cannot bee of any great continuance, and by a thousand accidents it may bee much shorter. And shall then our most noble Commonwealth and Kingdome, which is of perpetuity, and must continue to our selves and our posterity, hang only upon the life of her highnesse alone, well striken in yeares, and of no great good health or robustious and strong complexion.

Sir Christopher Hatton's oration.

I was within hearing some six or seven yeares agoe, when Sir Christopher Hatton, in a very great assembly, made an eloquent oration (which after I wene was put
put in print) at the pardonning and delivery of him from the gallouse, that by error (as was thought) had discharged his piece upon her Majesties Barge, and hurt certaine persons in her highnesse presence. And in that oration hee declared and described very effectually, what inestimable dammage had ensued to the Realme, if her Majesty by that or any other meanes should have beene taken from us. Hee set forth most lively before the eyes of all men, what division, what dissension, what bloodshed had ensued, and what fallall dangers were most certaine to fall upon us, whenever that dolefull day should happen; wherein no man should bee sure of his life, of his goods, of his wife, of his children: no man certaine whether to flie, whom to follow, or where to seeke repose and protection.

And as all the bearers there present did easly grant that hee therein said truth and farre leffe then might have beene said in that behalfe, things standing as they doe: so many one (I trow) that heard these words proceed from a Councellour, that had good caufe to know the state of his owne Countrey: entred into this cogitation what punishment they might deserve then, at the whole State and Common-wealths hands, who first by letting her Majesty from marriage, and then by procuring this statute of dissembling the next inheritour: had brought their Realme into so evident and inevitable dangers? for every one well considered and weighed with himselfe, that the thing which yet onely letted these dangers and miseries set downe by Sir Christopher, must necessarily one day faile us all, that is, the life of her Majesty now present: and then (fay wee) how falleth it out, that so generall a calamity as must needs overtake us ere it belong (and may, for any thing wee know to morrow next) is not provided for, as well as foreseene.
The miseries

The danger to her Majesty by this Statute.
neth to claim for himselfe. And so they being armed, on the one side, with their authority and force of present fortune; and defended, on the other side, by the pretence of the statute: they may securely work and plot at their pleasure, as you have well proved before that they doe. And whatsoever their grounds and foundations shall be ready, it cannot be denied, but that her Majesties life, lieth much at their discretion, to take it, or use it, to their best commodity: (and there is no doubt, but they will,) as such men are wont to doe in such affairs. Marry one thing standeth not in their powers so absolutely, and that is, to prolong her Majesties days 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 be ready for all events: and for that cause, they hasten so much their preparations at this day, more then ever before: by sending out their spies and solicitours every-where, to prove and conforme their friends: by delivering their Common watch-word: by complaining on all hands of our protestants Bishops and Clergy, and of all the present state of our irreformed religion; (as they call it:) by amplifying only the danger of Papists and Scottish faction: by giving out openly that now her Majesty is past hope of Childbirth, and consequently seeing God hath given no better success that way in two women one after the other: it were not convenient (lay they:) that another of that sexe should ensue: with high commendation of the Law Salick in France, where-
whereby women are forbidden to succeed. Which speech though in shew, it bee delivered against the Queen of Scots and other of King Henry the seventh his line, that descendent of Siflers: yet all men see that it toucheth as well the disabling of her Majesty, that is present, as others to come: and so tendeth directly to Maturation of the principal purpose, which I have declared before.

Here said I, for the rest which you speake of, besides the Watch-word, it is common and every where treated in talke among them: but yet for the Watch-word it selfe (for that you name it) I thinke (Sir) many know it not, if I were the first that told you the story, as perchance I was. For in truth I came to it by a rare hap (as then I told you) the thing being uttered and expounded by a Baron of their owne faction, to another Noble man of the same degree and religion, though not of the same opinion in these affaires. And for that I am requested not to utter the second, who told it mee in secret, I must also spare the name of the first: which otherwise I would not, nor the time and place where hee uttered the same.

To this (sai the Lawyer) you doe well in that: but yet I beseech you, let me know this Watch-word (if there bee any such) for mine instruction and helpe, when need shall require. For I assure you that this Gentlemans former speech of halters hath so terrified mee, as if any should come and ask or feele my inclination in these matters, I would answer them fully to their good contentment, if I knew the Watch-word, whereby to know them. For of all things, I love not to bee hanged for quarrels of Kingdomes.

The Watch-word is, (said I) whether you bee settled, or not? and if you answer yea, and seeme to understand
the meaning thereof; then are you knowne to bee of
their faction, and so to bee accompted and dealt with-
all for things to come. But if you flaggar or doubt in
answering, as if you knew not perfectly the miftery
(as the Noble man my good Lord did, imagining
that it had beene meant of his religion, which was
very well knowne to bee good and settled in the
Gospel) then are you discried thereby, either not to
bee of their side, or els to bee but a Punic not well in-
ftructed, and consequently, hee that moveth you the
question, will presently breake of that speecch, and
turne to some other talke, untill afterward occasion
bee given to perswade you, or els instruct you better
in that affaire.

Marry the Noble man, whereof I spake before,per-
ceiving by the demanding, that there was some mif-
stery in covert, under the question: tooke hold of the
words, and would not suffer the propounder to slip
away (as hee endeavoured) but with much intreaty,
brought him at length, to expound the full meaning
and purpose of the riddle. And this was the first oc-
casion (as I thinke) whereby this secret came abroad.
Albeit afterwards at the publique communions, which
were made throughout so many shires, the matter be-
came more common: especially, among the strangers
that inhabite (as you know) in great numbers with
us at this day. All which (as they say) are made most
assured to this faction, and ready to assist the same
with great forces at all occasions.

Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer) how many mif-
teries and secrets bee there abroad in the World, where-
of wee simple men know nothing and suspect lesse.
This Watch-word should I never have imagined:
and for the great and often assemblies under pretence
of Communions, though of themselves and of there
owne
owne nature, they were unacquainted, and consequently subject to suspicion: yet did I never conceive so farre forth as now I doe: as neither of the lodging and entertaining of so many strangers in the Realme, whereof our Artizans doe complain every where. 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, preseth farre forward for the game, and shouldesth nere the goale 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 like to bee disposed of: as also for the misery, which I doe foresee, must necessarily ensue upon our Country, if once the challenge of Huntington take place in our Realme. Which challenge being derived from the title of Clarence onely, in the House of Yorke, before the union of the two great Houses raiseth up againe the old contention, betweene the families of Yorke and Lancaster, wherein so much English blood was spilt in times past, and much more likely to bee powered out now, if the same contention should bee set on foot againe. Seeing that to the controversy of titles, would bee added also the controversy of Religion, which of all other differences is most dangerous.

Sir (quoth the Gentleman) now you touch a matter of consequence indeed, and such as the very naming thereof, maketh my heart to shake and tremble. I remember well, what Philip Cominus setteth downe in his history of our Countries calamity, by that contention of those two Houses, distinguished by the red rose and the white: but yet both in their armes might justly have borne the colour of red, with a sierc sword in a black field to signify the aboundance of
of blood and mortality, which ensued in our Country, by that most wofull and cruell contention.

I will not stand here to set downe the particulars, observed and gathered by the foresaid author, though a stranger, which for the most part hee saw himselfe, while hee lived about the Duke of Burgundy and King Lewes of France of that time: namely the pittifull description of divers right Noble men of our Realme, who besides all other miseries, were driven to begge openly in forraune Countries, and the like.

Mine owne observation in reading over our Country affaires, is sufficient, to make mee abhorre the memory of that time, and to dread all occasion, that may lead us to the like in time to come: seeing that in my judgement, neither the Civill warres of Marius and Silla, or of Pompey and Caesar among the Romanes, nor yet the Guelphians and Gibillines among the Italians, die ever worke so much wo, as this did to our poore Countrey. Wherein by reason of the conten­tion of Torke and Lancasfer were foughten sixteene or seventeene pitched fields, in lesse then an hundreth yeares. That is, from the eleventh or twelfth yeare of King Richard the second his raigne (when this controverie first began to bud up) unto the thirteenth yeare of King Henry the seventh. At what time by cutting off the chiefe riter of Huntingtons house, to wit, yong Edward Plantaginet Earle of Warmicke, Sonne and Heire to George Duke of Clarence; the conten­tion most happily was quenched and ended, wherein so many fields (as I have said) were foughten betwene Brethren and Inhabitants of our owne nation. And therein, and otherwise onely about the same quarrell, were flaine murdered, and made away, about nine or tenne kings and, Kings Sonnes, besides above forty Earles, Marquessses, and Dukes of name; but many more Lords.
The Battell by Tadcaster on Palme Sunday, An. 1460.

The danger of Huntingtons claim, to the Realm and to her Majesty.

Lords, Knights, and great Gentlemen and Captaines, and of the Common-people without number, and by particular conjecture very neare two hundred thousand. For that in one Battell fought by King Edward the fourth, there are recorded to bee slaine on both parts, five and thirty thousand seven hundred and eleven persons, besides other wounded and taken prisoners, to bee put to death afterward, at the pleasure of the Conquerour: at divers Battells after, ten thousand slaine at a Battell. As in those of Barnet and Tukesbury, fought both in one yeare.

This suffered our afflicted Countrey in those dayes, by this infortunate and deadly contention, which could never bee ended, but by the happy conjunction of those two houses together, in Henry the seventh: neither yet so (as appeareth by Chronicle) untill (as I have said) the State had cut of, the issue male of the Duke of Clarence, who was cause of divers perils to King Henry the seventh, though hee were in prison. By whose sister the faction of Huntington at this day, doth seeke to raise up the same contention againe with farre greater danger both to the Realme and to her Majesty that now raigneth, then ever before.

And for the Realme it is evident, by that it giveth room to strangers, Competitors of the House of Lancaster: better able to maintaine their owne title by sword, then ever was any of that linage before them. And for her Majesties perill present, it is nothing hard to conjecture: seing the same title in the forefaid Earle of Warwick was so dangerous and troublesome to her Grandfather (by whom shee holdeth) as hee was saine twice to take arme in defence of his right, against the said title, which was in those dayes preferred and advanced by the friends of
of Clarence, before that of Henry: as also this of Hunting- 
on is at this day, by his faction, before that of her 
Majesty though never so unjustly.

Touching Huntingtons 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 himselfe 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 it selfe, as from the eldest daughter of King 
Edward the fourth, being the eldest brother of that 
House. Whereas Huntington claimeth onely, by the 
daughter of George Duke of Clarence the younger bro-
ther. Marry yet I must confesse that if the Earle of 
Warwicks title, were better then that of King Henry 
the seventh (which is most false, though many attemp- 
ted to defend the same by sword:) then hath Hun-
tington some wrong at this day, by her Majesty. Al-
beit in very truth, the attaints of so many of his An-
ceitours by whom hee claimeth: would answere him 
also sufficiently in that behalfe, if his title were other-
wise allowable.

But I know besides this, they have an other fetch 
of King Richard the third, whereby hee would needs 
prove, his elder brother King Edward to bee a Bajtard: 
and consequently his whole line as well male as female 
to bee void. Which devise though it bee ridiculous, 
and was at the time when it was first invented: yet, 
as Richard found at that time a Doctor Shaw, that sha-
med not to publish and defend the same, at Pauls 
Crosse in a Sermon: and John of Northumberland my 
Lord of Leycesters Father, found out divers Preachers 
in his time, to set up the title of Suffolke, and to debasse 
the right of King Henries daughter both in London, 
Cambridge, Oxford and other places, most apparently 
against
A point to be noted by her Majesty.

The joining of both houses.

The Line of Portugall.

against all law and reason: so I doubt not, but these men would find out also, both Shaves, Sands, and others, to set out the title of Clarence, before the whole interest of King Henry the seventh and his posterity, if occasion served. Which is a point of importance to be considered by her Majesty albeit for my part, I mean not now to stand thereupon, but only upon that other of the House of Lancaster, as I have said.

For as that most honourable, lawfull, and happy conjunction of the two adversary Houses, in King Henry the seventh and his wife, made an end of the shedding of English blood within itself, and brought us that most desired peace, which ever since we have enjoyed, by the reign of their two most noble issue: so the plot that now is in hand, for the cutting of the residue of that issue, and for recalling back of the whole title to the onely house of York againe: is like to plunge us deeper, then ever in civile discord, and to make us the bait of all forraine Princes: seeing there bee among them at this day, some, of no small power (as I have said) who pretend to bee the next heires by the house of Lancaster: and consequently, are not like to give over or abandon their owne right, if once the doore bee opened to contention for the same, by disannulling the Line of King Henry the seventh: wherein only the keyes of all concord remaine knit together.

And albeit I know well that such as bee of my Lord of Huntingtons party, will make small accomt of the title of Lancaster, as least rightfull a great deale then that of York (and I for my part meane not greatly to avow the same, as now it is placed, being my selfe no favourer of forraine titles:) yet indifferant men have to consider, how it was taken in times past, and
and how it may againe, in time to come, if conten-
tion should arise: how many Noble personages of our
Realme did offer themselves to die in defence there-
of: how many oaths and lawes were given and re-
ceived throughout the Realme for maintenance of
the same, against the other House of Yorke for ever:
how many worthy Kings were crowned, and raigned
of that house and race, to wit, the fourne moft Noble
Henries, one after another, the fourth, the fift, the fixt,
and the seventh: who both in number, governement,
sanctity, courage, and feates of armes, were nothing
inferiour if not superiour) to those of the other house
and line of Yorke, after the division betweene the fa-
milies.

It is to bee considered also, as a speciall signe of the
favour and affection, of our whole nation unto that
family: that Henry Earle of Richmond though descen-
ding but of the laft Sonne, and third wife of John of
Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, was so respected, for that
only by the univerfall Realme: as they inclined whol-
ly, to call him from banishment, and to make him King,
with the deposition of Richard, which then ruled of
the House of Yorke, upon condition onely, that the
sai'd Henry should take to wife, a daughter of the con-
trary family: so great was in those days, the affection
of English hearts, towards the line of Lancaster, for
the great worthinesse of such Kings as had raigned
of that race, how good or bad so ever their title were:
which I stand not heare at this time to discusse, but
only to inflinate, what party the same found in our
Realme in times past, and consequently, how extreme
dangerous the contention for the same may bee here-
after: especially, seeing that at this day, the remainder
of that title, is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger,
whose power is very great. Which wee Lawyers
are:

The Line of
Portugall.

Henry Earle
of Richmond.

The old esti-
mation of
the House of
Lancaster.

Q
are wont to esteem as a point of no small importance, for justifying of any man's 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 always better than halfe the title, to get, establish, or maintain a Kingdom: which maketh mee the more appalled to heare you discourse in such sort of new contentions, and forraigne titles, accompanied with such power and strength of the titlers. Which cannot bee but infinitely dangerous, and fatal 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 signifie, will not faile (by all likelihood) to pursue his title with all forces that hee can make, if occasion were offered: so reason of state and policy will enforce other Princes adjoyning, to let and hinder him therein what they can: and so by this means shall wee become Juda and Israel among our selves, one killing and vexing the other with the sword: and to forraigne Princes wee shall bee, as the Iland of Salamina was in old time to the Athenians and Megarians: and as the Iland of Cicilia was afterward to the Grecians, Carthaginians, and Romans: and as in our dayes, the Kingdom of Naples hath beene to the Spaniards, French men, Germans, and Venetians: That is, a bait to feed upon, and a game to fight for.

Wherefore, I beseech the Lord, to avert from us all occasions of such miseries. And I pray you Sir, for that wee are fallen into the mention of these matters,
to take so much paines as to open unto mee the
ground of these controversies, so long now quiet,
betwenee Yorke and Lancaster: seeing they are now
like to bee raised againe. For albeit in generall I have
heard much thereof, yet in particular, I either con-
ceive not, or remember not, the foundation of the
same; and much leffe the state of their severall titles
at this day, for that it is a study not properly pertaining
unto my profession.

The controversy betwixt the Houfes of Yorke
and Lancaster (quoth the Lawyer) tooke his actuall
beginning in the issue of King Edward the third,
who died somewhat more then two hundred yeares
ago: but the occasion, pretence or cause of that quar-
rell, began, in the children of King Henry the third,
who died an hundred yeares before that, and left two
Sonnets, Edward who was King after him, by the name
of Edward the first, and was Grandfather to Edward
the third: and Edmond, (for his deformity called
Crookeback) Earle of Lancaster and beginner of
that house, whose inheritance afterward in the fourth
discent, fell upon a Daughter named Blanch, who
was married to the fourth Sonne of King Edward the
third, named John of Gaunt, for that hee was borne
in the City of Gaunt in Flanders, and so by this his first
wife, hee became Duke of Lancaster and heire of that
house. And for that his Sonne Henry of Bolingbrooke
(afterward called King Henry the fourth) pretended
among other things, that Edmond Crookeback, great
Grandfather to Blanch his mother, was the elder
Sonne of King Henry the third, and unjustly put by the
inheritance of the Crowne, for that hee was Crooke-
backed and deformed: hee tooke by force, the King-
dome from Richard the second, Nephew to King Edward
the third by his first Sonne, and placed the same
in
in the house of Lancaster, where it remained for three whole descents, until afterward, Edward Duke of York descendent of John of Gaunt's younger brother, making claim to the Crowne by title of his Grandmother, that was heiress to Lionel Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt's elder Brother: took the same by force from Henry the sixt, of the House of Lancaster, and brought it back again to the House of York: where it continued with much trouble in two Kings one by one, until both Houses were joined together in King Henry the seventh and his noble issue.

Hereby wee see how the issue of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth Sonne to King Edward the third, pretended right to the Crowne by Edmund Crookebacke, before the issue of all the other three, Sons of Edward the third, albeit they were the elder Brothers, whereof wee will speake more hereafter. Now John of Gaunt though he had many children, yet had he four only, of whom issue remaine, two Sonnes and two Daughters. The first Sonne was Henry of Bolingbroke Duke of Lancaster, who took the Crowne from King Richard the second, his Uncle's Sonne, as hath beene saide, and first of all planted the same in the House of Lancaster: where it remained in two descents after him, that is, in his Sonne Henry the sext, and in his Nephew Henry the sext, who was afterward destroyed together with Henry Prince of Wales, his onely Sonne and heire; and consequently all that Line of Henry Bolingbrooke extinguished, by Edward the fourth of the House of York.

The other Sonne of John of Gaunt, was John Duke of Somerset by Katherine Sainsford, his third wife, which John, had issue an other John, and hee, Margaret his Daughter and Heire, who being married to Edmund
Earle of Richmond, had issue Henry Earle of Richmond, who after was named King Henry the seventh, whose Line yet endureth.

The two Daughters of John of Gaunt, were married to Portugal and Castile: that is, Philip borne of Blanch, Heire to Edmond Crookebacke, as hath beene said, was married to John King of Portugal, of whom is descended the King that now possesseth Portugal, and the other Princes which have or may make title to the same: and Katherine borne of Constance Heire of Castile, was married back againe to Henry King of Castile in Spain, 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 foraine Majesties dayes, will open to them the doore, by shutting out the rest of King Henries Line, and by drawing back the title to the only 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 John 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 Cofin german, named Henry Bolingbrooke Duke of Lancaster, Sonne to John of Gaunt as hath beene said, and so there ended the Line of King Edwards first Son.

King Edward's second Sonne, was William of Hartsfield, that died without issue.

The two Daughters married to Portugal and Castile.

Foraine titles.

The issue of King Edward the 3r.
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 fift Sonne of King Edward the third, and younger Brother to John of Gaunt. And this Edmond of Langley may bee called the first beginnner of the Houfe of Yorke: even as Edmond Croockhafe the beginnner of the Houfe Lancaster.

This Edmond Langley then, having a Sonne named Richard, that married Anne Mortimer sole Heire to Leonell Duke of Clarence, joyned 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 fift Sonnes to King Edward the third. And for this caufe, 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 fame in his dayes, for that hee was slaine in a Battell against King Henry the fift at Wakefield: yet his Sonne Edward got the fame, and was called by the name of King Edward the fourth.

This King at his death left divers children, as name ly two Sonnes, Edward the fift and his brother, who after were both murdered in the Tower, as shall bee shewed: 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.

He 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 mean Gentleman named Richard Poole, by whom she had issue Cardinal Poole that died without marriage, and Henry Poole that was attainted and executed in King Henry the eight his time (as also herself 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 Huntingtons title.

The second Brother of King Edward the fourth, was Richard Duke of Glouceter, who after the Kings death, caused his two Sonnes to bee murdered in the Tower, and tooke the Kingdome to himselse. 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 beene 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: joined 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:
The issue of King Henry the seventh.

The Line and Title of Scotland by Margaret eldest Daughter to King Henry the 7.

The Line and Title of Suffolk by Mary, second Daughter to King Henry the seventh.

The issue of Francis eldest Daughter to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk.

The issue of King Henry the eighth, of whom is descended our sovereigne, her Majesty that now happily reigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line. Secondly, he had two Daughters: whereof the first named Margaret, was married twice, first to James King of Scotland from whom are directly descended the Queene of Scotland that now liveth and her Sonne: and King James being dead, Margaret was married again to Archibald Douglas Earle of Angus: by whom shee had a Daughter named Margaret, which was married afterward to Mathew Steward Earle of Lennox, whose Sonne Charles Steward, was married to Elizabeth Candisso 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, descend ing 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 Suffolk, by whom shee had two Daughters, that is, Francis, of which the Children of my Lord of Hart ford 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 Marquaise of Dorset, who after Charles Brandons death was made Duke of Suffolk in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in Queene Maries time, for his conspiracy with my Lord of Leycesters Father. And shee had by this man three Daughters: that is, Jane, that was married to my Lord of Leycesters Brother, and proclaimed
claimed Queen after King Edward's death, for which both she and her husband were executed: Katherine the second Daughter, who had two Sons, yet living, by the Earle of Hartford; and Mary the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The other Daughter of Charles Brandon by the Queen of France called Eleanor, 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 Suffolk, descended from the second Daughter of King Henry the seventh, married (as hath been shewed) to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. And by this, you see also how many there bee, who doe thinke their titles to bee fat before that of my Lord Huntington, 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 Huntington's Line for the preeminence: if once the matter fall againe to content by excluding the Line of King Henry the seventh which God forbid.

Truly Sir (quoth I) I well perceive that my Lord's 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 Cambat with forraine titlers of the House of Lancaster: and if hee exclude it not, then in all apparance 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 Suffolk) 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 reigneth.
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.

That is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enough 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. Albeit 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 upshot to their game. For which cause, they will seeme to make great difference at this day, betwixt her Majesties title, and the rest, that descend in like-wise from King Henry the seventh: avowing the one, and disallowing the other. Albeit, my Lord of Leyesters 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 maruaile how hee can deale so contrary now: preferring not onely her Majesties title before that of Suffolke (whereof I wonder leffe because it is more gaineful 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 be 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 alledge, 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 Gentleman,) which I will lay downe in order, as I have heard them allledged. First in the Line of Scotland there are three persons as you know that may pretend right: that is, the Queene the claime of 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 severall Parliaments they are excluded: the third for that they are enemies to the religion now received amongus, & therefore to be debarred.

Against the second marriage of Margaret with Archibald Douglas, whereof Arbella is descended, they alledge
alledge, that the said Archibald had a former wife at the time of that marriage, which lived long after: & to neither that marriage 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 Suffolk, had a known wife alive when he married Mary Queen of France, and consequently, that neither the Lady Frances nor Eleanor, borne of that marriage, can be lawfully borne. And this is all, I can have them say against the succession of the Countesse of Darby descended of Eleanor. But against my Lord of Hertford's children, that come from Frances the eldest daughter, I hear them alledge two or three bastardies more besides this of the first marriage, for first, they affirm that Henry Marquess Dorset, when he married the Lady Frances, had to wife the old Earle of Arundel's sister, who lived both then and many years 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 Hertford had his children) was lawfully married to the Earle of Pembroke that now liveth, & consequently, could have no lawful issue by any other during his life. 3 ly. that the said Katherine was never lawfully married to the said Earle of Hertford, but bare him those children as his Concubine, which (as they say) is defined and registered 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 affairs.

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 Lady Frances, whom in time
time past, when \textit{Iave} her eldest daughter was married to his brother, he advanced in legitimation before both the daughters of K. \textit{Henry} the eight. But to the purpose: I would gladly know what grounds of verity these allegations have, and how far in truth they may stop from inheritance: for indeed I never heard them so distinctly alleged 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 alleged every other man ( quo he ) that knoweth the state and common government 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 forraigne 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 claim 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 clearly: I for my part would gladly bese the hearing, and that with attention.

To this answered the Lawyer. I will gladly, Sir, tell 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 allege against the succession of K. \textit{Henry} the 8, his sisters, are of two kindes, as you see: The one knowen and allowed in our law, as you have well saied, if it may bee proved: and that is bastardie: whereby they secke 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
The impedi-
ments a-
(126)
to
small purpose to speake anything here; seeing the
whole controversie hangeth upon a matter of fact
derely, to be proved or improved by records and wit-
ness, before named, are to be manag'd in many mens mouths and
avowed by divers that yet live; but let other men
looke to this, who have most intere ftherein, and
may bee most damned by them, if they fall out
true.

The other impediments, which are alleg'd one-
ly against the Queene of Scots and her Sonne, are
in number three, as you recite them: that is, for
nance, Testament and Religion; whereof I
content to say something, seeing you desire it: al-
beit there be so much publiz'd already in books
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 paffe among
Lawyers my betters, in conference of these affaires
will not let to recite unto you, with this Proviso and

Firft then touching forraine birth, there bee some
men in the World that will say, that it is a common
pediment 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 general sense. For I could never yet
come to the light of any such common or univer-

rule: and I know, that divers examples may be al-
ledged in sundry caes to the contrary: and that
which is expressly done in the seventeenth and nin-

years of King Edward the fourth, and in the eleventh and fourteenth of Henry the fourth, it appeareth plainly that a stranger may purchase lands in England, as also inherit by his Wife, if hee marry an inheretrix. Wherefore this common rule is to bee restrained from that generality, unto proper inheritance only: 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 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 Countrie, doe runne thus in generall, yet will the friends of the Scottish claime affirme, 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 express mention bee made thereof, in the same: for that the King and Crowne have great priviledge 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
shall enjoy the third of his lands: but yet the Queen
shall not enjoy the third part of the Crowne, after
the Kings death: as well appeareth by experience,
and is to be seen 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 curtesy
during his life, but yet it holdeth not in a King-
dome.

In like manner, it is a general and common rule,
that if a man die seised of Land in Fee simple, having
Daughters and no Sonne: his lands shall be divided
by equal portions among his Daughters: which hold-
deth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldest Daugh-
ter inheriteth the whole, as if shee were the issue
male. So also it is a common rule of our law, that
the executor shall have all the goods and chattels
of the Testator, but yet not in the Crowne. And
so in many other cases which might be recited, it
is evident that the Crowne hath privilege above
others, and can be subject to rule, bee it never so
general, except express mention bee made thereof
in the same law: as it is not in the former place and
a statute alleged: but rather to the contrary, (as
after shall bee shewed) there is express exception,
for the prerogative of such as descend of Royall
bloud.

Their second reason is, for that the demand or
title of a Crowne, cannot in true sense bee comprehen-
ded under the words of the former statute, forbidd-
ing 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
God himself: the second, for that this statute treateth
only and meaneth 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 incorporate
and descendeth not according to the common course
of other private inheritances: but goeth by successison,
as other incorporations doe. In signe whereof, it is evi-
dent, 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 pa-
tents 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 in-
corporate shall bee, which cannot by any means in
law bee said, to bee within age, in respect of their in-
corporations.

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 De-
nizens: might alwayes in time of peace, demand lands
in England, in respect of their incorporations, notwith-
standing the said statute or common law against A-
liens, 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 off-spring or issue, as the word Infant doth sig-
nifie, both in France, Portugal, Spain, and other Coun-
tries: and as the latin word Libert (which answereth the same) is taken commonly in the Civill law.
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 Crown, by their forreine birth wheresoever. 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 means, as Lionel the kings third sonne was married in Milan: and John of Gaunt the fourth sonne gave his two daughters, Philip and Katherine to Portugal and Castile: and his niece Joan 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 were of the blood Royal) would never have done.
done: if they had imagined that hereby their issue should have lost all claim and title to the Crown of England: and therefore it is most evident, that no such barre was then extant or imagined.

Their first reason is, that divers persons born out of all English dominion and allegiance, both before the conquest and since, have beene admitted to the succession of our Crown, as lawful inheritors, without any exception against them for their foreign birth. As before the conquest is evident in young Edgar Etheling borne in Hungary, and thence called home to inherit the Crown, by his great Uncle King Edward the Confessor, with full consent of the whole Realm, the Bishop of Worcester being sent as Ambassador to fetch him home, with his father named Edward the outlaw.

And since the conquest, it appeareth plainly in King Stephen and King Henry the second, both of them born out of English dominions, and of Parents, that at their birth, were not of the English allegiance: and yet were they both admitted to the Crown. Young Arthur also Duke of Bretaigne by his mother Constance that matched with Geffray King Henry the second's son, was declared by King Richard his Uncle, at his departure towards Jerusalem, and by the whole Realm, for lawfull heir apparent to the Crown of England, though he were born in Britaine out of English allegiance, and so he was taken and adjudged by all the world at that day: albeit after King Richard's death, his other Uncle John, most tyrannously took both his kingdom 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 Realm, which yeelded to his usurpation. So that by this also it appeareth, what the practice of our
The judgement and sentence of King Henry the seventh, and of his Councell, who being together in consultation at a certaine time about the marriage 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 fail, and so the question devolve to the heirs 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 prejudicial to England, being the bigger part, but rather beneficial; for that it should draw Scotland to England, that is, the lesser to the more; even as in times past it hapned in Normandy, Aquitaine, 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 reign, by the Kings owne instruction. So that hereby we see no question made of King Henry or his Councell touching foreign birth, to let the inceffion of Lady Margaret's issue; which no doubt would never have been omitted then learnedly, if any law at that time had beene esteemed or imagined to bære the same. And these are like 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 clame to the Crowne, when it falleth to him by rightfull decent in blood and inheritance. But in the
particular case of the Queen of Scots and her sonne, they doe adde 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 Queens Grandmother and husband being English, and so her sonne begotten of an English father) but also for two other causes and reasons, which feeme 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 Queen and her sonne being borne in Scotland, are not borne out of the allegiance of England, and so no forrainers.

The second cause or reason is, for that the forenamed statute of Forrainers in the five and twenty yeares of King Edward the third, is intituled 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 piece 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 lex 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 reason.
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 Suffolke. 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 sifter 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 sifter, 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 Henry’s judgement, the former pretended rule of forraine birth, was no sufficient impediment against Scotland: for if it had beene no doubt, but that he would have named the same in his alleaged 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 Bastarde: 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 Scot-
And therefore (I think, 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 testimony of this Testament: but rather some friend of the house of Suffolk in whose favour, I take it, that it was first of all forged.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I stand obstinately in the contrary: for that it is hard, sometime to judge of what faction each one is, who discourseth of these affairs. 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 Suffolk, in the other Testament which then he proclaimed, as made by King Edward deceased, for preferment of Suffolk 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 Suffolk before them both.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that a little 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 subjects begin greatly to feare, that wee may chance to see shortly a third testament of her Maiestie for
for the intituling of Huntington, and extirpation of King Henry's bloud, and that before her Majesty can think of sicknesse: wherein I beseech the Lord I bee no Prophet. But now (Sir) to the foresaid Will and Testament of King Henry; I have often heard, in truth, that the thing was counterfeit, or at the leaft 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 sixt yeares of King Henry's 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 Counsell, who best knew the lawes of the Realm, 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 Henry's 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 Eleonor Necess to the King, by his yonger sister. Which assignation of the Crowne, being as it were a meere gift in prejudice of
The elder sister's right (as also of the right of France and Eleanor themselves, who were omitted in the same assignation, and their Heires intitled onely) was esteemed to bee against all reason, law, and nature, and consequently not thought to proceed from so wise and fage a Prince, as King Henry was knowne to bee: but rather, either the whole forged, or at leastwise that clause inserted by others, 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 proofes.

For first, it is not probable or credible, that King Henry would ever goe about, against law and reason, to disinherite the line of his eldeft 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 fixth, Edward the fourth, and Richard the third: in whose reignes, 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 hee 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 eldeft sister: yet this cogitation, at least, would

The Kings Testament forged.

The Kings Testament forged.

Injustice and improbability.

The example of France.
would have stayed him: that by giving example of
implanting his elder sisters Line by virtue of a testa-
ment 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 incongruities and
indignities in the said presented Will to proceed from
such a Prince and learned Councell as King Henry
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 Henrys children should have died,
whiles Lady Frances had beene 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 ha-
ving 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 Proctor of England. Of like absurdity
is that other clause also, wherein the King bindeth
his owne Daughters to marry, by consent and dire-
tion of his counsell, or otherwise to leafe the benefit of their succession: but yet bindeth not his Neices
Daughters, to wit, the Daughters of Frances and
Elenor (if that they had any) to any such condi-
tion.

Thirdly, there may bee divers causes and argu-
ments alleadged in law, why this pretended will is
not
not authentically: if otherwise, it were certain that King Henry had meant it. First, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended only to give authority, for declaration and explication of the true title: and not for donation or intriguing of the same, to the ruin of the Realm. Secondly, for that there is no lawful and authentically Copy extant thereof, but only a bare involvement in the Chancery, which is not sufficient in so weighty an affair: no witness of the Privy Council or of Nobility to the same: which had been convenient in so great a case (for the best of the witnesses therein named, is Sir John Gates, whose miserable death is well known: ) no public Notary: no Probation of the will before any Bishop, or any lawful Court for that purpose: no examination of the witnesses: or other thing orderly done, for lawful authorizing of the matter.

But of all other things this is most of importance: that the King never set his own hand to the fore-said Will, but his stamp was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when he was past remembrance: as the late Lord Paget in the beginning of Queen Maries days, being of the Privy Council, first of all other discovered the same, of his own accord, and upon mere motion of conscience, confessing before the whole Council, 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 detected the device: and so of his own free will, very honorably went and offered the discovery thereof to the Council. As also did Sir Edward Montague, Lord chief justice, that had beene privy
A meeting together about this matter of the nobility.

privy and present at the said doings, and one William Clarke, that was the man who put the stamp unto the paper, and is ascribed among the other pretended witnesses, confessed the whole premises to be true, and purchased his pardon for his offence therein. Whereupon Queen Mary and her Council, caused presently the said inrolment, lying in the Chancery, to be canceled, defaced and abolished.

And sithence that time in her Majesties days that now liveth about the 11. or 12. yeare of her raigne, (if I count not amiss) by occasion of a certaine little booke spread 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 Norfolk, the Marquess of Winchester (which then was Treasurer) the old Earles of Arundell and Penbrooke that now are dead, with my Lord of Penbrooke that yet liveth, (as also my Lord of Leicester himselfe if I bee not deceived) with divers others, met together upon this matter: and after long conference about the foresaid pretended will, and many proofs and reasons laid downe, why it could not bee true or authenticall: the old Earl of Penbrooke protesting that hee was with the King in his Chamber from the first day of his sickness unto his last 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 proclaime the Queene of Scotland heire apparent in Cheapside. Wherein my Lord of Leicester (as I take it) was then as forward as any man els: how bee it, now, for his profit, bee hee turned aside, and would turne back againe to morrow next, for a greater commoditie.

And albeit, for some causes to themselves best knowne...
knowne, they proceeded not in the open publishing of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of Penbrooke now living, can bear witness that thus much is true: and that his Father the old Earl at that time, told him openly before the other Noblemen, that he 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 he can not leave of easily the remembrance or due regard of so worthy an admonition. And this shall suffice for the second impediment, 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 onely one person (if I bee not deceived) of all the Competitours in King Henry's line, can bee touched with suspicion of different religion, from the present state of England. Which person notwithstanding (as is well knowne) while she was in government 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 doe I not see, either by prescript of law, or practice 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 Kingdom: 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,
Quene Mary. Quene Elizabeth.

The Dud. leis Monfieur.

King of Nauarre Prince of Condy.

My Lord of Huntington's religion.

Religion as they bee: yet every one succeedeth to the state, whereunto he 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 severall times with general consent of all, were admitted to their lawfull inheritance: excepting onely a few traytors 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 ofaigne. Monfieur, 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, not withstanding his opinion in religion knowne to bee different. And I doubt not, but the King of Nauarre or Prince of Condy, 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 mislike of one? And to descend in order: if the first in King Henry's line, after her Majesty may be touched in this point, yet, why should the rest he damned thereby? The King of Scotland her Sonne, that next ensueth (to speake in equity) why should hee be shut out for his religion? And are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whose descent is consequent, by nature, order and degree?

For the yong King of Scotland (quoth I) the truth is, that always for mine owne part, I have had great hope and expectation of him, not onely for the conception 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 Majesty without issue) might bee a meane by his succession to unite in Concord and Government, 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 means) there is begun in mens hearts a certaine mislike 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 Majesty's 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 since hee was borne.
The device to set out her Majesty with the yong King of Scotland.

The intolerable proceedings of certain Ministers in Scotland against their King by subordination of his enemies in England.

And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) as to believe every report that you hear of this matter? know you not, that it is expedient for my Lord of Leicester and his faction, that this youth, above all other, be held in perpetuall disgrace with her Majesty and with this Realme? You know, that Richard of Gloucester had never beeneable to have usurped as hee did, if hee had not first perswaded 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 Scotland's religion, it is evident to as many as have reason, that it can bee no other of it selfe but inclined to the best: both in respect of his education, instruction, and conversation, with those of true religion: as also by his former Actions, Edicts, Government, 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 molestatations possible, to drive him either to mislike of our religion, or els 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 feare 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 fellows 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 undescent, but intolerable. For hee may doe no thing, but they will examine
examine and discourse 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 couple of horses or other present from his friends or kindmen beyond the seas: if hee salute or use courteously any man or messenger which cometh from them (as you know Princes of their nobility and courtezie 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 Ambassadors 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, exclame 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 sovereigne with such bitterness of speech, unreverent terms, and insolent controlements, 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 Clergy 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, whether 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 minisitry, hee confessed the same with much griefe of mind, and told mee, that hee had preached thereof before the King himselfe, detesting and
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 Queen: so meaneth hee shortly to doe the same unto Monsieur Bezze, 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 competitors, 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 practized so many plots and treacheries with his owne subjects against him: hoping by that means, 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 dexterously, to 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, both come from England, thereby to drive him into jealoufie 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 Leicester, 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 stratagems 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 means had occasion to deal with the late Duke of Norfolk in his chiefest affaires before his troubles. This man is wont to report strange things from the Dukes owne mouth, of my Lord of Leycestesr 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 Leycestesr 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 desirith: 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 Judas 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 ask 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 conspiratours, and with a courteous kisse delivered his persson, into the hands of them, whom hee well knew to thirst after his bloud.

The very like did the Earle of Leycestesr with the Duke of Norfolk for the art of treaason, though in the parties betrayed there were great difference of innocence. Namely, at one time, when her Majesty was...
at Basing in Hampshire, and the Duke attended there to have audience, with great indifference in himself, to follow or leave off his lute for marriage: (for that now he began to suspect, Her Majesty 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 himself would seal that purpose with his blood. Neither was it to be suffered that Her Majesty should have her will therein; 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 crounèd most notably her Majesty, 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 Highness can best tell, and the event it selfe shewde. 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 Leicester's promises: retyréd him selfe to London, where the same night following hee received letters both from Leicester, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, upon Leisters 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 final complement of all Leiceslers for-mer devices, whereby to plunge his friend over the cares in suspicion 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 Machi-\villian sleight, which I mentioned before, of driving men to attempt somewhat, whereby they may incur danger, or remaine in perpetuall suspicion 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 Hall his Prieft, 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 acces-sary 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 Papift in England.

What meaneth also these pernicious late dealings against the Earle of Shrewsbury, a man of the most ancient and worthiest Nobility of our Realme? what meane the practices 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 country, with the great prifoner 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 ruin? 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 insouciance: albeit in respect of his present power they dare not complain. And surely it is strange to see, how little account he maketh of all the ancient Nobility of our Realm: 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 Vürpers (quoth the Lawyer) but all others who rise and mount aloft from base lineage, 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 knowne) the first and chiefest Earle of the Realm. And for that the saide 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 paws) 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
Arundel did give? and when every one answered, that he gave the white Horse: I thought so (quoth he) and not without great cause: for as the white Paulfrey when he standeth in the stable, and is well provended, is proud and fierce, and ready to leap upon every other horses back, still naying and prancing, and troubling all that stand about him; but when he is once out of his hose stable, and deprived a little of his ease and fat feeding, every hoy may ride and master him at his pleasure: so is it (quoth he) with my Lord of Arundel: Whereat many marvelled that were present, to hear so insolent speech passe from a man of judgement, against a Seere of the Realme, cast into calamity.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had scene 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 he fell downe on his knees, how he wept, how he besought the said Earle to be a good Lord unto 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 contemptible of all others, whensoever 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 believe you (quoth I) for we 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 tears, are all very well knowne: Then Sir Christopher Hatton, must needs be enforced, 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 pangs being past, it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverbe, of such as in dangers make vows 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 Maiestie; 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 reade 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, he then comming from Her Maiestie. 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
and by that occasion brought her Majesty to call for the same: Which after she had read and considered the title, together with the metall and constitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was sent: Her High

neffe could not but break forth in laughter, with detestation of such absurd and abject dissimulation: saying unto my Lord Treasurer there present: my Lord believe him not, for if hee had you in like case hee would play the Beare with you, though at this present hee sawne 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 a-gaine 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 fauour that title in our owne Realme, doe proceed from the drift and complot of these conspirators. Which besides the great dangers mentioned before, both domesticall and forraine, temporall, and of religion, must needs inferre great jeopardy also to Her Majestyes person and present reigne, that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the aspirors ambition, inflamed and increated so much the more, by the nearness of their desired pray.

For as souldiers entred into hope of a rich and well furnisht Cittie, are more fierce and furious, when they have gotten and beaten downe the Bul-workes round about: and as the greedy Burglarer that hath pearfed 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 percei-
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 Bulwarkes and Walles, and great obstacles to the aspirators) and when they shall see only Her Majesty's life and person, to stand betwixt them and their fiery desires, (for they make little account of all other Competitours by King Henry's 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, seemd greatly to feare his fingers, if once the matter should come so near, as her life had only stood in his way. For which caufe, 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 sonne 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 the 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
when Henry Bullingbrooke, Duke of Lancaster, saw, not only Richard the second to be without issue, but also Roger Mortimer, Earl 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 nephews, untill he saw their father dead, and themselves in his owne hands: his brother also Duke of Clarence dispatched, and his only sonne and heire Earle of Warwick, 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 bene 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 mean both the mother and the son) whose deaths hath bene so diligently sought, by the other competitours, and had beenelong ere this atchieved, if her Majesties owne wisdome and Royall clemency (as is thought) had not placed speciall eye upon the conserva-vation thereof, from time to time. Which princely providence, so long as it shall endure, must needs be a great safety and fortresse to Her Majesty, not only against theclames, ayds, or annoyance of forraigne 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 land: but also against practices of domesticall aspirours (as you have shewed) in whose affaires no doubt but these two branches of Scotland.
Scotland are great blocks, as also speciall 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 Highness 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 Shrewsbury 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 flaunder and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his charge committed.

To this the Gentleman anfwered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himeselfe, 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 evi- dent 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 Countesse 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 claim 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 Huntingtons fidelity, as **Iulius Cæsars** was of Marcus Brutus, his dearest obliged friend: of whose ambitious praetites, and aspiring, when Cæsar was advertized 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 Cæsar 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 ominations fake, but yet all the World knoweth, that ere many moneths passed, this most Noble and Clement Emperor, was pittifully murdered by the same Brutus and his Partners, in the publique Senate, when leaft of all hee expected such treason. So dangerous a thing it is, to bee secure in a matter of so great sequel, or to truift them with a mans life, who may pretend
Too much confidence is very perilous in a Prince.

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

Too much confidence is very perilous in a Prince.

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 Kingdom, as this is.

I know right well, that most excellent natures are always furthest from diffidence 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 prefaged, (as commonly by Gods appointment they are, for the special hand hee holdeth over Princes affairs,) or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same.

Wee know that the forenamed Emperour Cesar, 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

preferment or interest, by his death.

The example of Alexander the great, how he was foretold his danger.
the man that was so deare unto him: and by that
means was poisoned in a banquet, by three Sons of
Antipater, which were of most credit and con-
dience in the Kings Chamber.

Here truly, my heart did somewhat tremble with
scare, horrore, 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 see-
kings out and pursing all such, as may bee thought
to be dangerous to her Majesties person, as by the sun-
dry late executions wee have seene, and by the
punishments every way of Papists, wee may per-
ceive.

Truth it is (quoth the Gentleman) that justice
hath beene done upon divers of late, which conten-
teth mee greatly, for the terror and restraint of oth-
ers, of what sect or religion soever they bee: And
it is most necessary (doubtles) 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,
terror, and attention, to the doings, sayings, and mea-
nings 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
false measure: and that these men deal, as Wolves by nature in other Countries are wont to do: Which going together in great numbers to affaile a flock of sheepe by night, doe set some one or two of their company upon the wind side of the fold a secure off, who partly by their sent and other bruteling which of purpose they make, may draw the dogges and shepheards to pursuie them alone, whiles the other doe enter and slay the whole flock. Or as rebels that meaning to surpris 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 found a false alarme at some gate, where is meant least danger.

Which art, was used cunningly by Richard Duke of York 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 Leycest, used the same art much more skilfully, when hee put all England in a maze and musing of the Proteftour 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 obfacle. I speake not this, to excuse Papists, or to with them any way spared wherein they offend: but onely to signifie that in a Countrie, where so potent factions bee, it is not safe, to suffer the one to make it selfe fo puiflant by pursuite of the other: as afterwards the Prince 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 fuch an equality:
as destruction may not be feared of the predominant.

To this said the Lawyer laughing, yea marry Sir. I would to God, your opinion might prevail in this matter: for then should we be in other terms, than now we are. I was not long since, in company of a certain honourable Lady of the Court, who, after some speech passed by Gentlemen that were present, of some apprehended, and some executed, and such like affairs: brake into a great complaint of the present time, and therewith (I assure you) moved all the hearers to griefe (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 dozen yeares of her highnesss 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 suspicion of treason, no talk of bloodshed, 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 weekes and wee that served her highness, enjoyed more contentation in a weeke, then wee can now in divers yeares. For now, there are so many suspicions, every where, for this thing and for that: as wee cannot tell whom to trust. So many melancholique in the Court, that seeme malecontent: 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 sales...
brought us of this or that danger, of this man sus-
spected, of that man sent for up, and such like un-
pleasant 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
griece of her most excellent Majesty, whom wee see
dayly molested herewith (being one of the best na-
tures, I am sure, that ever noble Princefle was indued
with al:) wee cannot but mone, to behold contentions
advanced to farre forth as they are: and wee could
with most hartily that for the time to come, these
matters might passe with such peace, friendship and
tranquility, 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, she brake off: asking pardon of the
company, if shee had spoken her opinion, over boldly,
like a woman.

To whom, answered a Countriwe, that sat next
her: Madame, your Ladifhipe hath said nothing in this
behalf, that is not dayly debated among us, in our
Common speech in Court, as you know. Your de-
sire also herein is a publique desire, if it might bee
brought to passe: for there is no man so simple, that
deeth not, how perilous these contentions and divi-
sions 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, Carthagenians, and Ro-
mans, who received notable dammages, and destruc-
tion also, in the end, by their divisions and factions
among themselves: and specially from them of their
owne Cities and Countries, who upon factions lived
abroad.
abroad with Forrainers: and thereby were always as fire-bands to carry home the flamme 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 factious and foru'cites, were in continual garboile, bloudshed and misery. Whereof our owne Countrey hath tasted also her part, by the odious contention betweene the Houles of Lancaster and Yorke: wherein it is marvailous 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 encrafeth towards them that are absent,) and by the readiness of forraine Princes, to receive always, and comfort such as are discontented in an other state: to the end, that by their means, they might hold an ore in their neighbours bote: Which, Princes that are nigh borderers, doe always, above all other things, most covet and desire.

This was that Courriers 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 disention, 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 desparation.

Whereas on the other side, if any sweet qualification, or small toleration among us, were admitted: there is no doubt, but that affaires would passe in
Gentleman.

Examples of Tolleration in Matters of Religion.

Germany.

The breach and re-union againe in France.

Our Realme, with more quietnes, safety and publick weale of the same, then it is like it will doe long: and men would easily bee brought, that have English bowels, to joyne in the preservation of their Country, from mine, bloudshed, and foraine oppression, which desperation of factions 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 behold, th the same at this day, in all the Countries of Germany, Polonia, Boemland, 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 douzen yeares also of her Majesties raigne, whereof your Lady of the Court discoursed before, can well bee a witnessse 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 modificacion beene thought upon, by the wisest of that Kings 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 infused in that Country, that was so broken, dislevered and wafted before. And all this, by yeelding a little in that thing, which no force can matter, but exulcerate rather, and make worse: I mean the conscience and judgement of men in matters of religion.
The life also I could name you in Flanders, where after all these broyles and miseries, of so many yeares warres (caused principally by too much freyning in such faires at the beginning) albeit, the King be never fo strict-laced, in yeelding to publike liberty, and free exercife 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 towns, which upon composition he receiveth, but also where he hath recovered by force, as in Tor- how, 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 performe otherwise, their outward obedience and duties to their Prince and countrey. Which only qualification, toleration, and moderate 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, Puritaines, Familians, or of whatsoever nice difference or section besides, and would be sufficient to retaine all parties, within a temperate obedience to the Magistrate and government, for conservation of their countrey: which were of no small importance to the contentation 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 Catiline, and his crew, that quietnesse and order were better then hurleburliltes? 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 Majesty's 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 Majesty's name, under the vizard and pretext, of her defence and safety: having owed in every mans head, so many imaginations of the dangers present both abroad and at home: from Scotland, Flanders, 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 mean 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 causer of these shadowes, doth looke to play his part, first in these troublesome affaires: so do I heartily feare, that unlea the tyrannie of this Leicestrian fury be speedily stoppe, that such misery to Prince, and people (which the Lord for his mercies sake turne from us) as never greater fell before to our miserable countrey: is farre nearer hand then is excepted or suspected.

And therefore, for prevention of these calamities, to tell you plainly mine opinion (good Sirs) and therewith 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.
say against him, at length, after so many years 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 coming to the Crown (as shee hath done right many most highly to be commended) nor any that lightly Her Majesty may doe hereafter, can be of more utile to Her self, and to the Realme, or, more gratefull unto her faithfull and zealous subjects then this noble act of Justice would bee, for try all of this mans defects towards his country.

I say it would be profitable to Her Majesty, and to the Realme, not only in respect of the many dangers before mentioned, hereby to bee avoyded, which are like to ensue most certainly. if his courses be still permitted: but also, for that Her Majesty shall by this, deliver Her selfe from that generall grudgee and griefe of mind, with great dislike, which many subjects, other wise 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 infinite several persons, and the whole Commonwealth (as hath beene said:) the griefe and resentiment thereof, doth redound commonly in such cases, not only upon the person delinquent alone, but also upon the Sovraine, by whose favour and authority hee off reth 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 subjects that abused the same; hath beene the cause of great danger and ruine; the sinnes of the Favourite, being returned, and revenged upon the Favourer. As in the Historie of the Creciani is declared, by occasion of the pitiful murder of that wise and victorious
The death of King Philip of Macedonie, and caused thereof.

Aorius Prince Philip of Macedonie, who albeit, that he were well assured to have given no offence of himself to any of his subjects, and consequently feared nothing, but converted openly and confidently among them: yet, for that he 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 complained upon: the parties grieved, accounting the crime more proper and hainous on the part of him, who by office should doe justice, and protect 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, sborned 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 usual or frequent among all nations, then the affllictions of Realmes and kingdoms, and the overthrow of Princes and great Potentates themselves, by their too much affection towards some unworthy particular persons: a thing indeed so common and ordinary, as it may well seeme to be the speciallest Rock of all other, whereat Kings and Princes do make their ship wracks.

For if we 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 principal part of the cause thereof: and in our owne state and country, the matter is too too evident. For whereas, since the conquest wee number principally, three just and lawfull Kings: to have come to confusion, by alienation of their subjects: that is, Edward the second, Richard the second, and Henry the sixt, this only point of too much
much favour towards wicked persons, was the chiefest cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the excessive favour towards Peter Gatheston and two of the Spencers. In the second, the like extraordinary, and indirect affection towards Robert Vere, Earle of Oxford, and Marquess 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 seen towards any, yet his wife, Queene Margaret, too much favour and credit (by him not controlled) towards the Marques of Saffolokes, that after was made Duke, by whose instinct and wicked counsel, she made away first the noble Duke of Gloucester, 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 Leicesters now, though yet not in so high and extreme a degree; this I say was the principall and original cause, both before God and man, (as Polidore well noteth) of all the calamity and extreme defolation, which after enuied 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 griefe at this day, any mislike, repining, complaint or murmure against Her Maiesties government, in the hearts of her true and faithfull subiects, who wish amendment of that which is amiss, and not the overthrow of that which is well (as I trow it were no wildome 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, to afflieth.
teth her people, as never did before him; either Cavendish, or Spencer, or Vere, or Mowbray, or any other mischievous 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 Majestie, and how grateful to all her subjects, if this man at length might be called to his account.

Sir (quoth the Lawyer) you allege 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 subjects desires and complaint in this behalf: she would well shew, that Her Highness feareth not to permit justice to pass upon Leicester, or any other within her Realme, for satisfaction of her people. whatsoever some men may thinke and report to the contrary, or howsover otherwife of her owne mild disposition, or good affection towards the person, shee have borne with him hitherto. For seewee, 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 alleaged 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 beeene said) whereby he committed manifold out-rages, and afflicted the Realme by sundry meanes: yet she being a woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Communalty 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 Realm: but the providence of God would.
would not permit him so to escape; for that he being
incountered, and taken upon the sea in his passage, he
was beheaded in the ship, and so received some part
of condign 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 Lecesters good Grand-
father was crept, with King Henry the leventh, in the
latter end of his raigne: and what intollerable wicked-
nesse and mischief 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 meere com-
passion towards his afflicted 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 insted in the
Crowne, caused presently before all other businesse,
to bee called publiquely to accompt, and for his de-
terts to leese his head: So as where the interet 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 know-
eth her Majesty to bee) from permitting justice to
have her free passage.

Truly it shoul not (quoth the Gentleman) for
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
exer-
exercised, upon and towards all men, with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of Leicester, I doe not see in right and equity, how her Majesty may deny this lawfull desire and petition of her people. For if her highness 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 enormous 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 licences, by deceiving the Crowne, with racking, changing and imbezeling the lands, by abusing his Prince and sovereign in telling his favour both at home and abroad: with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace, request, supplication, or whatsoever fute els may depend upon the Court, or of the Prince's authority: with setting at faile and making open market, of whatsoever her Majesty can give, doe, or procure, bee it spirituall or temporall. In which sort of traffique, hee commiteth more theft, often times in one day: then all the way-keepers, cut-purces, couniners, pirats, burglars, 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 means of killing, poisoning, charming, enchanting, conjuring and the like: according
to the diversity of men, places, opportunities and instruments for the same. By all which means, I thinke, hee 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.

Where to now, if wee add his other good behaviour, as his intollerable licentioufnesse in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all sort of Wives, Friends and Kinswomen: if wee add his injuries and dishonours, done hereby to infinite: if we 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 extorisions upon the poore; his abusing of the Parliament and other places of justice, with the Nobility and whole commumalty 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 tyrannie practiced towards all estates abroad, throughout all Shires of the Kingdom: 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 infatiable 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 trial were but in hope to bee granted. I doe not see in equity and reason, how her highness 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 Majestie, 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 highness hath intelligence of divers of these matters alleged, 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; nor, 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 brichted? I speake unto you but that which I heare in Cambridge and other places, where I have past: where every mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choise to doe what her selfe best liketh in that case, at this day.

I know (said the Gentleman) that Leysesters 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 spread abroad, and beleeved, for two causes: the one to hold the people thereby
thereby more in awe of himselfe, then of their Soveraigntie: and secondly to draw Her Maiestie indeed by degrees to feare him. For considering with himselfe what he hath done: and that it is impossible in truth that ever Her Majestie should love him againe, or trust him after so many treacheries, as he well knoweth are come to Her Highnesse understanding: he thinketh that he hath no way of sure standing, but by terror, and opinion of his puissant greatnesse; whereby hee would hold Her Majestie, and the Realme in thralldome, as his father did in his time before him. And then for that he well remembereth the true saying, 

Cicero in Officio.

Maurus custos diuiteminitatis, mecum: 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 extremely, for that hee had cut off his two Uncles heads, and the Duke tooke order that hee should never live to revenge the fame. For it is a settled rule of Machivel, which the Dudlies 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 chiefe patron of the Huntington faction, though neither loved, nor greatly trusted of the same: but let her Majestie 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 gagging of both my life and little lands that God hath given me, that without flurre or trouble, or any
An offer made for taking and tying the Bear, danger in the world, the Bear shall be taken to Her Majesty's hand, and fast chained to a stake, with moulzel cord, collar and ring, and all other things necessary, so 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 Realm but by violence, and that only upon her Majesty's 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 Realm have, whereby mens affections are greatly moved. His father John Dudley was the first noble of his line: who rased 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, collect, 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 leffe 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 loyalty.
For all the world knoweth, that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberall, and assured friendly where he once promised: of all which vertues, my Lord his sonne, hath neither (hew nor shadow, but only a certaine false representation of the first, being crafty and subtile to deceive, and ingenious to wickednesse. For as for valour, he hath as much as hath a moue: his magnanimity, is base for biddity: his liberality, rapine: his friendship, plaine fraud, holding only for his gaine, and no other where, though it were bound with a thousand oaths; of which he maketh as great account, as hens do of cackling, but only for his commodity; using them specially, and in greatest number, when most he 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 sixtene times.

This man therefore, so contemptible by his ancestors, so odde 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 misliked and hated of his owne servants about him, for his beastly life, nigardy, and Atheisme (being never seene yet, to lay 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
The end and departure from the Gallerie.

Majesty, and her wife Councell should feare? I can never beleeve it; or if it be so, it is Gods permission without all cause, for punishment of our finnes: 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 Leicester 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 beeene 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 beeene at such a conference this seven yeares, nor meane to be hereafter, if I may escape well with this; whereof I am sure I shall dreame this fort-night, and think oftener of my Lord of Leicester, then ever I had entended: God amend him and me both. But if ever I hear againe of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quak-britch, and thinke every bush a thief. And with that, came up the Mistris of the house, to fetch us downe to supper, and so all was hush, having 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 shrinke and be appaled and to cast dry looks upon the Gentleman our friend, doubting least something had beeene discove-red of our conference. But indeed it was not so.

FINIS.