

A Treatise of Treasons
Against Q. Elizabeth and the Crown of England,
divided into two parts whereof

The first part answereth certain treasons pretended that never were intended,

And the second discovereth greater treasons committed that are by few perceived,
as more largely appeareth in the page following.

Imprinted in the month of January
and in the year of Our Lord MDLXXII.

The Argument Of This Treatise Divided Into Two Parts.

The first part confuteth the false accusations and slanderous infamies printed in certain nameless and infamous libels against the Q.[‘s] Majesty of Scotland, heir apparent to the crown of England, and against Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshall of the same realm, and defendeth the honour and loyalty of the said princes.

The second part (which beginneth fol. 83) detecteth sundry deep and hidden treasons of long time practised and daily contrived against the honour, dignity, safety & state of Queen Elizabeth, her royalty, her crown, and all the blood royal of England by a few base and ingrate persons that have been called to credit by her, and removeth the plausible vizards wherewith they cover their conjurations. It layeth open also the dangerous state that the said Q. and realm doth stand in if those confederates and their conspiracies be not prevented in time.

 The Preface To The English Reader.

Two purposes intended by the libels presently.

The one open & malicious.

In the sundry nameless libels of late put forth in print every man of mean capacity may see two things principally laboured and intended. The one, so eath and easily for every man to perceive that he that will not see it shall yet feel and find it, whether he will or no. That is to say, how they labour to defame and discredit that virtuous Lady the Queen's Majesty of Scotland, being heir apparent to the crown of England, to slander and deface that noble prince the Duke of Northfolk, the chief peer of that realm, to blemish and abase the rest of the nobility presently apprehended, to confirm & increase the prince's disfavour towards them all, to bring them all in hatred and obloquy of the people, to make their friends afear'd to favour them, to kindle the coals of their enemies' malice against them, to frame the indifferent sort to become their foes, and so finally to bring the chieftest (with as many of them as they may) to confusion, the rest in trouble to disgrace and bring low, with all others besides that either for honour, duty, or conscience' sake do acknowledge those princes to be as they are, or that do lament their distress, that do favour the justice of their cause, that do aught speak in defence of their right, or that do appear to have any compassion of their calamity.

The other secret, crafty, and ambitious.

The other, though it be not altogether so plain to every weak sight, yet shall it, I trust, be as easily seen anon by every wise and indifferent man that shall vouchsafe to consider this treatise to the end. That is to wit, how craftily and cunningly some do labour to blear and blind the eyes of the ignorant, like craftsmasters, I warrant you, seeking with many wrong pretences and with numbers of false shows to hide and cover those truths that do break out sooner than the captain jugglers would have them. By objecting, I mean, to your eyes and first sight so great a show of seditions and treasons supposed to have been conspired and attempted by those two noble princes (which by them, nor any other, were never thought on), to withdraw thereby the eyes and to divert the minds of the multitude from beholding and falling into the reckoning of those greater treasons that are indeed mo in number, more odious in quality, and nearer at hand, yea, already a-working, and contrived by them chiefly that send these libels amongst you.

A third finally intended is to wrest the succession of the crown from his due course.

Which kind of cozening, or rather conjuration, is passing necessary to be discovered, and more than high time that it had been done ere this, as well for the peril of the practice finally meant as for the mischievous means used to bring it to pass. The final practice I call the alteration of the succession of the crown of that realm by untimely extinguishing both those lines in which it presently resteth & should first fall unto by all laws of nature, nations, and your own country, and withal to confirm and establish unto certain base persons (under the title of a third family unto which themselves are lately united) the perpetual regiment of the same, the possession whereof they have already obtained. Whose ambitious minds are so limed with the pleasant gain of present governance that they count both your prince & realm and all the rest well adventured if themselves thereby may win that which they aspire unto.

This do I call the final purpose of the practice in hand. And therein shall I for this time rest, howsoever both wisdom, reason, and experience would that no man should look for an end thereof when it were come to that, nor expect any less but that when these two first families shall be weeded out for that third, that also shall be weeded out for another, and so that fourth for a fifth, till none be left of the blood royal, but the realm come to be governed either by a foreigner or by a popular state.

And of so many mischievous means used to bring this purpose to pass who can be ignorant, no man almost being found of that nation that hath not tasted bitterly of them by himself or his friend in more or in less. For who remembreth not that to set up a lawless faction of Machiavellian libertines that should not by conscience or fear of sin be restrained from any manner mischief, a new religion was pretended that with help of authority shouldered out the old, of purpose chiefly to leave none at all in the hearts of the people, to the end that a rabble of unbridled persons might always be readily found which by no religion nor zeal of soul should fear, with force and face impudent, to execute whatsoever should be committed unto them by those that have created and set up the faction.

The means to alter the succession are these.

Heresy.

Atheism.

**Sedition.
Rebellion.
Murder.**

**Sacrilege.
Incest.
Rape.
Invasion.
Public robbery.
Unfaithfulness.
Breach of leagues.
Violation of law.
Corruption.
Subornation.
False accusation.
Deprivation of princes.
Unjust imprisonments.
Impudent lying.
Forging and feigning.
Waste of treasure.
Pillage of the poor.
Destruction of nobility.**

Not words but deeds do try truth.

And upon this foundation, who is so blind as hath not seen what seditions have been sown between prince and prince, what rebellions have been raised by subjects against their superiors, what murders have been committed upon whomsoever was thought to lie in their way, what sacrilege, what incest, what rapes of nuns & violences done to other women, what unnatural torments & sudden slaughters of men, how many horrible invasions into other princes' territories, what open robberies, what public piracies, what breach of faith between friends, what violation of all leagues and laws both of nature & nations, what corruptions with money & favour of authority to suborn false accusations, what deprivations and imprisonments of princes, what depositions of prelates, what impudency of lying without limit or measure both in writing & word, what forging & feigning of friendship by fairest words when worst was meant, & finally what wastes of princes' treasures, what pillage of the people, & what consumption of the ancient nobility, and of principal personages everywhere?

Of this practice therefore & final purpose that hath been compassed by such mischievous means, and without them could not thus long have been upholden nor maintained, can any man be found so graceless and so void of honesty as to think it is not necessary, & more than high time, both to detect the one & detest the other? And if thou think that I enforce this matter over-vehemently, I remit the judgement thereof to every man's experience that (not resting upon sweet & deceivable words) shall vouchsafe but to examine his own memory of the facts & doings put in ure by the setters up of that faction within these twelve or fourteen years last past for the confirmation & establishing of the same party erected of new chiefly to serve the turns of some private men now in authority. And thereafter let him deem what manner of governance your present estate sustaineth, & whether any religion at all appear to rule in the hearts of your rulers, or be meant to be left in the hearts of

A Machiavellian defined.

your people. And that is it that I call a Machiavellian state & regime, where religion is put behind in the second & last place, where the civil policy, I mean, is preferred before it, & not limited by any rules of religion, but the religion framed to serve the time & policy; where both by word & example of the rulers the ruled are taught with every change of prince to change also the face of their faith and religion; where in apparence and show only, a religion is pretended, now one now another, they force not greatly which, so that at heart there be none at all; where neither by hope nor fear of aught after this life men are restrained from any manner vice, nor moved to any virtue whatsoever, but where it is free to slander, to belie, to forswear, to accuse, to corrupt, to oppress, to rob, to invade, to depose, to imprison, to murder, and to commit every other outrage never so barbarous (that promiseth to advance the present policy in hand) without scruple, fear, or conscience of hell or heaven, of God or devil, and where no restraint nor allurement is left in the heart of man to bridle him from evil nor to invite him to good but for vain fame only & fear of lay laws that reach no further than to this body and life, that call I properly a Machiavellian state and governance.

The order of this treatise.

Now for the order of this treatise, before I come to lay open the foul and final fraud of this practice, I have, as reason required, first answered the accusations and cleared the crimes of the accused, each after other in such order as that libel layeth them forth that seemeth to contain more weight and pith than all the rest, namely that which is dated the 13th of October 1571, and subscribed with the letters of R. and G. unto which I have made choice chiefly to address mine answer, as well for that I find no material point in any of the others omitted out of this, and in this some effectual points a little opened that in the others are but obscurely glanced at, as also for that the chief substance of all the others consisteth in scoffs, taunts, and railers' rhetoric more lively representing the sprite from whence they proceed than likely to seduce any wise or honest man.

And that done, I give thee in a second part by itself but a taste (as it were) of the treasons indeed intended, yea, rather in hand, in hammering, and well set forward already. Not so largely yet as with God's help I purpose in another tongue to publish them if cause hereafter shall so require, but yet so sensibly and plainly (I trust) as shall suffice for them of your nation that are of judgement, reading, or experience, which sort being satisfied, & coming to the clear sight of this mischievous mystery, my purpose is performed, and there shall be (I hope) no further need of enlarging the odious practices of men in authority unto the vulgar multitude.

The author's meaning is not to impugn authority.

And in the detection of this pestiferous practice, considering that I am to impugn that proceeding that carrieth a countenance of authority to maintain it, it behoveth (lest I be mistaken & surmised to mean otherwise that I do) that I admonish the reader & declare how I am to be understanden when I come to encounter with anything that authority setteth forth, or do use any terms of improving aught that authority commendeth.

The author a stranger.

Understand thou me therefore, good reader, as a stranger that hath lived in thy country for the most part above thirty years, & thereby to have conceived that reverent opinion & affection to your nation that the good nature of the people generally & the fertility of the soil do well deserve and is justly commended for, & to have observed (as my small capacity would reach) the several shapes of your government under King Henry (for a few years before his death), King Edward, Q. Mary, & Queen Elizabeth. And as my years have grown riper & my judgement by experience hath been enlarged with the help of some reading of your histories, I have principally noted & most advisedly entered into the consideration of the present state & form of regiment used under your Queen that now is. At whose entry into her crown I was present, & a witness of her quiet beginning & continuance of reign for twelve years' time, & beheld the first attempt of mutation, to wit, whom she cast out that had place & credit, & whom of new she called in that had neither of both as the authors and instruments of the innovation ensuing. I enjoyed my part of the common & quiet sustaining of all, above expectation.

Mutation.

Two persons only are charged in this treatise.

The constancy of Q. Elizab.

Only two persons rule and do all.

Among the instruments of innovation newly called in, I specially eyed & noted those to whom above others your Q. committed, even from the beginning, the chief cure & charge of her affairs, & whose managing of the same unto this day I account a rare testimony of your Q.['s] constancy respecting the variable affections that other princes her predecessors have been noted of in the change of them by whom they would rule. And unto these two persons specially (concurring with the judgement of most men) I attribute and impute whatsoever of importance cometh forth under her, or hath been seen in her time. And towards them chiefly (yea, only, in effect) is my process and speech therefore meant and directed. Not all only as the chief instruments of all her mutations at home & garboils abroad, but also as the special sprites and familiars that follow her in tempting, enticing, alluring and procuring her by all arts and devises to suffer herself, her realm, her authority, her treasure & forces to be misapplied and abused both to the one and to the other.

To impugn their purpose is termed treason.

Of these two persons therefore, as of the efficient and effectual causes of all the perilous practices and dangerous treasons that I labour to lay open, of the present change from the quiet security your Q. was long in to the unsurety and danger she is in (if these libels say true), & of the trouble & turmoil the whole realm is like to taste if those attempts go on against your nobility and the blood royal, of these two men, I say, and of none other am I to be understanden in this treatise when I use any term that may seem to touch authority, because I mean none other authority than of them two only, who (by craft and circumvention) have obtained that authority that whatsoever impugneth their pestilent private purpose (the end whereof I verily believe your Q. seeth not) must be taken and published for traitorous, seditious, slanderous, rebellious, & whatsoever else can be thought more odious, be it never so well meant, and tend it never so evidently to the security of your Q., to the benefit of your realm, and to the honour of your nobility.

And albeit there are choice enough to be found of your own nation that for their wisdom and intelligence do far surmount me in ability to have treated this matter to

**A stranger writeth
because the English may
not.**

A lamentable servitude.

the better satisfaction of the readers, and that have no less goodwill thereunto than myself, yet considering the thrall, state, & servitude that presently they sustain, having (by severe searches, by suborned accusations, by sudden arrests, by sharp imprisonments, by fraudulent examinations and penalties) their hands bound from writing, sending, or receiving, their eyes closed from reading or beholding, their ears stopped from hearing, their mouths and tongues tied up from speaking, yea, their very hearts and minds restrained from thinking (if it break out once) of any least sentence or syllable sounding toward the detection of this detestable enterprise or of any other truth that the captains of this conjuration would have covered and concealed, whiles your own, I say, remain in that thralldom where no man almost speaketh with other without rendering an account whereof they talk, yea, whiles your Queen, whom chiefly it importeth to know it, is by act and abusion deprived of all means that might bring her to understand it, whiles all books are forbidden that would tell it, all letters kept from her that would show it, and all access of those that would intimate it unto her is by one craft or other restrained and prohibited from her, it shall not, I trust, be taken for presumption in me that I, upon these considerations, have yielded and relented to the requests of such as for their honour and credit might have commanded me.

**Not by hearsay, but by
knowledge the author
speaks most.**

Who (for mine own private knowledge of the vanity & untruth of sundry principal points in these libels objected) have moved and persuaded me, by putting forth of somewhat, to break the ice, as it were, and to lead the way to others of your own that in time convenient will more at large set down the truth of this story whereof I do here but succinctly speak. And myself having been not altogether a stranger to the first treaty of the marriage between the Q.[’s] Majesty of Scotland and the Duke of Norf. nor to some of the principal personages now impeached for the same, and thereby knowing how falsely in these libels they are belied in every material point laid to their charge, and beholding themselves withal to be so restrained that either they cannot come to say and show the truth, or that they are not believed when they say truth, or that the truth is murdered and falsified though they be heard and believed -- in this case now, if I should not by saying somewhat give the adventure to tie this bell about the cat’s neck, I see not how to excuse myself of some participation with the accusers of these innocents, and of communicating (in a sort) with the contrivers of their confusion.

**The weight and necessity
of this work.**

And if any man shall think that upon so lewd a libel, of so light credit as coming out without approbation of authority, without name of author or writer, and without probable matter, less labour might have served for the discrediting and disproving of that which no wise nor honest men believed, let it be remembered, good reader, that in a matter of this weight as wherein goeth endangered the lives of princes and peerless personages, the transposing of crowns, the mutations of commonweals, and the hazard of turning one of the most principal and ancient monarchies of Christendom from a most Christian government unto a Machiavellian state, it shall not be wisdom to measure the credit of the multitude by the conscience and discretion of those few that be wise and good.

**The number are light, the
wise and good slow, in
believing.**

Close imprisonment of a prince threateneth death.

Rulers speak by canes and trunks.

The multitude runneth with authority.

Fools believe the first tale; wise men tarry the answer.

A lie is faster told than answered.

Again, considering how far this matter is proceeded onward towards the said end and fine that this libel shooteth at (which by the present state that the Q. of Scotl. and the rest do stand in, is easy to perceive), and regarding that this matter standeth not now in equal terms between mine adversary and me, but that he, shadowing himself under some in authority, speaketh nothing but that that is plausible to the present rulers, yea, when the writer is rather but the cane and trunk through which some in authority do speak, with whom the credit of the multitude commonly runneth, respecting also that mine adversary hath begun, hath told his tale first, all wholly and at length, hath been quietly heard without interruption, whatsoever he listed to say, remembering how much those advantages for the most part do prevail (for few are they in number that are so wise and good as to reserve their credit in suspense till the answer and second tale come forth), weighing further that his whole process consisteth in brief and base affirmatives without reason or proof, in which manner of writing much matter goeth contained in small room (for a lie of a line is not easily answered in a leaf or two sometimes), and lastly considering that whatsoever I am to say (coming to impugn a process that hath beforehand obtained credit with many, as upholden by some of the rulers) is already so prejudiced that before it come forth it may be foreseen to be termed slanderous, seditious, traitorous, tending to rebellion, & to move troubles in the realm -- upon those considerations, if thou vouchsafe, good reader, to weigh them deeply, albeit I have in no substantial matter left the indifferent man unsatisfied, yet shalt thou, I suppose, find me rather more compendious in many points than thou wouldst have wished me, for one wherein thou shalt think me tedious or more abundant than needed.

The author's metaphor of the destruction of Troy.

And although in this treatise I refuse not altogether mine adversaries' metaphors of their brood-hen & tree of treasons, but do now and then as truly apply them to display their devises as they do falsely abuse them to give show to surmises, yet forasmuch as the feigned goddess, the famous city, and noble king of old Troy never tasted more detestable treason by the huge horse which the Grecians forged and the crafty Greek Sinon by art conveyed into that city (as a solemn sacrifice to Pallas the goddess there) than your Queen, country & city of new Troy, with her next posterity of the blood royal of England, are like to taste by the deep and subtle practices of an English Greek or two now among you, under the plausible shadow of your Q.['s] security, and finding no story that doth more aptly resemble the false sleights that are now in the forge among you, and the mischievous marks prefixed for their end, than doth that old deep devise and cruel conclusion, & finding likewise no man more lively nor more nearly expressing (by name, nature, qualities, and form of proceeding) a subtle Sim now among you (of whom I have occasion often to speak, as the captain contriver of your calamity) than doth that old Sinon the crafty Greek, I have for these causes sometimes used, as by a metaphor, to resemble this tragedy present to that story past, and have now and then alluded this crafty practice to that subtle shift, and baptized your sly Sim that now is with that old Sinon's name.

An English Sinon.

Which, that I do not all unaptly, and that the reader may the better understand those places as they shall in this treatise present themselves before him, & to the end that by comparing that old and this new practice together he may take the morality of the first (if it were but a fable) and make benefit thereof in cases present, as wise men have been wont to do, or if it were a true story, that then by the experience of that tragedy past he may take warning and admonition for this treason now in hand, I have for these respects thought it necessary in this place briefly to remember the effect of that old story for their help that perhaps never read it, and by comparing of a few parts thereof with some parts of this to induce the common reader to the better discerning how aptly, how properly, and in how many sundry parts the subtle proceedings in these treasons present do answer the crafty practice of that old tragedy past.

The story of Troy.

When the Grecians by ten years' besieging the city of Troy perceived themselves unable by force to achieve to the end of their desires, which was to sack that city, and to bring the Trojans under their yoke and dominion, they shifted to subtlety, and feigned (by sounding a false retrait) that as persons discomfited they would retire their army into Greece again. And pretending a religious devotion to Pallas the goddess who had a temple in Troy, they forged a horse of such hugeness as the like in no age hath been seen since nor before. Which at their dissembled departure and feigned embarking they left about the place of their camp as a consecrated sacrifice vowed to that goddess.

But now see the wolf that was hidden under this lamb's skin. Into the belly and bulk of this huge beast the Grecians had cunningly conveyed a great number of their most valiant armed soldiers, who being once entered into that city under that horse's hide should (by Sinon) be let out of the beast's belly, and at an hour in the night agreed upon before should make themselves masters of the town gates and let in the rest of the Grecian army that would by that constituted time be returned thither again.

Now had the crafty Greeks a bird among them of their own brood named Sinon, whom they made privy and a principal worker of all the treason, as one that had a deep wit, a smooth tongue, an aspiring mind, a shameless face, no honour, little honesty, and less conscience, and was a sly and subtle shifter to compass whatsoever he would, and him they suborned to take upon him not only to persuade King Priamus and the Trojans to take in this sacrifice, but to adventure himself also to get into the city to open the engine of that beast and to let out those soldiers when the time should be.

To be short, he accorded. And being of base birth and vile courage, thought it no pain to suffer shame & danger for a time to lead the rest of his life out of the low condition (in which he was born) in perpetual honour and wealth afterward, which were promised him for his enterprise. And to win credit with King Priamus, he feigned to have been cruelly handled and threatened with torments and present

death by his own nation, and that at their embarking he should have been forthwith offered in sacrifice.

And in this manner, putting himself where he might be taken by the Trojans, and pretending great devotion to the goddess Pallas, he tempered his tale in such wise & covered his hypocrisy with so lively colours as denied every good nature to suspect him of fraud, & so obtained such credit with King Priamus & the Trojans that against the opinion & dissuasions of sundry of their gravest & noblest counsellors (who feared and suspected the treason that ensued) they brake down the walls of their own city to let in the monster that was their destruction.

For after the horse was once in the city, Sinon and his mates so performed their parts and perfected their practice that in the night they let in the whole troop of the Grecian army, who with great slaughter and cruelty slew Priamus the King, murdered his children, extincted his seed and posterity forever, defaced and burned the temple of the goddess to whom they pretended the honour of that sacrifice, enriched the base Greeks with the spoil of the noble Trojans, razed old Troy to the hard ground, and brought the whole country to final confusion.

19 resemblances between that story and the present government.

This being in brief the effect of that fable, as the poets do feign it, or of that true history, as some others do think, behold, I beseech you, in reading this treatise, by these few examples following, how aptly & fully the same doth resemble the tragedy that we are now to treat of.

1. And first consider how justly the naughty nature, the false, cruel, and crafty conditions of that insolent and licentious brotherhood that under pretence of a new religion do call themselves a party Protestant, dispersed everywhere, doth answer and may be compared to the subtlety, falsehood, and lewd property of the Greekish nation, testified by a proverb usual in your language that reprehendeth men's insolency and outrage with these terms: *Ah, sir, you are a Greek indeed.*
2. The modesty and conscience of the Catholic party, that for fear of God & for hate of sin do abstain from offer of injuries, and defend only their ancient possession in the Catholic faith, and that with less care, zeal, and suspicion than is necessary, may in every part very aptly be resembled to the noble nature and royal dealings of the old Trojans, that with less suspect of their adversaries' malice than was necessary, without offer of injury to their enemies, defended only their ancient possession in their kingdom.
3. The violent assaults and forcible invasions made by the Protestants upon the Catholic faith for many years together by sundry cruel & penal laws enacted by King Henry, King Edward, and Q. Elizabeth, and by sundry rebellions and conspiracies against Q. Mary, to bring the old Catholic regiment of that crown to a Protestant government do aptly answer the ten years' war and forcible siege made by the Grecians against the city and kingdom of Troy to bring the Trojan dominion to the Grecian subjection.

4. The slaughter of noble Hector and of sundry others of King Priamus' children done by force of arms in the time of the siege may not unaptly be compared to the violent deaths of so many noble & notable personages which in these late years have been sustained, some by colour of laws, some by treasons, some by sudden murder, & some by poison, as they have been found likely to repugn or resist the intended change of the regiment from the old governance in Catholic wise to a new dominion under the Protestants.
5. The repression of the sundry rebellions and confederacies made by the Protestants against Q. Mary, & their assault now by subtlety & art to win that which their force was too weak for, is justly resembled to the Grecians' shifting unto subtlety and craft when they had found their forces too feeble for their purpose.
6. The feigned retrait & counterfeit departing of the Greeks from Troy may be well compared to the false show of the counterfeit clemency pretended by Protestants for sundry years after your Q. coming to her crown, whiles they feigned a retire from all forcible constraint of any Catholic's conscience, & pretended no intention of troubling any man for keeping or following his old faith.
7. The old Greeks by hypocrisy feigned a sacrifice to Pallas, & under that cloak covered their horrible fraud with a commendable devotion that was common as well to the Trojans as Grecians; yea, by the Grecians falsely indeed, & by the Trojans only was faithfully meant, & these your new Greeks with as false a meaning do feign a sacrifice of their jealousy & care for your Q.['s] security, commonly rendered both by Catholic and Protestant, yea, rather but superficially feigned by the Protestants for a time, and sincerely meant by the Catholics alone, under which is covered the odious practice that no man would endure if he might see it at first as it will show itself at last.
8. The devise was a huge bulk of a hollow beast that contained no substance of that it gave show of, but was of a clean contrary metal within, and these Greeks' devise is a gross and beastly flattery that hollowly promiseth all honour, security, and quietness of reign, all amity abroad, and all obedient affection at home, with a huge mountain besides of all other commodities, but bringeth in it indeed a direct contrary and mere opposite substance of passing dishonour, of decay of foreign friendship, of weakening obedience at home, of fear, of peril, of unsafety on all sides, so evident that already it beginneth to appear to every man's eye, and their own printed libels cannot conceal it.

Your Queen and her posterity, being the nearest of the blood royal of England, may for many respects be resembled very well both to Pallas & Priamus, as well for the spiritual (now taken upon her) as the temporal regiment that she now in England and they then in Troy did hold and maintain.

10. The pretence of that old sacrifice was plausible to the Trojans and deceived them the rather because they were people devoutly affected to the fear of their gods, and this pretence of your Queen's security is adored by all the Catholics and blindeth them the rather from the sight of the treasons covered therein because that by the limits of religion and fear of God they affect indeed the preservation of their prince.
11. The Greeks charged the Trojans with want of devotion, and would put them in fear of the wrath of their goddess if they refused her feigned sacrifice, and these Greeks do charge the Catholics with your Queen's unsurety and put them in fear of her disfavour and death if they consent not and apply not to the provision that is feigned for her assurance.
12. The chief covered meaning of the old false sacrifice was to win the kingdom of old Troy from King Priamus and his posterity, and one of the chief hidden meanings of this new practice is to win the dominion of new Troy from your Queen and her next lawful succession.
13. In that hollow horse of sacrifice were covered and conveyed the mightiest armed enemies of all Trojan blood, and in this hollow pretence and show of security are covered & contained the treasons that tend to extirp your present Priam, with sundry of the nearest of her blood royal.
14. The bulk of that beast, being stuffed with soldiers, was greater than any gate of the city could receive or admit, and therefore must extraordinarily be let in by the walls, & this pretence studded with so many horrible treasons is more huge, more hateful, & more odious than would be admitted by any ordinary passage, and therefore must by extraordinary art be winded into the credit of your prince and people by an unwonted infamy and overthrow of the innocent and guiltless.
15. That false sacrifice was at first suspected, for a while doubted of, and refused by King Priamus and his council, till the Greek Sinon persuaded the admission of it by making them believe that if they received the same and set it up in their city they should not only win the grace and favour of the goddess Pallas, but it would also save and defend them and make all Asia and other infinite countries become subject to them and their posterity. And this false semblance was both by your Queen and her faithfulest servants at first not allowed of, and for a time resisted, till your English Sinon obtained chief credit and prevailed to make it accepted by persuading in the selfsame manner that if this sect and idol were now once again set up and settled in her realm it should not only defend & save it from all foreign power and potentates, but also make all princes adjoining to follow her example, and bring many other realms to the same lore, which persuasion of his is hitherto found as true as Sinon's then was.
16. Their old Sinon was a Greek born by nature, & so an enemy from the beginning unto the old Trojan blood and posterity of Priamus, and your new Sinon, beginning to be a Protestant even from his childhood, hath ever been an enemy unto the old
A new Sinon, the perfect image of the old.

Catholic regiment, and to that posterity of your old blood royal that affected to govern in the ancient form of the Catholic faith.

17. For baseness of parentage, for ambition of mind, for subtlety of wit, for smoothness of tongue, for shameless face, for little honesty & no conscience, looking upon old Sinon you see the right retract of the new, yea, their very names do so concur and resemble each other, that both beginning with one syllable, and each of them having but two in all, containing also like number of letters and vowels, if in pronunciation the last syllable of the one did not vary from the other, one self name would express both the persons whom like inclinations and qualities have so lively resembled each to other.

18. That old Greek (you know) was the persuader of Priamus to receive his own ruin, and to make the more credit & apparence of some truth, he did not let sundry ways to shame himself with forging lies etc. to bring his false purpose to perfection, and is it obscure to find one out now among you that lively answereth him in these parts? Is it not easy to see who carrieth your Queen in his hand (as it were) in matters specially of importance? Who seeth not how many ways your shifting Sim hath laid all shame aside? Can that man be said to have any longer the face of a man that hath neither care nor remorse what God or the world seeth or saith of him? For doth not every man see that with an impudent and brazen face he abuseth & outfaceth both his own prince at home and all the world besides almost with lies upon lies, thick and threefold, one in another's neck, & every one louder & lewder than other, to feed & uphold the fire & flame of robbery, rebellion, and of all other mischief wherewith he hath infected all countries adjoining? What spark of shame or grace can any man defend to be left in him that with so bold a visage so little abasheth at the public discovery of so many false accusations, so many subtle subornations, & so many wrong condemnations of so noble & notable personages, of such depositions of princes, of such transpositions of states, such usurpations of kingdoms, such hired murders, and other infinite villainies more vile than may be expressed by any modest pen as are daily detected to have been contrived by him for satisfaction of his own thirst to heresy and ambition? Yea, what child can show a more base, abject, and contemptible courage than he whose insolency is intolerable whiles authority fawneth on him, & for every one least thwart of his superior feigneth either to be sick for sorrow or lame of the gout, and falleth to sighing and sobbing, crouching and kneeling, weeping and whining like a boy and a babe till his head be stroked and he comforted and called a good son again?

The old tragedy did end, as you have heard, in the ruin of the temple of Pallas whom those Greeks pretended to adore, in depriving King Priamus and his posterity when by Sinon's persuasion he thought himself surest, and in the irrecoverable confusion of the city and country when the people thought themselves farthest from danger and to have had no enemy nigh them whiles their fatal foes slept amidst among them etc., and of this tragedy present, though the end be not yet come and past, yet whoso beholdeth indifferently so many steps and degrees already laid towards it (as ere you come to the end of this treatise you shall see, I

trust, plainly showed you), if he have any wit or judgement he can look for no less than a semblable end of so like preparations.

Infinite other particulars might be remembered in which these two tragedies may very aptly be compared together. But my purpose in this place having been by a few only to give you a precedent & sample (as it were) in what manner your own wisdoms & better understanding of your domestical affairs may (for the likeness of both the works and workmen), by comparing the proceedings of this your own time with the examples of times past, inform yourselves the better what conclusion is to be looked for to ensue such actions present, I have for that purpose tarried long enough in opening of this metaphor, and will now return to show you my further intention in this treatise.

The author's whole purpose in this treatise.

In which, what speech or term soever hath passed or shall fortune to pass me, I here protest that I mean not in any wise to prejudice any act, sentence, or other thing done or declared by the holy see apostolic, nor to derogate from your Q. whatsoever may lawfully be given her, neither to charge or burden her with other men's faults, acknowledging her good nature to have been always inclined to clemency, and herself a conformable prince to them whom she credited, nor that I mean to blame or accuse any of your nobility other than those two persons of mean parentage that for her time have, above their desert, occupied the places of the noblest, nor them nother any further nor with any other mind than as to show them their error, to wish their amendment, & withal all the honour and advancement that they can wish to themselves, confessing them (for gifts of nature and benefit of education) to have been instruments of rare ability, & had been very notable ministers in that commonweal if (for want of applying their own choice to God's ordinary grace) they had not preferred their own private before the common profit of the prince and people.

To reform the faulty without their damage.

To defend and preserve all sorts in their just states.

But that my principal and whole purpose is (for preservation of your prince & country in their ancient honour and Christian liberty) to lay open before your Q. specially, and to yourselves in general, the frauds and arts used to seduce & circumvent her (with her own passing detriment & great danger of the realm) to permit her name, her credit, and authority to be used and applied to serve other men's turns and private purposes, and for that to hazard & adventure her own state present, to purchase to herself continual unquietness and unsurety in her seat, reign she never so long, willfully to extirp both the succession of her own line and of the family next her own in blood, and therewith to induce the tearing and renting of the realm in pieces (as all the world besides yourselves judgeth & expecteth) if it be not prevented in time -- all, I say, to serve the private turns of some particular men & to advance the ambition of a few.

Endangered for private ambition.

**3 imminent dangers.
By France and Scott.**

**2.
By Flanders and Spain.**

For he that seeth not your foreign and ancient enemies lying in a wait (as it were) and abiding but the opportunity of their own ability and of some advantage of time to revenge both their old griefs and their new injuries, and he that perceiveth not your foreign friends and old allies passingly provoked and for their own indemnity

3.
By your own at home.

constrained to to [sic] be ready in effect to become your foes, yea, he that feeleth not such a pique and suspicion put between your prince and people at home that it may be doubted which of these miseries will soonest fall on you, that is to say, whether by continuing to make yourselves mutual preys one to another (as for some years you have done) you will open the way to make the whole a prey to strangers, or whether your Q., for her assurance against her own subjects (of whom she is falsely put in fear), or her subjects, for the intolerable servitude that they sustain under the tyranny of those two that reign by her name, shall call in foreign forces in greater numbers than both shall be able to put forth again, and thereby in short time to lay on your own necks the yoke and thralldom that Barbary, Greece, & Hungary (whose steps you follow) do bear before you -- he that seeth not, I say, these dangerous miseries imminently depending over your heads is plainly so senseless that he is unworthy to be talked unto.

First to heresy, then to
atheism, & so to slavery
are those countries fallen.

9 notable differences
between the libel and the
answer.

And now, good reader, if in this disputation between mine adversary & me, & between his libel & mine answer, thou shalt find these differences ensuing evident and plain, that is to say, that he giveth thee words only, & I deeds, that he layeth forth known lies, unlikely surmises, and headless reports, and I show thee known truths, open facts, & probable consequences, and that his end and final purpose is (for pleasing of authority) to violate the honours and fames & to destroy the persons of public princes, to waste your blood royal, to shake your Q.[‘s] seat, and with the overthrow of your nobility to hazard the whole realm, and mine (with hazard of danger and displeasure) to save and defend both the one & the other, to preserve your realm in his ancient honour and Christian freedom, to reduce your prince into the paths & steps of her renowned progenitors, to establish her state and continuance of reign in that security and quiet that she began it, to reconcile your nobility to your prince’s favour, and to unite her and her blood in unfeigned amity - - if thyself, I say, upon the advised reading of this treatise to the end shall see these odds and differences between us, and shall find withal that this answer shall not yet obtain that indifferency that the libel hath found, freely to pass among you, I mean, nor suffered to be seen and sold as the other hath been, then hast thou one clear proof & testimony more to add unto the rest to witness with me that under those rulers impudent falsehood, fatal malice, and desperate devises of destruction may freely walk open-faced among you and without interruption rest in every man’s hand, whiles truth reverently uttered, just defence dutifully laid forth, and a grateful affection borne to your prince and country shall be oppressed, condemned, forced to hide itself, and find no man that dare avow to see it or have it.

What is implied in
suppressing of this
treatise.

Where vice is free, virtue
is thrall.

Not for your Q. but for
themselves is indeed their
care and travail.

And that point alone may likewise abundantly suffice to discover to your Queen (if she vouchsafe to consider it) the fraudulent meaning of those painted pretences put upon their practices from time to time. Whereby she may manifestly discern whether her turn or theirs, whether herself or themselves, whether her honour or their ambition, whether her security or their own, her posterity or theirs, her kindred or their families, have been best served, most eyed, chiefly cared for, best provided for, most prepared for, principally advanced and allied, whether her crown and realm be more enriched or their own possessions more increased, answerably, I

mean, to the difference in quality between her and them. And so consequently whether she indeed have reigned or they, whether she in effect hath been Queen or they, not in name and show, but in essence and substance of rule and dominion. And thereafter let God's grace and her own wisdom direct her to provide and to put such remedy as shall be most to the glory of God that gave her both her being and her crown, to the comfort of her people committed to her charge, to her own true honour and most security while she liveth here, to the benefit of her posterity ordained by God to succeed her, and to the discharge of her last account in the world to come.

Allusio Ad Praesentem Angliae Conditionem, Ex Aeneid. Lib. 2.

O Socij: fuimus Britones, fuit Anglia, & ingens
Angligenum splendor: dirum Schisma omnia pessum
Iam dedit, infesti Haeretici dominantur in Aula.
Impia frugiferos late diffusa per agros
Haeresis, Indigenas Animas & Corpora passim
Fudit humi ferro multos & carcere longo
Abstulit, in latebras multos & in exera regna
Impellens, alterq. Sinon incendia miscet
Rumores spargens varios, & semina belli.
Obsedere alij maria, atq. angusta viarum
Oppositi, patulis alij iam portibus adsunt
Vangiones, Bataui profugi, Belgaeq. propinqui,
Vascones, Axones, Moriniq. & Lingones, atque
Tota ea Colluio faex & sentina malorum,
Millia quot magnis nunq. venere Mycenis.

A Treatise of Treasons against Q. Elizabeth and the Crown of England,
partly answering certain treasons pretended that never were intended,
and partly discovering greater treasons committed that are by few perceived.

Believe deeds, but not
words.

The author seeming to write to a brother-in-law of his, to avoid superfluity of unnecessary speeches beginneth with a short and sweet salutation of *Salutem in Christo*, but what *salutem* he bringeth, or to whom he meaneth either health or wealth, let his own words be judge. I will not by way of prevention prejudice him so much as out of his good words to suck his evil sense till himself shall show it; only here I will warn thee not to be hastily enamoured with the rest for his soft and sugared entry that pretendeth a memory of Christ's name unless thou see the matter ensuing to favour and breathe of a Christian spirit and charitable mind. Thus he beginneth:

1. Good men and evil delight in contraries. The good in seeking for truth and maintenance thereof; evil, in hiding of truth and oppressing thereof. And so consequently to publish truth is to please the good and to displease the evil.

This beginning, good reader, will serve as well my purpose as mine adversary's, & so much the better in how much to the truest sense and meaning I hope to apply it, saying thus, *Evil men and good delight in contraries*, the evil in hiding of truth, in uttering untruth, and in shameless maintenance thereof. The good in revealing their malice, in discovering their falsehood, and in bringing truth to light. And so, consequently, to devise untruth, to publish lies, and by new and fresh lies to maintain old lies is the property of the evil, pleaseth the wicked, and offendeth the good.

Lies by lying, and one
mischief by many, must
be maintained.

And therefore let not this glorious entry & gay lines at first withdraw thee from the memory of the wise man's counsel that showeth that the subtlest kind of lying, & likest to deceive men, hath commonly an honest show at beginning and a face of truth under which the malice and falsehood for the most part hideth itself and lieth covertly unspied. But when it cometh nakedly forth without vizard or guile, that men may see it in the own likeness, then are errors and lies ever maintained by lying and can never be upholden by plain nor true dealing, & unjust attempts are wrought by wretched steps and degrees and can never be compassed by lawful means, which two points I wish thee, reader, to keep in memory, and I doubt not but to lay proof thereof so plain before thee ere this treatise be ended, by the words and deeds of those that have set him a-work, that for thy satisfaction thou shalt desire no better trial nor proof of the honour and innocency of these noble princes whom this libel purposely is published to defame.

2. Wherefore, hearing that amongst the common sorts of men at this time it is not certainly known what is the cause that the Duke of Northfolk is newly committed to the Tower, and sundry others, and knowing that good men will be well satisfied to understand the truth which evil men would cover and oppress, I could not but in conscience, to satisfy the good, and bridle or stop the lying and open slanderous

mouths of the evil and seditious, notify thus much unto you, whereby you may also communicate the same to others, for that it is like that false and slanderous reports will be readily made hereof to serve the appetites of the evil disposed.

The false pretence of conscience.

In this paragraph, good reader, he pretendeth to show the cause that moved him to write, which was *for conscience' sake* forsooth, even *for conscience* pardie, and for nothing else but to *satisfy good folk and to stop the mouths of the evil*. Thus in any wise thou must understand him, and take his meaning to be.

By which words of his thou mayest perceive two things: the one, that either the writer's vocation & function is such that he hath some special cure and charge above others not to permit the people to misconstrue and mistake the causes and occasions of the Duke of Norfolk's new imprisonment and the rest, or else that his conscience is more tender and scrupulous than other men's are of his calling, since none pretend those causes nor will be acknown to intrude themselves thereunto but himself. And the other is, that if this author had not taken this pain in hand, & disclosed these secrets to satisfy good folk, the good sort else (thou seest) had been like enough to have thought & said better of the Duke & the others than this man would they should.

For likely it is (saith he) that false and slanderous reports will be made of their imprisonment by seditious mouths, to serve the appetites of the evil disposed.

And by this he would lead thee to ween that himself is no server of appetites, nor flatterer of authority, but hath taken this pain *for conscience' sake*, chiefly *to satisfy the good, and to stop the mouths of the evil*, that else would have thought & spoken too well of the Duke and the rest that be in prison, of whom to speak well, thou seest how heinous and grievous a crime it is accounted by the severe punishment of an honest citizen among you that lately on the pillory lost one of his ears only for saying that he thought the Duke to be of more honour, and to bear too good an heart to his country, to go about those foul practices that M. Recorder in the Guildhall had charged him with.

Now regarding, good reader, that whosoever shall take this matter otherwise than this author would have him must be accounted by him, & by all that party that doth favour & set him a-work, one of the evil sort, one of the evil disposed, a hider & oppressor of truth, a lying, open, & slanderous & seditious mouth, & a ready reporter of slanders to serve appetites, thou wilt grant (I hope) that it behoveth, and is principally necessary that we understand this writer that must be our author and warrant to be a man of such credit and honesty as upon whom we may boldly change our opinion of those noble persons, and build now a new conceit of them, and take them for such as he defameth them for, and from henceforth no more to think of them as hitherto we have done.

For if it be much upon the oaths of words of any few to condemn & think ill of any known honest man, never so mean, whose life hath given testimony of his integrity

The libel is no warrant to think ill of, etc.

against their affirmations, can any man think the slanderous and malicious pen of an unknown nameless person (that spireth and breatheth out the spite and poison of the writer's heart) to be a good warrant for any wise man to think ill of so many principal persons that so long have deserved to be well thought of till now, and to condemn them of so many gross errors as this lewd libel layeth to their charge?

Seeking therefore to find out and to know what this man is that telleth us these secret hidden crimes not known to the multitude that contain the disgrace and defacement of so many persons of importance, that I might somewhat weigh his credit and authority ere I believe him so far and ground myself upon him, we find (you see) none other name nor description of him but two bare consonants of the cross-row, scilicet, R. and G., which is a signification somewhat too general so to commend unto us the credit or honesty of any known man as to make him our ground and warrant in such a case as this is, that toucheth our conscience and honesty before God and man.

The author of the libel playeth Robin Goodfellow and Hobgoblin.

For when I study to conjecture whom those letters might signify, I find that the letter R. representeth as well Robert as Richard, Roger, Rafe, and many other, and the letter G. to represent as well Goodfellow as Grafton, Goodman, Gose, or many other. And having occasion in this treatise to make often mention of this author with whom I deal, that endureth not (you see) to walk in the light nor to be seen in the day, I wot not of which name to make choice before other. But for the resemblance of his property and quality with that spirit or pook that we call Robin Goodfellow or Hobgoblin (by hiding his name and person still in darkness, by framing his speech so obscurely as shall abide no light of answer or trial, and by telling us lies still and nothing else, as such foul sprites are wont to do, and for that the letters of R.G. serve aptly therefore), I have made choice to use that name sometimes, as least offensive to any particular man whom I might else fortune to mistake.

The parts of the accuser and answerer be far unlike.

And if any man shall thereupon contend and think that I press him too much for his name to the accusation since myself addeth not mine own to this answer, I require that the matter be but indifferently considered, and the difference between our persons and parts weighed in equal balance, and then I doubt not but the reason shall soon appear to every man of any judgement to be far different and unlike between him and me, and between his part and mine. For he cometh (you see) to discredit and accuse by name persons peerless in your commonweal, such as whose disgrace with the people implieth a division in time between the prince and the subject, between the nobility and commons, with the present personal confusion of the parties accused that have generally well deserved of all men, that have been ill thought of by no honest nor good man, that are pitied and lamented by every man of any good nature as persons eminent in dignity, unspotted of life (where truth may be heard), and that have given rare testimony of their honour, virtue, wisdom, and modest demeanour for many years together in all countries where they have lived, and in all actions and affairs fallen under their rule.

To say ill of any requireth good authority.

Which good opinion once won and obtained universally would require (thou wilt grant, I suppose) more than the railing terms of a nameless libel to derogate, to prejudice, to blemish and spot it, & doth so necessarily require the name of the author, that if he be not of credit and authority, of known conscience and integrity, yea, of mo such also than of one or two, and if it have not besides good proof and testimony, without all these, I say, such infamous libels, that come to destroy & not to edify the honour and good name of any person of account before due and orderly conviction, ought with no honest man to have any credit at all, but ought to be taken as a railing report of a rascal parasite, a soother of affections, and a server of appetites for flattery or gain.

The answerer's general intention.

On the other side I come (as thou seest) not to destroy, but to uphold the same I find the persons in possession of, not to alter or diminish any good opinion conceived, but with continuance and increase of all mutual well-liking each of other, to prevent the change and decay thereof till ordinary mean and judicial proceeding shall give warrant therefore. I come to say somewhat for them that are not permitted to say aught for themselves. I take not on me to answer in all parts for them, nor would not be taken as to say all for them that they can say for themselves (for so should I, I know, rather hinder than help them), but I only lay a part of that before you that every Christian conscience and good-natured man that any wit hath ought and is bound to suppose and believe of them till they see other matter, and better proved, than this pilled pamphlet bringeth forth any.

Why the author is not named.

I come not to accuse any person by name that is in disgrace, as this author doth; I tell you no strange nor hidden things as he professeth. That which I lay and allege resteth not in devises, in intentions and meanings only, as all the accusations of this author doth, but I lay forth open known facts and manifest deeds known to all men, without the blame of any person by name now in estate to take harm thereby. Neither speak I in the person of any one or few, and therefore by putting a private name to the public speech and opinion of all good men I should prejudice both the parties and the cause.

Finally, I speak without name unto you now because with name you may not now be spoken unto, and I forbear my name at this time to the end I may by name speak again another time (as if cause so require I mean to do historically), knowing by experience long since, lately and often proved, that if by name I should encounter with this nameless man, neither should I be permitted to speak nor you suffered to hear me.

And now let us turn to examine a little in what manner this man taketh in hand to satisfy the good and to stop the mouths of the evil, which he allegeth to be the whole cause of his writing.

**1.
The libel confesseth that good men be not satisfied with these doings.**

First he granteth that the better sort of men are not satisfied with the imprisonment of these noble persons, for else pardie his seeking to satisfy them were plainly

superfluous. And how doth this commend the cause, that honest men generally do mislike therewith by his own confession?

2. Then he cometh forth with an unnecessary and unwonted form of divulging such matters unto the people. For all men know that neither hath it been thought needful nor in time past used (for satisfaction of the multitude) in such open assemblies nor by printed libels to make such declarations, nor to publish such accusations of any men whose crimes were manifest when the matter would bear itself, nor when the proceeding intended was justifiable by law meant to be equally ministered.

3. **The absurdity of the libel.** And coming to satisfy the one and to close the mouths of the other, the tale is told, neither of them both wotteth by whom, & the matter is strange and unknown, as himself allegeth it, and yet cometh out to move them (as you see) to change their opinion and to alter their affections, to hate whom they loved and to condemn whom they honoured.

4. His matter alleged is for the chief points of purpose confusely laid forth, obscurely penned, without proof or testimony, without certainty in itself, all in general terms, and all without those particularities and circumstances that are necessarily requisite to induce any credit. And this is the way that this man hath taken to open truth, to satisfy the good, & to stop the mouths of the evil disposed. And what place or effect can this take (trow you) with any of both?

If therefore any plain man of mean understanding may evidently see that this way he walketh is so far from the purpose that he pretendeth to bend it unto that it shall confirm and not confute the lewd sort in their lewd opinions, and leave the good less satisfied than they were before, then must it needs be that this lewd author either wittingly deceiveth us, or sottishly is deceived by others, in taking (I mean) good for evil, and evil for good, in calling truth falsehood, and falsehood truth, and in accounting the good sort for slanderous and seditious, and the seditious indeed for honest and virtuous.

- The honestest sort worst spoken of.** Now where he telleth you that it is likely that false and slanderous reports will be made of this matter to serve the appetites of the evil disposed, you must be wary that you mistake not his meaning, but that you understand him aright what manner reports they be that he reckoneth false & slanderous, and what manner persons they be that he accounteth evil disposed.

Whosoever therefore will not rail on nor revile the Duke and the rest, nor account them for traitors till they see just cause, but will pity their cause and lament their estates and say that they yet see no cause why to think them so wicked as to intend so many heinous crimes against your Q. and their country as this libel chargeth them with, nor yet so unwise as to have done nothing towards it if they had meant it, those be they whom this author calleth the evil disposed, the hidiers of truth, the ready reporters of slanders, the lying, slanderous, and seditious mouths whom he now seeketh to stop, and all reports of that sense and effect be those that he calleth false, slanderous, and seditious. And on the other side, whoso will call them

**The worst sort best
spoken of.**

traitors and rebels, and bid hang them, head them, draw them and quarter them, and say that they were conspired with the Pope and the Duke of Alva to destroy the Q., to sack the city, to bring in strangers, & suchlike lies, every one louder and less like than other, these be the good and well disposed sort that delight in truth, and for whose satisfaction this author for conscience' sake hath written this work.

Now what cause he hath to fear lest these prisoners thus disgraced and defamed should be better reported of than their deserts require let thine own memory and experience (reader), if thou be of mature years, be judge & tell thee. Remember what thou hast known to have passed in that realm for these thirty or forty years in like cases occurring, on which side (I mean) the wrong rumours & false reports have been made, whether in the favour of the imprisoned, or to their further disgrace and discredit.

**The Countess of Sarum.
Marquess of Exon. [sic?]
L. Cromwell.
Earl of Surrey.
D. of Norf.
D. of Somerset.**

Thou mayest remember (I doubt not) in the time above limited an over-great number of great personages fallen into the depth of all worldly disgrace under sundry princes in thine own country, and thou mayest by means call unto mind the bruits and fames that forthwith ran abroad of them upon their first apprehensions, and their crimes to be rumoured far mo in number and greater in quality than truth would bear or they could be charged with, yea, and the most part of them upon such causes condemned as in the next prince's times (when truth might be talked) have been found erroneous, insufficient, & wrongly laid to their charge.

**The author of the libel
defined.**

And this having been the common experience of like cases occurring before this time, what fear seest thou now of that that this man pretendeth to doubt, who seemeth to fear lest these prisoners should be better thought & spoken of than they deserve? Whereof the common experience teaching the contrary, it must needs be that this author here doubleth and dissembleth with you, and would bear you in hand that thing to be likely that was lightly never seen, and under that pretence to become the same man that he chargeth others to be, that is to say, a false, lying, slanderous-mouthed man, a hider and oppressor of all truth, a ready reporter of false accusations, a flatterer of authority, and a seditious server of the appetites of the evil disposed.

And if this author yet, or any man for him, will wrangle with me, and to extenuate his fault will plead the reverend opinion that men ought to have of the doings of authority, & excuse him for thinking and speaking ill of them whom authority apprehendeth and committeth, and would likewise accuse me as an impugner of the magistrates and a defender of the faulty against common authority, I answer that for so far forth as common order and public authority have authentically notified to the vulgar sort, the inferiors ought to have a reverend opinion thereof, and to deem the best that known matter will permit.

But being often and commonly seen that sometimes upon suspicion, sometimes upon false accusation, common authority hath been moved by restraint of personal liberty to call sundry persons to answer matters supposed against them whom they

have after, with honour to both, dismissed and set free again, shall it not now be lawful for me to preserve, as I can, the honour and fame of those noble princes, not yet blemished by any common order or law, against a nameless baggage fellow that for flattery or bribery runneth before the magistrates, accusing, belying, and defaming them whom no orderly sentence hath touched nor condemned? Of this I remit the judgement to the indifferent reader, and shall proceed to see how this author cometh to his matter.

Against the D. of Norf.

3. First it is not unknown the Duke of Northfolk did of late years secretly practise to have married with the Scottish Q. without the knowledge of the Q. etc.

An impudent bloody lie in the forefront.

Mark well, good reader, the manner & form of this author's proceeding, and how well he performeth that which by his former speech he hath made thee to look for. He hath told thee, pardie, that to close the mouths of the evil disposed that with false reports would hide truth, and to satisfy the good that delight in truth, *even for very conscience' sake*, he could do no less but notify this that he doth, etc. And the first thing he telleth thee is so known a lie, and so malicious a lie, that thou shalt plainly see that there is nother truth, shame, nor conscience in him, that no good nor honest man can possibly believe him, nor that there is any mouth to be stopped so impudent as his own.

For beholding what this lie implieth, being joined to the next, that calleth the Q. of Scotland your Q.[s] most dangerous enemy, who seeth not that this lie is meant to the Duke's final confusion, coming out in this time specially (when he had been two years unjustly imprisoned upon the same pretence, & when the first false surmise thereof was by time, that trieth truth, well worn away, & in effect confuted), to rub & renew afresh this mortal wound again, to bring him thereby past hope of all recovery.

What the Duke is by parentage and blood, what rare virtues he hath joined thereto, what his person importeth in your commonwealth, & in what hands and hold it resteth when this comes forth against him, you may more easily remember than I can dilate. And so much (I hope) every man seeth in it that he will think it reason to see the accusation more profoundly proved ere he over-lightly believe it, the malice thereof reaching to the danger of the person and life of him that, besides his dignity, is for virtue and wisdom a peerless prince in your nobility. Thus much for the malice.

All the Privy Council allowed the intent, the Lord Keeper except.

Now for the untruth. Who seeth not that the affirmation of this is merely opposite & repugnant to the common knowledge, not only of the Council and nobility, but of infinite numbers besides of all states and degrees, and the plain contrary most notoriously known, that is to say, that the Duke did not only (before any least attempt thereof) make all that were of the Privy Council acquainted with his intention, namely the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, and the Secretary, besides many others of the nobility, but was rather by them moved and invited to attempt the same before he sought it by any least mean, in so far forth that being

Of this there are sundry letters to be showed, and witnesses also to testify it.

promised by two of the chief of them (for credit with your Q.) that her goodwill should undoubtedly be obtained unto it, with pretence of no doubt or scruple to be had thereof, he had relation made unto him by them that your Q., being by them moved thereof at Oatlands (if I remember it well) in the month of July 1569, did not disallow the motion, but seemed to like well of it, and would at a convenient leisure give ear to the Duke himself in that behalf.

The cause of the Duke's departing from the court to his own house in August 1569.

For which audience promised (once at Guildford, then at Farnham, then at Basing, another time at Titchfield, besides other places), the Duke attended all that progress, until by being often deferred from day to day, by sundry ill looks & thwarting speeches let fall by your Q. against him, & namely by a secret friend of good place and authority about her, he was assuredly advertised that so far was she from treating with him in that matter that already she had given order that he should the next night be taken in his bed by the guard, & forthwith carried to the Tower.

And this being so abundantly testified both by the Duke's own voluntary return to the court from his house in Northfolk in September then following, & by the public displeasure and restraint of liberty that the said Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, & some others did then sustain for a time, behold now with what face it is said that he went about to contrive this marriage without your Queen's knowledge or consent. For was it ever heard of that a man minding to do a thing without the consent of another doth first treat and impart the same with such numbers of the entirest friends and servants of his from whom he would hide it? Who goeth to so many of a prince's Council & laboureth them to procure the prince's favour in a cause that he would have hidden from the prince?

Add to this the impossibility that the Duke must needs see of compassing this marriage without your Q.[s] consent, who held the other party in close prison, & join unto it his assured foresight to have thereby neither benefit nor advancement without having your Q.[s] favour before it and succour after it, but plainly the contrary assured of all displeasure and danger of life, lands, and goods.

Which points well weighed will discover sundry unsavoury dealings, whereof one is a deep dissimulation and great treachery in some of great credit about your Q., that pretended to the Duke to like and allow well of that match, that encouraged him thereto, that said they saw nothing in it but great honour to your Q. and security to the realm, and that promised to obtain your Q.[s] consent thereunto, whiles withal in secret they wrought the contrary, persuading her to think & take the same as dangerous to her person & pernicious unto her state.

Another is that when they saw your Q.[s] displeasure to the Duke brought to the highest that they wished it at, then opening themselves, whatsoever they misliked (as impugning their final and furthest end) must be termed treason to your Q., perilous to her state, against her consent, without her knowledge, rebellious, seditious, and what else they list to call it.

And finally these reasons laid together (reader) in a wise man's consideration, there should need no more answer to any of the rest of this libel. For where the first accusation is deprehended to be so foul a lie, so well known a lie, a lie so well testified, and a lie that carrieth in it neither reason nor likelihood, what credit can the rest hope to have? And therefore keep it well in mind, and look to see it that so notorious a lie must needs be forged for some notorious purpose that yet lieth lurking undiscovered. But now let us see what he saith further.

Against the Q. of Scot.

4. *It is also known (saith he) that the Q. of Scotland hath been the most dangerous enemy that lived against your Q. in that she sought to have the crown of England (as he saith) from her immediately after Queen Mary's death etc.*

This Machiavel imagineth other like himself.

This lie is more manifest & shameless than the first, measured and conjectured (no doubt) by and upon this author's knowledge and consideration of the monstrous and unnatural injuries wherewith your Q.[s] name & authority (to her own perpetual infamy & dishonour) hath been abused infinitely to oppress the Q. of Scotland, her nearest cousin and heir apparent, which maketh this author to imagine the Q. of Scotland to be not such as (indeed by grace) she is, but such as by common course of nature most men are wont to be that have had the cause that she hath.

For of any proofs of her seeking the crown from your Q., there is no manner of shadow nor colour, neither alleged by him nor elsewhere to be heard of, other than the joining of the arms of England and Scotland in certain scutcheons set up by her husband's, the French King's, commandment at a triumph in France more than thirteen years ago, which by blood and descent she may most lawfully give and bear of any creature living, next unto your King's lawful children, and was such an error (if it were any) as is common in England and not accounted of, and yet no more imputable unto her than as the wife is culpable for the husband's fact.

But of any attempt made by the Q. of Scotland little or much towards the eviction of that crown out of your Q.[s] possession by style, by title, by force, or by any other way (by which such enterprises have been wont to be assayed), the whole world beareth witness with her that no least sign nor token hath she given of any such intention, nor any least proof doth this lewd man bring forth of this his false affirmation other than the weight of his own credit alone, which is of great valour, no doubt.

And albeit this that is already said might satisfy (I trust) any indifferent reader, yet can I not so lightly digest it to see so vile a lie of so great consequence so colourlessly feigned and so shamefully affirmed. For in every wise man's judgement that beholdeth what goeth covertly comprehended in this impudent publishing the heir apparent of your crown to have been a most dangerous enemy to your Q. that presently possesseth it, & holdeth her prisoner, there will appear so deadly and so fatal a malice to be conceived and rankled in the hearts of the principal authors thereof against that innocent imprisoned Q. as manifestly tendeth

The malice of this lie is mortal and traitorous.

and threateneth that towards her that is too horrible to be named, and ought therefore to move every man that for nature's sale loveth, or for duty's sake honoureth, the just succession of the crown of his country well and advisedly to examine what cause and reason this author hath with this colourless lie, that importeth her life, so falsely to burden and defame her.

And finding nothing that he hath to allege but his own false saying, *that she sought to have the crown etc.*, it behoveth every honest Englishman no further to credit him than as the proofs he shall bring of his sayings shall deserve.

Convinced for a lie.

Which when thou hast examined and found to rest and consist only in her dead husband's making of the arms aforesaid, now more than 13 years before this accusation cometh forth, and neither then, nor never since, nor before, any manner of the least word, deed, or thought uttered or attempted that might insinuate any such meaning to have been in her heart, when thou hast called to memory the Q. of Scotland's troubled and oppressed state of life for this 12 years' day continuing, and thereby the want of all mean and possibility (though she had been so rash) to give any show or argument of an enemy towards your Q., when thou hearest her accounted and known to be wise, and for five years' day almost your Q.['s] prisoner one where or another, and thereby dost perceive how vain a folly, yea, how dangerous an error it had been for her any way to show herself a foe or enemy to her in whose hands she was, and when thou hast found her sundry overtures made, and a readiness from time to time all these ten or twelve years past to give unto your Q. any assurance for herself and her lawful issue that possibly can be devised without prejudice of her own interest in succession, yea, when thou shalt consider this matter of publishing her for an enemy never to break out till now after 10 or 11 years burying of that quarrel in silence, and pretence of much amity and friendship of your Q.['s] part towards her (whereof there are both living witnesses and letters extant to be brought forth and shown) -- when thou hast, I say, considered these things well, and dost see now this cankered rancour break out but now, it must and will (I trow) if reason fail thee not as well as grace, not only move thee to expect very good and manifest proofs of some actual crime & offensive fact done by her newly and of late before thou give any credit to so unlike and unproved a tale that containeth such consequence and cometh from such a mouth as hath no face to avow it, but it shall also plainly show and satisfy thee that this report *of her being your Q.['s] most dangerous enemy* is so far from all reason and likelihood of truth that by common intendment it is not possible to be true.

Impossible to be true.

A Sicilian trick.

Yea, on the contrary side, let every indifferent reader examine his own knowledge & memory whether your Q. have not manifestly been showed to be the same towards her that you wrongly surmise her to have been towards your Q., and the same proved by facts & deeds put in ure & execution, infinite in number and unknown to no man, whereas the proof of this false accusation resteth only in the bare affirmation of a nameless fellow that yet affirmeth no more when he cometh to his proofs but devises, intentions, meanings, and thoughts that never brake out by

word nor deed, that never were likely to any indifferent judgement, nor do contain any certainty of matter, time, place, person, or number.

And thereafter let him deem and make account of this author's conscience & true meaning, that either for mere flattery of authority, or to cover his own horrible falsehood & traitorous intention (if himself be, as it is likely, one of the chief contrivers of the deep hidden treason yet undiscovered), he shameth not, nor is abashed, against the open knowledge of all men to charge the innocent with the deeds of the guilty.

Scogan.

**They play Scogan with
the Q. of Scotland.**

I have heard that there was in your country a man of mean honesty called Scogan, who so frequently used (for covering of his own lewdness) constantly to charge other men with his own vices that thereof it is grown a proverb in your language that when one wrongly chargeth another with the fault himself did, he that is wrongly charged saith to the other, *Thou playest Scogan with me*. And who seeth not now this part played in his kind with the Q. of Scotland? Or who might ever more aptly say to another, *Thou playest Scogan with me* than that innocent lady may unto this author, and to all them that set him a-work? Who (with more scurrility than ever Scogan used) would bear the world in hand that she had gone about those attempts against your Q. which all the world seeth she hath (by the abuse of your Q.[s] name and authority) sustained even at their hands chiefly that thus charge her falsely.

For who hath had her subjects raised in rebellion so often as she? How many times by her wisdom & clemency have they been appeased, & still again procured in arms to withstand her? Who hath had her husband, her servants, her counsellors and subjects barbarously murdered but she? Who hath had her realm invaded, her territories burned & spoiled, and her castles and fortresses taken and razed but she? Who is cast out of her realm & dispossessed of her kingdom but she? Who hath had her own born subjects set up to usurp her dominion against her but she? What prince hath had the hands of her subjects laid on her person but she? Who hath been taken prisoner by them with whom they never were at war but she? Who hath been holden close prisoner four years together by them to whom she fled for succour but she? Who hath been by infamous libels (purposely printed) defamed in honour and spotted in fame but she? What prince imprisoned hath been denied (by her own nearest cousin and kindred) necessary servants of known confidence for the safety and security of her person but she? Who was ever denied the benefit and relief of other men's liberality or friendship but she? And by whom and under whom sustaineth she this?

To say (as I think) not directly by your Queen, nor expressly by her commandment, nor otherwise by her than as (being seduced and circumvented) she hath been abused to think necessary for her own state and security, and by some men's taking an ell for every inch granted by her, and by ministering wrong for right pretended, and in that manner, under the name and authority of none but of your Queen's by some of her councilors, the plots drawn, devised, and contrived, by her messengers

and money the other's rebels raised, by her authority encouraged, by her succours maintained, by her men and forces the other's country ruined, her castles surprised, and the usurpers erected and set up to rule in her realm, and the other imprisoned, detained from her state, and kept captive without crime, and without liberty or release upon any ransom, condition, covenant, pledge, or other assurance that possibly can be offered, given, or made. And this being so public as no man knoweth it not, out comes this Scogan, & as though your Q. were in the same state by her, chargeth her to be the most dangerous enemy that your Q. hath.

**It is a bubble and
Scoganish lie, and
traitorous to the realm.**

Again, whoso considereth this Scoganish lie well, shall see it not only the most pernicious and dangerous lie to the commonwealth that could be imagined, but a bubble lie also, containing in itself two lies at once, the second part (I mean) that is brought in for proof of the former being so open and known a lie as no man can be ignorant of, to confirm that I told you before, that lies must always be maintained by lying. For whoever heard of any attempt made by the Q. of Scotland by word, by deed, by law, or by force against the Q. of England? And can it be possible that the possession of a kingdom can be sought to be wrested from them that have it without some open and outward fact in one sort or other?

Till this author therefore have showed you some attempt given, certain and particular, by word, writing, or deed, and done by her -- by herself, I say (for it is not enough against her to say her husband did this, or her father-in-law did that, if any of them both had done aught at all) -- till then, I say, this lie is too dangerous, and too pernicious also, by any honest or wise Englishman to be hearkened unto. For it plainly comprehendeth the alienation of the hearts and affections of the people and subjects from their heir apparent and prince in succession, yea, in a crafty covert manner it carrieth in it the assured mutation of the succession of your Q., and to that mark it is chiefly bent, to transfer the same from her and her house that by blood and by law is the known right heir in succession. Which indeed is but a fine cunning way to plant sedition, to create civil wars, and to engender such a bottomless sea of bloody tragedies and infinite confusions as happened between the houses of Lancaster & York, the bitter memory whereof is yet so fresh that no man, I ween, hath forgot it.

And this is the tale, forsooth, that even for conscience' sake might not be kept from you, & is told you by him that, under pretence of loving truth and opening truth (that seditious folk would cover & hide), covereth the seed of the most pernicious treason & civil sedition that can possibly be imagined to be planted among you.

5. It is also known (saith he) that when she could not get it by force nor cunning, she solemnly promised to acknowledge her error, and to recognize the right of your Queen etc.

**Another bubble and
crafty lie against the Q. of
Scotl.**

Behold the folly of this honest man, who weeneth that by his bald tale & naked saying only, without proof, he hath persuaded all men to see & believe more than ever yet any other man made mention of, or himself had wit to speak of.

**Grounded upon the
deviser's false
imagination.**

Yea, rather behold the craft & falsehood of this fox, that by art & cunning manner of speaking would now bear you in hand that either he had proved, or yourselves had granted, that which never yet was attempted nor intended.

For having hitherto said nothing but in general terms, & that of his own naked affirmation only (that she sought the crown of England), without any intimation of his part to show how or which way, now he goeth on & taketh it for granted as if he had showed & proved that she had used both great force & much art in attempting the same. For he saith, *when she could not by force nor cunning get it, etc., then she promised etc.*, which point needeth no further answer (you see) till his folly hath found out and showed us what forces she levied, where & when she employed them, what corruptions she used, when, where, & to whom, or what other cunning practices or artificial means she hath put in ure for the removing of your Q. from enjoying her state & dignity present.

**They say much, but show
nothing.**

For in cases of less weight than these are that touch princes, crowns, and realms, his wisdom must know that the naked affirmation of Master R.G. (carrying with it neither proof nor likelihood) is far too weak a foundation for any man that either hath wit or honesty to take any mean thing for proved, granted, or concluded; much less in a case of this importance can any man be induced to think that a prince of her known wisdom, modesty, and gracious nature hath committed so many, so rash, so indiscreet, & so violent errors as might have been attempted by force and assayed by art. Or else let him show and prove it (for say he will enough, I doubt not) when, where, with whom, and by whom any of those many practices have been attempted by her, or by any of hers, against your Q. or against any of hers, that have been put in ure & executed (as all the world knoweth) against her & hers, both in raising her subjects against her, in dispossessing her of her state & dignity, in imprisoning her sacred & anointed person, & in the several murders of her dear husband, of her noble uncle, & of her faithful servant & secretary. For so witless is no man but that by these experiences he seeth and knoweth that such attempts might have been assayed & gone about (at least) if she had had that conscience that the authors and executors of the other facts had, & thereby seeth and knoweth how lewdly and loudly this man lieth in tempering his speech so as if she had left no mean unassayed of policy nor force.

**A needless and foolish
objection.**

6. *It is known (saith he) that she solemnly promised to acknowledge her error, and to recognize the very true right to be justly in your Q. etc. as lawful daughter and heir to King Henry the Eighth etc.*

**The objection hindereth
the objector's purpose.**

In this article, good reader, the author showeth little policy, in my mind. For he ministereth thereby unto every reader occasion of needless scruples and questions, both by his large rehearsal of all your Q.[’s] titles (to wit, as daughter to her father, as sister to her brother, as successor to her sister, established by the laws, confirmed by the homage of her nobles, prelates & people, acknowledged by her coronation, & finally as worthy for her clemency etc.), and by his allegation of the Q. of Scotl.[’s] promise to recognize and acknowledge the same.

For when no man hath at any time showed himself by word, by writing, nor by fact to impugn nor interrupt your Q.[‘s] quiet enjoying her state and dignity, nor hath looked for any such recognition or acknowledging as this author now beginneth to make men enquire of, this rehearsal is plainly senseless and needless, or rather doth harm than any good to the universal opinion of men touching your Q.[‘s] interest unto that crown, and persuadeth nothing but a likelihood that yourselves do either mistrust some pad in the straw touching that matter, or for malice to the Q. of Scotl. have put into your Q.[‘s] head some more doubt of her own title than either the Q. of Scotl. or any other have moved or appeared to think on.

7. It is also known (saith he) that she hath not performed her promise, but with frivolous answers hath delayed it. Neither is it of any force to be demanded, nor worth the having if she would yield to perform it. For that she that could not neither get this realm etc. nor keep her own etc. cannot amend your Q.[‘s] estate etc., nor yet is her promise in anything to be holden firm or durable etc.

And chargeth the Q. of Eng.

In this the author granteth yet that the Q. of Scotl. hath offered and promised to do enough and all that lieth in her for the assurance of your Q.[‘s] quiet possession. And this (no doubt) is very true, saving that the condition is not here expressed which was always annexed unto the promise, that is to say, so that she might be declared by Parliament to be the next heir and successor to your Q. dying without lawful issue of her own body. And in this the author seeth not how he chargeth and burdeneth your Q. both with injury and ingratitude by still oppressing her that hath offered so much.

The Q. of Scotl.[‘s] readiness to assure the Q. of England.

Yea, but she hath not performed it (saith he) but deferreth it with frivolous answers etc. *Cuius contrarium verum est.* For of this much I take on me (who account myself as credible as this author) of mine own knowledge to assure you, as having been in some sort a party entreating those affairs, that for the security of your Q.[‘s] quiet enjoying her present dominions, the Q. of Scotl. ever hath been, and yet is, ready to perform not only whatsoever she hath promised, but whatsoever else also that any other princes of Christendom shall think reason for her to do or for your Q. to demand. And the frivolous answers and delays you speak of have been altogether made and used by your Q., who by force of reason (being pressed often both by the Q. of Scotl. herself, and by the letters and ambassadors of all other princes) hath been constrained to grant and promise the reformation and abettering of the more than barbarous injuries done to the other, and when it hath come to performance hath either made frivolous delays, or urged such other unequal demands as gave manifest argument that she never meant it.

By whose default the Q. of Scotl. is expelled.

And for *her unableness to keep her own*, I answer that neither by any misgovernance nor other desert of hers is she expelled, and hereof I ween the world will witness with her. For and if you could have showed any, who seeth not but that here had been your time & place to utter it, and that you want no malice to do it? Of which example and irritation of yours if I should make my pattern and

follow you (where [sic?] not your *frontes* more than *meretriciae*), I should make you blush, as bold-faced as you be. But it would require a larger place and longer time than my designment now will permit to lay forth the infinite corruptions, the innumerable guiles and false persuasions, the feigned letters and fraudulent messages, the frequent forces and manifest violences that (under your Q.[‘s] name and authority) have been used and put in ure towards the nobility of that realm of Scotland to move & invite, yea, to draw and enforce them from their allegiance and obedience due unto this Q., their natural sovereign, and to commit such outrages besides as by any Christian nobility have not been read nor heard of to have been done till now.

The several rebellions of Scotland.

The murders.

Usurpation of her crown.

Invasions.

Imprisonment of her person.

**Forcible resignation.
Fair promises from
England.
Surprising of her
fortresses.**

**Imprisonment of her
ambassadors.
Removing of her servants.**

All done by the English.

Let the general revolt there made in the year 1560 by the procurement of the English, then the rebellion & ruin of the monasteries by the Earl of Arran, abused with the hope to marry your Q., let the rebellion of the Earl of Murray & his confederates, with their flight and safety in England, let the slaughter of David the secretary contrived by the advice of the Governor of Berwick, let the murder of the king solicited by some Englishmen, let the setting up of Murray to be regent with a pension of 4000 pound English, let the sundry open invasions of English forces into that country, the violent hands of subjects laid upon their sovereign, the imprisonment of her royal person, the rigorous threatening of her present death if she refused to subscribe the resignation of her crown, let the persuasion of the English ambassador that moved her in any wise to do it, let the fair promises of your Q.[‘s] letters and messages so that she would yield thereunto, let the surprising of the castles of Dumbarton and Hume, the razing of Dunbar, the constitution of Lennox to be regent there, with the barbarous wasting of the country & overthrow of the noblemen’s houses, yea, let the imprisonment of the ambassador’s privileged person, and the violent taking of all her faithful servants both men and women from her, let these points (I say) be searched, sifted, and examined why they were attempted, how they were contrived, by whom they were devised, by whom executed, by whom maintained, at whose charges, by whose authority, under whose name, countenance, and encouragement, and thereupon let the indifferent reader give sentence how justly and how wisely she is challenged and reproached for *not keeping her own*, if it had been as true, as it is false, that she had once had it quietly, as indeed she never had.

**France and Flanders
escaped hardly the same.**

And this is so verified by the imminent danger and likelihood that both the great Kings of Spain and France did lately stand in of losing also the one his whole state and the other a great portion, even by the same men’s mean and ministry, that small reason or colour is there left to any man to impute unto her any blame or default for the present lack of her own.

Now on whether party the delay of accord hath risen by frivolous answers, let the consideration of these points ensuing argue and declare. In whom was the fault that the meeting did not hold between the two Queens in the year 1562, for which there was on both sides so long preparation, and so many faithful promises made? Did the Q. of Scotl. deny or delay it? In whom hath the fault been that with four years’

**On which side the delays
have risen.**

travail and suit the Q. of Scotl. could never obtain to come to the sight, presence, nor speech of your Q.? Hath the delay been in her? Why was there no sentence given nor declaration published of her condemnation or clearing upon the treaty at York before your Q.[‘s] commissioners? Did she sue to stay it? Who hath made the frivolous answers and delays to keep the Q. of Scotl. from coming to your Parliament, there to acknowledge and confirm your Q.[‘s] estate in form before mentioned? For, as it is well known that she hath importunately laboured for it, so can no man think that she could have any meaning to deny or delay it when she should have come to that presence and audience.

Of the sundry accords treated between the two Queens, and of the several overtures at all times made by her of Scotland, for assurance of her promise and covenants, to have given the person of the prince for 14 years with two earls & two lords of Scotland or their eldest sons for pledges, to have made league with England offensive and defensive against all nations, to have pardoned and restored her rebels as your Q. should have required her, to have procured and given the hands and seals of the Kings of Spain and France for performance of her capitulations, and finally not to have disposed of herself in marriage without your Q.[‘s] advice and consent, of these treaties (I say) let the capitulations be brought forth with the offers and answers of both parties, and then see on which side the delays did grow, and who it was that made the frivolous answers.

**They seemed but never
meant to restore the Q. of
Scotl.**

Yea, in the last late treaty this summer past, when she and her nobility had in all points yielded to more than any reason or indifferency could demand, did not the time expire and the talk come to nothing by the default of the English, that demanded for assurance so unjust conditions (as the prince’s person, all the chief nobles on the Q.[‘s] party, with the chief castles and fortresses of the realm to be rendered into the hands of the English before the Q.[‘s] person should be set free, and such other like capitulations) as manifestly showed that the demanders had no intention at all of her liberty nor restitution, but finally to deprive her forever without hope of recovery? And yet this second Scogan now chargeth her as if the delays and frivolous answers had risen on her side, which all the world knoweth grew only upon the English party.

**Robin Goodfellow
showeth himself a goose.**

And when he hath taxed her deeply (as he thinketh) with this breach of her promise, proved as you see, then he cometh forth full gravely and saith, *It is no force whether she do it or no*, for nothing that she can do (saith he) *can amend your Q.[‘s] estate etc.*, wherein the poor man either perceiveth not what a gross and palpable folly he committeth, or else his malice maketh him unjustly to burden her against his own knowledge and reason, for as with a great fault he chargeth her, and imputeth it to her for a great crime, and for such would have the world to take it, that she ratifieth not your Q.[‘s] estate, and yet he himself saith here that the same cannot be done nor amended by her, nor is of any force at all whether she do it, or do it not.

**The Q. of Scot.[‘s]
promise always assured.**

For the assuredness of her word and promise, I refer the reader to the relation both of the French and the Scottish nobility, in both which realms she hath governed, and hath showed herself always so free and far from that crime of all others that her princely courage and magnanimity in performing her word and promise in all occasions whatsoever hath been found to be answerable to her honour, with what charge or detriment soever otherwise.

**The English promises
contrary.**

But on the other side, if I should here lay forth what common fame saith in all the courts of Christendom touching the constancy and observation of the words and promises given, made, and written in your Q.[‘s] name & behalf, I should lance a full unsavoury sore, and should show both this Scogan and his authors to have played the right Scogans indeed. But taking no pleasure to rip up odious and displeasent rehearsals further than the just defence of the cause presseseth me, I shall here proceed to the next article.

8. It is said (saith he) and credibly avowed that the Q. of Scotl. was the greatest cause of the rebellion lately in the North whereby some honourable houses etc. by her cunning practice were enticed to overthrow themselves and their families with a multitude of mo English subjects than she could have done by arms in the field if she had been in possession of her kingdom.

**A right Sicilian trick to
charge her with his own
cruelty.**

The answer to this objection (good reader) doth minister occasion to speak somewhat of that which I mind to treat apart in a volume by itself, that is to say, to open unto you the deep & hidden great treason indeed, from espying whereof these pamphlets & persuasions would fain mislead & draw you by holding you still in the wrong consideration of the late Northern troubles, & by setting before your eyes a false painted show of others which were never intended. Nevertheless I shall in this place but briefly show you the true ground and occasion of those late troubles (which this author so often mentioneth with so odious terms), whereby yourself shall see not only how this Scogan now laboureth to defame the Q. of Scotl. with the death of all those that by pretence of justice suffered for the same by your Q.[‘s] commission, but also how far the severity of the execution surmounted the desert of the fact.

Thou must understand (good reader) that as it many times happeneth in all commonweals that few or none do at the first perceive nor observe the mischievous intentions of the ambitious, that subtly by little and little & in length of time do work and compass their aspiring purposes, even so in few or no places it chanceth but that some sooner and some later do fall into the reckoning thereof, and as by process of time & outward facts the matter groweth riper, so doth the greater number come to discover and espy it.

**The causes and occasions
of the Northern troubles.**

When your Q. therefore upon the first entry into her reign had committed the government of her affairs unto some few mean and base persons who forthwith used those few of the nobility (whom they reserved in apparence of credit) but as ciphers and signs, who by slight devises and false persuasions did win her by the

change of religion against her own affection to separate herself from the union she was (in that part) left in with the great Christian princes her neighbours and allies, who persuaded her to change all the Council and chief officers of the realm, who induced her to deprive and depose together and at once all her bishops one and other, with hundreds of the principal of the clergy besides, to hold their persons in prison ten or twelve years together till by stench and close keeping some sooner, some later, they are all in effect pined way without colour of fault or desert (unless you account it a fault for a whole clergy of a Christian realm not to accept a new faith with the change of every prince), to subvert all the altars in her realm, to burn all the relics, images, and holy ornaments of Christ and his saints, to constitute a new form of public service in the church, to create herself chief ruler of the same, and by that authority to prohibit the adoration of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, to abrogate the Mass with five of the seven sacraments, to change the form of the administration of the other two, of the dregs of the vilest sort of the people to erect a new clergy, to them to give the cure of souls with all the bishoprics and principal spiritual promotions of the realm, to permit them to marry, & with the goods of the church so to enrich them as with great endowments bestowed on their bastards to disparage in short time all the noble houses of the realm, to intrude them into the possession of all the monasteries and sacred foundations of prayer or alms, to cast out of the realm all the religious of the same that would live in their order and habit, yea, when in a little more process of time she was by them so circumvented as, without the consent and against the advice of all her ancient nobility, she was content to have her name and authority abused to the levying of sundry exactions and payments of her people therewith to corrupt and suborn great numbers of the noblest subjects of France, Flanders & Scotland severally to levy arms against their several and natural sovereigns, and over that, without colour of cause to violate the long-continued amity with the house of Spain and to break the ancient league with the house of Burgundy by forcible taking of the king's money, by paying the same unto his own & other princes' rebels, by spoiling his good subjects, by succouring his rebels, by furnishing of pirates in infinite numbers to rob him & his people & to infest the seas so as no passage might be free for any honest man, and this with the great impoverishment of her realm & to the great danger of the same by turning the old friends and allies thereof into new & mighty enemies even for their own indemnity, when they saw that under pretence of charity & religion the realm was filled with mo than forty thousand strangers & pestered with the very scum & froth of all nations adjoining that had abandoned their allegiance & taken arms against their several sovereigns, when they saw by such rascals and rake-hells all the artisans of the realm (being the born subjects of that land) oppressed in effect unto utter beggary, when they saw your Q. so craftily abused as to her own discomfort to forbear marriage, to her great grief to want succession of her own body, and against the policy and security both of herself and her realm to admit no known successor, when their crafty counsels had so prevailed that no entreaty nor petition could induce her to the one nor the other, and when they saw withal so many practices devised & so many devises put in ure that tended to the change of the known succession and to the disherison and destruction both of the Q. Scotland that is your Q.['s] next heir and cousin and to the extinguishing of your Q.['s] own line also,

when they saw withal by this mean threatened the ruin of all the chief monarchies of this part of Europe and the bringing of them into the thraldom and subjection of this confederate faction, when they saw their own country within itself purposely wrought into factions & parts to make the way open to civil force and violence, and when they saw their own Q. now a Queen but in name, and those rascals reigning in deed and effect over her and her realm, lastly, when she was so far seduced as against all laws of nature and nations, and with her passing dishonour, to procure the dispossessing and imprisonment of the Q. of Scotland, an absolute prince from many descents, her own nearest kinswoman and heir apparent, to take her as prisoner that never had war with her, to hold her close prisoner that fled to her for succour upon hope given her by her letters and messages mo than a few, to set up a bastard to usurp her dominion, and with so large a pension as England never gave to maintain him to keep it against her, yea, when she had so wholly betaken herself to the government of those few persons of mean condition that manifestly she contemned the persons & left to use the service & advice of her nobility (that laboured the just restitution of the Q. of Scotland, conformable to her right and to your Q.[‘s] honour and safety), and being withal observed that all these notable injuries & oppressions done to such a lady, a queen, and a desolate widow for many months, yea, years together, sufficed nothing to satisfy nor qualify the malicious thirst of her destruction, which was then perceived (by some of the wiser sort) by those base men to be chiefly eyed & intended, and that for a further purpose not yet discovered, when the Duke of Northfolk (I say) & the other nobility by length of ten years and more, and by these notorious mischiefs daily put in ure both at home and abroad, could not but see your Q.[‘s] reputation touched, her security endangered, the amity of the realm weakened, the treasure of the crown consumed, the people impoverished, their foreign friends lost, themselves contemned & in awe of their inferiors, and consequently their honours slandered, their families and successions in peril and likelihood of ruin if this form of government were not abettered the sooner, thereupon, each lamenting to other the sequel and consequence that was in short time like to ensue to themselves, to the country, and to your Queen also, they conferred now and then (as occasion served them to meet) how and by what mean your Q. might be induced to take better ways to the recovering of her honour & fame, to the establishment of her security, & to prevent the imminent dangers that by these means depended over themselves and the whole realm. And the plat thereof being debated, was at length devised and resolved by a general consent of many both of the Council & other nobility to consist principally in removing from her by some good means two or three persons of mean birth & condition that by false suggestions & crafty speeches had so intruded themselves into her favour & credit that with contempt & rejection of all the rest she was wholly governed and ruled by them. And the same in a sort once offered & assayed to be put in execution, & by a crafty mean shifted over & eluded, those subtle fellows smoothly dissembled the matter for a season, humbly crouching & lowly behaving themselves till they saw a better time.

The remedy was in removing of two men from her.

But when they had within a few months after so compassed your Queen (with pretence of all care & jealousy of her state & security) that they had irremovably

Sinon's subtlety.

persuaded her that the marriage of the Q. of Scotland with the Duke of Northfolk must needs be intended to her derogation (yet still putting him in comfort and assurance of her goodwill to the same), & had by that means wrought her first to deface him with ill speeches & looks, then to take and defame him with disloyal attempting this match, and at length to commit him prisoner to the Tower, they thereupon procured her to write out her letters to call in also sundry others of the nobility, namely the chief and principal in the North parts.

The D. of Norf. cozened.

Who having heard of the Duke's imprisonment, notwithstanding her many letters of assurance that they knew he had both from your Q. & her chief councillors if he would come up, when they heard of the restraint of the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, of the show of displeasure that Leicester had sustained for the same cause, and of the straight keeping of the L. Lumley, they thereupon discreetly excused their coming awhile, minding to hear (if they might) what should become of the others already taken, which whiles they expected they suddenly understood certain secret forces and companies of armed men to be privily levied by your Q.['s] commandment and by commission prepared and laid in places apt for the purpose by force to take them & to bring them up prisoners.

The nobles of the North had been all entrapped if they had not armed themselves.

No justice where those men rule.

Whereupon knowing and assuring themselves (as full well they might) that they should find neither favour nor indifferency where & whiles those men ruled (whom they knew to be determinately bent to go through with the face & form of regiment before mentioned, for causes yet hidden) unto which those of the nobility and of the North parts especially were most opposite and repugnant, they were constrained for their present safety to make choice of the less of those distresses that were presented unto them. Of which the present seeming the harder (as naturally it doth to all men), they resolved rather to abide the hope, & to make proof of better to come, than to render themselves to their present and assured ruin. And so calling such good companies of their friends, servants, & tenants together as might be able to defend their persons from the present violences & forces then beset about them, upon the gathering of that multitude there followed and ensued the rest, as ye have heard of.

Sinon ashamed of the cruel execution in the North.

And these being the true causes & occasions that moved those noblemen and gentlemen to put themselves in arms, to wit, for God chiefly, for the Catholic religion, for the honour & safety of their Q., for preservation of their country, for due respect unto their peers, for conservation of the ancient amities of the crown, for the removing of a mean man or two, the causers of all those mischiefs, & for their own safety of body and soul, so testified by their proclamations in writing, so avowed by all confessions and examinations, & so confirmed by all that hath followed and fallen out since, & never proceeding so far as whereof died above one person at the most, nor to the spoil or loss of any man's goods to any valour, behold now how rightly the authors of these pamphlets play the Scogans here, who being ashamed (as shameless men may be) of the severe executions, or rather of the cruel severity used towards the inferior multitude (whose captains by flight had saved themselves) for a fact of such quality as this was in them that did but follow and

obey their masters & lords (of whom mo than six or seven hundred lost their lives and goods and their little lands also, those that had any), these Scogans (I say), finding themselves now confounded with this their own bloody proceeding, to cover the same would now burden and defame the Q. of Scotland therewith, craftily tempering their words so as to make the world ween and take their fact for hers.

A right trick of Sinon.

And be not so much abused, reader, by these scholars of Scogan, that for covering of their own uncleanness would draw you into suspicion of all your nobility in effect, and would make you mistrust them to have meant that to your Q. which themselves have already contrived and executed against her of Scotland. For think not your noblemen and gentlemen of the North parts, and the rest also now troubled & defamed, to be all so witless & heartless but that if ever they had meant any such thing, there were and yet are among them enough that both know the means how to have contrived it, and want no courage to have performed it, in far other sort (I mean) than ever was yet attempted or thought on, I dare say and swear for them.

If ill had been meant, they knew how to do it.

9. It is known (saith he) that your Q., as one void of a revenging nature, did labour to have restored her to her country and saved her life after the death of her husband, and laboured to put an end to the civil wars in her realm etc.

The Q. of Engl. well affected to the other of Scotland.

My purpose is not, good reader, to accuse your Queen, nor to disallow of her nature. For as I may, I honour her, and lament nothing more than that she suffereth herself, her name, her dignity and authority to be so much abused, her forces and treasures to be so ill employed to the danger of her state, and to the dishonour and infamy of her person, to the oppression of the innocent whom nature bindeth her to defend, and to the offence of the old friends and allies of herself, her parents, and dominions. And so well inclined am I to think the best of her that open cause will permit, that I believe the bruit that said she had been murdered in Lochleven if your Queen would have consented to it, neither I deny but that your Queen hath been made believe (perhaps) that some means have been used in her name and by her authority to the other ends and purposes alleged.

Your Q. writing to one purpose openly, they write secretly to another.

And of some few letters have I heard, written by your Queen, that have carried indeed such face and apparence, but when there hath gone withal, yea, before them and after them, sometime to the same, sometime to other persons, other letters of so contrary tenors, secretly sent, secretly delivered, and to be imparted to none but to them of the faction, and therein to devise them the form and show them the way, to animate and encourage them, yea, to invite, persuade, and hire them to do clean contrary, and to perform nothing of that which the public letters did give face and show of, and when the event and success hath discovered that secret advice to have taken place, and the public motion to have been contemned, how can any man possibly be blinded in this?

Truly, if I knew any such benefit or pleasure particular that the Q. of Scotland had tasted by your Q.[’s] means, I would not here conceal them, nor any way seek to minish the honour or thank that she justly deserveth. And sorry I am that the

blemish and blame due to her ministers should redound to herself, and spot her coat.

Restitution pretended, & deprivation intended.

The Q. of Scotl.[‘s] whole calamity wrought by the English without the Q.[‘s] consent, as it seemeth.

For like as nothing hath been heard of faithfully or effectually done by your Q.[‘s] ministry towards the other’s restitution, nor towards the compounding of the civil wars of that realm, other than by seeking to bring such of her Majesty’s loyal nobility and faithful subjects as have stood for her to abandon their allegiance as the rest have done, and to unite themselves with the others against her to her final deprivation forever, even so the whole world witnesseth (I ween) that all the garboils and bloody tragedies in her country committed these twelve or thirteen years have all in effect been by your Q.[‘s] ambassadors & councillors devised, by her servants, pensioners, & feed men practised, with her name & authority countenanced, the rebels and traitors in her country succoured and encouraged, with her money and men maintained, by her gifts rewarded, and by her means restored, and contrarily, the Q.[‘s] friends and party from time to time by her open forces persecuted and oppressed, her ambassadors imprisoned, her servants diversely afflicted, her noblemen’s lands spoiled, many of their houses burned, sundry of their castles battered and taken, and some of their persons murdered and quartered that fell into the hands of such regents and governors as she constituted, and finally, the Q.[‘s] own person by the authority of yours detained prisoner, sundry regents one after another set up by your Q.[‘s] countenance to usurp her dominions against her, yea, her private servants both men & women requisite for her honour & safety by commandment of yours removed from her, all speaking with her, all writing to her, all receiving and hearing from her, all relief sent or given her in money or meat, all comfort done her by writing, word, or token, all good report and true relation made either of her good nature, of her rare gifts, of her honourable dealing, any commendation of her person, beauty, wisdom, virtue, or other quality, yea, any least word spoken in the just defence of her honour and innocency is accounted seditious, traitorous, injurious to your Q. and tending to rebellion. And yet this Gnato blusheth not so to temper his tale as if the Queen of Scotland had deserved all the ill in the world at your Q.[‘s] hands, and that she, as one not inclined to revenge, had contrarily done unto her singular benefits and pleasures.

Ten examples of double dealing.

If this general rehearsal of so common known truths so lately put in ure do not yet satisfy captious and curious ears that will say that I challenge the authors of this libel for want of particulars and do bring forth none myself, let this brief memory of some few, brought forth for example, suffice to call the rest unto your own remembrances.

1.

Of your ministers that seduced the Earl of Arran to flee out of France, that accompanied him in Scotland, and gave him the platform of the general revolt of all that nobility in the year 1560 by abusing him with a hope to marry your Queen, some be dead and some other yet living & still covering the eggs not yet all hatched.

2. Likewise of them that, taking advantage of the Lord Darnley's credit and marriage, abused the Earl of Murray's ambitious mind, and by often solicitation and variety of messengers with promise of pension and government, did win him at last both from duty and nature to rebel against his sister and sovereign, their names be known, their several travails understood, and some of them be dead and some others yet alive.
3. When your realm was the refuge for him and his confederates, and your Q. in apparence not seeming to favour his fact nor to admit him to her presence, the persons are yet known that in private brought him to her, and in secret, money from her, with comfort and counsel how to dissemble till his reconciliation were won, for the better compassing and finishing of that which he brought to pass afterwards.
4. Of the practices and procurements of the several murders, first of David the secretary and then of the King, their names are known that then served in Berwick, who by direction from some of the Council in London laid the plot, gave the devise, and when it was ripe did put the fire also to the flax.
5. Your special messenger known by name gave the Q. of Scotland advice to subscribe the resignation made in Lochleven.
6. Need they to be named that first imprisoned the B. of Ross, that betrayed and divers ways afflicted Charles Baillie, a stranger, without colour of cause other than for seeking to publish a pamphlet in the defense of their mistress' honour & title that impeached not your Q. in any jot?
7. Can he be unknown that by your Queen's commission entered Scotland with an army, razed Dunbar, and took the castle of Hume?
8. Can his name be hidden that with like commission invaded again, spoiled and burned the lands and houses of Hamilton and Maxwell?
9. Can it be doubted from whom and from whence the Earl of Lennox was sent and set up when he caused Dumbarton to be betrayed and quartered the Archbishop of St. Andrews most barbarously?
10. And can any man be in doubt by whose means and solicitation your Q. keepeth the other in prison, taketh her servants from her, denieth all men to give her comfort or relief, & accounteth all those little better than traitors that speak any word for her or in her defence?

These few for example may serve to bring many mo to mind, and they be particular enough for any indifferent man. The names of your English I do forbear in respect that some of them be dead, some other have found their error, and be become honester men, and the rest may do the like, and (I hope) will.

Nevertheless if I shall be further pressed thereto, I will lay forth to the world such a rabble of names, with their several actions and practices, and the copies of such and so many monstrous horrible letters (which the writers think are not to be seen) as shall fully satisfy every man that I speak not without my book, & shall make them to look for some better proof at this man's hands than he hath brought yet before they believe that she of Scotl. hath aught done towards yours that deserveth revenge, or that yours hath done aught for her that is worth gramercy, her state now considered.

10. It is also known (saith he) that the Q. of Scotl. did by writing utterly renounce the Duke's marriage upon his first apprehension etc., with some note that of herself she did not first move it nor yet like of it. Also that the Duke did the like at that time both by messages and writings, and acknowledged his offence in seeking it, and under his hand and seal did firmly promise never to deal therein any further, or in any other matter with the Q. etc.

This objection, good reader, lacketh little (for aught I see in it) but that it might be granted and pass unspoken to without touch or reproach to any of both. If it had, I mean, the condition annexed that the Q. and the Duke did always express, that is to say, that without your Q.[‘s] favour & good consent, as they had not before ever intended it, they would not hereafter proceed further in it.

The marriage never intended without the Q.[‘s] consent.

And not unlike is it that the Q. of Scotl. might answer in sense & effect as he hath alleged, that is, to wit, that she neither first moved it nor at first liked it. For a rare matter is it to find a right mean woman to be the first mover of a marriage for herself, or at the first motive to appear to like of it. And even so may every man see that any wit hath that without the favour of your Q. first obtained the other of Scotl. had little reason or cause to think the match any way beneficial unto her, regarding specially the state she stood & stands in.

And for the Duke's part, as it hath been already said, he never undoubtedly meant to assay it without the promise and assurance of your Q.[‘s] consent thereunto, if not by her own mouth, yet by them that (for their credit with her) all men knew were able easily to persuade and obtain it if they had as faithfully gone about it as they did fraudulently promise it. Nay, this I say further, that if he had not been first invited to think of it, and daily animated & encouraged for a long time together to proceed in it even by some of them that now most persecute him for it and would make treason of it, the matter had never been moved nor thought on, to any purpose, I mean.

Sinon circumvented the Duke.

This objection therefore expressing their promises of renunciation doth more burden and charge your Q. than any of them both. For being true that they promised so firmly by hands and seals, by mouths and writings, as this man saith, what could they do more, what could be more asked? And why hath your Q. then kept them still in prison now more than two years since? For that which he allegeth

The Q. and Duke injured.

in the accusation following will neither serve to excuse your Q. in that fact, nor to defend this author's folly in framing his tale no better. For thus he saith.

11. And now it is certainly found (saith he) that the former practice between the Q. and Duke (notwithstanding their several renunciations and promises) hath had continuance without interruption etc. till now his last committing etc.

If we granted, good reader, that it were now found as this accusation supposeth, how will that yet defend the injury & injustice done unto them for two years full before that this was found and discovered? For between the Duke's first apprehension and the date of this book are more than two years fully complete. *Upon his first apprehension (saith this accuser) they both renounced and made promise etc.* Then why have they remained in prison ever since? For if now it be found (as he saith it is) that they have broken promise, then until now it was not perceived. For nothing can be said to be found now that was understood before. And for more than two years before this continuance of that practice was found had they renounced and promised (if this author say true), which was as much as they could do, and that notwithstanding were kept still in prison for two years fully before this new crime of their breach of promise was found or perceived, as this author telleth it.

**Where Machiavel ruleth,
marriage is unlawful.**

And now let us see of what weight the fault is that is newly found, being granted to be as the accusation affirmeth. Forsooth it is that *by secret means the treaty between them for marriage hath had continuance without interruption etc.* Now in what part riseth the fault of this? They are within age belike, and wards to your Q., and the Master of the Wards complaineth of this, who having your Q. in ward already cannot endure the other should be free, or else there is between them some such nearness of kindred by consanguinity or affinity as will not permit them to marry, and the bishop therefore complaineth of this.

Be it the one or the other (as all men know it can be neither of both), it must needs be that they have wrong that for talk and treaty only of marriage (without contract), which had been lawful, have been thus severely imprisoned & defamed with treason. Or if any other impediment shall be alleged, when we hear what it is, it shall be answered unto. And in the meantime, it must be taken thus, that all this fault imputed unto them resteth in this, that by secret messages or letters they have had mutual conference and intelligence touching a lawful marriage between themselves. And is not this a sore matter and a grievous crime?

Yea, but *they were prisoners (he saith) and without your Q.['s] consent and against their own promise they treated it etc.* I answer that none of all these be just impediments to prohibit lawful matrimony, neither by practice nor book-law. But contrarily, examples many both of old & late years may be brought forth manifestly proving that neither the restraint of the body by personal imprisonment, nor the want of the prince's consent, nor any promise of the parties by message or letter

(grounded only upon fear of displeasure or temporal pain) are any sufficient impediments to stay a lawful marriage.

And here this author endeth his rehearsal of things known and *certainly found*, as he termeth them, which being all so weakly proved, so unlikely of themselves, and so manifestly disproved by common reason and known facts, as ye have heard, what may now be looked for in the rest, which he rehearseth but upon conjectures and reports, or rather as things not yet fully reported nor conjectured, but as things that might be said, and hereafter (belike) shall be said to be known things also.

12. But now appeareth it (saith he) how dangerous the intention of that marriage is to your Q. by other dangerous practices that have accompanied and followed this attempt (if you will believe him) which Almighty God hath marvelously discovered to the preservation both of your Q.[‘s] person and the realm etc.

This objection threateneth some fearful bug at hand which belike we shall see anon. But whether this match were like to be dangerous to your Q. and realm (as he concludeth it to be) or no, I mind not here to dispute long, specially since the same is already by a nameless discourser so gravely discoursed, on both sides argued, and for the profoundness of it published in print this summer past, which (seeming to conclude that it were more safety to your Q. and realm that the Q. of Scotl. married with a foreign prince rather than with a subject of England) both yet chiefly rest & rely upon this, that she is to marry or not to marry as your Q. will or will not, and when & whomsoever she shall appoint. For she remaining in your Q.[‘s] government, the contrary disputation (saith he) is as much as to ask whether your Q. may govern in her own realm or not.

A foolish argument
against the marriage.

Now let us (good reader) turn our speech for a word or two from this hobgoblin unto that nameless discourser, the force of whose argument being grounded upon the Queen of Scotl. being in your Q.[‘s] government, let us ask him this question, to wit, whether the same reason doth hold or no in every other person that is in your Q.[‘s] government as well as in the person of the Q. of Scotl? If he say no, I shall be glad to hear his reason why, and to understand the difference that he will make between the condition of her person and theirs, and why she should be more in that subjection than all the rest.

If he answer, for her proximity in blood unto your Q. and for her title to the crown of England, I answer that there is neither law nor statute private of that realm (now in force, as I take it) nor public in the world, I am sure, that restraineth the liberty of matrimony more in a prince than in a poor man. And so consequently no colour of law to give to your Q. any such jurisdiction over the person of the Q. of Scotland.

But supposing your discourser, foreseeing that he should have little thank to make that answer (at their hands, I mean, that chiefly manage your Q.[‘s] affairs and would bear the world in hand that the Q. of Scotl. hath to that crown no title at all), will flee therefore to the other refuge, and answer that your Q., being sole and

supreme governor in her own realm of all persons & affairs whatsoever, hath therefore the disposition and governance of all persons in her dominions, as well in their marriages as in all other things (for otherwise I see not but that it would be somewhat absurd to say that she should have more jurisdiction in the person of the Q. of Scotland, who is an absolute prince of a foreign dominion, not born under her subjection nor otherwise present in her dominion but by violence detained against her will) than she hath in the persons of her own born subjects, & then if he rest upon that supreme authority of your Q. to be pre-eminent over the persons and marriages of all her born subjects because they be under her governance, I see not then that this discourser maketh any difference between the marriages of Christian creatures and the brutish coupling of unreasonable beasts.

Christian marriages and brutish couplings is one with the discourser.

For if your Q.[‘s] Christian subjects be no more free in choosing of their wives, nor may no more freely couple themselves in lawful matrimony but at her choice and election as the horse and the mare, the dog and bitch, be joined and coupled at the will and choice of the Yeomen of the Studdery and Leash (according to the race they desire to have the colts and whelps of), as this discourser’s opinion seemeth to be, then behold what estimation Christian marriage is in with such discourser, and what pretty doctrine is covertly taught in pamphlets of such pretence, permitted by authority.

The discourser discovereth that in the marriage the chief fear was of religion, and not of your Q.

Again, if thou mark the author’s scope in that discourse, thou shalt see that it tendeth wholly in effect to prove that marriage likely to be dangerous to your new Machiavellian religion rather than either to your Q. or realm. Whereby you may see that they that set both that author and this a-work would fain have it taken that the security of your Q. and realm consisted in the maintenance of that licentious doctrine which hath in short time confounded all princes and places that ever yet received it.

Indeed evident it is that that match strongly impugned the secret and final purpose of those two English Machiavels who for their own advancement intend to wrest the succession of the crown to a wrong family. But how it could possibly have endangered either your Q. or realm neither doth this author show or that discourser prove, nor by any common intendment can be presumed. And by the way, notable it is that a thing so manifestly beneficial to your Queen and commonwealth should be accounted offensive, and published to be dangerous to your prince, for impugning only the private preference of two such persons.

I want no will here to spend a few words mo in answering any dangers that could have grown to your Queen by this match if the discourser had brought forth any worthy the speaking to. But because his objections and reasons be so fond, frivolous, and unable to move any man that wit or reason hath, I may rather think it too much that I have thus far aperted my speech from my principal purpose than yield to be drawn to follow his folly any further, specially since this pamphlet now beareth us in hand that we shall see such dangerous practices to have accompanied and followed that attempt that if God had not even miraculously saved both your Q. and the realm, they both had been in wonderful peril thereby. Which dangers when

we shall come to consider, there will be apt place to say thereunto as the matter shall move, and truth and reason require.

In the meanwhile note this here, that like as this Sinon hath already wrought and brought the Queen of Scotl. into his own power, ready to be dispatched at any sudden to serve his final turn and purpose against the crown under his false pretence of caring for the Q.[‘s] security, even so under a like false gloze that this marriage might be dangerous to your Queen he would execute his own private malice and revenge against the Duke for charging him once at Greenwich, as you know, with robbing the realm, [and] dishonouring and endangering your Queen to raise and maintain rebels abroad.

13. It was devised and determind (saith he) that a new rebellion should have been moved nigh London. The city should have been taken by force, foreign soldiers in great numbers should have come out of the Low Countries by sea unto a notable port of the realm. So should rebels and foreign enemies have joined and proceeded to further things not expedient yet to be spoken of etc.

The accusation hath all the properties of a lie.

Here beginneth now (good reader) the fire & flame to appear that the former obscure smoke did threaten should break out. Which resting yet in devises & determinations of many things to have been done (yea, rather in his own bare and naked saying so), I trust every wise man will see some better proof thereof than the credit of a Robin Goodfellow only before they believe so gross, so palpable, and so unlikely lies.

Devised and determind (this man saith) it was, but he neither showeth by whom, by how many, where the devise was made, when the determination was concluded, nor any other certainty unto which a perfect answer might be made, and this is one of the most proper qualities and evident tokens of a lie.

The proposition therefore being so general and uncertain as admitteth no such answer as whereupon any certain issue or trial might be joined, I must therefore frame my answer somewhat after the nature of the proposition and argue upon likelihoods and probabilities, and so leave it to the reader to judge whether of our two speeches carrieth with it most reason and likelihood.

Not likely.

Resort therefore again unto the consideration of the number & weight of the things that he saith were determind, and I affirm it to be utterly unlikely, and never devised nor determind. Unlikely I call it, and unlikely (I ween) all men of common sense will think it that any such rebellion at home, any such surprising of such a city by force (with the sack and spoil of the wealthy men in it, as Master Fleetwood’s oration out-lavisheth and termeth it), or any conclusion to bring in foreign forces to sack your own, could be resolved or determind by any of your own nation, as a thing repugnant to common nature.

Impossible to common reason.

Unpossible also (in common reason) I must affirm it to be that any such thing could be devised and determind without the knowledge and consent of great numbers of

sundry states and degrees, as things that necessarily require the counsel and authority of noblemen mo than a few, the governance and order of gentlemen in great numbers, the travail & labour of multitudes both of soldiers and captains, and the confederacy of some great party and faction in the realm and city itself, & consequently sundry actual things to have been done and executed by messages, by letters, by present conferences of sundry persons, by money received and paid, by provision of armour and munition, by constitution and agreement upon days and times, by a readiness and assurance of ships and mariners, and by many other like things that require fact and action before such enterprises can be resolved and determined.

The proofs of the impossibility.

Let us therefore require of this accuser, for the furnishing of his accusation, to tell us of some few at least that began this devise, of some few of those many that did determine it, of some of the multitude that should have executed it, of some citizen or other that conspired to raise the rest or to let in the others that should come from without, or else from whence the ordinance should come to batter the walls, or the boats to enter by water. Let him tell us the name of some strange captain or foreign soldier waged or hired, of some ship prepared, of some mariner taken up, of some armour provided, of some artillery mounted, of some shot or powder barrellled, of some money given or borrowed, or of some prince or great man that promised or intended it. Let him give us the message or messenger, the letter or writer, of some one or other that testify it. Let some port be named so nigh the city as he speaketh of, some inhabitant there that would give landing to strangers, some of those gentlemen that with forces should meet them and guide them to London, or some one thing or other of the many particulars that such an exploit demandeth let us entreat this accuser to show us to have been done in fact, that may give some breath or life to his accusation.

Since every man knoweth that it is no mean company that can take London by force, in which are thought to be not so few at this day as ten thousand armed men, and standeth in so strong a country, and so far from the sea, as I ween it were hard to find a foreign captain so simple, nor so single a soldier that would put his foot there (without great and present aid to receive him) where he must march many days in so strong a woody land, so peopled with his enemies, and they of such valour as Englishmen are known to be, before he could come to join with his friends.

And of these particulars so justly demanded and so necessary to the determination of such an enterprise as he saith was determined, till this author have showed and well proved some such good number as may plainly convince his affirmation to be true, we may in the meantime (I trust) with right and reason take this tale of his for an impudent, malicious, and a stark staring lie, proceeding of a devilish spirit that intendeth to ground thereupon some horrible and outrageous exploit.

And will you see it proved even by his own words? *The rebels and enemies* (saith he) *thus joined, should have proceeded to further things not expedient to be spoken*

of at this time. Now mark ye how this betrayeth the rest. For by this it is evident that they which set this hobgoblin a-work do by these words reserve still unto themselves a liberty to change and increase these lies as they list.

More remaineth to be devised.

For well you see, having thought this time expedient enough to charge and defame both those noble persons by name, & a great number of others besides, with raising of the rebellion in the north, with conspiring a new in the south, with intention to surprise London by force, to sack the wealthy citizens (as M. Recorder gabbleth), to bring in foreign forces and strangers, to have destroyed your Q.[‘s] person (if M. Recorder lied not), to seek to have the crown from her, and to be unto her the most dangerous enemy that lived, these crimes (I say) having been thought expedient enough to be uttered at this time, what matter of more importance can there remain expedient yet to be concealed, if the same were already hammered and forged?

These words therefore, that seem to pretend other matters to be found, not yet expedient to be uttered, must needs argue and infer both that the authors have not yet agreed with their false accusers, neither have heard of any other man nor are resolved within themselves of any further matter than they have here already coughed out, and also that they have an intention hereafter to devise and set forth more, as already they have done all this that ye have heard.

And here behold withal how this Robin Goodfellow playeth also the Scogan. For whereas he perceiveth a general mislike & just discontentation conceived by all states and degrees among you for the bringing in of such an infinite multitude of foreigners & strangers as swarm everywhere almost throughout the realm, to cover your eyes from beholding the same he here telleth you and beareth you in hand that other folks had conspired and devised to have done the same thing that his authors and patrons have already performed. And the art is subtle and fine, that since they cannot prevent the eyes and minds of the multitude from seeing & feeling sundry oppressions grown by that flood of foreigners that they have brought in to serve a turn at a day, they would now pervert the cogitations and talks of the people from the foreigners that already are there to the foreigners that they would have them fear shall come.

14. These devises (saith he) were not only talked of, put in writing, and fully concluded, but the messengers were also sent over sea in Lent last with sufficient authority of commission and writings to testify the determination of them that should be the heads and conductors of this rebellion, as the same being imparted on the other side the sea was well accepted and allowed, and thereof several letters were speedily written to the said Queen, to the Duke of Northfolk, and specially to that ungracious priest the Bishop of Ross, the instrument of all the Duke’s calamity and the seedman of all treason against England, that this enterprise must be kept secret, namely from the French, for causes of great moment, until the messenger should post to the Pope for money, and to the King of Spain for order and direction for men and ships etc.

Obscurity of purpose.

This is a long sentence, good reader, comprehending in apparence many particulars, and giveth a face of a plain story well opened & certainly known, but being well observed, it will appear intricate, confuse, and obscurely written of purpose to give the author a shifting and starting-hole from being taken with many manifest lies.

Impudency.

And if I had not been somewhat exercised and travailed in the scrutiny & search of these men's bold affirmations, I might as easily have been moved and carried away to believe this whole and smooth tale as many other (I fear me) are. For surely few wise and modest men are there that have the face so boldly and precisely to affirm never so known a truth as these men do common known lies. Their words therefore must be well marked, and their crafty sentences warely taken heed of if thou wilt not be seduced by them.

Understanding me therefore always to mean and affirm (till I see some better proof) that there was by these persons (whom he nameth and insinuateth) never any such devise made, much less any such determination concluded, much less any such put in writing, much less any messengers sent therewith or with any credit of such effect, neither any such thing imparted to the Pope nor Duke of Alva whom M. Recorder (over-rashly for a man of his gravity) nameth to be *conspirators and your Q.['s] enemies*, much less any such thing well liked or allowed by by [sic] them, much less any such certificate by any letters to the Q., to the Duke, nor to the B. of Ross, understanding me always thus, I say, I shall proceed to the consideration of this man's tale as himself telleth it. For it were no reason (pardie), finding all to be lies that he telleth (& they so infinite in number), to grant him more than himself hath wit to speak of, or for shame dare utter, or for fear of deprehension dare affirm.

No certainty showed.

As fair and as whole as this tale seemeth to be, yea, though now he add that the devises aforesaid were put in writing (whereof he spake not before), yet he telleth thee not that those devises were in writing sent over, if thou mark his words well.

Nor in telling thee *the messengers were sent*, yet he showeth thee not who they were; he nameth not one, though they were many, neither whose messengers they were, nor what message they carried, no, not so much as that they were the messengers of the devisers, nor that they carried the written devises. Look again on his words.

Repugnance.

Of messengers he speaketh here in the plural number, as being mo than one, and within few lines after, either he forgetteth himself and reduceth it to one only, or else all the messengers save one did forget themselves, for here is no mention of answer but from one alone.

With sufficient authority of commission and writings (he saith) *they went*, but with whose authority, by whose commission, or with what or whose writings, here is no manner of mention, but a plain insinuation that whatsoever the messengers carried

(if aught were carried by any messenger at all) was not the written devises of the rebellion nor of the introduction of strangers.

The Pope and Duke of Alva accused.

But it sufficiently testified (saith he) the determination of them that should have been the heads and conductors etc. By this it should seem that the author meaneth that it was the testification of some other men, given for the better credit of the devisers, determiners, heads, and conductors, and not their own.

But it was well liked and allowed (saith he) on the other side of the sea by the Pope and Duke of Alva, saith M. Recorder. But neither what was accepted, who accepted it, nor where it was imparted, can any man perceive by aught that this author saith, and much less by that that M. Fleetwood hath said (who having lavishly termed those notable personages that be absent and a thousand miles asunder to be conspirators of an enterprise distant a thousand miles from one of them, and enemies to your Queen) maketh no manner mention neither of messengers, nor writings, nor of any other thing that might give any life or light to the matter.

Of the well-liking and good acceptation several letters were speedily written, saith he, but whether by them that accepted it, or by them that imparted it, or by any other that heard of it, or by any spy that did counterfeit it, he declareth not a word.

To the Queen, to the Duke, and to the Bishop of Ross, he saith, the letters were written, but whether they all three, or any one or two of them, or none of all three, received any such he expresseth not yet, nor giveth not any copy, any date, any subscription, any superscription, nor any place to whom, from whom, where, nor when any of all three letters were written.

The letters gave charge, he saith, to keep the matter from the French, but from which French he showeth not, albeit no man be ignorant how notorious the factions of that nation are, nor how near in blood many principal personages of that nation be unto the Queen of Scotland, from whom it cannot be thought that she would have her counsels concealed. And therefore in this the author or deviser hath given a great wound unto his whole tale.

Absurdity.

Till the messenger had been at Rome, saith he, for money. Now he speaketh of one messenger in the singular number, that hitherto hath talked of messengers in the plural, but what money he went for, what sum he required, for whom he demanded it, or to what use, you see he leaveth every man to conjecture at large. Yea, having said before (if M. Recorder and he do agree) that the Duke of Alva was of the conspiracy, behold the wisdom of this tale, that now sendeth the messenger to Rome for money a thousand miles off, where little or none is, and presently cause there to occupy what there can be gotten, having the Duke of Alva and Antwerp both at hand and in his way, being the monopoly for money of Christendom at this day. And who seeth not how pregnant a suspicion this giveth that all the rest is plainly forged?

And till he had been at Spain to have order for men and ships, he saith. But what number of any of both, at whose instance, at whose charges, to whose use, against what time, or for how long time, we know no more by this man than by the man in the moon. And so gross is the folly of this falsehood that he forgetteth that the Duke of Alva wanteth not commission to give men, money, and ships too, without sending to Spain therefore, as was well testified by the last civil wars in France when the Duke Deux-Ponts was there at the charges of the English.

Hidden mischief asketh a subtle and dark dealing.

And will ye see now why the author walketh thus obscurely disguised in this general and uncertain manner of speeches? Forsooth it is both natural, necessary, and of old accustomed for all false rumours and forged devises meant for other mischievous practices to proceed in that manner, the rather and the more according as the weight and importance of the final intention amounteth unto.

For if we should here grant him that there had been a messenger or a writing sent (as till it be better proved, I utterly deny that ever there was any such matter, meaning, or man), and should therewith show him how there might be lawful writings and lawful messages sent to your Queen's dearest friends testifying the good meanings of faithful subjects, & the same well allowed of by her foreign friends, & that certified at home -- if I should, I say, lay all this open, and show in particular how this might be (albeit I say still there was no such thing), yet because these crafty false forgers foresaw that they might be so answered, & the things declared & justified (if any at all were), they therefore wade and walk in this general, confuse, and uncertain manner of speaking, that they might always shift from us and say that they meant not this man nor that man that we should speak of, nor this letter nor that writing that we should declare, and so of all the rest, but that they might have scope to say still (as ever they have done, & here often do) that such persons and such writings as they meant of were sent, forsooth, but not expedient at this time to be uttered from whom, from whence, nor when, nor what the matter was that the letters did signify to be well liked and allowed, nor by whom. For that is yet to devise, and shall come forth hereafter by likelihood.

The B. of Ross charged by Scogan with Scog.[^s] fault.

Now with the Bishop of Ross he playeth the Scogan again as he did before with the Queen his mistress. For who is ignorant of the long envy that these men have borne to the Duke for the good affection that the people worthily bare him for his good nature, wisdom, temperance, and inclination to justice? And who knoweth not how the chief authors of these libels have persecuted the Duke ever since that he discovered himself at Greenwich, as I remember, in the year 1569, to mislike with some of those base councillors that so much abused your Queen & the realm, and would have removed them from her? Since which time every man seeing how by degrees they have pursued him until they have brought him to the estate you see, now they would charge the Bishop of Ross to be the chiefest cause of the Duke's calamity, whom before and above all other next unto his sovereign and mistress he hath ever honoured and served, as his public deeds do sufficiently testify.

Likewise in calling him *the seedman of all treason unto your realm*, respite but a while your credit thereof till you have seen what the treasons be that are indeed

intended. And in the meantime, do but examine a little the said Bishop's proceedings since he came into England, and to what end they have tended.

The B.[s] travail tended to prevent Sinon's treason.

Wherein finding that he hath none otherwise done but that which the duty of a good subject to his sovereign, the affection of a good servant to his mistress, the office of a Christian bishop to the church, the natural & just love to his own country, with the unfeigned goodwill and service borne to your Q. & realm have bound him unto and required of him, behold you then what a regiment that is, and how the commonweal is governed, wherein so honest & upright a servant, in seeking to serve both his own & your own Q. & realms, directly & plainly, by truth, by reason, and by all good policy (from time to time laid open both to your Q. & Council) is yet now defamed with such odious epithets because his service and travail hath tended to prevent the secret hidden treasons that yet lie undiscovered.

15. The messenger had his letters of credit from the Scottish Queen, the Duke and others to the Pope and the King of Spain. And so coming to Rome he returned letters from the Pope's gracious Holiness in the beginning of May to the said Q. and to the Duke and others. The letter to the Duke was in Latin, beginning Dilecte fili, Salutem. But indeed the Duke might well say he sent not salutem but perniciem. The Duke had them and read them by the intercession of that aforesaid ungracious priest. The contents in some part were that the Pope well allowed of the enterprise, he would write also to the King of Spain to further it, but his present business of the charitable wars then in preparing against the Turk was the cause that money could not then be had for that summer, and yet his ungracious Holiness after his accustomed sort comforted them all not to despair.

Of the letters surmised to be sent.

In this paragraph (good reader) the author maketh mention of two sorts of letters or writings, as he did in the other; the one, the messenger should carry, and the other, that he should return and send from them to whom it is supposed he went. And to avoid confusion we must therefore divide our answer, speaking first of those which he first mentioned, and then of the other which he lastly speaketh of. Of the first he saith here *that they were letters of credit from the Q., from the Duke, and others etc.* Now forget not that in the next paragraph before he said *that the devises were put in writing, the messengers were sent over sea with authority and commission in writing sufficient to testify the determination of the heads and conductors of the rebellion etc.* Join now these two paragraphs together, and (if I be not deceived) thou shalt see the one of them sufficiently confound and confute the other, and plainly show that the Q. and Duke be not the heads that before he spake of, as all his former speeches till now have seemed to sound & insinuate.

Contradiction.

For (protesting still, till it be better proved, that there was no such matter at all) if the messenger carried such writings as sufficed to testify both the devises and the determinations of the heads of the rebellion, to what end then were his letters of credit? For letters of credit suppose the matters to go by mouths, and are not wont to go where the chief matter & purpose goeth sufficiently penned besides, nor from those persons that have otherwise by writing given sufficient testimony of the matter committed to credit. And in a matter so dangerous both to the senders and

carriers, who doth use to make superfluous writings, and to send mo letters than be necessary? This therefore sufficing to show every wise man a plain probability that all is forged and feigned, let us yet examine a little what is in this accusation, if it were as he saith.

The Q. of Scotl. hath reason to seek lawful help.

For the Q.[‘s] part first, I mean, if she gave letters of credit to a messenger that went to the Pope and King of Spain, what offence had it been, or to whom? Who seeth not what great reason she hath to seek to them both? Her imprisonment cannot take from her that which nature hath given her. She remaineth a Queen by birth and right, and by nature she is bound to seek the liberty of her person, and restitution to her own. And what just prince or good commonweal can impute that for a crime that all laws of nature and nations do move all men unto?

The D. of Norf. wrote to neither of both.

If therefore there were any such messenger and any such letters of credit, every honest man ought and is bound to presume (till the contrary be proved) that the credit was for the most likest and lawful cause, to wit, by lawful means and mediation of foreign friends to come to that that nature and all laws gave her, which by any means at home she could not obtain. And now let us resort a little to examine the likelihood and probability whether the Duke gave any such letters of credit to any such messenger.

He to the Pope for his second marriage, and the Pope to him for the statute of primacy, owed little.

The letters, saith this author, *were to the Pope and the King of Spain*, between whom and this Duke how small the amity and acquaintance hath been, few or none in your realm are ignorant. Letters of credit are not wont to go between persons all estranged each from other, much less where causes of unkindness rather than of friendship have mutually occurred, as between the Duke & the see apostolic it is well known hath happened on both sides. The particularities whereof might be here remembered if any man were so blind or ignorant as to think that the Duke could possibly hope so much of the Pope as men do of them to whom they send letters of credit, which plainly imply a confidence and an assured friendship.

No likelihood.

Add unto this that *if their purpose were* (as this author beareth you in hand) *to move rebellion, to bring in strangers, to sack London etc.*, who can imagine that they (being known to be no fools) would seek aid a thousand miles from them for and in an enterprise that required help so near at hand? Let the credit therefore be searched that the messenger carried by mouth (if there were any such at all), let his written instructions and commission be seen, if any he had, or let the firms and hands of the conductors appear and come forth; let somewhat be seen, if all be not lies. For without some more demonstration than this hobgoblin hath made yet, there is in his tale so little reason and likelihood that every man may and must (in my mind) take all his whole tale for a wicked spritish lie, forged and feigned to a devilish purpose.

Again, let it be considered how unlikely it is that any of them in the state they be in, being known for wise, would by letters, by credit, or any other way commit or attempt any unlawful action that might increase the danger and calamity that they

both stood in, they (I say) that when they were both free never gave the least show of any such mind, & willingly did put themselves into your Q.[‘s] hands when they were at their several liberties, and might have chosen to have gone elsewhere. Thus much touching the letters of credit that these authors do surmise were sent to the Pope and King of Spain.

Of the letters surmised to be received.

Now concerning the letters that the Queen, the Duke, & others are said to have received, mark you well that this accusation maketh no particular mention what was in the Q.[‘s] letter, nor in any of theirs whom he calleth others, but a sentence or two of the letter written (if the author say true) to the Duke only, and that from the Pope only. For as from the King of Spain, he speaketh not of any at all. And that which he telleth you of the Pope’s words to the Duke doth plainly prove and convince (to every man that hath grace or wit) that if there were any such credit at all from the Duke to the Pope, or any such answer from the Pope to the Duke, they both were far of a contrary sense and meaning from that which this author hath hitherto sought to persuade you.

The accusation convinceth itself.

For (saith he) *the Pope allowed well of the enterprise*. Was that, trow you, an enterprise of rebellion? Was that the enterprise of sacking London by strangers? If the Pope could be thought to think it, yet being wise, and having counsel, it is not like he would write it. If he would needs write it, yet he would not choose to write it first to the Duke of Northfolk, a stranger to him, & a known Protestant from his education.

Well, *the Pope would write (saith he) to the King of Spain to further it*. Judge thou, reader, whether that be like or not, that his Holiness esteemeth his own credit so little with the greatest King in Christendom that he would require him to further a rebellion and to sack a city of such force, wealth, and renown, themselves both being known to have consumed both their money and men in the repressing of the sundry rebellions that have been moved under your Q.[‘s] name & authority by the very authors of these libels.

By 3 examples it might be granted that they sent and received letters to good and lawful purpose.

**1.
For liberty and restitution for themselves.**

But now let us suppose and put the case that it were true (as we have showed it false) that there had been a messenger and letters of credit, and that the Pope had written as this author allegeth him, let us see what will follow and fall out thereof if it had been so, as till he better prove it we still affirm that there was no such. Admitting therefore that thyself, good reader, were fallen into the state that these two noble personages are in, as born to a kingdom or other great possessions, expelled therefrom, cast into prison, and so pursued that no man at home durst show himself thy friend or to pity thy case, and that thou hadst so many years endured that tedious captivity and pining prisonment as they have sustained, yea, without colour of cause by any law upon earth, and withal if thou didst find and foresee the malicious machination & daily contriving of thy final destruction (whereof these noble personages may justly stand in doubt), and if thou were for all that not desperate to find a friend of countenance & credit that with authority would & were able to treat and speak in thy cause if thou couldst find mean to lament thy

case unto him, wouldst thou now think thyself indifferently dealt withal, if (after all means used at home without ease or relief) for quiet & secret opening of thine unjust oppression by mouth or by writing abroad, thou shouldst be accused of treason, & by printed books defamed for a traitor?

For your Q.[‘s] honour & security.

Suppose also thyself to be next heir to that crown or the chief peer of that realm, holding thy Q. there not only as thy sovereign by duty, but as thy mother, thy sister & nearest kinswoman in all honour & affection, if now thou didst by secret means of credit or letter lay open unto the Pope and King (the chiefest patrons and most ancient allies of that crown) the miserable state and desperate terms that thy prince, thy country, & whole nobility stand in at this day, together with the infinite mischiefs & calamities that all countries adjoining do taste & feel by the insolent governance thereof taken in hand & ministered by one or two base & inferior persons, & withal didst require the one and the other (by some means) to interpose themselves, to treat and travail for the remedy of it, and by removing of those unworthy instruments to cure & recover thy Q.[‘s] appaired honour and fame for the more security of their dignity and state, for restoring of her nobility now contemned to the estimation of their predecessors due to them by antiquity of blood and vocation, to preserve the realm of England from utter impoverishment, and all provinces adjoining from infinite injuries and spoils -- if thou (I say) by credit of messenger or otherwise hadst in this manner treated the matter with those ancient friends & allies of thy country, howsoever perhaps those base fellows (whom it toucheth) might term it treason, conspiracy, rebellion or what they would else, had thy just prince, thy country, or nobility any reason to complain or to condemn thee therefore?

**3.
For necessary relief of
body and soul.**

Again, put the case, reader, that thyself being a Catholic Christian, robbed & spoiled of all thy temporal goods, and bereaved withal of all spiritual comfort, and so closely restrained that neither for thy soul’s health after so many years’ vexation in sundry garboils, nor for the necessary expenses of thyself, thy servants, nor of thy affairs, thou hadst wherewith to sustain or comfort thy body or soul, if now thy credit or message were unto those principal princes that in both thy necessities are (above all other) best able to help thee for their succour and relief in these thine extremities, and didst crave the cure of thy conscience at the hands of the one, and didst commend thyself, thy state, and posterity to the favour of the other, with petition of succour in money from both, if it were thus (I say) or any other like, what honest man could accuse thee thereof? Or what offence were it to any good prince or well-governed commonweal?

Thou mayest not yet take me, good reader, by these examples alleged, that I acknowledge them to have done any like thing. For verily I know not that either they wrote or sent at all. But being very sure and assured that if they did it, it was to no such end as these lying libels do falsely pretend, I have therefore showed thee (for the better satisfaction of every honest and indifferent man), among many other that might be alleged, these causes and occasions that might move them to write but as examples to show how those letters of credit that this objector so precisely avoucheth might be very well, very lawfully, and honourably meant.

The answerer's suppositions agree better with the accuser's allegation than the accuser with himself.

And let us see whether this supposition of mine doth not better concur and agree with the very words of the Pope's answer, as this author feigneth them, than with his own bare and bald affirmation.

The contents (saith he) *of the Pope's letters to the Duke were that he allowed well of the motion and would write to the King of Spain to further the enterprise etc.* Which may be, and is most like to be, by honourable, by just and friendly means to treat with your Q. for the liberty of those noble personages, for their restitution to their estates, for your Q.[']s better account of her nobility, for her better knowing of those few base fellows that seduced her, and for less crediting them hereafter for the better consideration of her own honour and fame, for some indemnity for the Catholics of that realm to live out of schism in the unity of the church, as it is well known the Emperor Ferdinand, the French and Spanish Kings did long since treat with her for the same, & finally for some relief of money to supply their own necessary affairs whiles their own revenues are detained from them, or for such other like purpose which might be very well allowed of & commended by his Holiness, though he had no present money to spare for the cause alleged. And can it in reason be objected for a fault if the Q. for herself, or the Duke for her, had required succour of money for the relief of her faithful noble servants and subjects whiles both they and herself are so many ways injured and oppressed, and all their own wasted, burned, and detained from them?

Sinon's falsehood betrayeth himself.

Thus having reasoned awhile with this author as if the most part of his false affirmations had been true, we have left, I suppose, no material point in this accusation unanswered, nor no indifferent man unsatisfied. For his scoffs of *perniciem*, for *salutem*, and his graceless terms of *ungracious* for *gracious*, and suchlike, I account not worth the answering, holding few readers for so simple as that can be abused by so gross a rhetoric either to think the men the worse for so lewd a man's word, or to imagine the Duke's pernicious state to rise by mean of the Pope or Bishop, but that by these lewd devises, made to shift away the obloquy thereof from the authors of these libels that have so long persecuted them, doth plainly show to every wise man the guiltiness of their consciences that do see the fact so damnable that fain they would transfer the blame and bruit thereof from themselves unto the Pope and Bishop.

Sinon's sophistry.

And as lewd a sophistry useth he where he noteth that besides the letters (that he saith were sent and returned to and from the Duke and Q.), he joineth in both this term *others both to have sent and received etc.*, but in not expressing who, he plainly showeth himself to mean as before he did (in speaking of heads and conductors), that is to say, hereafter to devise who they shall be, and to charge whom he list *with being heads and conductors etc.*, *with sending of credit etc.*, and *receiving of letters from the Pope etc.*

I pass over here that the wise man forgetteth to have feigned some answer to have come from the King of Spain also, or from the Duke of Alva, whom *M. Fleetwood calleth one of the conspirators*. But he would belike either have the reader to think

that nation too proud & uncourteous to answer prisoners' letters, or else not having matter ready forged to feign to be written by the King or Duke of Alva (of whom it would not be believed to say they lack money), he was loath to come forth with any other particularity for being the more manifestly deprehended with a lie, which he forseeth to be more easy to do when he cometh to allege things certain and particular than while he lurketh in the confusion of general speches and terms.

The B. of Ross his fidelity.

Nor I will not detain thee longer in encountering this author's folly and malice against the Bishop of Ross, whose wisdom, constancy, and fidelity sufficiently commendeth him in the eyes and ears of all the world for so faithful a subject and so trusty a servant as hath been rarely found in this age, having not spared, in this time of his prince's oppression, with her to offer and commit his person and life to any travail or danger whatsoever.

A short show of the insufficiency of the accusation.

But let us for a word or two examine how unable and insufficient all this whole tale is, to defame two such noble, wise, and virtuous personages in the opinion of any man that hath wit or grace.

First, the libels are many that are put out to defame them.

2. The matters of the libels are general only and uncertain, & without those necessary particularities that are requisite to persuade credit.

3. They are laid out with such odious terms to engender fear, and to threaten ruin where nothing is, as plainly showeth either all the whole to be forged, or of a molehill a mountain to be made. For every man perceiveth that the chief purpose of these libels be to discredit those noble persons with the people, and to bring them into hatred and obloquy of the multitude. Which form of proceeding is known to every man of experience, or conversant in histories, to be the wonted entries and beginnings of all unlawful enterprises, and by no practice allowed (in your realm specially) where good matter hath served, and the cause would bear itself.

Ireland.

16. It was also by the devisers of these rebellions and invasions determined that the realm of Ireland should be assailed at the same time, thereby to weaken the Queen's Majesty's forces, or to divert them from defence of herself and her good subjects.

Lies forged against the King of Spain.

This lie, good reader, is not much unlike unto the last, saving that of the other he seemed able to feign some colour and pretence whereby to cover yet a little his falsehood and malice, but of this the honest man is able to devise none at all. And although he would craftily dissemble, & pass over the name of him by whom he meaneth *Ireland should be assailed*, yet may not I forbear to tell you plainly that he meaneth the King of Spain, whom by such forged devises they seek to defame, and to bring in hatred likewise.

And behold the impudency of these men, that albeit they did this summer last past object the same to the King himself by express letters, and were forthwith so answered thereunto that they had not to reply with any colour of reason or truth, yet now they shame not to come forth with the same again, and care not how oft they lie, how loud they lie, and will so prepare withal that they will not be told they lie, lest you should perceive when they lie.

And it is worth the noting how oft they rove in this manner at the King of Spain, sometime under the name of the Duke of Alva, of the Low Countries, of foreign forces, and by such other speeches as every man may see who they mean, and yet this crafty child thinketh it policy to hide & forbear his name, as well for that he wanteth that cover to cloak his lie withal towards the King (if he should have named him) that he found out for the Pope (for no man would have believed the excuse of want of money to have been pleaded by the King of Spain), as also because he would have a shifting and starting-hole ready to reply (with saying that he meant not the King) against any plain demonstration that should be made to show how falsely he belieth the King.

How plain a lie that affirmation is, time itself hath sufficiently showed, more than some years being passed since they pretended and said that they had discovered that intention in the King of Spain, though here the authors shroud themselves under obscure & uncertain terms such as shall admit no answer that may come to issue or trial. For *by the devisers* (saith he) *of this rebellion it was determined etc.* Now who were the devisers he hath not yet showed you; ergo, who determined this invasion of Ireland remaineth yet to be devised and named by the authors of the libels at their next contemplative leisure.

For who can deny that if there had been any such intention, either in the King of Spain or in any other prince, but that there have been for this ten years' day together many good times and apt opportunities to have executed the same by the sundry factions, seditions, & rebellions there moved yearly, & to this day maintained by and among themselves alone, not only without all aid and succour of one man, or any money at all, but also without all comfort and courage from any prince living, yea, without show of any word, any message, any letter, any ship, any boat, any captain, any soldier, any armour, or any penny ever demanded towards it that himself is able to allege, as shameless as he is.

Now draweth this author towards his conclusion, and having spent the most of his matters that he dare affirm, and thereby eased but little his stuffed stomach of that tough malice that lieth there congealed against the Queen chiefly, he cannot yet contain from lashing out some more vile and vain lies against her, some less likely than the rest, and others of no weight, though they were as true as they be false. And his own little reason yet serving him to see that few or none will believe him, he will not discredit his own reputation nor the honour of his author's with affirming these as he hath done the rest, but would that you should take some of these as credible reports, you wot not by whom, and some others as things that

**A lump of mo lies in
Sinon's breast.**

might be said, and may be said, rather than said yet, and belike hereafter shall be said, as crimes yet uncreated, and not made nor devised into their particular shape or form, but the confuse substance of them resting yet only in the breaths of the authors. For thus it followeth.

17. Now were it best to leave with these former branches, for it is credibly said that this tree of treason and rebellion hath a number of other branches of the very like nature, that is, in devising how the Scottish Queen should have been conveyed away, sometime by disguising, sometime by plain force and raising of rebellion, and so put to liberty and proclaimed Queen of England and Scotland, but to increase the error of her style, she should have been proclaimed King and Queen of England and Scotland.

It is not only now time, but it was high time that you had ended this lewd talk before you began it. But where you presuppose your former accusations to be so well set forth that upon them, as upon things believed, you think you may now proceed and persuade what you will besides, you shall find, I ween, few wise men carried away with that wrong rhetoric. The weight and consequence of the matter, the importance of the persons whom it toucheth, and the sequel of their credit or discredit importing the whole realm so much, it must be a very simple and weak-witted man that is led to believe you in anything that you have said yet.

The accusations overthrow themselves.

And now if he will limit his credit of that you are to say by the manifest falsehood of that you have said, then must you bring him some better proofs of your credible reports than you have hitherto done of your naked affirmations. For by that you have already said, it appeareth that whatsoever your own malicious invention can devise, whatsoever any traitor or spy corrupt with money can invent, whatsoever any known enemy list to forge or feign, whatsoever any lewd rascal or boy, never so base for flattery, can imagine, or whatsoever prisoner or poor soul for torment or for fear can be forced to say against the Queen and Duke, all is (for you) text, authority, and gospel enough to publish, persuade, & to preach upon, & at your mouths must be taken for credibly reported.

Sinon's text to write upon.

Yet see, good reader, the goodness of God, that hath suffered the devil and this limb of his so to be meshed and entangled in their own turn, & to overwhelm themselves so deeply in their own malice, that their judgement faileth them in discerning the error of their own pen. For minding to show now sundry other branches of the same tree of treason & rebellion (as he termeth it) that he beareth you in hand he hath showed you already, the first of these new branches which he putteth in the front (as it were) of his battle is so far from treason that it had been neither felony nor trespass if it had been executed as himself saith it was devised.

A treason made of no trespass.

For *the Q.*, saith he, *should have been conveyed away by disguising etc.* And had that been treason, trow you? What the lawyers of your own realm for fear or flattery will say, I am not very sure, but neither by your own (if your lawyers may say true), nor by any law of God or man upon earth besides, it were neither treason,

felony, trespass, nor other offence at all. And the practice hath been very frequent and fresh of sundry noble personages (justly imprisoned), some taken in wars, and some committed for crimes, who have won & procured their own liberty by lawful policies without note or touch of treason or offence. How much more then must her flight, that never was just prisoner, have been free from delict, and void of blemish or blame?

Sinon overshooteth himself in feigning one end of two contrary acts.

And now, good reader, mark the little reason that his tale carrieth in itself, and measure thy credit thereof, not after the boldness of the man's affirmation (who lacketh no more but the addition of his name to have showed himself shameless), but according to the likelihood of that he speaketh in common reason. Two means he saith were devised for her conveying away, the one *by disguising* & the other *by open force and rebellion*. And of both those he feigneth one end & sequel to be intended, that is to say, that she should have been *proclaimed Queen or King and Queen of both realms*.

Now consider that in this world there cannot be devised two ways and means unto one purpose more unlike, nor more repugnant each to other, than these two be that he hath here expressed. The one being the way that showeth all the fear, all the awe, all the reverence & loathness to offend that may be, the other all the stomach, all the revenge, & all contempt possible. Now how standeth it with common reason, and what likelihood is there that a person wise, constant, & discreet (which virtues her enemies deny not to be in her), without change of cause, without variety of occasion, and continuing still in one state, should meditate and determine two so repugnant and contrarious devises?

Unlike actions require unlike ends.

Again, the great difference & contrariety of these two divers ways of coming to her liberty, by all common reason and likelihood should require & bring forth two divers ends and unlike fruits, answerable to the differences of the means & ways leading thereunto. So as what style or title soever she might possibly have taken or written, if she had won the freedom of her person by open force and violence (which she never assayed, nor thought to do), yet is there no man, I ween, so senseless to think that if she had by art or other friendly or peaceable manner found or set herself at liberty, that she could have thought this style & title that he speaketh of to be commodious for her, or to tend to her security or quiet.

Where Sinon is judge, all is treason that he will have so.

And over this, weighing well that all these accusations of his rest and consist only in devises and devisings (for no least thing showeth he that was put in ure towards it), who wots but himself how largely this term of devising shall be stretched and racked where himself, being peerless in authority, must be also the judge? And if by the rest that we already see, it be lawful to divine of this, and if by and upon the apprehensions & imprisonments present, with the thick thundering out of so many treasons, rebellions, conspiracies (and I wot not what besides) that these libels do so terribly threaten and divulge, if by this we may conjecture the sequel to come, we must look for none other but that every imagination of the parties themselves, that naturally aspire to freedom and personal liberty, and every speech of

compassion between friends abroad lamenting the calamity and hard state of these princes, shall now be wrested and drawn to come within the compass of this man's devises and devisings, and so (if his word may be law) shall be made treason & rebellion.

For, for such (you see) he hath already published and condemned them, albeit himself confesseth they proceeded no farther than to devise only, & of their devising neither hath he any other proof or witness but his own bare & naked saying that it is credibly reported, & that without showing either to whom or by whom it is reported. So as the valour and credit of this accusation uttered only by a Robin Goodfellow I leave to thee, reader, to weigh and esteem.

The prince of Scotl.

18. It might be also reported how her son should have been stolen out of Scotland to be sent into Spain, with suchlike devises tending to move troubles in the realm, that was and yet is (thanked be God) quiet.

I will not long trouble thee, good reader, with the answer of this which he saith might be reported, lest perhaps he will say that he doth not affirm it to have been reported. His goodwill yet thou seest, that will leave nothing untold thee that himself deviseth, nor that is otherwise reported, no, nor yet that that might be reported, though it be not. Neither will I occupy both thy time & mine own in laying forth the folly & malice of these authors, who to persecute still these noble princes spare not to utter these frivolous speeches that have neither ground to lean on nor certainty in themselves.

The prince's safety (saith Sinon) is treason to England.

I shall therefore for the answer of this paragraph only pray thee to look a little into the mind & meaning of the authors thereof, & to tell me what it comprehendeth & implieth that an intention of removing the person of the prince of Scotland into Spain (if any such intent were) should be here accounted & brought in among the devises of treason to England, & of moving troubles unto that realm. If thou consider this point deeply, thou shalt smell and find out the stinking rat that lieth yet hidden between the bench and the wall. For little difference or none is there (if it be truly sifted) whether Spain or France had the person of that prince unless it be this, that through the great factions and civil seditions of the one, there may be some more hope of finding one mean or other to destroy him in France rather than in Spain.

And he that remembreth the wars of Leith in the year 1560, with the causes thereof then pretended & published in print, must plainly conclude that they that now would bear you in hand that the intention of sending the prince of Scotland into Spain were in effect treason, & tending to the trouble of England, must needs mean the sending of him into France to be much more prejudicial & more clearly to tend to the motion of troubles in your realm, the princes & countries of Spain being known to be the old allies unto the crown of England, & contrarily the other accounted the ancient enemies of the same. The treason therefore & troubles meant by these authors to be threatened to England by this intention (if any such had been) must needs rest and consist in removing the person of that young prince unto

the country or custody of any king that is like and able to save and defend him. For to remove him into England hath been, pardie, even by these authors chiefly so long sought, so many ways practised, so violently urged & pressed, that every man may see the travailers thereof would have that taken neither for treason nor trouble unto the realm.

But the mischievous machination and final end thereof, neither by your Queen (as I suppose) nor by few others is yet known, savoured, nor suspected. But plain it is that if the meaning thereof were for his security or advancement, this intention of sending him into Spain (if ever it had been thought) could not have been so offensive to these men as here (by betraying themselves unawares) they have confessed it to be. For how can it possibly be thought that the safety of the person and the advancement of the state of that infant that is the born heir to any crown can be treason, or tending to move troubles to that realm which himself shall in succession enjoy?

And they that have already procured the murder of his father, the expulsion of his mother out of her kingdom, the putting of his bastard uncle in possession of the same, the imprisonment of his mother's royal person for 5 years almost fully complete, the persecution unto death of all those that pity her state or wish it better, and finally that thus by open corruption of accusers, by subornation of false witnesses, by infinite numbers of nameless libels printed, do still follow and persecute both her honour & fame, & (as they may) disgrace her rights & disprove her titles to all her states with so many colourless lies, false slanders, odious crimes, and by wrested arguments against law to prepare & make ready the way to her final destruction, and that now in the end do pretend it to be treason and to threaten troubles to England if it had been meant to put his person for safety out of that country (where so many civil seditions and mutual murders for many years have been and yet are daily committed, raised, and renewed) into the hands of that King that is best able to defend him, that is the old confederate of the chiefest states which he is born to inherit, and that hath choice of daughters for years and otherwise meet to match with him -- can this (I say) be thought by any man that any wit hath to be meant by these fellows for the prince's safety and security? Nay, but by this you may plainly see that the authors of these libels have a far other mark and end in their eye than they have yet discovered.

19. And now it may be that some will say that many of these things are doubtful, and percase wrested in report, either by malice or by overmuch credulity. But truly in such credible sort are all the things above mentioned with sundry others to me reported to be very true by such as have cause to know them, and use not to report untruths, as I do boldly avow them to be true.

In this it appeareth that the author's inward & guilty conscience doth breathe out & bewray some part of the secrets of his own heart & knowledge that testifieth & telleth him how little credit wise men will give to all that he hath said. And if you mark his words well, you shall see that himself unawares doth not a little diminish

the credit of his own speech. For albeit he hath hitherto taken upon him flatly & firmly to affirm all the chief & principal matters to be true & known truths, as he termeth them, yet now here he cometh out & calleth all the matters aforementioned to be but credible reports. For they all came reported to him, he saith, *in such credible manner etc.* as that he doth boldly avow them to be true.

**His own refuge
convinceth him.**

Now how rotten a patch this is to botch up the hole withal I leave to the reader to judge. For what valour and weight the bare & naked avowing of an unknown sprite or hobgoblin amounteth unto, who seeth not, being grounded only upon the credit he hath in the reporters also unknown, whom he taketh for such men *as have cause to know the truth, and be not wont (he saith) to report lies.*

Until therefore that it shall please this Robin Goodfellow somewhat further to discover himself unto us in such force that we may first know the man, and then his wisdom, honesty, credit, and conscience to be such as that neither he will deceive nor can be deceived, till then, I say, his wisdom must pardon us that still we take them as we did before, for stark staring lies in effect every word he hath spoken.

**14 examples of notorious
lies published by
authority.**

And be yourself judge whether I have reason thus to say or no. For admitting that which is most likely, to wit, that they be this man's authors & reporters of these lies now that have been the authors and reporters of like lies here before, as for example:

1. That Newhaven was taken but to the use of the French King, as to save it from the house of Guise that meant to usurp it.
2. That the Duke of Guise was coming with great forces to conquer England.
3. That the Conde first and the Admiral since have in every battle prevailed against the French King.
4. That by your lottery in London no man should leese above two shillings & sixpence, and great numbers should win large sums.
5. That the Prince of Orange should drive the Duke of Alva out of Flanders.
6. That the King of Spain's money was taken but to save it from the French.
7. That the Duke of Alva hath been coming with great forces to conquer England.
8. That he and the Spanish ambassador were the causes of all the spoils & robberies done upon their own King's subjects.
9. That no pirates should be maintained in your ports.
10. That the Queen of Scotl. was with child by the Earl of Shrewsbury.

11. That a Portugal physician should have poisoned your Queen.

12. That London should have been burned by certain fellows taken with balls of wildfire about them.

13. That the King of Spain had poisoned his wife that now is.

14. That the Lords of Leicester and Burghley should have been killed by the procurement of the Spanish ambassador's steward, and infinite other suchlike devises & pretty stuff published among you and given out, some by print, some by great men's letters, and some by lewd men's mouths sent abroad with them of purpose to fill your people's ears and to move their affections as authority would have them -- admitting, I say, that those men that for these ten or twelve years past have been the authors and reporters of these and such other pretty devises were also this man's authors and reporters of this like stuff that he bringeth us now, then hath the author of this libel little gained, nor amended the credit of these his accusations, by telling us that they come from such mouths (and from mouths of greater authority they cannot come), but rather hath holpen me to the disproving of all that himself hath said by this allegation of such authors and reporters as have told so many things before, already discovered to be so great lies and manifestly false.

20. And if they shall be found otherwise, then it is likely that some of the Q. Majesty's Council will cause them to be reprehended who upon this my writing shall report them, and thereupon I will patiently suffer correction for my hasty credit. For it is most likely that such matters of estate as these are will not be suffered to be communicated without reprehension.

When this author wrote this, either he thought that none should come to see his book that by reading or practice had any understanding in worldly policy, or else, to blind & abuse the simpler sort (which are the greater number), he was content for the prejudice of these noble princes to lay shame aside, and willingly to yield himself by the wiser sort (that are the fewer in number) to be accounted both false, foolish, and malicious without measure.

For his reason brought forth in this paragraph (whereby he would prove and bear the readers in hand that it is likely *that some of the Council would reprehend the reporters of these matters if they were not true*) is as poor a clout to patch up the hole as the other was before, and the plain contrary over-well known to be the likeliest thing that may be, according to that was told you at first: lies must ever be maintained by lying.

Some of the Council be the chief authors of the libel.

For by his own words not six lines before, if you have marked them, it is probably gathered, and by his other words within twenty lines following, manifestly proved, that of the Council they be of whom this man hath received his informations & instructions, if not *immediate* at their own mouths, yet by such means as he is

assured that the matter cometh from some of that authority. For he said (if you remember) *that he received the reports by such as had cause to know the matters, and use not to report untruths.*

Which joined and laid together with his present words that call these matters *matters of state*, and with the last words of his book that do affirm *the Lords of the Council in the Star Chamber to have said to the Mayor and his brethren the same in effect that himself hath said here*, these speeches of his, I say, being laid together, do plainly convince him of a false & crafty dissimulation in pretending here as though the Council were so little of his counsel in writing of these that they would reprove him if he had written untruly, whereas he being indeed set a-work by some of them to write as he hath done, what likelihood is there of any reprehension by them for whatsoever he hath written, being by consent or commandment of some of themselves?

For proof whereof, to whom (I pray you) are *matters of state* orderly discovered but first to the councillors, and after by them to such others as they think meet to divulge them abroad?

Then this man's reporters being such as did know these matters of state, what other can they be but either some councillors themselves or such others as in those matters they have made councillors for the time?

Again, they being such as use not to tell untruths must needs insinuate that they be persons of more than common authority. For upon mean men's mouths there is no such warrant to be made by any wise man.

Plain proofs that some of the Council be authors of all the slanderous railing books.

Add unto this the small likelihood that either the writer or printer of this lewd libel (that seem to be persons but of base vocation) would or durst endanger themselves with publishing such matters of state and of such importance if they were not sure of good authority to back them, in this time specially, when the searches are so straight & the penalty so sharp for any least thing uttered by writing, printing, or by word otherwise than authority would.

Again, behold how long it is since the first of these libels have been in print commonly sold, how daily new and mo do freshly come forth to confirm the former, how all come without name of maker, printer, or privilege, or perused according to your own constitutions, & all sold without controlment, and with what severity likewise all books, all writings, yea, all speeches and words that might answer the same or show you any truth be forbidden, holden, and kept back from you, yea, and your own ears and mouths locked and shut up mutually among yourselves from speaking or hearing of anything contrary to that that these libels give out.

Lastly, join unto this the known experience testified by stories for time past, and witnessed still by daily practice, that there never wanteth in any commonweal such petit odd fellows as this Scogan R.G. is, that are ready always by words or by

writing to blaze and set forth whatsoever any persons of authority would have for the time spread & believed among the vulgar sort, yea, many times without the knowledge or consent of the chief prince or magistrate, as most of these are, I verily believe.

And these points now laid together & well considered, hath not this wise man said much, trow ye, for the credit of these his slanderous lies by bearing you in hand *that some of the Council would reprove his report if it were not true*, when himself (you see) by the very process of his matter hath unwittingly discovered that some of that authority were his authors and reporters, and common practice hath testified that some of great credit are always setters of such botchers a-work?

And by this be thyself judge (reader) what a Scogan this is, that (having hitherto borne thee in hand that the principal cause of his writing was for fear lest seditious mouths would make false and slanderous reports to serve the appetites of the evil disposed) doth now plainly show himself here to be the chief soother of some in authority, & the seditious slanderer of the principal persons among your people, to serve the appetites of some of so great credit as know the secrets of state matters, and be no more seldom wont to lie than wicked sprites be wont to say true.

But then he goeth forth and saith:

21. On the other side, if they be true as I have reported, and yet not fully enough reported, then time will shortly enlarge and confirm them when her Majesty shall cause the parties now imprisoned to answer openly thereto by order of her laws, as there is no doubt she will observe to all manner of subjects that course that hitherto she hath done etc.

Nay, good sir, that shift will not serve you neither, to win credit to those your incredible lies. For whoso beholdeth the precedents past of unjust convictions and attainders passed among you shall see that a form & apparence of orderly proceeding by law sufficeth not always to make the sentence perfect in every part. The lamentable memory of the unjust overthrow of many noble families of your realm is yet so fresh and new that few now (being of mature years) can be ignorant of them. Of whom if I should here give you the several names and causes pretended against them, these authors (I dare say) would (for many of them) agree and say with me that they were unworthily condemned, though they wanted not a show of conviction by law. And though they would not for stubbornness grant me so much, yet will the late restitutions made by Queen Mary of so many noble families so amply testify all crimes given in evidence against prisoners not to be always neither so grievous in nature nor so sufficiently proved as the condemnation of the person doth sometime seem to infer, that it were here both vain and lost labour, and might be also offensive, to use any particular nomination of them.

And take me not here, good reader, to condemn or disallow your laws, your judges, nor your ordinary form of proceeding in those cases, but that I confess and grant

Good laws are abused by man's malice.

Law hath oft his course,
and yet the party wrong.

them to be as civil, as politic, as well ministered and executed, and as seldom to err, as commonly the laws of any other countries. But often it happeneth everywhere, & namely among you it hath chanced also, that by the wants and defects either of the party accused (that sometime is not able to answer for himself with that advantage that his cause doth allow him), or by some error in the inferior ministers (that to satisfy authority do sometimes make great show of small things), or by the error of the prince (that is sometimes inveigled to think worse of his subject than he hath deserved), or by the plain malice of some in authority (that for some practice or revenge do sometimes procure and suborn false accusations to be forged & testified) -- by these means, I say, & by many other suchlike, it happeneth often that the law hath his due course and form of orderly proceeding in such sort as the ordinary ministers (being innocent of the malice and fraud) have not to answer to God nor man for any injustice, and yet the party condemned hath plain injury and wrong.

And therefore whatsoever shadow or show the face of orderly proceeding in these matters may fortune to give, yet shall these vile lies and forged slanders be never the truer, the more confirmed, nor the better believed by any wise or honest man, since there are so many ways and means how evil men may and often do, by art and fraud, abuse & pervert the name & authority of justice and law, specially where there is ministered beforehand unto every man so many manifest occasions of suspicion, yea, and plain proof of false dealing, as in these cases are seen. For who can look for any upright trial or sincere proceeding towards those parties against whom are used beforehand such unwonted and extraordinary practices to slander, to defame and belie them, and to bring them into hatred and discredit, as never hath been used against known and guilty offenders?

And over this, mark well, good reader, how God hath permitted the author of this libel in these words (unwares, I dare say) to show himself either so foolish that no wise man ought to believe him or so false that no honest man can credit him in none of all these matters heretofore reported by him. Remembering therefore that in the nineteenth article he told you *that all these matters came to him so credibly reported etc.*, and speaking still of all, here he telleth you *that he hath not fully enough reported them*, in this, I say, mark you well what he confesseth against himself.

If he have not *fully enough reported the matters* that he hath spoken of, it must be granted that his reports of them do want some part requisite for a report, either in respect of the thing reported, or in regard of them to whom the report is made. If the defect therefore be in respect of the persons to whom he writeth, that is to say, that his reports are in such manner laid forth as are not fully enough to make his readers perceive his meaning, then you see his gross folly and lack of wit to utter his mind fully enough.

It if be (as all men's writings are) fully enough for some, but not fully enough for all, then you see his gross folly that calleth this not fully enough, which is fully

enough as commonly any man's writings are. For never man wrote so fully, ye wot, as could satisfy every man. If the defect be (as I plainly conclude it is, and you have seen proved) in the nature of the thing itself, that is to say, that his reports do lack those necessary parts that a report ought to have, as truth & certainty of the matters reported, and a good warrant & foundation for the reporter to speak upon, then may you see his falsehood & malice more than fully enough.

Once granted it is by himself that fully enough they are not reported (and a report never so brief containing truth, matter certain, and having a lawful author, is sufficient enough for the common number of wise and honest men, for no man is bound further to enlarge his report than truth & certainty doth require, nor to satisfy every man), these words of his own then, you see, do plainly convince and conclude that either these reports be all false, uncertain, and ill grounded in more or in less, and then playeth he the very daw(?) (to think and say here that they are not yet fully enough reported which you have seen proved to be too much by altogether), or else the very sot, to call that not fully enough reported that is fully enough for the purpose it is uttered for, and every way more than fully enough, being false in every part.

Since I wrote this I am the more emboldened to think all these things true for that this present day the Lord Mayor of the city of London with a number of his brethren were at the Star Chamber with the Q. Majesty's Council, where I understood by the report of some of them that heard what was said by the Council to them concerning the present case of the Duke of Norf. that the substance of all that is by me before reported is very true, with much more etc.

This author having now eased somewhat his loaden stomach towards these princes by uttering of these unsavoury and filthy forged lies to their infamy & confusion (as he hopeth) is come at length to the end & conclusion of his spiteful poisoned pamphlet, for whose credit he leaveth no way unassayed.

For having uttered those arguments and reasons that he hoped might induce the multitude to believe him, yet his own guilty conscience doth put him in fear (you see) lest his falsehood should be too easy to be discovered, & therefore he fleeth now at last (as you may perceive) & craveth refuge of the wing of authority. Whose own words yet (if you mark them well) do plainly show that himself hath but even scant credit in them, how often soever he hath affirmed and repeated them *to be known, and well known, and credibly reported etc.*

The writer believed not the accusations when he wrote them.

For in this paragraph, rehearsing that by the relation of the Lords in the Star Chamber made after this libel was written he was the more emboldened to believe them, he showeth that his own belief of them was but weak when he wrote them, and fearing lest other men would believe them as weakly as himself, he shifted to this shore, which (God wot) is too weak to uphold him in the judgement & consideration of them that either be of experience or have been conversant in histories, which are full of such orations, declamations, protestations, &

persuasions made in such public places and presences, pretending to the people a terror of one mischief neither looked for nor thought on, thereby to cover another and far greater not ripe to be revealed.

**Unwonted proceeding
discrediteth the matter.**

Peruse your own stories of King Richard the Third his usurpation of the crown and murdering of his brother's children, with divers other unlawful attempts that have passed in that realm when one hath intended to compass the displacing of another from his dignity and state. And behold the sundry smooth tales that for contriving thereof have been publicly told both in the Star and Chequer chambers, in the Guildhall, and in other great presences, and thereby shall you see not only that this authority helpeth nothing the credit of these lewd lies, but rather, contrarily, that the extraordinary publishing of them in such places doth give manifest suspicion and diminish their credit. Suspicion, I say, of a far fouler thing to be intended & at hand, and showeth evidently that in the matter uttered and pretended there is little truth, or rather none at all.

**This slanderous form of
proceeding against them
discovereth an intention
of their destruction.**

For short and plain proof whereof (if anything may suffice to prove it unto thee), resort but unto this. Did either the Queen or Duke, when they were free in their own dominions, by any least act attempt the disturbance of your Q. or no? If they did, show it. If they did not, then proceed. Is the Q. of Scotl. expelled out of her state or no? Thou seest she is. Was James the Bastard set up to usurp her dominion in the infant's name or no? He was. Was Lennox after him, and Mar after Lennox, sent & suborned to do the same or no? It cannot be denied. Were they all three with pensions from England, with ready money, with forces of men & munition, procured, encouraged, & maintained therein or no? It is well known to be so. Had the Q. of Scotland by James his commandment been murdered in Lochleven if your Q. had not letted it or no? Your Q. & her Catilines can tell, and this libel in one place insinuateth no less. Did James the Bastard determine to murder the infant prince or no? Let the Lords of Grange and Hume yet living testify, unto whom James moved the matter when they were of his party, and who for that cause desisted from him and left his faction. Are both the persons of the Q. of Scotland and the Duke of Northfolk detained close prisoners by your Queen's name and authority and in the hands of hers, or no? Their presence among you showeth. Hath the one been so for four years almost, and the other for two years full, before these forged treasons were surmised against them, or no? Let the dates of their several imprisonments be conferred with the date of this libel, and let that speak. Have they had good mean in prison to molest your Queen's quietness, that found none when they were free? Let common intendment be judge. Or if any had been offered them is it likely they would attempt it whiles they were close prisoners and their lives stood upon it? Let their known wisdoms, and common presumption, speak.

This then being their present estates, unknown to no man, behold now what these public & extraordinary speeches in the Star Chamber & Guildhall, before such assemblies, & these unwonted libels published in print to defame and accuse them of conspiring rebellions, of inducing strangers, of sacking London, and of

competency with your Q. for her crown, behold, I say, what this must infer and doth imply. Is any man so gross of capacity that he seeth not whereunto it tendeth?

If the ill fame of every common prisoner be a shrewd evidence unto his jury, and a mean to further him towards the gallows, what must this purposed & prepensed defamation of these princes in prison promise and portend?

I conclude therefore that these Star Chamber talks and Guildhall orations do so little advance the credit of those slanderous lies that to every wise man (that considereth by the stories what have been the sequels of such unwonted actions) they manifestly convince them to be forged and feigned, and do bring withal pregnant suspicion of a further desperate intention to be hidden and covered therein.

And now, good reader, consider well, I beseech thee, what thou hast heard and seen on both sides. Weigh the difference between words and deeds, and keep the eyes of thy mind firmly fastened rather upon the truth, the reason, the proofs & likelihoods of that which is said by mine adversary or me than upon the boldness of the affirmation, the authority of the speaker, or the first face of the ends and sequels that may fortune to ensue. For it is to be presumed that persons in authority, having thus far intruded themselves into so public and important a tragedy, will not take a foil in their own imagination, whose blood soever it cost therefore.

Authority will take no foil, whosoever smart therefore.

The number of the prisoners, you know, is great, and therefore great difference of natures like to be found among them, some weaker than others, and one subject to that whereof another is free. Authority carrieth in her hand (as it were) all hope and fear, all pain and reward. Such as cannot be won by fear nor pain may yet be seduced by flattery or gain. Torments have been tried, as the voice goeth, and subornations shall not want, as hath been well proved. False acts and treachery to deceive the simple and plain have been so frequently practised with persons of less importance, that among these no man can look for less.

There are many ways of corrupt proceeding.

Hard it were, therefore, if among so great a number none should be found that by pain or fear, by hope or by favour, by flattery or simplicity, have been seduced, allured, nor constrained to say this or that of himself or of others. The malice borne towards them is evident, the crimes objected against them obscure and not likely. I have good reason therefore to speak in their defence whiles nothing is passed that convinceth them, nor nothing proved that bindeth me to think them guilty.

It is possible that hereafter some of them may be condemned in form of law. For where such arts have been used to slander and entrap them, no less can be looked for. And yet that ought not in reason to minish the credit of that I have said, having hitherto said no further for them than as mine adversary's false accusations in defence of the truth hitherto known have moved and drawn me. Which consisting in hearsays, reports, and in the bare words of an unknown author, I have answered

with facts, with reasons, and probable consequences, that give to themselves more credit & authority than any man's name that could be put unto them.

And if the Duke shall fortune hereafter upon any other matter here not touched, or upon the same enforced above the just desert (as sometime it happeneth), or through the subtle practice and malice of his enemies (as to his noble father and grandfather it chanced) to be by verdict or Parliament found otherwise than I here defend him to be, acknowledge thou the true ground and cause thereof to be (as indeed it is) the merciful hand and visitation of God now laid upon him as then it was upon them, not for the causes pretended against the one nor the other (in the sight of God, that seeth all truth), not for the breach, I mean, of their allegiances against their several sovereigns (to whom in all loyalty & affection never were they, nor this, found inferior to any), but rather contrarily for their overmuch adoring of the same, for making their earthly princes their gods in this world. He his Q. Elizabeth and they their King Henry, whom (it may be presumed) they loved, feared, and served more jealously than they did their King and Creator of heaven and earth, not sticking, for satisfying the one, to offend the other. They by conforming themselves (for pleasing their King) to his inordinate appetite and affection someway that might be remembered, namely of his intrusion into the spiritual primacy, which never Christian king attempted before him. And this, by conforming himself (for pleasing of her) to be made a principal instrument in her creation of a feminine primacy in the church of God, which never Christian Q. attempted before her.

And for which whosoever shall acknowledge the wonderful wisdom of God to have provided that that King her father, and this Q. his daughter, should render and yield one like payment and reward to this grandfather, father, and son, for a manifest and merciful admonition of themselves principally (to show them their own error for their reformation), and of all others that may take benefit of their example, shall make a fruitful and profitable construction thereof, and the same I doubt not that God's grace shall move this Duke to make to himself, to his own great comfort for the time he hath to live here, and to his eternal felicity afterward.

 The Second Part.

And having now answered all the cruel accusations of this libel is such sort as whoso hath either honesty, wit, or grace, & may be suffered to read it, shall find himself, I trust, amply satisfied therewith, & shall plainly enough see the deadly malice and impudent vanity of them, to clear yet the same the more evidently to all sights, and to show the innocency of those noble princes more eminently than the sun at noondays by unbuckling & lifting up (as it were) the vizards and veils of these Machiavel Catilines, that like Robin Goodfellows would walk unseen and abuse the world with idle fears whiles themselves might freely finish their determined mischiefs, I shall now (as in the beginning I promised) somewhat open and touch unto you the very true grounds and causes why all these false accusations, slanderous surmises, and colourless lies are so impudently forged, feigned, and laid out to the world.

The accusers' treason the cause of all the false accusations.

The mark and final end whereof is to your realm the most dangerous treason that can be imagined to any commonweal, and the plats and practices used to bring the same to pass do likewise contain as monstrous, as unnatural, & as dangerous treasons against your prince as can be devised, and are already so far set forward, and so many of them put in ure, that the end and intention beginning by them to break out (to some of deep insight) more soon than the contrivers would have it, these false fears are therefore like flashes of lightning terribly thundered out unto you to abuse your Q., to blind your people, and to deceive the world by making you all to fix your eyes and minds upon those feigned fantasies, and thereby not only to hold you from espying and considering the treasons that are indeed every day under the name of good service committed among you, but also finely by those pretences to remove and weed away those principal persons that they foresee like to be impediments to their final intention which (as the devisers think) remaineth yet secret in the heads and hearts only of themselves, being those two that by other men's pens do persecute these princes as the principal objects likely to frustrate their pestilent purpose.

Treasons pretended in one to cover treason in another.

And because it is not commonly seen that one traitor accuseth and persecuteth another, but that such do defend and maintain each other, if I shall now show and open unto you that these two English Catilines (whom all you know to be the principal persecutors of these princes, and the privy publishers of these pamphlets) are themselves the chief offenders indeed, guilty and culpable of those crimes of which they accuse the other, and of greater also, if greater may be, it shall serve, I suppose, to good purpose (besides the declaration of the innocency of these noble persons) for your prince and nobility. Whereby they may see, and in time provide for, the prevention of the terrible treason finally intended against them both, and the whole realm, and may serve also to admonish your Q. not over-long to endure those practices of abusion of herself, lest they shall be so far run before she resist them that the canker grown of them may be incurable.

The accuser convinced half cleareth the accused.

And when I shall have proved and made plain unto you that these two Machiavels for their own private advancement have practised and do daily contrive, not only

It is treason to wrest the crown for private ambition.

the wresting & diverting of your crown from that course, race, and line in which the laws of your country (concurring with all laws of nature and nations) have established and settled it, but also for the same private avarice & ambition of their own have circumvented your Queen, endangered her state, stained her honour, oppressed her people, impoverished the realm, and procured infinite perils to depend over the same, if they be not in time prevented, for preference only of their own private policy -- when this, I say, shall be proved unto you, I shall then leave the determination of the weight & quality of those crimes to your Queen's consideration, and to the judgement of your lawyers, and shall thereunto conform mine own opinion, howsoever I term them here for the time.

The less perceived, the more dangerous is the treason.

And forasmuch as it were somewhat absurd to think that treason lighter & less odious that (being covered with the title of service and affection) is not mistrusted, espied, nor provided for than that which, being open and apparent, may be resisted and defended, I have thought it meet not to pretermitt some brief insinuation of a few of those infinite circumventions and abusions by which your prince hath been already deceived to her own detriment & prejudice under those titles of duty and service, for serving indeed the private turns of those two Machiavellians who (not all unlike to Ulysses & Sinon, the Greeks), to make themselves & their faction lords of your new Troy, have forged a new faction fraught as full of mischievous meanings to your Priam now as ever was the bulk of their wooden horse to the Trojans then. And that done, I shall turn to touch a little the festered carbuncle that lieth yet unperceived, rankling in the hearts and breasts of those conjurators.

The quiet entry of Q. Elizabeth to her crown.

No man will deny, I suppose, that at the death of Q. Mary the face and authority of that realm being wholly Catholic, and all the government, treasures, and forces thereof resting in the hands, order, & direction of the Catholics alone, their party also being infinitely the mightiest and strongest for number, for wealth, for credit, for force, & every other way, and the party Protestant so base and low that few or none appeared to be of that faction, your Q. was then with as great honour, quietness, & uniformity of mind by all sorts brought unto her crown, settled & established in her royal seat, & with as great assuredness as ever came any of her progenitors to the same.

Surety in that she found, and danger in the change.

That she found also the whole face of the commonwealth settled & acquieted in the ancient religion in which & by which all Kings and Q.[s] of that realm, from as long almost before the Conquest as the Conquest was before her time, had lived, reigned, & maintained their states, & the terrible correction of those few that swerved from it so notorious as no man could be ignorant of it. As King John, without error in religion, for contempt only of the see apostolic, plagued with the loss of his state till he reconciled himself and acknowledged to hold his crown of the Pope; King Henry the VIII likewise, with finding no end of heading & hanging till (with the note of tyranny for wasting his nobility) he had headed him also that procured him to it. And then sought his reconciliation, & had obtained it if death had not prevented him. The two dukes also of Somerset & Northumberland (though not in name, yet kings in effect for their short times), with their own lamentable ruins by contending to pass that unpassable bottomless gulf that findeth

King John.

King Henry the Eighth.

**D. Somerset.
D. Northumberland.**

no shelf nor shore, but either their own infamous death by the way that attempt it, or infidelity, barbarism, and Turkish slavery to their country in short time following, as Afric, Greece, Boheme & Hungary have tasted & do testify.

That she found likewise all the great princes and countries adjoining unto her, as Spain, France, Flanders and Scotl. in the same religion settled and united with her, and she with them, as children all of one mother, the Catholic church, by professing one faith and one form of religion, which carrieth with it an amity of such force and effect (as experience teacheth) that where the religions are divers the friendship is weak, and continueth neither long nor firm.

That then she stood free and indifferent to make her own choice without prejudice to herself to be served by all her subjects equally, and was by no fear of any detriment to herself tied to any, nor forced to use one more than another, but as their abilities deserved and as her pleasure was to choose.

Again that being in this manner freely entered and quietly possessed in her seat by the death of her sister, the chief of these two Machiavellians, then of mean state and out of credit, whose ambition endured not to abide the time of her calling, intruded himself by preoccupation into her presence and service some few days before the death of her sister, & (to win credit of wisdom) suggested unto her certain false fears and colourless suspicions against the chief of her sister's Council, and thereby obtained favour, and finding that he had a young lady in hand that was unexpert in matters of state, of a deep wit and timorous nature and thereby easily made suspicious, soon circumvented by them that could cunningly abuse her, conformable to them that she trusted, and that promised, with security, her ease and disburdening of the care of her weighty affairs, he induced forthwith a confederate of his own (by birth more base than himself, nearly yet allied unto him, & in heresy more fervent than he) into such credit and confidence at first that forthwith was removed the most upright prelate and incorrupt judge of Europe to advance this second Sinon, the most known briber of all the isle of Britany, to give him the chief place and dignity of that realm under herself.

**Fleck, intruding himself,
bringeth in his mate.**

This being then the state and condition in which your prince, a young lady and sole virgin, without help of husband, entered & was settled in her crown and dominion, & took to her service this couple of councillors, I shall now show you (following the metaphors of mine adversaries) for their imaginative tree that no man can see, a stinking tree of treasons planted indeed, with some of the crooked branches & unsavoury fruits that it hath already spread & brought forth. And bewray I shall also the hen that hath laid mo eggs than a few both in the north and in the south, in the west and east parts, & in every corner throughout your realm, of treasons that stand not (as mine adversary's pretended treasons do) in sayings, surmises, devises, and reports, but in doings, in facts, and in common known actions, of which no man justly shall plead ignorance.

The Q.[‘s] circumvention.

Your Q. therefore resting & reposing herself (now beginning to reign) chiefly upon the confidence and counsel of these two new brooms newly brought in, & sweeping all clean, as they seemed, you will not deny, I suppose, but that she was wrought & seduced (against her own affection then, & against the advice both of her nobility & faithful oldest servants), forthwith to intrude into the spiritual dominion, and to usurp to herself the chief ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to change the religion both in substance and show, to set up a new party & faction, with the rejection of the former that she found, & so consequently from time to time after to prosecute & follow the same then begun by whatsoever else appertained thereunto, and was by those two thought meet for the maintenance thereof.

Womanish primacy is the tree, and Sinon the hen.

And this is it that I call the stem, the stock, & body of the tree of treasons, that spreadeth & bringeth forth the branches & fruits of which I shall hereafter entreat, in which stem & trunk (being rotten at heart, hollow within, & without sound substance) hath our spiteful pullet laid her ungracious eggs mo than a few, & there hath hatched sundry of them, and brought forth chickens of her own feather, I warrant you. A hen I call him, as well for his cackling, ready, & smooth tongue, wherein he giveth place to none, as for his deep & subtle art in hiding his serpentine eggs from common men’s sight, & chiefly for his hennish heart & courage, which twice already hath been well proved to be as base & deject at the sight of any storm of adverse fortune as ever was hen’s heart at the sight of a fox. And had he not been by his confederate, as with a dunghill cock, trodden as it were, and gotten with egg, I doubt whether ever his hennish heart joined to his shrewd wit would have served him so soon to put the Q.[‘s] green and tender state in so manifest peril and adventure.

And that thus she was induced to do without cause or need for her own part, let it be considered that neither the Pope, nor other prince, papistical subject, nor none else at home nor abroad had any way attempted any least practice against her, neither for her succession before she came to the crown to unquiet her entry when she should come to it, nor to disturb her when she was in it, nor no least murmur, grudge, nor want of satisfaction found in any of her people that might give colour or shadow of fear or mistrust.

The Q.[‘s] pillars in the old religion.

And withal let it be remembered that to uphold and maintain her in the course and trade of the old religion of her progenitors which she found established (against any attempt of heretics that by example of her sister’s molestations might be mistrusted), she found assured and had in a readiness both the same people at home & the same princes abroad that even then lately and freshly had miraculously (it must be so confessed) recovered and wrung it out of the jaws, as it were, & power of the heretics that before by tyranny possessed and oppressed it, and that with an evident demonstration of God’s special favour and allowance of that religion.

Q. Mary called to the crown for religion’s sake.

For since it cannot be denied (by them that in their hearts acknowledge any God) but that God more respecteth the right religion, the true faith, & the soul of man that he doth the earth of the country, the bodies of the people, or their lay and civil governance, law also & reason telling us that the chief intention of every act must

be presumed and deemed to be for the principal sequels and effects that follow it, and every man seeing that the chief & most effectual consequence of Q. Mary's miraculous coming to the crown was the restitution of the old religion, it must necessarily be concluded that more for the religion's sake than either for herself or her people she was by God's mighty & miraculous power brought unto her crown.

Well, the religion notwithstanding being altered as you have heard, we are now first to see & search out some of the fine devises (for all no man knoweth but herself, nor she can now remember) used by these two Sinons to draw and invite her to the change thereof, then to consider of the truth & untruth of the persuasions, and after to examine who gained and made most profit of the same. But the persuasions passing in secret between her & them, I can therefore come to know but few of them, & may thereby perhaps not speak of the chiefest, of those, I mean, that contained the subtlest and deepest hidden circumventions of all the rest. Nevertheless those that I shall here speak of (being such as are publicly known) shall suffice, I trust, to induce your Queen's memory to remember many mo, and her wisdom to discern the fraudulent acts by which she hath been abused.

The five false arts used to draw her to the change.

1. And for the first of them I put this, that by persuading her falsely that the most reverend prelate Cardinal Pole (being for learning and virtue the light and star of your nation) with divers of Q. Mary's Council had made in her time certain assemblies and conferences about this Q.[s] deprivation, which was never thought on, they wrought & won her to hold all that old Council suspected, and to remove them all, one & other, saving three or four of the noblest by birth (whom partly for fear and partly to countenance them that had no countenance of their own) they kept as signs without substance, for any authority they had. And by this they two became chief governors of the affairs, put themselves in possession of the chiefest offices of the realm, and had authority to dispose the rest at their devotion.
2. By bearing her falsely in hand that the Catholics of her realm were not to be trusted as persons not satisfied in the question of her mother's marriage, they obtained the alteration of religion, the vacation of the bishoprics & spiritual promotions to feed themselves and the base rabble they brought with them, and the erection of a new party Protestant whereof themselves might be the heads.
3. By persuading her falsely that her state at home was not secure, that the King of Spain aspired to her crown, and by promising her the recovery of Calais by another mean, they seduced her rather to give over that town, which then might have been had, than to be beholden to the King of Spain for anything, & made her believe that her gain should be the greater with the loss of that town to establish her new party and faction at home against the dangers of her state (whereof they seemed to stand in fear) than with the recovery of that town to continue the regiment and religion in which she found it. For the dishonour of the lack of that town should redound (said they) to the Queen her sister, the recovery of it now should redound more to the King of Spain's honour than to her own, and the recovery of it hereafter (whereof they assured her) should be to her own glory, and no man's else.

4.

By pretending all mildness in religion, and that they meant not to constrain any man's conscience that would live quietly, were he never so Catholic, they obtained of her (against her own affection) the pretended establishment of the schism by Parliament, and penalties to be put, by colour of law, upon cases of religion. The performance and true meaning whereof every man now seeth and feeleth either by himself or by some friend of his. For what family is there found among you so mean as hath not had some of his kindred, alliance, friends, or servants called by letters, vexed with process, arrested by officers, polled by keepers, convented by commissioners, fined, imprisoned, entangled by bands, publicly arraigned, or forced to flee, and one way or other impoverished, to the notorious decay of himself and all his, for hearing Mass, for not coming to Communion, for refusing their oath, for absence from schismatical sermons & service, or for but speaking in defence of the Catholic faith?

As the first serpent tempted with ambition the first maiden Eve to eat of the forbidden apple by telling her that she should thereby be made like unto God by knowing good and ill, even so did these serpents tempt this virgin by a like motion to intrude & entangle herself in the ecclesiastical ministry by telling & assuring her that if she would begin it, & give the precedent, all the princes her neighbours would follow her therein for the spoil and gain that went annexed therewith. Whose example nevertheless no prince can yet be found that will imitate or embrace.

13 fruits of that tree,
bitter to your Queen and
realm.

Now when they had by these arts & devises, & by other mo like, not so publicly known, wrought her and brought her to this intrusion of herself into the spiritual regiment & change of religion, let us consider a little (before we proceed to the rest) what the same carried & comprehended in itself, what branches, I mean, this hollow trunk & tree hath uttered & spread forth, & what difference of fruits your Q. & her Catilines have gathered thereof.

1.

In that went necessarily included the separation of herself from the unity and amity of the see apostolic, and the making of the same a new enemy which always had been an old friend to her state and crown, who being a state absolute that can never die nor leave his heir an infant, and being of such account with all princes that profess Christ's name that whoso hateth most his office is yet glad of his friendship, the rash renouncing of the amity thereof may more import her than all the English sect of Sinon can profit or avail her.

In that went away the ministry and service of all the bishops and principal clergy of her realm, & of infinite numbers of the gravest also of the lay nobility, of whose service she deprived herself by presuming to the spiritual pre-eminence, in which such as were careful of conscience and fearful to offend would bear no function, but with any temporal loss did choose to yield their ministry in the commonwealth to them that would take it. Whereof ensued the necessary supplying of those places with them that were greedy & hungry of living & credit, whereof before they had neither of both, & the smart thereof every man feeleth, though few perceive from whence it cometh. By that a contention & pique was put between the two

obediencies that every of her Catholic subjects oweth, the one to God, the other to her, whiles those two authorities did so severely exact direct contrary things, the one upon pain of eternal damnation, the other upon loss of present life. Which was an intolerable clog to every Christian conscience, and must therefore needs engender some decay of the fervent affection that the Catholics had towards her, who were then the strongest and her most assured party.

4. In that, & not till then, went away the hope of the recovery of Calais, which till then could not be said to be lost because the wars remained open as well for it as for the rest, which was a more necessary ornament for that crown than these Catilines seem to account it.
5. In that alone went also contained a division of herself (in a sort) from all the other princes her neighbours of Italy, Spain, France, Flanders & Scotland, yea, & of Germany too, in such form as it was, whereby she (whose progenitors were wont by one line to draw with the other princes, their peers, their equals, & confederates) hath now apated herself from them all, draweth by another, yea, by a contrary line against them all. She receiveth that they reject, she planteth that they grub up, she maintaineth that they repress, and contemneth that they adore. And how can this possibly stand and concur with that hearty amity that assureth princes in their states? Or can it be denied that every prince is not the stronger for the faithful friendship of his confederates? Or were her progenitors forced (for their own safety) to seek those foul shifts that have in her name and behalf been sought out in every country about her? The practices used to uphold the enterprise hitherto do make plain demonstration of short continuance of such amity.
6. In that was also contained a general change of the whole face of her commonwealth, the discrediting, the abasement, and the impoverishing of all, in more or less, whom she found established in credit, authority, & governance, and likewise the advancement of the inferior and base sort to dominion and rule.
7. In that went comprehended her great infamy and dishonour, as by all foreign nations presently, and by all perpetual histories at home & abroad (more for these men's fault than for her own) to be accounted, called, written, and recorded by those odious terms and reproachful epithets that persons condemned for heresy & schism have been wont to bear, and with the scornful nicknames of a she-head, a breechless head, and a dumb head of the church by St. Paul's prescription, to the manifest diminution of that reverend estimation that is due to her by parentage as a King's daughter, by dignity as a Q., and by profession as a Christian.
8. In that was the seed sown and the foundation laid whereupon inevitably must ensue her excommunication if she persisted. The weight of which yoke I leave to be considered by the histories and precedents of times past, yea, and by their own startling, storming, & raging thereat, that seem unto her most to condemn and to make least of it.
9. In that went included her violent union with her two Machiavellians, to whom from thenceforth by plain force and constraint she was coupled and tied to cleave and

lean to them for better, for worse, and might no more without prejudice depart from them after than he that, leaving the dry land, sitteth in the water upon another man's back may leave him that carrieth him without wetting his skin. Which practice is more perilous to a prince (if it be deeply considered) than at the first face it appeareth.

10.

In this was necessarily comprehended the creation of a new crew, and the setting up of a party Protestant not appearing before, who being come to the height of their pride, obey her no more now than they do the Pope, nor no more esteem her commandments than his canons in whatsoever her pleasure impugneth theirs, but will have their own ways by force or by art in short time, be the same never so diverse, variable, & contrarious. Whereof let the exaction of the oath, and the infinite vexations of her subjects for religion, yea, let the cross in her own chapel, the lights on the table there, the decent attire of ministers, the surplices in their synagogues, their field preachings, their secret lectures, and the infinite differences of sects, of services, and forms of religion used in corners & known to all men give trial and testimony.

11.

And in the setting up of that party goeth plainly included the derogation and danger (if not the subversion and overthrow) of all nobility, yea, of the chief monarchs & princes themselves. Whereof Flanders and France, Scotland and England are already witnesses to every man that hath any wit or discourse. For the substance and effect which you see already fully wrought in Scotland, & almost halfendeal in France by plain violence and force, the same you see by art compassed in England, and hath been by both so proudly assayed that it lacked not much to have been brought to pass in Flanders. In which three realms of Scotland, England, & France (properly to speak) the several confederates and faction of every country do chiefly govern and reign, though a King in the one, a Q. in the other, and a child in the third do keep the names and show, God knoweth how little while some of them shall.

12.

In that goeth also contained such a corruption of her people at home as in short time threateneth plain incivility and barbarous manners, whereof both the histories and present estates of Afric, Greece, Boheme, and Hungary do give manifest proof. And Germany also (for the small time that is run since it fell thereunto) doth witness the same notoriously, to all them, I mean, that did know that country and people before their defection, and have been conversant with them since, of whom there are yet great numbers living.

Yea, England itself (if truth may be confessed) doth so plainly prove it for their little time as will admit no contradiction if the general manners of the multitude now be compared with their conditions in Q. Mary's time, which was but yesterday to speak of. The difference whereof is so notable to all foreigners that then living among you have for eight or ten years been absent from you, and be now returned to you again, that they seem to find, as it were, a new land, a new nation, new laws, new customs and manners, & plainly a new face and aspect of the people.

Yea, go yet a little nearer, and if thou be indifferent I will demand none other judge but thyself of the difference that thou findest between the modest manners of them that are yet such Catholics among you as the time and place will permit, and the unbridled light conditions of the professed Protestants generally, between the fidelity of the one and the unfaithfulness of the other, between the sincerity of the one and the craft of the other, and between the bridled fear of conscience in the one and the insolent impudency of the other. The notorious odds whereof in so short time do make manifest demonstration whereunto it tendeth and must come in the revolution of a few years mo.

13.

Finally in this was contained a kind of exchange or barter, as they call it, wherein renouncing to confide upon the assured fidelity of her learned clergy, of her ancient nobility, & of her Catholic party at home (that in all things obeyed her without exception), she accepted for the same the painted promises of her upstart Protestants, that obeyed her no longer than till their party were of strength.

And for the foreign and ancient entire amity that she had with the see apostolic, with the Emperor, and with all the princes of Italy, Spain, France, Flanders and Scotland, she accepted the amity of a Conde, an Orange, a Lodowick, a Murray, a Morton, and a French Admiral that have hitherto let fall by the way all that ever leaned and rested upon them.

These now being the profits and fruits that your Queen and country have reaped and gathered of this tree of mutation, let us see what other fruit it hath yielded to the devisers themselves, and to their friends and faction that have been the drawers of your Queen to the planting thereof, and whether their own private turns be thereby no better served than hers, nor their own avarice & ambition no better advanced that she, her crown, or realm are strengthened.

The sweet fruits of that tree for Sinon and his mates.

Let advancement therefore be defined, what it is, and whether it rest and consist in riches or revenues, in dread, honour, or estimation of the people high and low, in power and authority to give, to take, to dispose, to deny, to place, to displace, to save whom they list, to destroy whom they will, or in bowing and applying the prince's consent this way or that way, or in what else soever that ambition aspireth to.

Let the houses and possessions of these two Catilines be considered, let their furniture and building, let their daily purchases, and ready ability to purchase still, let their offices and functions wherein they sit, let their titles & styles claimed and used, let their places in Council, let their authority over the nobility, let their linking in alliance with the same, let their access to the prince, let their power and credit with her, let this their present state, I say, in all points (being opened and unknown to no man) be compared with their base parentage and progeny (the one raised out of the Robes, and the other from a sheep-reeve's son), and let that give sentence, as well of the great difference of the tastes that the several fruits gathered of this tree by your Q. & by them do yield, as whether any man at this day approach near unto them in any condition wherein advancement consisteth.

They the sweet, and she the sour.

Yea, mark you the jollity & pride that in this prosperity they show, the port and countenance that every way they carry in comparison of them that be noble by birth. Behold at whose doors your nobility attendeth. Consider in whose chambers your Council must sit, & to whom for resolution they must resort. And let these things determine both what was the purpose indeed and hidden intention of that change of religion, and who hath gathered the benefits of that mutation, that is to say, whether for your Q., for your realm's, or for their own sakes the same at first was taken in hand, and since pursued, as you have seen. For according to the principal effects of every action must the intent of the act be deemed and presumed.

Objections.

For the objected excuses (that they did it for conscience, or for fear of the French) be too frivolous and vain to abuse any wise man. For they that under King Henry were as Catholic as the Six Articles required, that under King Edward were such Protestants as the Protector would have them, that under Q. Mary were Catholics again, even to creeping to the cross, and that under Q. Elizabeth were first Lutherans, setting up Parker, Cheney, Best, Bill etc., then Calvinists, advancing Grindal, Jewel, Horne etc., then Puritans, maintaining Sampson, Dering, Humphrey etc., and now (if not Anabaptists and Arians) plain Machiavellians, yea, they that persuade in public speeches that man hath free liberty to dissemble his religion, and for authority do allege their own examples and practice of feigning one religion for another in Q. Mary's time (which containeth a manifest evacuation of Christ's own coming & doctrine, of the Apostles' preaching & practice, of the blood of the martyrs, of the constancy of all confessors, yea, and of the glorious vain deaths of all the stinking martyrs of their innumerable sects of heretics, one & other, having always taught the confession of mouth to be as necessary to salvation as the belief of heart), shall these men now be admitted to plead conscience in religion? And can any man now be cozened so much as to think that these men by conscience were then moved to make that mutation?

Sinon's table-talk treason to God.

And as for fear of the French, I need not detain you or stand thereupon. For the discourser of the marriage intended between the Duke of Norf. and the Q. of Scotland hath sufficiently (and in that part truly) satisfied all men, and delivered us of all fear of oppression by the French by allegation of the policies of Burgundy and Spain, though there were no more to be said unto it.

Q. Eliz. a ward of 40 years old.

And thus having seen that this mutation of the religion (made not for conscience, nor for any cause or need of your Queen's part), her cozening councillors have gained to themselves and their faction honour and authority, riches, revenues, credit and strength in the highest degrees every way, and your Queen, contrarily, nothing but damage & dishonour, decay of amity abroad, less assured at home, among her Catholics less loved than before, among her heretics now contemned more than ever, and in fine, keeping the name of Queen to herself, circumvented to yield unto them the substance and effect of all kingly dominion -- this being seen, I say, by them that will acknowledge the sight of that they see to be all the fruits hitherto hatched of that mutation, and common reason teaching us withal to deem and

presume the intention of every enterprise by the principal effects that follow upon it, we must conclude that purposely they did draw your Q. by subtlety unto that attempt that containeth in it her own detriment and prejudice of her realm, to serve thereby their own turns, to advance themselves and their needy faction, and to quench a little the thirst of their own private avarice and ambition.

And if this much may be seen in so few (for hard it were to show you all) of the deep deceits & subtle circumventions used to seduce her to renounce the ancient religion of all her progenitors, if this much may be seen by the manifest prejudice proved to be grown to herself thereby, if this be to be seen by the peril already appearing to depend upon the realm for the same, and if this also be seen by the notorious advancement of the private procurers thereof, what would appear, trow ye, if the hidden & secret practices known to none but to herself & to them might once come to light? And how evident & odious would it appear if all the detriments and perils for herself and her realm, & all the private gains of these ungracious guides, could be called to memory, & set down by writing as fully and effectually as every man seeth them?

14 other eggs laid by that hen.

But being plain enough to them that will see anything, let us now proceed to see what eggs our unhappy hen hath laid in this hollow tree, yea, what chickens she hath hatched there, or rather what other branches & fruits of like sap & savour this unsavoury tree hath budded & brought forth, & what harvest in the end it giveth hope of.

A lying regiment.

If I should begin to rehearse in particular any of the infinite numbers of impudent lies published by authority in the time of these men's government to claw itching ears, to blind simple sights, to slander Catholics, to belie princes, and by abusion to hold the world occupied with crafts and vanities from looking into the practices of these conjurators, the number of them are so infinite that neither should I find end when I had begun them, nor could tell of which to make choice before other (when all be so impudent and of importance), nor the tenth, no, not the twentieth of them that present themselves unto my pen would this place permit to be expressed unto you.

I must therefore remit the considerations of them to your own memories, and pray you to review the sundry printed pamphlets, proclamations, libels, letters, rhythms, and other like things sent out among you, and to remember what hath been told you by them, and otherwise of the wars of Leith and Newhaven, of the rebellions in France, Flanders, and Scotl., of the lottery in London, of landing of the King of Spain's money, of the sundry treaties of your Q.[s] marriage, of the Papists' practices, of prohibiting pirates from the ports, of these present troubles of the Dukes of Alva & Guise, of the Duke of Norf., of the Q. of Scotl., of them that were suborned to be apprehended, some with balls of wildfire and some with dags, and hired to confess that they should have burned London and killed great folks, first for show imprisoned and then dismissed and rewarded, & finally of the delays of restitution between the Low Countries & you, and of infinite other like devises, & thereupon to deem indifferently & to acknowledge what you find, and you shall,

see, I doubt not, that with lies they began, with lies they go forward, and still do maintain one lie with another.

**2.
Universal rebellion.**

But to come to some of their particular facts, among other who can plead ignorance how often they have by lying abused their prince's name and authority to sow sedition and to raise rebellion in France, Flanders and Scotland, to the touch of her honour and fame in the world abroad, to the danger of the quietness of her state when those princes shall find themselves able & think the time meet to revenge or reform it, and to the passing consumption of the nobility in all those countries.

**3.
Consumption of treasure.**

Who seeth not what infinite sums of money by lying persuasions have been won from your Q., carried out of your realm, and that ways employed, as well for corrupting the subjects of those countries by present money & pensions to renounce their allegiance, as for waging the rebels and soldiers that have been in arms, namely the Conde, Duke Deux-Ponts, the Admiral, and other in France, to Orange, Lodowick & others in Flanders, to James, Lennox, Morton and others in Scotland, to the great diminishing of her own treasures, and to the great impoverishing of the whole realm.

**4.
Exactions.**

Who hath not tasted and felt to his cost the new inventions to pill your people for these purposes, & (besides accustomed subsidies, fifteens and loans) to levy new exactions of them by forcible taking and collections under false names of lotteries, of building of Paul's steeple, of charity for the afflicted brethren, and such other feigned titles employed to the raising and maintenance of rebellion in all provinces adjoining.

**Sinon's accustomed
similitude.**

Yea, who can hope for better where the chief manager of your affairs professteth the yearly fleecing of the subject by extraordinary payments to be as necessary a policy for the prince as is the yearly shearing of the sheep a needful provision for the subject?

**5.
Foes of friends.**

Who can deny that (which experience hath showed) of the falsehood of that persuasion whereby they induced your Q. to lay hands upon the King of Spain's money for payment of the French rebels, and to spoil his subjects ever since, as by way of preoccupation to injury him beforehand that meant to oppress her, as they lyingly said, whereof three, yea thirteen years' experience hath given good proof. And whereby they have not only violated the old league long continued between your Q. and him, her realm and his countries, but also made her amity unassured with the mightiest and sincerest friend that she had upon earth.

**6.
Catholics the prey of
Protestants.**

And who beholdeth not with tears the lamentable preys that mutually you make one of another among yourselves whiles for thirteen years' time or more all your Catholics have been good preys for your Protestants, and thereby the strongest party of your people infinitely more weakened than the weaker sort be strengthened. The bare and needy brethren, that by the spoil of the Papists are set up, being in credit or force nothing comparably advanced to the others' decay in

number and strength. And like as of this every man feeleth more or less by himself or his friend (by loss of lands, rents, ready money, pensions, offices, or credit in his country), even so shall both your prince & realm find want of it if ever God permit them to feel the force of any foreign enemy, unless it be in time prevented.

**7.
Waste of nobility.**

Can any man be found so blind, so popular and unnatural, that seeth not and bewaileth not with tears the blood, the wasting and consumption of your ancient nobility both in number, in wealth, in credit among your people, and in authority with your prince whiles these base men (holding the key of both in their hands) derive thereof little or nothing to any that are more noble than themselves, but do participate all in effect unto the base or needy sort to raise a nobility of their own quality and constitution, and to be sure of them against a day of service to come?

**8.
Herself weakened.**

And who perceiveth not the great weakening of your prince's strength and state thereby? For (besides that every prince's chief security resteth in the loyalty and ability of his nobles) your Queen being herself of no new-risen race, her surety must be presumed (by all common intendment) to consist more in the confidence of her ancient nobility whose parents have been nourished under her progenitors, than upon a new nobility that accounteth the thank of their advancement to be due rather to those that rule her, and preferred them, than unto herself whom they reckon to be but the hatchet in the workman's hand.

**9.
Excommunication.**

**Cardinal Ferrare.
The Abbot Martinigo.
The Abbot S. Salute.**

And who seeth not most evidently that these Catilines have been the cause of drawing the excommunication out against her? Is it not well known that they only have holden her from admitting the access of all the Pope's ledgers and nuncios so often sent from Rome into Flanders and France friendly to admonish her and charitably to move her to reconcile herself to the unity of the church, and to join in religion with the other Christian princes, and with them to govern her people by one faith and doctrine according to the steps of her progenitors? Have not these men, I say, (for fear of the decay of their own private dominion that might have ensued thereby) so rejected that which should have been her safety that they made her not only to deny audience unto them, but likewise to contemn the sundry friendly motions both of the Emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian, and of the Kings of Spain and France, made unto her for some permission to have been granted to the Catholics of her realm? Yea, have they not upon those motions more rigorously increased the severe searches & scrutinies, and executed more sharp penalties (above and against law) towards every Catholic that in any corner, never so secret, could be found to have used the liberty of his conscience in hearing of Mass, were it but twice a year?

And did not the see apostolic for twelve years' time suffer this contempt in hope and expectation of better? And could he (without some note of omitting his duty and office), any longer forbear authentically to declare to the world that contumacy to be within the censures of the church? And can this work any less than her manifest infamy in all Christian nations which esteem that authority? And doth not this contain some prejudice and derogation to her state and security by danger of

foreign correction, unless she return, I mean, or have some more privilege than any Christian emperor or king ever had before her? Let the stories tell you, and not to trouble you with many, namely those of the late King of Navarre and of your own King John, her own progenitor. Yea, containeth it not her plain weakening & unsurety at home? Where (whiles she thus persisteth) Christ's ordinary authority upon earth (being the supreme judge of all obedience among Christian men) hath set her Christian subjects free from obeying her for conscience' sake?

I will not here say what further, but for the rest do refer thee to the precedents and examples of all Christian princes and nations excommunicated before her. Of which I wish thee by thine own reading to make thyself judge, and not to trust to these men's impudent expositions and glozes, but upon thine own perusing of the sequels ensued (in few years to speak of) to every excommunicated emperor, king, or country that persisted obstinate, be thyself judge whether it shall be wisdom or policy for your Queen to trust to these Machiavellians' light regard and estimation made thereof.

10.
Their own strength.

Neither is it obscure to men of any insight that these Catilines do prepare & make themselves strong for a day that they look for ere it be long. What other can their fortifying of themselves and their party every way portend but that they will be in case to govern the prince, and dispose the realm at their pleasure and devotion?

11.
Floods of foreigners.

Let it be considered what numbers of foreign nations, for rebellion & heresy fled out of other countries, are drawn into your realm, yea, and under those titles what multitudes of pirates, thieves, murderers, church-robbers, and idle vagabonds be flocked thither by heaps. Behold their placing & planting in sundry parts, even in the heart and bowels of the country. And soberly weigh it, what it may import you to have amidst among you forty or fifty thousand strangers (I speak far within the compass of wise men's account) in readiness always to be employed to any sudden exploit, among you, I mean, that are by these Catilines purposely divided into factions among yourselves (some for religion, and some for succession), & your captain conjurators so provided that they will have the disposing both of their own party, of the indifferent sort, and of the foreign forces wholly at their own designment. This, being deeply weighed, manifestly implieth an intention both to make a question among you ere it be long, and to overweigh the same also on which side soever the contrivers of the devise shall apply themselves.

12.
League with rebels and pirates.

Join unto this their leagues with the French, Flemish, and Scottish rebels, with the preparation they have made to have all the pirates' persons & vessels (in effect) of this part of Europe collected together upon the English seas, & with the liberty of the use of your ports (for sale of their spoils & stolen goods), to be waged, hired, and in ordinary service, as it were, of those captain pirates that by bribes rob them that have robbed all others, whereby to the infamy of your realm is verified and confirmed the infamous prophecy that said, *Anglia erit meretrix, malorum omnium nutrix*. And being thereby accounted the nest & den of those thieves that live by the spoil of all other nations, it remaineth subject and in danger to answer the same

at one time or other, if not by restitution, by way of revenge, or else with such charge to itself, by standing on her own guard, as will be over-heavy for the country to bear.

13.
Their own alliance.

At home likewise apparent it is how they provide every way to make themselves strong there also. For being by their own marriages allied already to the house of Suffolk of the blood royal, and by consequence thereof to the house of Hertford also, & their children thereby incorporated to both, mark you how now, by marriage of their children, with wily wit & wealth together they wind in your other noblest houses unto them, that are left, I mean, in credit and countenance.

Consider likewise how at their own commendation and preferment they have erected, as it were, almost a new half of your nobility (of whom also they have reason to think themselves assured), and the rest then (that were out of hope to be won to their faction), behold how by sundry fine devises they are either cut off, worn out, fled, banished, or defaced at home.

And add unto this how they preserve and save harmless all their own friends & alliances in all criminal causes that do occur, and in judicials preserve them, with the injury of any third whatsoever that will not with money buy his just sentence. By which mean they may hope (when their day shall come) to find that that is commonly found everywhere, that is to say, that affection for kindred' sake shall bear more sway than the respects to God or to justice shall be able to resist. And let your Q. consider whether the end of this practice do tend more to her strengthening and security, or to their own.

14.
The realm's force in their hands.

Again, he that willingly winketh not against that that every man seeth, must needs perceive and (having any wit) cannot but consider what goeth comprehended in the making of themselves mighty and strong in money, plate, jewels, armour, and other short treasures by their long bribery, corruption, and sale of justice. How rich their bishops & ecclesiastical ministers be by long possessing all the spiritual promotions of the realm, and by spending little or nothing thereof. And further that in their own hands, their friends', & faction remain all the offices of the realm, the charge of all the ports, the keeping of all the fortresses, the prince's treasure, armour, & munition, together with the whole navy, which are the only walls & bulwarks of the island. And these points being laid and considered together, who seeth not that in their hands they have both the prince present, the succession to come, & the whole realm to dispose at their will?

Words may deceive.

And will you see the same yet better proved? Yea, by their own confessions, if men's facts and doings cannot be denied to be far the more surer & truer utterers of the secrets of men's hearts and meanings than are their smooth tongues and dissembled words. Let us therefore now consider their manifest attempts made against the crown itself.

Let us behold how lustily they have assailed the same, daily more and more, and now of late specially, finding your Q. beset round about with fears & dangers

**Their deeds speak that
they crow at the crown.**

prepared by themselves, meetly well weakened of all friendship at home and abroad, the country (what for religion and what for succession) divided into factions and parts, and themselves withal now in strength every way. Let us see, I say, what other eggs this cockatrice hath now laid, and well sitten on till the cockerel chickens be quick in the shell that shall crow at the crown itself.

**Eng. and Sco. in their
way.**

Remembering therefore that ambition abideth not any ordinary time, and that both the houses & lines of King Henry of Eng. and of his sister Q. Margaret of Scotl. (the one resting presently in your Q. that now is, and the other in the Queen of Scotl.) were opposite objects, and as plain impediments did lie in their way against their purpose of bringing the crown immaturely to the third house of Suffolk unto which themselves are united and their children incorporated, and would prevent also the last refuge, which is by their own force & friends to be able (in case that family of Suffolk by any accident should quail and be repelled) to give the regal chair to whom they list -- finding, I say, these two houses & lines to stand strongly in their way, we have now to see and consider what arts and devises have been used to cut off and extinct them both.

**Description of the Q. of
Engl.**

And perceiving that the Queen and line of Scotl. for many respects was more easy to be removed and cut off (by Parliament, by pining imprisonment, or by plain force and violence) than was your Q. and house of England, which rested in a fair young lady of goodly personage, of rare beauty, of singular wit, of excellent qualities, learned, languaged, rich & mighty in dominion, and thereby so likely to marry & to have children that less could not be looked for, & that the rather for the earnest motion and labour that the greatest prince of Europe did make even at the first to join with her in marriage, and for the other daily offers and solicitations made by all other personages of account both at home and abroad that have been to marry these fourteen years' time to have matched with her, and finding withal that the cutting off of the house of Scotland would little avail them, and that their final purpose should be little or nothing advanced thereby if that line and house of England should by succession continue and increase, and perceiving no way how by violence to make an end of that of England without their own present ruin and fall till themselves and their party were stronger, the devise therefore rested and concluded in this.

The plat to remove both.

First by art and policy to make that Queen and house of England so to waste and consume itself that in and with that person of herself that whole line of hers might finish, and withal to compass her (being the greatest and principal of the two) to be the instrument of the extirpation of the other, either by colour of law, by apparence of policy, or by plain force.

**Three several assaults
against the line of
England.**

This being the plat, they found no better way to compass the same than by often laying before her many crafty and subtle arguments and many false reasons (for want of matter in fact) to keep her in fear of her own state, as though the same were dangerous, to make her believe that still she stood in peril of rebellion by her Catholics, of the King of Spain's aspiring to her crown, and of the Q. of Scotl.['s]

competency with her for the same by the help of the French, with whom she was mightily allied as they pretended.

**To hold the Queen
unmarried.**

By often and crafty inculcation of these colourless dangers unto her, as if she had been beset round with perils on all sides, and sure of no prince to stick unto her, they obtained for themselves increase of credit as careful councillors for her security, and persuaded withal that there was none assured pillar for her to lean unto against all events but to keep herself free, to hold herself unmarried, and whatsoever she pretended, never so often and to whomsoever, yet to retain her marriage in her own hands to be disposed by herself when any extremity should so require. For by that only (said they) she should be able always to make her peace, to preserve her own state, and to draw to her party what prince she would, besides that by pretending to marry now here, now there, and nowhere indeed, she should always with the hope thereof so feed every sovereign prince that she should thereby be able both to encounter any storm rising towards herself, and to advance whatsoever purpose she listed else.

This, you must consider, asked crafty conveyance, and fine subtle means of utterance (lest by persuading it grossly her wisdom might have perceived the meaning), and therefore at times between they have often interlaced pretences of preferring some few of the many motions that have been made unto her for marriage, and with apparence of words & looks, and of feigned reasons faintly laid forth, have wished to see some succession of her own body. But in the end the bowl hath always so come about to his bias that neither prince nor subject, Catholic nor Protestant, could yet be found in whom there was not seen either some notable impediment, or another proposed to be meetter than he, to shift over the matter that none at all might be had.

Now examine a little how this concurreth with her confidence reposed in them, and with their pretences of the honour, love, and care that they owe her and have of her.

Treason to her person.

Can that man honour or love me that desireth to see my succession and posterity buried with my person? Can they love me that procure for me the want and lack of them that should be my chief surety and defence? What thing in this earth is or can be so great a safety for the person of any man that hath possessions as to have children of his own, either natural or adoptive? Your Q. is permitted to have neither of both. And in whom is the fault but in them that first dissuaded her from marriage with the Catholic that every way was meetest for her, and neither can nor will since find any Protestant to supply the place?

What other is this but to kill her alive? What is it else but with her body to bury her memory, and with her corps to carry all her succession unto her sepulchre? Yea, what is it else in deed and effect but by extinguishing her race to prepare way for another which they have in store?

Pretend what they list by words and shows, these deeds speak manifestly that her own life should not thus long have escaped their hands if they could have won her

consent to have made away the Q. of Scotl., whose person and issue remaineth yet between them and their designment.

And by this fine art they have drawn your Q. to lose her youth unfruitfully until she be now in effect forty years old, and they being thereby in very great hope that now she shall have no succession of her own, having also gotten her next heir into prison (where not unlikely they hoped that by close air, by want of exercise, or by some disease she would have died long ere this), and to rest in their power to make her die when they list, & likewise having in the meanwhile made themselves strong (as ye have heard), they now see their own web more than half woven, & therefore do begin to proceed forward unto some other attempts that reveal more & more their hidden intention.

**2.
Disinheriting of the
crown.**

For being now more than half assured (as they think) that though your Q. married tomorrow she should have no children likely to live, but that herself thereby should rather be endangered, to prevent now that none other should be declared nor accepted as her child by adoption, as heir by law, nor as successor by right, to the prejudice of their purpose, they have by pretence of law compassed, that like as by art they have provided she shall have no children naturally, even so by statute they have prepared she shall have no heir judicially, lest there might be any left, when your Queen shall be dead, to revenge the violence that shall hereafter be offered her if she will not die by nature when or before that they think it time to have her removed.

Now look a little, good reader, into this law, and consider whether ever there were public thing more pernicious to a prince or more noisome to a commonwealth. Hardly is there so mean a subject in your realm to be found as hath not one known heir or other to succeed him in his goods, and by justice to persecute any personal injury offered unto him. Only your Q. may now have none. Who revengeth the husband's murder but the wife? Who the father's, but the child? And who the uncle's, but the nephew, or they that by nature and law are presumed to be nearest to the parties injured? And what must it portend that this benefit is taken from your Q.? How infinite are the examples in every story of them whose deaths have been hastened by want of having some known heir, whereby sundry competitors of their goods have put themselves in several hopes to gain by their deaths.

And if this hath been common in mean men's cases, how much more dangerous is it and more assuredly to be looked for in a prince's case, whose crown can lack no competitors, and whose heir specially is laboured, yea, enacted beforehand, to be doubted of & unknown? For this maketh them that think they have good titles to hasten their claims lest by this law their interest may be brought into oblivion, and putteth them in hope who had but weak titles, and thought to have given place to other, that if they can make themselves strongest they may be preferred before them that (before this law) had better interest than they, and by this law have now as little as they, for it barreth all alike.

And to your commonwealth that never dieth, what can be more odious, more dangerous, and more unnatural than so to disfigure it of a known heir as to have no mark of obedience nor allegiance left whereupon the people may fix their eyes? Let the question be proponed, and see whether in the intention of that provision there can be by any possibility any other or less presumed than a plain meaning and resolution to bring the cards to shuffling for the crown, now when themselves be strongest, to the end that he that can win it may wear it. For if the words of that law be marked, it is evident that the meaning of the procurers thereof is to have (as well after your Q.[’s] death as before) a pretence and colour of law to impeach all interests and titles to the crown whatsoever, to the intent that (failing of their purpose to place the crown in their own family) no title should be so clear but that by colour of this law there might be somewhat to say against it whereby the trial & judgement thereof may come to the sword, now, I say, whenas they account themselves far the strongest party. And what this importeth unto all states & degrees of the whole realm, I ween there is no man so simple that seeth not.

If he said, that cannot lie, that a kingdom divided in itself cannot stand, consider whether it be possible to have any greater division that this statute doth purposely prepare to have. If in the end of King Henry VIII’s days (who left behind him three children) it seemed yet necessary for the safety and quietness of the realm to have declared no heirs in succession if God would have suffered him to perform it, how opposite and contrarious is this policy now, not only to establish none, but to establish that there shall be none, not three, not two, no, not one?

In all ages hitherto, by all the princes that have been & by all their councils that have served them, such care and respect hath been had to prevent civil division and sedition for the crown that nothing hath been preferred, nor so soon provided for, as to make the succession known, as foreseeing that no one thing in the world can so soon bring a realm into ruin as to leave the known heir in doubt. And now among you, not only an heir is not established, but your known heir is laboured to be made not known, and by special law provided (yea, under pain of treason) that no heir at all shall be known. And what doth this imply but that the labourers and procurers thereof would have with your Queen, the present head of that commonwealth, the whole commonwealth to die also, & with her death that the whole state of the kingdom should perish withal?

Besides, consider how in this law they play the honest men with her in another point, craftily to make the world hold her for infamous and incontinent. For in the prohibition of any heir to be named, they except only the issue of her body, with the term and addition of *natural*. Which term being in your statutes and judicial writings strange and unwonted, and in all other languages signifying plain bastards, & they now purposely forsaking the accustomed words of your law in such cases by changing lawful for natural, and by leaving the old usual words of lawful heir, lawful children, or children lawfully begotten for the new term of natural issue, that in all languages signifieth bastardy, what other can be gathered of this (being spoken of your Queen, that is unmarried) but that they would thereby covertly

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insinuate unto the world that she hath, or mindeth to have, children natural, and not lawful? And is not this a token both of their small reverence & less affection towards her?

Believe not, I say, their glozes and false expositions, but let them either show you those terms of *natural issue* to have been used to signify in your law writings lawful children, or else (whatsoever their words shall be) you plainly see they have herein played the very ones, even with her whom they pretend so much to adore.

**Your Q.[’s] defences
taken from her.**

Well, having now brought your Q. to this, that neither by children of her own body nor by any heir known they feel any impediment nor stand in any fear, behold how now they come nearer unto her, even to the plucking of her principal feathers. He that intendeth to stock up a tree by the root doth first hew and dig away whatsoever defences of earth, stone, or wood do grow or lie about the stem.

A prince’s chief defence must be granted to consist chiefly in foresight of his peril by wisdom, in force of faithful friends to resist it, and in fear of heirs to revenge it. And now behold how the principallest of all these are by fine arts and devises pared and weeded away from your Queen.

**1.
Sir Nicholas
Throckmorton.**

Was there any man in that land for affection to her more faithful, and diligent for wisdom, more circumspect, forecasting, and of deeper foresight, of counsel more inventive, or of better consideration than was Sir Nicolas Throckmorton? And is not he finely weeded away from her?

**2.
The Duke of Norfolk.**

Consider who by nature and affection was so nearly tied unto her, who in all her services was so zealous and assured, and who with friends and force was so well able to defend her as was the Duke of Norf. And mark you now the art by which he is also pared away from her.

**3.
The Q. of Scotland.**

What child, what cousin, or what heir had she by blood and law so near unto her to succeed her in the world, and so ready and able to revenge any violence offered her as was the Queen of Scotland? And behold whether she be not also weeded away from her, made sure enough, I mean, from persecuting any injury that shall be offered to your Q., and brought into that state that the offerors may be out of all fear of her. Yea, rather see whether they both, as mother and daughter, be not subject and in peril to receive one end (though not in one place, nor perhaps at one time) as did the two Hargills, father and son.

Examples.

If Q. Elizabeth, the widow of King Edward the Fourth, in th’ apprehensions of the Lords Rivers and Greys, did wisely and truly foresee the destruction of the young King her son, cannot this Q. Elizabeth, the daughter of King Henry the Eighth (being a paragon of wisdom among women) foresee what is towards herself when the Duke of Norf. and Throckmorton be taken from her? And did the other Q., a widow, foresee the death of her son to hasten and approach when his young brother and heir might be suffered nowhere but in the murderer’s hands, and cannot this Queen now (though a virgin for state, yet a widow for wisdom) foresee how near

her own end draweth when her heir is already in the hands of them that have circumvented herself to extinct her own line, and have procured the other's deprivation, with the slaughter already of her husband and servant? Doth Queen Mary of Scotland now plainly see what James meant towards her when he abused her so much as to make her deprive herself of the Earl of Huntley, and will not Q. Elizabeth of England by so fresh and manifest an example be taught to see what Sinon meaneth towards her that circumventeth her so much as to make her to deprive herself of her cousin of Norf.?

**Her defences removed,
her impugnors are secure.**

Who about your Q. hath the head (now Throckmorton is gone) to meet with Sinon's shrewd head in the foresight of her safety or in espying his false crafts? Who about her hath the force, the friends, and zeal also to defend her person and to resist these Catilines' malice now the Duke of Norf. is gone, against them, I mean, that have made themselves so strong? And who shall call those caitiffs to account (whiles the Q. of Scotl. remaineth in their powers, or when she shall be dead) for the force and oppression that they shall offer your Q., which imminently now hangeth over her head?

The Scottish prince is an infant, so (as besides the hope they have to make him away too) sure they think they are by the death of yours to reign & enjoy their dominion whiles he is within age, at least, and in that time so to prepare also that he shall never come to full age. To leave therefore the Q. of Scotl. in this manner a prisoner at these men's order & devotions to be made away at every sudden, is a plain promise and assurance to them of all security and indemnity for murdering of your Queen herself.

As the Queen of Scotland's life therefore is your Queen's preservation, and her strength and good state is your Q.[s] surety and assurance, even so is the end of the Q. of Scotl.[s] life the entry and beginning of your Queen's death, if either history of things past or probable judgement of things present may suffice to tell and teach her the truth of her own state at this day.

**Now against the line of
Scotl.**

And having now compassed in this manner the extingting of the house and line of England, and brought it even to the brink to be finally ended at every sudden when themselves list (and which hath by likelihood no long time to tarry, now Norf. is gone and the Q. of Scotl. ready to be gone after him), let us now see and examine some of these men's arts and attempts by which they have assailed the house and line of Scotl., and how little that wanteth of utter extirpation and rooting out also, that their way may be plain and smooth to the house of Suffolk, their own family.

**Five of the infinite
attempts against that line.**

For proof whereof I will not here detain you with the rehearsal of the sundry attempts made unto your Q. sundry years past by Parliament to have removed & cut off that family. Nor I will not hold you with remembrance of the occasion first taken, and quarrel picked, only upon an arms made in scutcheons at a triumph in France, whereupon ensued the subornation of the whole nobility of Scotl. to revolt against their sovereign, the invasion with an army into that country, the surprising of Leith, the razing of the walls and bulwarks thereof, the expulsion of the French

that were the security of the prince's state, the barbarous ruin of all the monasteries, her subjects' usurpation of the spiritual possessions & temporal dominion, & by degrees afterward sundry slaughters & murders, new invasions with English forces, the imprisonment of her person, her expulsion from her state, & other tragedies many, of which the end is not yet seen.

**1.
A pique put between the 2
Queens.**

With these, I say, I shall not detain you, but begin I will with remembering unto you the assured amity and unfeigned friendship that was between your Q. and her from the time of her return out of France, being a widow, until her marriage with the Lord Darnley. Which amity continuing so many years with so many evident tokens of sincere meaning on both sides, I would now demand what just cause of your Queen's fear or mislike any man could see in that match and marriage. Only this every man may see was contained therein, that whereas before she was without children, & these Catilines thereby assured that with her own life her line should finish, by this marriage now they found themselves prevented of that hope, whereupon ensued so cruel a persecution against the Q. & her husband as giveth evidence to all men that her chief offence was in providing by marriage to have lawful succession.

**2.
The confederates'
ambition to reign.**

Again, being before her marriage in all matters of state subject to James the Bastard (a third confederate Catiline with these two), whereby their monstrous imp of womanish and lay primacy newly planted did spring and take root in both realms, when she now with her marriage began to take the regiment into her own hands, and to discover herself to be Catholicly inclined, these two points so pierced and strake these Catilines to the heart that the feud thereof is deadly and implacable forever.

For if she could have been content still to have enjoyed the name of Q. only, and with her own life to have ended her line (as your Q. giveth them hope that she will do for her part), & would still have suffered her bastard brother to have reigned and ruled both her & her realm, as his confederates yet do yours, they had, no doubt, permitted her much longer than they did.

A badge of Simon's.

But when she had now by her marriage discovered her intention & meaning to be so flatly repugnant and contrarious to theirs, albeit to every wise and honest man's sight that marriage had been your Q.[s] security, behold how then was renewed unto your Q.[s] memory the buried matter of the arms made in France, and great dangers and fears pretended now again, and often and subtly laid before her. And thereupon new ambassadors and messengers sent into Scotland thick and threefold with letters and errands of one sense to the Queen, and secret commission of contrary practice to James the Bastard and his confederates.

Then went new plats and devises to raise new rebellions, and, they repressed, the rebels in England succoured by entreaty, from thence reconciled, money and pensions secretly promised, aid and succour ready prepared, her husband won to join with her enemies & to consent to the murder of her counsellors, and he no

faster won to this than other were wrought to dispatch him, he abused with the bait to have the state to himself and they with the promises that she should be enforced to marry the unknown murderer when her husband were killed. Then her person imprisoned, and after their manner deposed -- imprisoned, I say, first among her own traitorously, and then among you (to whom she fled for succour) unnaturally.

**3.
Infamies against the Q. of
Scotland.**

All this appeasing yet nothing these Machiavels' malice (because now she had a child, that lieth also in their way), out went then books and libels, letters and songs, rimes and talks at every table, yea, by tongues of authority, to spot her honour, to reproach and defame her for an adulteress, a murderer, a Papist, a competitor of your crown, and whatsoever else could be thought on more odious. And with often inculcation thereof into your Queen's ears, forget not how vehemently she was pressed (even at the jump) by whole Parliaments two or three, one in another's neck, to declare her heir in succession of the crown, in hope that if then they might have obtained your Q.['s] consent thereunto, it had not been uneasy (as they had made their parts in both houses) to have set both her and her son beside the cushion.

**4.
Her disherison by
Parliament.**

That devise taking none effect neither, behold now another, I wot not whether more impudently false or more insatiably malicious. For having by plain rebellion deprived her of her state, & otherwise injured her with the most loathsome & odious wrongs that the devil of hell could devise, they now write & print out to the world that she is a competitor of your crown, an enemy to your Q., a raiser of rebellions, a shedder of English blood, a caller in of foreign forces, & finally charge her with conspiring & intending of the very same mischiefs against your Q. (who never tasted jot of them) that herself hath received through the suggestions of these Sinons at your Q.['s] hands. Which is a manifest & invincible argument, respecting the considerations of her person & theirs (she being by birth inheritable to the crown of which they be born subjects), that they mean to deprive her of her state and life too.

Another badge of his.

**Treason to both the
crowns.**

**5.
The betraying of Norf.**

Another plat also of the same kind is this deadly persecution of the Duke of Norf.['s] intended marriage with her, specially being remembered in what credit, honour, & reputation he was even to these caitiffs until he discovered himself to owe some affection that way, & to yield to the motions made unto him for marriage to her. Which proceeding first from your nobility and Council, and by them all (in effect) so well liked and allowed of, was no doubt so maturely digested that there was nothing possibly to be found in it by any honest-meaning man that could any way have prejudiced your Q., but sundry ways have strengthened and advanced her security.

But these Catilines and those councillors looking with far different and unlike eyes, these upon the Queen and realm and right succession, and they upon themselves and their private traitorous mark, made, as you see, far divers and unlike constructions. Whereupon (for their credit with your prince above the others) hath ensued all this late lamentable tragedy, out of which marriage no indifferent man

alive of common sense and intendment could have sucked nor wrested any doubt, fear, or suspicion towards your Q. respecting what was to be considered in the person of the man and in the state of the woman -- she your Queen's near cousin, expelled from her estate, and so imprisoned in her custody that her personal liberty, the recovery of her realm, her marriage, and whatsoever else should happily follow after was all to be received at your Queen's hands with what conditions & assurance soever herself would have demanded, and he your Queen's nearest kinsman, of power best able to serve and defend her, in readiness and affection thereto well proved to be inferior to none, a mere subject of England, no way allied to any foreign prince, in religion then a Protestant undoubted, and yet also, if the great ingratitude of these injuries hath not lately by grace opened the eyes of his heart.

16 comparisons between this tragedy & that of K. Richard the Third.

It would be too long a work to peruse in this manner all the points attempted against her by these Machiavellians that do breathe & spire out their fatal malice towards her. To be therefore as brief as I can, I shall put you in mind of the last tragedy of like nature and quality wrought among yourselves by K. Richard the Third, as the stories make mention, compassed by like fraudulent, impudent, & monstrous means, & ended with that tyrannical & bloody success that this also threateneth & plainly portendeth.

Vouchsafe therefore with yourself to compare the manner & form how that terrible mischief was contrived and wrought by steps & degrees from a far time before the end thereof appeared, with the manner & form of proceeding towards these great princes and other noble personages now. And so shalt thou, I doubt not, see so much therein as shall suffice to show thee in thine own conceit the whole substance & effect of that I mean to say in my next volume, if occasion shall require. And for thy help therein, among the infinite resemblances that may justly be made between that tragedy & this, I shall put thee in mind but of some few, to induce the rest the better unto thine own memory.

Begin thou therefore with the pique that was put in the life of King Edward the Fourth, & the stomach & tooth that was fed & maintained all his time between the two kindreds of himself & his wife. And unto that lay thou this suspicion now put, & this division now wrought by false persuasions, between your Q. that now is & the Q. of Scotl., her next cousin & heir apparent.

**2.
D. of Clarence**

Remember the fine devises & far-fet policies used to circumvent King Edward the Fourth in making away his brother, the Duke of Clarence, upon pretence of preventing the danger of his children and the troubles of his realm, but meant indeed as to weed away the person that the devisers of that treason did foresee might & would be th' impediment of their final purpose. And compare thou that unto the sundry noble personages already made away (I will not say by your Q.['s] commandment directly, but all the world witnesseth it to be by their practice that have used her name & authority to those plats & devises), I mean the several destructions of the Dukes of Norf. & Guise, the L. Huntley, the Lord Darnley, the

**D. of Norf.
D. of Guise.
L. Huntley.
L. Darnley.**

**Archbishop of St.
Andrews.
Throckmorton.
David.**

Archbishop of St. Andrews, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and of David the secretary, and the nearness thereunto of others yet living, God knoweth how little while they shall. For let no man look for long life that standeth in their way, if God prevent them not.

**3.
L. Rivers.
L. Greys
Sir Tho. Vaughan.**

Compare thou the first apprehension of the Lords Rivers and Greys, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and the rest of the Q.[’s] kindred then with the soft and mild speeches at the first made of them & sundry comforts given them that all should be well, to blind and stay the multitude for a time from seeing that at the first that shortly followed after. Compare thou that (I say) with the first apprehensions of the Duke of Northfolk, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, the Lord Lumley & the rest, with the quiet smoothing over of the same again for two years’ time till now, and their deaths to the death of them that are yet to die before this tragedy shall take his full effect.

**Norf.
Arund.
Pemb.
Lumley.**

4.

Lay the rumours then spread and published of the one, how they would have destroyed the King’s kindred, namely the Dukes of Gloucester & Buckingham, and such other pretty devises, lay that (I say) unto the rumours and voices, libels and pamphlets printed & published against the other now, how they would have destroyed your Q., brought in foreign forces, taken London, invaded Ireland, yea, and then have proceeded to further things (saith the libel) not expedient yet to be uttered.

**5.
Q. Elizabeth then, Q.
Mary now, widows
defamed.**

Remember the Queen, then a widow, and lying in sanctuary for the safety of her younger son while the elder was in the hands of the unknown traitor, then taken for the chief and most lawful governor. Remember (I say) how she was defamed for an enemy to her husband’s kindred and blood royal, to the nobility of the realm, to be a sorceress, a witch, and by necromancy to have wasted the Protector’s body and limbs, only to deface and disgrace her and to bring her into obloquy of the people, that for her great virtue had her in just reverence. Lay this (I say) unto the sundry slanderous infamies forged and raised against the Queen’s Majesty of Scotland, a widow and in prison (whiles the contrivers of the great treason have your Queen in their possession), of being an harlot, of killing her husband, of raising rebellions, and I wot not what besides, to bring the people to hate her that for her rare honour & virtue have worthily loved her.

6.

Compare you the publishing then of King Edward the Fourth not to be the son of Richard, Duke of York, and his two sons also to be bastards upon a false pretence of his former contract with Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and therefore neither he nor his sons to be right heirs to the crown. Compare thou that unto the libels and books made against the Q. of Scotland’s title, namely that that was presented to your Queen by John Hales, whereby they would pretend that for her being born in Scotland she could not be inheritable to the crown of England, and the infamy of bastardy wherewith they would spot and bar the Lady Margaret Lennox and her succession.

7.
That king's brother then,
& this Q.['s] son now.

Forget not that one of the pretences made to get the younger lamb into the wolf's mouth was a supposition that the other intended to send him over the sea, to the great dishonour of the nobility, and to the great discomfort of the little King his brother, that lacked him for a playfellow, and other like arguments against which nothing could satisfy till the innocent were in the murderer's hands. And compare this to the surmise alleged in this libel that the prince of Scotland should have been conveyed into Spain, and to the infinite practices and devises used to get him into their hands in England that have already both the person of his mother in prison, and your Q. also at their government and devotion, and whose thirst nothing can quench whiles either mother or son remaineth alive.

8.

Mark you how all those motions and pretences then were covered with the justest & most plausible shows that could be devised, to wit, with the King's security and comfort, with the honour of the nobility, with prevention of troubles to the realm, & with all good meaning to every man besides, till their heads were off that were desperate to be won to the final treason intended. And compare the same affable and plausible apparences now, that pretend nothing but your Q.['s] security whom themselves have endangered, if any danger be towards her; that pretend her honour whom they have dishonoured by abuse of her name and authority more than ever they are able to recover; that pretend to prevent the troubles of the realm who have indeed begun to bring it into mo troubles, both foreign and domestical, than they be able to end or bring it out of again; that pretend to defend the realm from invasion of foreigners, who have already so pestered it with such infinite numbers of strangers, to serve a private turn of their own, as since the Conquest was never seen in that realm; and that pretend the safety of London and general liberty of the realm when they have brought both into that thralldom & servitude that they never tasted of since they shook off the yoke of the Danes' dominion.

9.
B. of York,
B. of Ely,
L. Hastings,
L. Stanley,
and all the old Council.

Let the example of the Bishop of York and Ely, of the Lords Hastings, Stanley, and others, who, not knowing the end finally meant, had been instruments with & for the secret hidden traitors in the overthrow of the Q.['s] kindred and in helping to bring the matter towards some ripeness, against whom there was no colour of quarrel other than their own honour, virtue, and fidelity, that showed them not likely to be won to so foul a treachery when it should come to be revealed -- let this example, I say, (joined unto the unjust captivity of the Earls of Arundel, Worcester, and Southampton, of the Lords Cobham & Lumley, the B. of Ross, with so many other knights & gentlemen imprisoned at this present for the very same cause & none other) be a pattern & precedent unto some others of the nobility now that yet think themselves full safe, and in the matters now in hand do go on and join with the rest (for the fair pretences and shows made) as not savouring the filthy fine intended.

Shrewsbury,
Derby,
Sussex,
Huntingdon,
Bedford,
Leicester,
and the rest.

Let them, I say (as safe as now they think themselves), look at the end for the end that the others had, unless they can in the meanwhile win so much of themselves by little and little as, when the end shall appear, headlong to tumble down with the rest into the depth of all dishonour and infamy of deposing their just princes, to their own perpetual reproach, and utter extirpation of their succession forever.

10. Compare the weeding and dropping away by few and few of that little King's old servants then from him, as the time of his destruction drew nearer and nearer, unto the removing of the Queen of Scotland's known and trusty servants from her by divers times and degrees, till she have now in effect none at all left about her either able to resist any violence offered her, or to complain of it till it shall be too late.
11. And make a comparison between the speech of the little babe then, mentioned in the history when he said, *Though mine uncle will have my kingdom, I would to God he would yet let me have my life still* -- compare that, I say, unto the sundry overtures & passing offers made by the Queen of Scotland to recover but the liberty and security of her person, with the like deaf ear given then to the one, and now to the other.
12. Behold likewise the instruments of the one then and of the other now. Among the clergy there lacked then no Shaws, nor now no Sampsons. Among the lawyers there wanted then no Catesbys, nor now no Nortons. And as a Duke of great dignity, wisdom, eloquence, courage, and authority in the realm was then found out to advance and solicit that unnatural enterprise as chief of the Council, highest in rule, and principal officer under the prince then, even so have you one or two now, so far from dukes born that they be the first gentlemen of their genealogy, who for wisdom and wealth, for alliance now and credit, for eloquence of tongue, for authority with your prince, and for revenue also being equal or superior to your noblest of birth and the chief councillors and magistrates of your present government, that are the capital contrivers of this treason now in hand.
13. And like as for a gentle Brackenbury found then, a noble Shrewsbury hath been found now, of whom neither then nor now any hope could be had to make them the slaughtermen of such a shambles, even so for a caitiff knight found out then to whom Brackenbury must render the keys of those innocents, I could name you another knight found out now to whom Shrewsbury must yield the custody of this Queen. But whiles the choice is his own to relent unto or resist so vile a villainy, I will not do him the injury (before his desert) by name to resemble him to butcherly Tyrrell.
14. For private respects, saith the story, as partly for malice against the Queen's kindred, and partly for hope of an earldom, was that Duke induced to abase himself to so vile an office as to compass that cruelty. And for like private respects of malice to some, and revenge to others, & for hope for further advancement yet to themselves by bringing the crown to that family to which themselves are united & their succession incorporated, do a couple of Catilines now all this that they do.
15. The pretences alleged both of that and of this (every man seeth) are so far from truth that they pass probability, all appearing either plainly forged and feigned of nothing, or of a mote a millstone made, or the innocent charged with the accusers' crimes. In neither of both have lacked some that saw the truth, forethought the end, and would have prevented it if they had been able. Wherefore whoso

beholdeth by the history the end of the one past and irrevocable, and looketh not of the other to see the same end ere it be long, either he winketh willingly, and will not see that that his foot stumbleth at, or else he is so weak-sighted and sensed both of body & mind that as pleasant is a puddle as a pathway for that man to walk in.

16.
K. Ed. the Fourth then,
O. Eliz. now.

Finally, as that practice ended by rooting out the masculine race of King Edward the Fourth, so this devise must finish in ending the imps of King Henry the Eighth, when the last line hath been made the mean to waste and weed away all those that first should follow and succeed it. In the foresight whereof be not abused, neither by fair speeches that pretend better, nor by the difference of the ways used thereunto. For what variety soever is in the ways and means used to any one thing (if the fine and end be one) the fish, pardie, is caught for which the net was laid.

And therefore if your Queen, by art and cunning, be wrought to finish and extinct her own father's line by want of issue of her own body under pretence of a politic reserving her marriage as a trump in store against all events, and by violence and force to extirp the other line of her eldest aunt under pretence of her own security, the end of both two, thou seest, is one, and hath made the way plain to the pestilent purpose finally intended.

Now this correlation and comparison of that story past with this tragedy present, being enlarged (in a wise man's consideration) with infinite other parts wherein the same may aptly be resembled and do answer each other, having showed the one already to have extirped the issue and line of King Edward the Fourth, and the other now to tend to the rooting out of all the heirs of your blood royal (as well them that may yet come of King Henry the Eighth's body and line as all the rest that are already descended from his eldest sister Margaret, married to the King of Scotl.) that may claim before the issue and line of Mary, his younger sister, now called the house of Suffolk, unto which the two captains of this conjuration have united themselves and incorporated their successions, if thou shalt vouchsafe unto this (well kept in memory) to add also the politic and abundant provision made for the continuance and establishment of that third line and family, this end (I doubt not) shall appear so clear unto thee that though thou wouldst wink & close thine eyes against it, thou shalt palpably feel it and fall upon the account of it, whether thou wilt or no.

11 provisions for the
house of Suffolk.

Begin therefore with remembering how little it failed that that family had not set both your Q. and her sister besides the cushion in the year 1553. And let your Q.[s] own wisdom inform her whether her own entry at first, & reign ever since [sic] could have been (by common judgement) so quiet as they were if that family had standen in the same full force and hope at the death of her sister in which it stood at the death of her brother, or unto which it is now restored again.

2. Then consider how the weakness of that house, grown by the attainder of the last Duke of Suffolk, is now repaired again by uniting unto it the house of Hertford.

3. Behold how lately the remain of that line rested in two sole and silly ladies, destitute of parents, marriage, & endowment, and yet is now multiplied into choice of heirs males.
4. Behold again how the doubtfulness of that wedlock (grown upon a sentence pronounced by your Q.[‘s] commissioners) is cleared again (in their friends’ opinions) by the seals of certain foreign universities, and by the firms of sundry famous learned men obtained to the question by the travail of Rob. Beale in the year 1563, and procured by the counsel of the two Catilines, and is reserved in secret to serve the turn when the day cometh.
5. Consider with this the books and libels spread & cast abroad in the year 1566, made in the preference of the title of that line and house only, and to the prejudice and disproof of the right of all other heirs that by blood and descent might claim before it, and copies of the same given out (in print, as it is said) to remain in the hands of the faction only till the time come to use them.
6. Behold how the prince’s displeasure conceived against all them that were parties both to the unknown coupling and to these blind books, seeming great at first, is by time so cunningly extenuated that the parties at this day have more credit than ever before.
7. Consider again the severity used to suppress and keep out the book written in the defence of the honour and title of the heirs of the house of Scotland, descended from Margaret, the elder sister, how for that cause only the privileged person of an ambassador, against the law of nations, had hands laid on him, remaineth yet prisoner, his servant tormented and betrayed in close prison, and both yet threatened and endangered of their lives, and look withal how your own mouths are stopped, and your ears are closed, and your hands tied among yourselves, everyone from speaking, hearing, or writing mutually one to another in the defence or advancement of the honour or right of any of that house, & how freely with favour & thanks every man may speak & write what he will in preference of the other.
8. Behold also how importunately your Q. was pressed by her nobility, by her Council, and by Parliaments one or two to declare a successor, in the time, I mean, whiles that family of Suffolk was so friended, & had made such a party by the authority of these two Catilines that they thought no competitor could have been heard against them. And lay that unto the present state of that affair now, I mean how penally & cruelly it is by Parliament prohibited that no successor at all shall be named or known, whiles these of the younger house (for their authority with your Q.) have the judgement & jurisdiction with terror to stop all mouths that shall speak or write of the right of the elder house, & with all severity do it, and have like power to wink at, to excuse, and reward all those that shall set forth the younger, which also they do.
9. Then consider how the captain Catiline of this conjuration now linketh himself with the noblest & ancientest of your nobility (least in credit, I mean), how strong thereby he maketh himself, & what a party he and his family, with their adherence

and the number of strangers by them brought in, shall be able to make, being so rich in revenue, so stuffed with treasure, & friended for that preferment that by his place with your prince he giveth and denieth to & fro[m] whom he list, now (I mean) whiles the rest of your nobility are so diminished in number, decayed in credit, disgraced and defaced, and every way brought so low and so bare.

10. Behold also how the Duke of Northfolk, being by birth and blood a member of that younger line now of Suffolk, was honoured and esteemed by these two Catilines, and his credit every way advanced and commended for many years together whiles they nothing doubted to have him (for kindred' sake) the principal pillar and head of their faction. And lay that to the depth of all dejection and disgrace that forthwith and suddenly he was turned and tumbled into as soon as ever he had given show of his affection to unite and join himself (in a nearer manner of union) unto the elder house of Scotland.

11. Lastly, if you forget not, the house of Hertford now united to Suffolk (and consequently these two Catilines incorporated thereby unto both) is the family which first called and created (as it were) the principallest of the two from Cambridge school to credit of court, you shall see that by this mean he hath well provided both for his avarice & ambition, these noble families being already linked unto him by three strong bands, by cousinage, first to the one and now to both, by being a chicken of Hertford's brood, and by advancing it to match with the blood royal, and now looketh by the fourth alone to make the band stronger than by the other three, if he may, I mean, bring his purpose to pass of wasting and weeding all away that are between them and the regal seat. Then is he sure still to govern & reign, which is the point that chiefly he aspireth to. Then shall he be sure to keep his lands & goods corruptly gotten, whereof he standeth in doubt and fear. Then shall his succession be cousins to the crown, and annumbered among the noblest; what more afterward, who wottest yet?

Many other provisions might be here remembered, made by these Machiavels for their own assurance to the evident prejudice & contempt of your prince, to the danger of her crown & state, & threatening plainly the ruin of your realm, but that my purpose for this time hath been rather (by showing some few things in brief manner) to induce yourselves to the larger sight and memory of mo, than to dilate matters historically till they shall be somewhat riper, and more fully fallen out.

Now therefore that you have seen but the shadow, as it were, or a few brief notes of that monstrous massa [sic] that might be showed you of the tragical treasons and false sleights daily put in ure & committed among you, I shall leave the rest to be collected by your own wisdoms, not doubting but that if with leisure ye vouchsafe to look deeply into these few memories here laid before you, they shall suffice to bring much more to your own minds (that are in your own country's affairs more informed & better exercised) than I (that am but a stranger among you) can come to know, or dare yet express.

**Let deeds and not words
be judge.**

And that which I have said, resting (as you see) not in meanings only, nor in devises & determinations alone (as all the slanderous accusations of these princes alleged in this libel do consist), but being things put in ure and execution, as every man knoweth, it shall behove you, like wise men, so to deem of the meaning & judge the intent, not as deceivable words may abuse and give show, but as the facts do purport and minister cause. By which line and square if ye measure your judgement, ye shall then easily discern not only the vanity of the several accusations of this libel in themselves, and the tenth of the particular answers made unto every of them apart, but also the fatal feud & deadly malice from whence those surmises are risen & sprung, to wit, from the roots of ambition and malice only, whose nature being insatiable, it never ceaseth whiles any matter remaineth whereon it may work.

**Neither innocency nor
overture can avail the Q.
of Scotl.**

And therefore do the Q. of Scotland what she will, offer what she can, and be she whatsoever she may be, wise men think & long have said that she seeth not the worst but the best of her state whiles these two Catilines sit at the stern of your commonwealth, whom nothing will satisfy whiles aught lieth in the way between them & their mark. But whatsoever tendeth to prevent that end that they shoot at, as I have showed you, must be turned & termed dangerous to your Q., tending to rebellion, moving troubles to the state, seditious and slanderous, and I wot not what besides, as by this libel appeareth.

And whosoever is foreseen not likely to be won to be an instrument and mean to advance that end of theirs, be he whatsoever by nature, by duty, or affection, never so near to your queen by blood, never so dear a friend, never so faithful a subject, never so affectionate a servant, yea, or by grace never so sincere of life, he must & shall be persecuted with fire and sword, & either by sudden murder taken away, or by false accusations condemned, defamed, and brought to disgrace as a traitor, conspirator, rebel, and slanderous sower of seditions, and finally wasted and weeded away by one mean or other, as by these noble princes, the nearest of your Q.[‘s] blood, the most affectionate unto her of any two that live, I dare say, and by the rest of your nobility and gentlemen now fled, imprisoned, and otherwise defaced (no few in number, if they be well marked) doth manifestly appear.

**A glass presented to the
Queen.**

And now that you have also seen (sensibly, I trust, though succinctly touched) some of those other great treasons (for hard it were to tell you of all) that are indeed daily committed among you & little espied, nor but by few discerned for the plausible pretences that they go covered and disguised withal, forasmuch as the whole body and corps of this conjuration, and all the practices by which it is compassed (be they never so impious in the sight of God, never so odious in the sight of man, never so traitorous to your Q., never so dangerous to your realm, never so loathsome to him that hath any spark of honesty left in him, nor never so manifest & apparent to them that are not natural fools) are made yet to bear and carry a face and show like a right Sinon’s horse, or a sacrifice to your Pallas or Diane, coloured & painted, I mean, with the bright glittering titles of your Queen’s service, safety, honour, and profit, & be as boldly published and as impudently avowed by books, proclamations, by letters of authority to all countries and courts,

by open orations & secret subornations of whisperers at home, to dazzle the dim-sighted eyes, to claw the itching ears, and to fill the hungry mouths of the babbling multitude as if all were meant and intended only for her quietness, honour, and security in her seat, and by this bright shining show and pleasant sound do the sooner deceive both herself & every other good subject besides (for every honest man must needs allow all careful provision for a prince's surety, and few are so deep-sighted that they can look through the timber or wood to see what is hidden in the hollow horse within), forasmuch also as this terrible tragedy seemeth not yet so nigh to his end but that there are many players not yet come to the stage that are like to play bloody parts in the same (for of the blossoms already showed you, the fruits must be looked for as the harvest time of this sowing season that you have seen), and because the losses and detriments thereof partly are, and more will be, irrecoverable and above all recompense if it go on unprevented in time (for besides many other, what can countervail or restore the infinite ruins that go comprehended in displacing of princes, and in wresting the succession of crowns from their due course?), and prevented it cannot be whiles the mischievous mystery remaineth unperceived, and while you hearken still to the siren's song that this horse of Sinon's soundeth without forth, and do not hearken nor tend to know what treason to Troy he bringeth in his bosom, forasmuch likewise as the most principal and of all other the most pernicious art used to compass and to contrive this treason, and that never wanteth nor is absent from any part or practice thereof, resteth and consisteth chiefly in abusing your Queen with lies, fables, and false persuasions, some finely forged and other gross enough, so heaped yet [sic?], and thick laid out, one in another's neck, and every one so boldly bolstering out other, that the very impudency and copious flood of them deceiveth many modest minds that without great trial and long experience cannot ween it were possible that all should be so false as they are, being laid out by any that beareth the face of a reasonable man. And finally, forasmuch as no line can be a surer measure to deem or divine of things unseen and undone than is the observation of things past, nor no credit being more equally due or attributed to any man's words or deeds that are obscure, to come, or of doubtful event than answerably to his former faith and honesty and as he hath in other words and deeds appeared to deserve, I have upon these considerations thought it necessary here to conclude with laying before you, or rather (in speaking to you) by presenting to your Q. some few images or looking-glasses, as it were, drawn out of the matters before remembered.

Wherein and by which (if she vouchsafe to consider them) she shall, as in patterns or samplers of things done & past, plainly see and discern not only what is to come and to be looked for hereafter, but the very truth also of her own and your states present as they are, which it passingly importeth both her and yourselves, and your nobility most of all, nakedly to behold without veil or vizard, and to be no longer abused nor deceived as you have been in the sight & judgement of your own affairs, but that you may by lively precedents of things freshly passed, wisely and in time foresee what is coming, that being warned you may be half armed, that by other men's harms you may provide to be harmless, & that you may rather prevent the wound before you receive it than seek to salve it when it shall be too late.

**The sight of the truth
preserveth your Q.**

This art of abusing you by lies, this crafty circumvention of your Queen by false and subtle arguments, making both her and you all to ween your form of governance to be far other than it is, making you believe your doings & proceedings to be otherwise deemed of than they are, persuading you that the world abroad is blinded and abused by your words and pretences as most of your own are at home, terming that to be your Queen's honour that is her manifest reproach, calling that her safety that is her evident danger, naming that to be for her service that is every way loss and dishonour unto her, pretending that to be for the common quiet of the realm that is indeed the apparent confusion and ruin of the same, and finally feigning that of your doings foreign or domestical you have not to care, nor need not regard, what any other nation say or think because you are an absolute monarchy within yourselves, these and such other wrong conceits grounded upon fraudulent reasons and crafty arguments, being to your own sights and outward show like deceivable spectacles before your eyes that make white things appear green & one thing many unto your sights, forasmuch as it were a plain injury to your Q. to prejudicate her so much as to think her so unnatural as to be careless of her own honour and state present, of the prosperity of her succession, of the quiet of her people and realm, and of the noble fame & renown of both in time to come when nature shall have exacted of her the tribute of this life (for that were as much as to condemn her of plain infidelity, atheism, and more than Moorish Mahometism), and careless plainly must she be thought to be both of the one and the other if being made to see the horrible outrages, the dangerous detriments, and dishonorable infamies that daily and hourly do spring and appear in the particular practices of this conjuration, both towards her people, her nobles, her nearest of blood, her own person and state, her posterity forever, her fame among men, & to her soul before God, and likewise, if having the great vanity and deadly malice of the covins and crafts contrived to cloak the same withal laid open before her and made plain unto her -- if it were, I say, too much wrong to think that yet she would be careless to prevent them, or prefer the present and private before the remedy and provision for the common and perpetual, it shall not therefore (I trust) be tedious or fulsome to the indifferent reader that for conclusion of this pamphlet I do assay to lay open before her some few of the treasons and practices before touched, nakedly, alone, and bare as they stand, and as they be of themselves without those lying covers & defences that are laid aloft over them, by severing & removing them, I mean, from those false additions, lewd and loud lies, that go over-linked and joined unto them. To the end that both she & yourself may see them in their own likeness as other men do behold them, that you may look on them with like eyes as other men do, that you may judge of them as the indifferent sort doth, that you may know them for such as of truth they be, and that you may by them, as in lively images and true looking-glasses, see and discern all the rest, and thereby leave at length to deceive yourselves as long as you have done by looking upon these matters with partial and affected sights, and by making a far unlike judgement of them unto that which all equal eyes do deem and discern them to be, yea, imagining them to be of a clean contrary shape and form from that which they show to all the world besides yourselves, not all unlike to them that, dancing naked in a net, suppose that no man seeth their unclean parts, which every man beholdeth and laugheth at. And that

you may yet in time (if you take hold of it) help and assist your Q. to deliver herself of this long thralldom and abusion wherein she lieth tied hand and foot, as it were, with lies, fables, & painted words put upon such poisoned deeds as for their own vile substance would shatter, moulder, & come to nothing of themselves in every man's sight if they had not those forged persuasions mingled always with them as mortar or lime to hold them together, and by which malicious mixture she is dragged and drawn to her own passing detriment and to the irreparable ruin of her realm forever.

**The change of religion
laid naked.**

1. And not to trouble you with many, since the sight of a few may serve to make your own wisdoms to look for the like in the rest that shall be showed you in these, turn again to behold a little the first public action of these men's regiment, the violent innovation of religion, by law, I mean. Whereof though I have at some length treated already, & may therefore seem (to some perhaps) over-often to iterate one thing, yet shall I not long hold you therein, nor appear tedious, I trust, to any indifferent reader that weigheth the importance which this cause carrieth in it for so many divers and sundry respects as have not yet been spoken of nor can here be all remembered. Let that change of religion, I say, be viewed by itself, stripped out of those vain fables and idle lies suggested to draw your Queen unto it.

10 lies stripped from it.

And first, weed from it the untrue surmise that said the change was convenient because she could not assure herself of her Catholics etc., as if they that, having all in their hands, received and settled her in her state, that ever since, I say (and for twelve years' time no man will deny) have quietly sustained manifest oppression in body and goods, evident abasement in honour and credit, violence, pillage, and disgrace every way, without fault or offence, or without foot or finger moved against her, might with any reason or colour be feared or mistrusted of rebellion if they had found favour & justice.

2. Cut from it likewise that feigned devise that said it was necessary against the Scottish title & French faction then etc., as if the ancient and universal alienation of all English hearts from those nations specially, as if the firm amity of the Catholic King of Spain, well witnessed by his motion at that time to have married with your Queen, and well tried by his refusing to conclude any peace with France in the year 1559 till England were satisfied for Calais, as if the very policy of all his own countries (truly testified by the nameless discourser of the intended marriage between the Queen of Scotland and the Duke of Norf.), as if the factions in Scotl. itself, and as if the low state that France was then in (as appeared by their peace then taken with so many disadvantages) sufficed not to show how vain that suggestion was, and how contemptible the worst that they could have done.

3. Take that lie also from it that persuaded the change to be requisite to satisfy and win the party Protestant at home, feigned to be the stronger faction etc. Which was then so far the weaker indeed that none at all appeared, neither member nor head, no, nor Sinon himself, that then durst seem to be of that side, and when the Catholics had in their hands the whole governance and authority, the navy, the ports, the armour, the treasures, the offices of credit, assured also of the aid and

support (if your Q. stood indifferent) of the see apostolic, of the King of Spain, and of him of France also, who of purpose to attend the purging of his realm from the Protestant pestilence (crept into his country by long licentious wars) had even then dearly bought his peace with Spain, as every man knoweth.

4. Pare from it also that lie and false art that made your Queen believe that all princes adjoining (to have the spoil of their churches) would follow her example in that attempt etc. Whereas manifest experience hath taught every man not only that no-one will follow her, but also that both the chief, that is to say, they of Spain and France, have consumed their treasure, have bestowed the lives and blood of their subjects in great numbers both by battle and justice, and have sustained all personal peril and danger of their states rather than they would admit that atheism into their countries. And look on Denmark, Germany, Swetia, Polonia and Moscovia too, if you will, and see whether any one of them all can be induced by her example to go one jot further forward than they were before.

Yea, look on all the free cities of Eastland or elsewhere, & on Hamburg itself, where they preach publicly that whoso lodgeth any man of the English religion is an host unto Satan, and lodgeth a devil in his house. And against their impudency that will say all these countries and cities last named were of your religion before, and be all one with you, let their churches decently adorned with images, let their altars standing, let their doctrine of Christ's real presence in the sacrament, let the use of auricular confession, of private Mass, of Latin service, and of infinite other points of the old religion permitted to all that will, let every gate of their cities, every highway in their countries, decked with crucifixes and crosses, being all public marks and known differences between their religion and yours, let them, I say, give evidence and testify not only that no prince nor lawful magistrate in Europe hath followed her example, but also that never any yet did lead her the way, in that exorbitant course, I mean, that she hath been misled to run.

5. Sever it also from that smooth and sweet lying speech pretending that they meant not to constrain any man's conscience, forsooth, either to force any man to come to their sects till God, pardie, should draw him, nor to leave and lack the use of his own religion in quiet and private manner etc., whereas within less than one year they expelled all the religious of the realm that would live in their order or habit, they took away their houses and lands without colour of cause, and forthwith after deprived the bishops and clergy, removed the laity (all in effect) from Queen, from Council, from credit and office in court and in country.

And of the rest since let the sundry imprisonments, arraignments, amercements & other public punishments of all sorts of Catholics, yea, of widows and women only for hearing Mass in a corner, let the multitude of them that are called up by process, that remain in bands, that are fled, hidden, and in prison for not taking the oath and communion and for not coming to sermons and service, yea, let the pining deaths in stinking prisons of all your old clergy (in effect) that never made fault, let these, I say, speak and declare what meaning there was hidden under those sugared shows.

6. Lay aside also from it that idle plea and forged defence that will ascribe the quietness of your Queen's reign hitherto unto that innovation and change of religion etc., since every man knoweth that by the Catholics only she entered, by them only she was placed, by them established and confirmed in her royal seat, and by them chiefly obeyed and maintained ever since, chiefly, I say, by them, who are well known to be most in number and strongest party yet, if she stood indifferent.

Yea, who seeth not plainly the contrary, to wit, that by that change she gave her adversary, King Henry of France, a manifest advantage against her, such as must needs increase the allowance of his quarrel and decay the force of her defence, to the doubling of her danger and trouble? For though the several deaths of two French Kings in so short time as could not be looked for did abetter the sequel of that rash attempt more than could be hoped of, yet doth that event following nothing commend the temerity of that fact and counsel preceding, so as every man of common sense must needs confess that the quietness of her reign is more to be attributed to God's secret ordinance, to the peaceful nature of the greatest princes in her time, and to the loyal fidelity and conscience of her Catholics, than to the temerarious and wilful mutations made by her Machiavellians.

7. 8. Take from it also those two manifest lies that pretended the change to be for conscience' sake, and for truth of the doctrine etc., as if the old faith of the church from Christ's days to your own, and the general faith of your own and all other nations that ever professed Christ's name had been false and erroneous. And as if they could be said to have conscience in religion that have no one religion, but that like the mutable chameleon (that liveth without substance by air only, and changeth his colour to whatsoever it standeth on, white only excepted) have for substantial religion certain imaginative opinions which they alter with every time they live in, the time of truth excepted, & do daily pass & change from one sect to another in such manner that now after 14 years' end, no man yet wotteth which sect shall prevail.

And who seeth not that, whatsoever your words are, your deeds do convince that to be a manifest lie, even from the beginning? For did you not even at first prohibit all Catholic preachings? Did you not by bands tie the Catholics specially from all private writing & speaking against your heresy? Did you not close them up in prison and keep them in constituted houses because they should not dwell among your people, lest by their words or examples they might stay the multitude in the Catholic faith? Doth not your prohibition of all books written against your doctrine, and your extreme punishments inflicted for having, keeping, or reading of them plainly imply & convince that yourselves then did, and yet do, see and know that your doctrine is false and not able to abide trial of learning? Yea, did not Grindal, Parker, Pilkington and some other confess the same to some yet living witnesses by these express words that (whatsoever the truth were) being now begun, it must be gone through withal for credit and reputation's sake?

9. Remove it also from that flattering lie by which the parasites and claw-backs have your Q. in hand that by the change of religion she should clear the question of her mother's marriage & of her own legitimation etc., whereas clean contrarily she raised & revived thereby the buried question & scruple thereof, which time had so put to silence & brought in oblivion that neither was herself nor her interest to her crown any way prejudiced by that in the opinion of subject at home nor of friend abroad. But on the other side, by that mutation offensive to so many, her father's life and manners, her mother's marriage and death, yea, her own birth and conversation is made the subject and matter of much secret talk at home among her own, and of more open speech and penning everywhere abroad.

Tenthly, that the minister lack not one lie for his tithes, strip it out of that covin and crafty lie that bare you in hand at first that the change was no change nor repugnancy in religion, but that both were one in substance & effect, & that both parts might be saved well enough because they believed in one Jesus Christ etc., and see what your ministers tell you now, & whether in their pulpits any crime be exclaimed on comparably to the old faith & religion. Yea, see whether open adultery, professed usury, purposed perjury, sacrilege, incest, slaughter of priests, murder of Catholics, marriage of brother & sister together, or aught else be punishable equally to the confession of the Catholic faith.

And can these two religions be called one in effect whereof the one teacheth that to be idolatry and the highway to hell that the other doth adore as the chiefest outward honour, sacrifice, & service that man can do or give to God in this life? And can that be called one in effect whereof whoso professeth the affirmative shall die as a traitor by the rigour of this your new law, & he that professeth the negative goeth condemned for an heretic by your own & all other old laws of Christendom? *Et sic de caeteris*. For the differences be mo than can be expressed, more repugnant than white and black, & more notorious than a man's nose in his face.

These examples now sufficing to show you the vanity, the absurdity, the false sleights and malicious arts used to draw your Q. unto that change, & the discovery also & disproof of them resting not in words & affirmations, but proved by time and consisting in fact, which can deceive no man, being a just balance in and by which you may measure and weigh all the other fraudulent reasons and crafty arguments suborned unto her to wind her into the rest, and may be assured to find them like unto these that you have heard -- laying them apart, I say, from that mutation and change (as your reason, I suppose, seeth cause to do), let us now return a little to behold that innovation as it standeth alone by itself and without this false furniture which you have heard, that the change may appear to yourselves in the own similitude and same form in which it showeth itself to every other man that hath common sense & standeth indifferent, whom your Sinons cannot blear and blind nor deceive with sugared terms put upon unsavoury things, as they have done your Queen and all the rest almost of your own at home.

**The true anatomy of the
new religion.**

Being aparted therefore from them, see now how this change looketh and what it is of itself. A change it is, made from one religion that you had, unto an apparence of many, and to none at all indeed. From ancient unto new, if any be; from universal and common, to private & singular; from that which had the uniform consent of yourselves at home & of all the chief Christian nations of Europe besides, unto that or them in which neither yourselves are agreed nor no monarchy christened agreeth with you.

A change from a religion governed by a just monarch to a monstrous policracy of so many heads as there are princes, yea, of women heads, of children heads, and of popular heads, as though there were as many gods as there be absolute princes, & as if it were lawful to have as many divers forms of regiment in the church of God, which can be but one, as we may have several policies in civil kingdoms, be they never so many.

A change from that which was planted by poor apostles unto this that is planted by the usurpers of princes' powers.

A change from that which made fishers apostles unto this that makes friars apostatas.

A change from that which was builded by preaching and persuading unto this that is erected by plain cruelty & constraint. A change from that which was spread through the world at first, & ever since maintained, by the written gospels and epistles of silly, simple, weak, and base men, unto this which by arquebuses and pistolets of armed soldiers is first intruded & then maintained everywhere.

A change from that which by no least penalty constrained any man to leave the faith or religion that he had, unto this which by fear of authority, by commandments of commissioners, by processes with sureties, by bonds & other vexations, by fines, by ameracements, by deprivation from livings, by turning out of offices, by disgrace in country, by defacement in court, by displeasure of the prince, by loss of lands, by confiscation of goods, by personal imprisonment, yea, by sundry deaths, some long & lingering, other short and violent, compelleth most men by word or by deed, in more or in less, to fall from the faith in which they were baptized.

**All the clergy left by
Q. Mary,
B. Fisher,
Sir Tho. More,
German,
Gardiner,
Powell,
Abel,
Fetherstow, etc.**

A change from that which did draw no man unwillingly to it unto this which by infinite violences forceth men to accept it, yea, makes them that by grace and wisdom do abhor it yet seem to allow it. A change from that which by ancient and general laws corrected only those that would needs depart from it when they had freely first professed it, unto this which by a new and private law, yea, before law, above law, and without law, punisheth, impoverisheth, imprisoneth, and every way oppreseth them that never accepted it nor yet allowed of it.

A change from that whose first fruits were to run into wilderness, to forsake the world and all the felicities of this life, unto this whose first fruits are to rob churches, to make monks and friars to rob their cloisters, the vowed women to run away with varlets, the professed men to steal away laymen's wives and daughters, and to make them rob their husbands and fathers.

A change from that whose bishops & priests promised chastity, & for far the greatest number lived continent lives, unto this whose bishops and priests (if it have any) profess procreation, & many of them plurality of wives. A change from that which was served by the ministry of them that had been brought up in learning, order, and obedience, unto this whose ministers are made of tinkers, cobblers, broom-men, chimney-sweepers, kennel-rakers, and of the basest in quality and lewdest of condition that can be found among the people because the honest sort will not accept the vocation.

A change, I say, from a bridle against sin to a spur of all iniquity. From that which feared men from doing ill to this which feareth men from doing well, lest thereby they may be thought Papists. From that which by hope of God's reward invited men to good works, unto this which by hope of man's advancement allureth men to mischief. From conscience in ceremonies, to defy sacraments. From contrition of heart for sin, to induration of heart in sin. From confession of sin by mouth, to concealing of sin by oaths. From seeking to satisfy for sin, to double and heap sin upon sin. From shamefast and seldom swearing, to open and usual perjury. From fear to lie, to plain and usual impudency. From building of chapels, to robbing of churches. From erecting altars, to overthrowing of abbeys. From praying for souls, to suppressing of chantries. From giving of alms, to dissolving of hospitals. From creeping into conents [sic], to bragging in courts. From vowing of chastity, to marrying of monks. From consecrating virgins, to wedding nuns & friars. From promising poverty, to professed usury. From voluntary obedience, to obstinate ambition. From fasting fish-days, to flesh on Fridays. From watching in prayers, to sleeping by pairs. From churchmen's praying, to laymen's preaching. From sermons by doctors, to women's lectures. From reasoning, to railing. From reverent speech, to scoffs and scorns at all holy things. From pulpits in churches, to fields & woods. From honouring of saints, to burning their images. From going in pilgrimage, to haunting of harlots. From visiting prisoners, to plying the groom-porters. From penance and pardons, to only faith. From weeping for sin, to laughing at sin. From scruple of small sins, to glory in great.

And from that which through charity contained men in the limits of piety, justice, temperance, and virtuous exercises, unto this, which by a solifidian hope first induceth in man looseness of life, rudeness of manners, wildness of looks, pride of speech, haughtiness of gesture, and a ruffian-like rushing into all vice, and after unto atheism, barbarism, or Mahomet's faith at least.

And from that which kept your feminine sex in all womanly gravity, unto this that leadeth them that be the zealous embracers of it into all jollity and gallantry. From

that which taught them maidenly bashfulness, to this that teacheth them to blush at nothing, & hath drawn them from the English sobriety to the French vanity. From the rare and plain speech of England, to the Spanish compliments. From cleanness by washing, to unsavoury painting. From moderate feeding, to Flemish quaffing, and from being the examples of modesty to all nations, to be the patronesses of bravery and of all lightness to all the dames of Europe by sucking, as it were, and selecting together the immodestest demeanours of every nation. From fear to hear, to be bold to speak, I will not say what. From sober looks, to light eyes. From sad & seldom speaking, to bold babbling whatsoever, lest they might seem ignorant. From learning of their husbands, to teaching their husbands. From obeying their parsons, to commanding their vicars. From working, to playing. From sparing, to spending. From hiding their locks, to embroidering their smocks. From samplers in their hands, to scarves on their arms. From books of prayer, to ballads of love. From occupying beads, to feathers in their heads. From wearing Christ's cross or image, to carry their friend's colours or visage. From distaff and needle, to follow the fiddle. From blushing to hear of marriage, to laughing to hear of love. From the bondage of wedlock with one, to the liberty of loving many. From a decent fearfulness convenient to their kind, to an undecent hardness for their sex. From trembling to see a sword drawn, to carrying of daggers and discharging of dags without fear at all. And (not to say all) from bashful modesty and shamefast behaviour comely for women, unto a more than mannish audacity in word, in deed, and in all demeanour, plainly repugnant to all holiness of life and to the qualities of a profitable wife, if she set aught by herself, I mean, or will be esteemed among her betters.

St. Tho. of Cant.

Math. Barr.

Gerard and Jane Danner.

A change, I say, from that religion which condemned all errors, unto this which containeth all heresies, no heresy almost, being of old condemned, that is not now among you revived & professed. Yea, unto this that by Parliament unsainteth saints canonized & confirmed by miracles 300 years together, unto this that for want of wives meet for gentlemen giveth by Parliament the lawful wife of the living labourer to be a knight's lady and leman. Unto this that for fear to lack lawful procreation bringeth forth children between brother and sister. And finally unto a religion that termeth it tyranny to burn heretics, by the common laws of Christendom more than twelve hundred years old, and by an English Parliament constituteth new capital crimes of her own creation only, such as never were crimes among yourselves before, nor to this day are not in the whole world besides.

Poltrout the soldier printed a saint for murdering his captain, the D. of Guise.

Lambert printed for a martyr by this Q. whom her father's own mouth sentenced to be burned.

A religion that forbiddeth the image of Christ crucified in church or elsewhere, and permitteth the pictures of paramours in every house. A religion that as treason forbiddeth the use of holy relics and consecrated things, and printeth for saints obstinate heretics publicly condemned, dying impenitent, and traitorous murderers of their masters. And so a religion that maketh your Q. to her own dishonour the bird that blemisheth her own nest by condemning her sister, her brother, her father, and all her progenitors as murderers of martyrs and slayers of saints, who condemned that for heresy whereof she for treason condemneth the contrary. A fit fruit for the first feminine head that ever took Moses' chair in Christ's church.

A religion of negatives, a religion of lies, a religion of liberty, a religion that leadeth to looseness and to all lewd life. A religion that of scripture denieth sundry whole volumes, that of the text itself corrupteth places infinite, and untruly translateth the rest, that should decide, I mean, any questions of controversy. And thereby (howsoever they abuse you with words of reverence unto scripture), a religion it is that leaveth you indeed no scripture at all by the judgement of your own laws. For if a writing razed in any least letter by a stranger, after the sealing, be justly pleaded not to be the deed of him that sealed it, how can your Bible be called the word of scripture of God, whereof so many whole books are denied, so many places corrupted and changed, so many texts falsely translated, and so many false glozes and expositions put upon it?

A religion that falsifieth the Fathers, that slandereth the Doctors, belieth the Popes, belieth the Emperors, belieth the practice of the church and all histories that do testify the truth of things past. A religion that hath neither extern sacrifice nor outward ceremonies other than by rebellion to deprive all princes that impugn it, by poison, by pistolets, or by treason to murder what Catholic soever lieth in their way, to lead nuns naked about the markets, to flay friars, to martyr monks, to kill priests, to make living men butts to shoot at & marks for arquebuses and handguns, to bowel men quick, to fry their flesh alive, and this to justify as acceptable sacrifices to their God, and as the most sacred ceremonies of their profession.

**French facts lately put in
ure & in print.**

A religion that generally everywhere is first apprehended, most zealously embraced, and most vehemently maintained by the lewdest of condition, the most vicious of manners, the most contentious, the busiest, unquietest, and worst of conversation. Whereof let every man's private experience give testimony, that may remember, I mean, the first preachers of this doctrine and the prime and most fervent disciples thereof in every town, city, village, parish, and household.

Mass.

A religion, I say, that calleth Christ in the sacrament an idol; that calleth the only sacrifice of the Christian church idolatry; that professeth it to be sin for any man to believe that fasting, praying, alms, vows, penance, or any other good work doth please God or appease his wrath; that teacheth your Christian faith to be false doctrine, and heresy to be the true faith of Christ; that teacheth the chiefest outward service and honour to God that ever was used where Christ's name was professed to be idolatry; that teacheth sacrilege, incest, and the wilful slaughter of sacred & anointed persons to be virtuous and acceptable to God; that teacheth the old, the common, and known way of salvation to be the highway to damnation. I call it therefore, by inevitable consequents, a religion that turneth darkness into light & light into darkness, and that teacheth hell to be heaven, and God himself to be the devil of hell. A change also I call it from that religion in which your Queen followed the steps of her progenitors and of all other princes, unto this wherein she is the first that ever usurped womanish primacy. From that wherein she was united with all great princes her neighbours, unto this in which she standeth post alone and hath neither prince nor lawful magistrate to accompany her. From that by which

**Adoration of the
sacrament.**

**The ends must needs be
contrary whose ways are
renouant.**

**Four Protestant Queens,
A.B., K. H., K. P., J.G.;**
three of them died
infamously and the fourth
escaped the fire narrowly.

she was assured to keep her old friends that were of ability to stand her in stead both at home & abroad, unto this for which some of necessity are forced to fall from her and the rest are decayed both in number and affection, and by which new enemies are engendered both secret and open, and no friend won that may be trusted and is worth the having. From that which was so light & easy to bear that never Christian king found himself weary of the burden thereof but her father alone, unto this, the deadly peise and weight whereof hath been so heavy and intolerable that it hath sunken & oppressed so infinite numbers of great, noble, & worthy personages (& of Queens especially) that have within these forty or fifty years assayed to uphold it, first in Germany, then in England, then in France & Scotland, & lastly in Flanders, that if your Q. should see the lamentable list of their names laid together, she might with reason, & would, I ween) beshrew their hearts full heartily that have made her a companion of so unfortunate a fellowship.

A change it is from that which of her own wisdom she was not willing to leave, unto this whereunto she was wrested with many perils, & without gain to herself, for their gain only that twisted her to it.

And to conclude, a change it is to a religion so plainly Turkish and heathen that nowhere hath it passed or fixed footing without leaving behind it the very prints and footsteps of Mahomet's armado. Whereof let them be judges that have seen in Hungary and Slavony the decayed cities, the wasted countries, the ruined buildings of all sorts, and the desolate aspect of all that falleth under man's eye where the Turk's army hath pitched any time, and have seen withal and will compare thereunto the subverted monasteries, the overthrown abbeys, the broken churches, the torn castles, the rent towers, the overturned walls of towns and fortresses, with the confuse heaps of all ruined monuments remaining yet as relics of this religion in those parts of France and Scotland where it hath had dominion. Yea, be yourselves judges that for your years can remember the standing of your abbeys, and do now behold the great difference and decay of all your own great cities and towns where your monasteries were planted, in comparison of the state that the same were in when the Catholic faith flourished among you.

Many other like properties and qualities it hath mo than can be showed you particularly which do contain danger, dishonour, and disprofit to your Queen and realm every way, but these be enough, I trow, to show it a change, and a change for the worse. Wherein if you think that fervour of spirit hath carried my pen too far, let the points be showed in which the indifferent reader remaineth unsatisfied, and they shall be justified, not by surmises and words only, but by demonstration of times, places, persons, and facts, as the matter will permit.

And this being the true shape and likeness in which your present religion appeareth and showeth itself to all men's eyes abroad (that are not, I mean, of the confederates), your wisdoms can discern how much it importeth that you leave at length to deceive yourselves therein by weening that your provincial Parliament can either alter the truth of the Christian religion, or blind the eyes of other nations,

or close the mouths and stay the pens of other men (howsoever by art and force you have done with your own), but that the same that was true before shall be true forever, and will be so said, deemed, and written forever, howsoever you forbid yours to say it, or hang them for saying it. And this is the first wall and ward of your commonwealth that is broken down to make an entry for your Sinon's horse that bringeth in his bosom the ruin both of the temple and town of your Pallas and Troy.

**2.
The violation of common
justice evident.**

Of your Queen's delivery of herself, her realm, and all her affairs so wholly into the hands of her two Catilines that all cases of importance, not by ordinary justice but by their wills and authority must be determined, that all be advanced that they commend and all oppressed whom they would abuse, what other, I say, is followed and doth ensue of this (if it be truly looked on without the lies sent out to shadow it) but that the justice of her realm generally is prostituted to be sold or hired by money, malice, or affection, few or none being that by themselves or their friends have not felt the smart of unjust decrees procured by bribery or for difference in religion? Yea, what matter cometh to hearing or sentence, where they two sit as chief, without bribery in so excessive manner as if their own two hands sufficed not to take fast enough without the help of their ladies, that must be presented also ere any end can be gotten of charges or suit? And can any man deny that a light crime in a Catholic is made most heinous, yea, very virtues in them punished for vices, and huge horrors in Protestants passed over or pardoned as light peccaduliums [sic]?

Eliz. An. 5, Cap. 1.

Consider your statute made for the oath of your womanish primacy, which under great penalties of praemunire, and of death by degrees, bindeth the inferior multitude unto that wherein it leaveth the nobility free. Weigh well the evident injustice and the passing absurdity of that law, and ye shall find it as vile a practice, as filthy a fetch, and as dangerous a dishonour as ever was contrived.

The meaning of the act, ye wot, containeth as well matter of conscience between God and man's soul as matter of duty and bond between prince and subject. Now whoever heard that the gentleman and yeoman, the artisan and the labourer, have to account for that before God whereof the baron, the viscount, the earl and duke stand free & not chargeable? As if the one sort had souls and the other none at all, or as if the poor and mean man were bound in the sight of God with heart to believe & with mouth to confess so special a point of faith and doctrine whereof the nobleman is free and bound to neither of both.

And was it ever heard of or read before now that any monarch or prince was more a king over his subject that is a gentleman or under, than over his vassal that is a lord or above? Or that one of them was bounden to acknowledge such a title and superiority in his sovereign as the other might safely deny? Yea, the self and same, for the third refusal whereof the greatest number infinitely must by this law die as traitors, & the fewer number freely may, not only three times, but thirteen, thirty, and three hundred times refuse it, and bid their king go whistle him, and charge

them withal over whom he hath authority in that behalf? Look you upon the consequents which of very just reason that law carrieth in it. Let the degrees be surveyed between the lowest labourer and the greatest duke in your dominion. And according to the difference of their dignities, let your prince's jurisdiction over them be rated and proportioned in such wise that over the highest force his regality be least, over the meaner and middle sort somewhat more, and over the lowest sort greatest of all, in as many different proportions as there are differences of degrees among your people (and so of reason ought it to be, if this law be an equal pattern and precedent), and then shall you see your kingly prerogative and authority so measured and minced from more to less till your duke may account himself fellow with his king, and the poor man must take his king for more than a God. Can anything be thought upon more unjust and absurd before God and the world?

Behold you also how base and filthy the practice was, that to win somewhat in so vile an enterprise (which to all the nobility appeared so far out of course and so repugnant to reason that they could not possibly be induced to yield themselves subject to a yoke so exorbitant and opposite both to God's law and man's), the caitiffs so circumvented yet both the states of the nobility and commons that the one accepted such a thralldom as never before was laid on Christian men's necks (for by King Henry his law, the commons were that way no further bounden than was the very noblest of the realm), and the other, by oppressing the people with such a burden whereof themselves would be free, incurred so dangerous and so dishonourable an infamy as will not in many ages be cleared again.

For was there ever practice more infamous or perilous unto the whole state of your nobility than by such a mean to put a pique between themselves on the one party, and all the gentlemen and commons of the realm on the other party, who should feel themselves loaden and burdened with such an oppression both towards God and their prince as the nobility that clogged them would bear no part of it with them?

Could anything possibly have been devised more injurious to the people, more infamous to the nobility, and more like to bring the rulers in contempt of the inferiors, and to make the base people repine at their superiors' government? But I tarry too long in opening the iniquity of that which is so manifest and so palpable an injustice of itself. Let us therefore consider another.

Behold likewise the equal ordinance of your Wednesday's fast, where the rich sort that are fewest, being able to buy flesh and fish, may freely eat both, and the poor sort most in number, being unable to buy fish, must either get white meat or eat stones. And see what justice it is that forbiddeth the subject to honour, to acknowledge, or to confess his duty & office to his sovereign that shall be, or so much as to have his person or name fixed before the eyes of his mind to obey him the better when the time shall come.

Eliz. An. 5, Cap. 5.

And look upon the equality of that law that, creating a new crime of that which was none, ordaineth the penalty thereof to have relation and to take place from 14 years before the crime was constituted or any offence committed. These things, you see, do bear the names and titles of laws. And were there ever things heard of that more directly impugned common justice?

Many examples mo might be brought you of the open violation of the justice of your realm which I call the rupture and ruin of the second wall and ward of your commonwealth, broken down to bring in the hollow horse that I have told you of. Wherein abuse yourselves how you will, and at your pleasure stop the mouths of your own, but prevail you cannot to stay other men from seeing and saying as they find it indeed, that is to say, naught else but the raising, enriching, & strengthening of those two Catilines and their confederates, with the weakening & prejudice of your Queen, with the injury of your nobility, with the pillage of your people, & with the general detriment of your whole realm.

**3.
The waste of nobility and
hope of foreign force
manifest.**

Then come to the estate of your ancient nobility at home, & of your foreigners brought in from abroad. I put them together because I would be as brief as I can. Consider whether ever the one were brought so low, or the other ever risen to that greatness & strength, since the smoke of your Conquest was extinguished. Account the number of your dukes, earls, & barons fled, imprisoned, impoverished, defamed, disgraced, & brought into your prince's disfavour. If you behold it (as other men do) aparted from the lies put forth to excuse it, & finding them not so few in number as fourteen or fifteen, and of your principallest, it must appear many in your commonwealth.

Of knights and gentlemen of good ability, above four hundred may be named unto you that at this day are brought into the same predicament. And where these are gone afore, what can the rest yet behind in reason look for? Can he that yet is safest look long to be so, having seen the Duke of Northfolk, your Q.[s] nearest cousin, entrapped before him? Can any of you hope that your loyalty shall defend you, or can the best of you possibly bear unto your sovereign a more reverent devotion that he did? Can any of you be more circumspect, more careful, more loath to offend, than he was? Can any of you be more desirous of your prince's favour, more fearful to lose it, more unwilling to hazard your goods, to endanger your states, to defame your families, to extinct your successions than he and the rest were that you see fallen before you?

Nay, if you behold it with undeceived sights, as other men do, look ye for it, my lords, you, I say, that are yet much made of (lulled and culled in Catiline's arms), that some of you sooner and some later, the most and chiefest of you must drink of the dregs that Norf. & the rest have left in that cup, and ye soonest that are counted wisest, stoutest, & least likely (for the honour & wisdom seen in you) to be won to the setting up of the family of Suffolk before the due time. For neither less nor better doth the indifferent & foreign man look to see of this present spoil of so many noble persons, nor can find any other in the calling in and maintenance of the

flood of foreigners into the bowels of your country, & in planting of pirates to replenish your ports (under the cover of painted prohibitions & printed proclamations for their departure), but a plain preparation made for a flat alteration of your state & government by weeding your own away that were like to withstand it, and by force of foreigners, if home force fail, to be able to bring it unto effect. And this is it that I call the battery and flat breach of the third defence of your monarchy, opened to induce that wooden beast that bringeth in his belly the displacing of your Priam & all his posterity, the razing of your city & country of Troy, & the eversion of the temple of your goddess for whose sacrifice & service it pretendeth to come in.

**4.
A true description of the
party Protestant.**

Be content likewise to hear the account that other nations, yea, and your own too if they durst show it, do make of your erection of that crew and band of the party Protestant, which lying till your Queen's time like a dead lump of flesh without spirit or life was by her Machiavellians first set afoot and brought forth to show their face in the world. Divide it, I say, from the lies suborned to countenance and accompany it; if you will behold it as other men do, you must acknowledge it as the creation of a confederate company of licentious and unbridled persons dispersed in every country (as the Jews lately were), that being limited by no law of God or of conscience (nor yet of man, where they be of strength to show it), are the professed enemies of all monarchy and kingly dominion. Which whoso seeth not is more than beetle-blind, so gross and senseless, or else so impudent and shameless, that he is as unworthy to be talked and reasoned withal as is a stock or an image of stone.

**Where they are able,
there they usurp the
governance.**

The professed poison I call it, of all kingly regiment. Whereof can any man be ignorant now, that hath seen this fourteen years' experience of every country where the confederates for number and strength have been bold to show themselves? How they have, I mean, somewhat by art & elsewhere by force, either won the dominion into their own hands or have given proud pushes for it, with the great consumption of the nobility, with excessive slaughter of the people, with the prince's passing charge and danger of state.

In Engl. by art.

In England you see what by art they have won and who reigneth indeed by and under the name of your Queen. And for proof, if she have been always well inclined of herself to favour her cousin and sister of Scotl. (as, no doubt, she hath been), and yet that favour so little availed that under the cover thereof the clean contrary hath been compassed, and all possible oppressions laid on her that her deadliest enemy could devise under that wing & protection of your Queen's good affection till by degrees she be come to the state you see her in, let this be one mark to show you who reigneth indeed, whosoever beareth the name. And if your Queen saved the other's life in Lochleven (as it is believed she did), and yet the other brought now by other means and in another place into more danger of life than ever she was there, let that speak and tell you who ruleth and bringeth his will to effect. For can it be thought that they that defame, deprive, and imprison a prince do mind any less than to destroy him at last?

And can any man with reason think that if Sinon did not intend by one mean or other to make her away, would his shrewd head defame himself in this manner, and spot his own fame among all men with the just suspicion of procuring her murder though she should fortune to die by nature, by casualty, or by others' fault, as a great woman did not long since (you know) of whose death, he knoweth, some guiltless persons were infamed faulty? And how near death hath she been once or twice already through duress of imprisonment? Or is there any difference in substance and effect which way she die (if her days be shortened by malice of man), whether it be by short and bloody violence, by intoxication, or by such manner holding and entreating her as by experience they know shall kill her in little more tract of time? This being seen (I say) to be done to her whom your Queen hath saved, and would save, tell me then who is found to reign as king indeed, whether he or she?

If your invasions into Scotland and France, if the money sent to pay rebels in both, and if the commissions and process to call the Catholics to the oath and communion, were done and sent, some without your Queen's knowledge, and the rest against her opinion and advice, let these things bear witness who hath the dominion.

Yea, if their contempt of her be such and so manifest that every man seeth how they cozen and scorn her in whatsoever question her pleasure impugneth theirs, be it for case of religion, for matter of war, for her cousin of Scotl., for advancing or defacing, for punishing or rewarding, or whatsoever else, how slyly they smile at her in their sleeves, in apparence yielding unto her words, and winding her finely to yield to their deeds either by weeping to her face when they laugh behind her back, or by feigning sickness for sorrow when they fret for anger, till she send to comfort them & do relent to their lusts -- if this practice, I say, be so frequent & common that no court christened is ignorant of it, who can be said to reign & to rule but they whose pleasures do prevail? Thus much for England.

In Scotl. by force.

In Scotl. then it is manifest that when the confederates could be permitted no longer by art to govern both prince & realm, they forthwith by force deprived their Queen, and with plain violence usurped the regiment by strong hand, and so do keep it to this day.

In France by halves.

In France likewise, if a mean subject holdeth the King's nose to the grindstone, if he have maintained against him now twelve years' wars in his own realm, if he keep the King's towns maugre the King's will, if by force of sword he missed little to have laid hands upon his sovereign's person, if he coined money under his own stamp, if he and his faction do kill whom they list without impeachment, if the King be constrained to permit them their preachings, to write his known rebels good cousins and counsellors, and to call their rebellion his own good service, if it cannot be denied but that it is so, then be yourselves judge whether that faction in France be partakers with the King in his dominion or no.

In Fland. assayed to their cost.

And let the several assays given in Flanders by the confederates there, to the lamentable ruin of that nobility, declare also what they aspire unto in that state. And let these all together (being open known facts) put in ure by that faction (that was not seen in the world till your Sinons set it up) serve to show you with what eyes the indifferent multitude of men abroad do see and behold the same, what they think of it and take it to be, and what your Queen herself shall belike find and taste of it if any way she encounter them, or whensoever she shall offer to deliver herself out of their thralldom, and to take her regiment out of theirs into her own hands.

And pass not this over as a matter of words & arguments only, but look upon the printed books called *The Blasts of the Trumpets* that manifestly impugn all womanly regiment, and behold how the French law called *Lex Salica*, that disableth women to reign there, is by these confederates adored and extolled everywhere. Consider how nearly and narrowly your Queen & her sister escaped their several violent & forcible attempts in the years of 1553 & 1554. And wink not willfully at this performance & execution of their purpose with the Queen of Scotland that they assayed before against those sisters of England. And remember that neither in Flanders nor France are the coals of the same fire quenched, nor the ashes yet cold to this day.

And finding the intention of their hearts so manifestly testified by printed books, by daily and public speeches, by frequent facts and deeds from year to year and from day to day renewed, can it be less than a plain fascination and sorcery if your Queen cannot yet be induced to see it? Of if she see it, how far from policy is it, and what a blindness of heart and judgement is she fallen into if yet she think if for her safety to be made the instrument of the other's confusion?

Can it possibly tend to the service of any of both, that one of them should now persecute another when their common enemy is so evidently seen to be ready to devour them both? Yea, is not all that they both can possibly do each for other not only little enough, but also to be feared to be far too little to keep any of both in their seats, from which the one is already removed, & the other abideth but the devotion of them that in word and deed repine at women's rule?

Some among yourselves, I know, do see it plain enough if they durst show it, and do shed therefore tears of blood from their hearts, wishing both those Queens to make better account each of other, each to help and assist other, and each to fortify and strengthen other, as foreseeing all to be little enough against the malice intended to both. And in the sight of foreign nations the practice threateneth so manifestly your Queen's speedy ruin (if it be not in time prevented) that her offended enemies rejoyce to see it so near at hand, and the indifferent sort condemneth them that see it not as gross, senseless, and void of common reason.

**5.
The truth of your state
with France.**

This being the true account that other men cast of your home affairs touching the true principal defences of every commonweal that remaineth governed by a

Christian monarch, behold in a few words their estimation and conceit of your foreign treating with the nations your neighbours.

And to begin with the French, behold the sedition sown in that realm, and renew the memory of the wars of Newhaven, put apart, I mean, from the lies that were forged for the recovery of Calais by those means to feed and foster it up withal. Look also on the often raising of rebels against that King since, after sundry accords and pacifications. Consider the calling in and payment of foreign forces to invade his country, the secret subornation of the confederates even to this day to hold his towns from him against the articles of the last treaty. Divide from these the lies and fables put forth to cover those facts withal, and imagine with yourself whether that King for his youth feeleth not, or for lightness forgetteth, or for favour forgiveth, that consumption of his treasures, that waste of his nobility, that infection of his people, that danger of his person, and that division of his crown (as it may be said) that he hath sustained and to this day endureth by those means. Or is he ignorant, and hath no man to tell him who hath wrought him this woe, and therefore wotteth not whom to accuse?

Nay whatsoever your words are, and how bravely soever you brag of the matter unto your Q., your acts do show and your deeds do speak that yourselves do see what remaineth laid up in store against you till it may stand with his policy to show & lay it out. Why fawn you else so much upon that new friend in face made of your old enemy in heart? Wherefore else do you uphold that faction in his country, and every way feed the division between him and his subjects? Why else do you send some to treat a league with him in apparence, and others to practice with his rebels in secret to hold that they have? You think it is not known (and every man seeth it) that even presently you have in his country some as ambassadors to manage one thing in show, and some privy workers to contrive another in hugger-mugger.

Howsoever you bolster up the matter to your own, assure yourselves that you cannot deceive free sights abroad, but that other men beholding deeply all parts of the same do find therein of substance and weight that will abide sifting, naught else in the world rising towards you or your Queen but great charges lost, much care cast away, English blood spilt, dishonour only gained, a seed of quarrel sown, a root of revenge planted and laid up in the deck to be demanded against you when your dissembled French friend shall see his time to exact it, and which the English people and nobility must answer in time in what prince's days soever it happen. Calais thereby is made irrecoverable, and the face of religion in France as it was.

**6.
The truth of your
dealings in Scotl.**

With Scotland likewise look what your dealings have been with the same sight and judgement that other men do, whom with lies you cannot abuse, the particulars whereof be more fresh and conspicuous than that here they need to be expressed again. And looking on them without the known lies put forth to excuse them (for so do other men behold and consider them), see whether ever there were by king or

queen's name so many treacheries committed more heinous and indign for a kingly vocation.

If it were honourable in Charles the Emperor to restore the infidel and barbarous King of Tunis, if King Henry the Eighth, father to your Queen, left not to urge the redemption of Francis, the French King, (being just prisoner) till he had procured his liberty, if it were great honour to the King of Spain to restore the Duke of Savoy & to succour the French King against his rebellious subjects, if the Pope and other princes of Italy thought themselves bound both in honour and justice to assist the same King in those his civil wars, if these, I say, be facts open and known, and such as no man hath the face but to speak honour of them, be yourselves then judge what must be thought and said of these twelve years' troubles and oppressions under your Queen's name and by her authority laid upon her cousin of Scotl.

Over which lay what cover you will to deceive yourselves, and to blind your own; few wise or honest men can you draw thereby, that be free from fearing you, to ween the same to be otherwise than they are, nor for other to take them, to write them, or to speak of them but that your Queen (while she will bear the burden of her conjurators' crimes) will be deemed and infamed to be the contriver of all those rebellions against that Lady, that widow, that Christian Queen, that absolute prince of her own blood royal, and nearest kinswoman, that she hath been the invader of the other's country, the spoiler of her good subjects, the countenance of her traitors, the surpriser of her fortresses, the procurer of the barbarous outrages committed against herself, her husband, and her secretary, of the usurpation of her dominion, of her unnatural deprivation, & finally the unjust jailer of her personal imprisonment against all laws of nature and nations.

**7.
Your terms with Spain,
Burg. and Fland.**

Peruse likewise your proceedings with your old allies, the houses of Burgundy & Spain, with the same sight (I mean) that other men do survey them, & let not the King's good inclination to patience & peace and his unfeigned affection to your Queen and realm deceive your judgements, howsoever perhaps it increaseth your insolency. For the wise and indifferent sort can neither be blinded with your painted proclamations of many words and few true, nor with his sufferance, be it never so commendable in a prince of his might, I mean, but that they see the injustice and the ingratitude of surprising his money, of detaining the goods of his subjects, of robbing his people from day to day, of secret succouring and assisting his confederate vassals, of cutting away the mutual traffic, access, and concourse between his own countries, by calling together and maintaining of pirates.

Which, being severed from the lies and fables that you put forth to cover it with (with which you please yourselves, & blind a few), the indifferent multitude yet that be the beholders and lookers-on cannot but see them as they are, nor find less in them than manifest injury and open robbery of millions of poor men, done by a kind of commission, as it were, from your Queen (as her authority is abused), & proceeding of an unprincelike ingratitude & unthankful nature (she bearing others' faults) towards her dearest, her surest, and her mightiest friend upon earth. And

without policy also for her and her realm, since it cannot be possible by nature (be that King what he may be, yea, though he were as patient as Job) but that this dealing must weaken & minish the hearty amity & affection between him & her, between his countries & hers, & between both their successions, which her posterity and realm must remain liable to answer, to the smart of every state therein, one way or other, in whose time soever it shall fortune to come. Wherein whoso seeth her security increased, her honour advanced, or her realm benefited must fetch his authority from Machiavel only. For example in any honest author is none to be found of any Christian prince's security to be greater by the doubtfulness & decay of the friendship of his confederates, nor that ever Christian region was benefited by weakening the amity with her old allies.

8.
Your Q.[‘s] clemency
infamed by their tyranny.

Behold how her mildness & clemency in government for many years together by speech and print was justly commended, and remaineth no doubt in her own good nature still, and the renown thereof redounding to her great honour, whiles those conjurators (I mean) found not yet themselves in sufficient strength. But now the world abroad, finding the great terror and fear that universally oppresseth the hearts of all your people, & overwhelmeth, in a sort, your whole realm, cannot but hear and see that commendation of her clemency that was justly her own, quite and clean converted into an unjust infamy of other men's tyranny.

For besides the late extreme executions in the North, in Norfolk, and about London (above the measure of the delicts because the most of them were Catholics), and besides all your prisons pestered with noblemen & gentlemen, no man almost wotteth why, besides this (I say) where few or none, to speak of, can pass from town to town unsearched, where no letter almost goeth from friend to friend unopened, where no man's talk with other scant scapeth unexamined, where it is accounted treason, rebellion, & sedition to have or to see, to send or receive, to keep or to hear any letter, book, or speech that might show you any part either of this conjuration or of the crafts and falsehood used to bring it to pass, yea, when the just commendation of any nobleman among yourselves (whom these base fellows do envy or malign) is accounted a crime and derogation to your Queen, and where every man that justly imputeth any of these disorders unto those Catilines is taken and punished as an attributor of the governance from your Queen to a subject, can any man that hath wit or judgement see other therein than thraldom and slavery? Yea, what servitude can be greater? What governance can be further from clemency and mercy?

Finally, sequestering this change of your state from the lies laid out to excuse it, it doth plainly conclude & convince that these caitiffs will now have your Queen to bear the burden of their cruelty. And because they feel themselves now in strength, will bring her into hatred and obloquy to kindle in the hearts of her people a weariness of her subjection and a mislike of her regiment, that they may be the readier and gladder to embrace the mutation that these men intend to attempt and to bear well, whatsoever shall become of her when these fellows shall think the time ripe by death or deposing to remove her.

9.
Your Q.[’s] surety less by
one half.

Remember what can be gathered by any reasonable men that do behold the unfeigned affection and reverent regard that the Queen of Scotland hath always borne unto yours, as to her mother, her sister, her dearest cousin and friend, that do believe likewise your Queen’s good inclination and affection towards her for many years together showed by seeking to restore her (if these libels say ture [sic]), that forget not how for all that time there was no fear had of her, no rumours of reproach raised against her, she holden in no suspicion, nor no motion or memory of quarrel against her, that did see also your Queen’s security then assured, the stronger, the greater, and every way undoubted for the favour and good terms that her successor stood in with her, that seek and search to know what she hath since committed so offensive to your Queen as should deserve the entreaty which now she receiveth, or how your Queen’s safety should be the greater for the other’s peril when a third is seen prepared to supplant both, and finally, that see the fear and jealousy that by your printed libels and public imprisonments you pretend and seem to stand in of your Queen’s safety now -- they, I say, that as standers-by and lookers-on do indifferently behold these points secluded from the glozes & fables blown out to feed fools withal, what other thing possibly can they discern therein and judge to be meant thereby but a plain preparation, yea, almost half an execution, of your Queen’s removing, she remaining the less by one half in every man’s sight whiles the other is left in hands of the third, as plainly she is, while these two Catilines govern all three?

10.
The Q. made an
instrument to undo
herself.

If the reading of approved writers be the way to teach men speculation, if the histories of ages past do testify the practice, and if the judgement of the indifferent sort that be not parties nor agents to the action in hand be the truest glass & image by which every man may see himself and his doings, & if the late examples of our own familiars and the uniform counsel of present and assured friends be a better line & measure to square our daily doings by than are our own partial and affected fantasies, if this be so, than is it high time, yea, and more than high time, that all you that tender your Queen’s assurance or your own preservations do look on this matter with another eye than you have done. Not by any violent and unlawful attempt -- take me not so (for I mean it so little that I hate and abhor it) -- but by leaving nothing undone with your Queen by counsel without ceasing (ye that be called to that place) & by petition without end (you that be not called so high) that she will vouchsafe with her own wisdom to weigh the weight of this cause to see the same in it that other men see, and in time to prevent and provide for the worst.

She may remember, I suppose, that when her father, King Henry, was foreseen to draw towards his end, and had made a provision to govern his realm by certain executors and assistants, with special prohibition to have no Protector in his son’s minority, he that had the purpose in heart to frustrate that ordinance, to make himself Protector and to govern both realm & King, played his first pageant in King Henry’s own life, & made the King himself the first instrument of frustrating his own intention, and the layer of the first stone in the other’s building, by taking away, before himself died, the noblest, the mightiest, and the faithfullest subjects

(if any might be said to be more faithful than other that he had in his realm), the famous father and grandfather (I mean) of this noble Norf., now also cut off even for like cause and crime in truth & in deed. For though other faults were pretended in both, yet their very chiefest crimes indeed were that they then, and this now, were the ablest & the likeliest to resist that purpose then, and this practice now, intended.

She may also remember (I doubt not) how he that then had in mind after to remove that Protector played also his first part in the Protector's own time, and made the Protector himself the prime root of his own ruin, and first to put hand to the other's work by cutting from himself his natural brother, and in applying himself to be so popular, of which the one was the ground of his fall and the other should have been his pillar to lean on. In whose decay there wanted not (though I will not affirm so much) that did prognosticate the reign of the infant King Edward not like to continue long, whose name was used to his uncle's confusion. And it cannot be but that she remembreth that the foundation made by that brother of hers (if that may be called his that was done in his name) to have deprived both herself and her sister was a pretence of religion and fear of foreign dominion, though no man were so blind but that he saw it bended and tended to a far other mark.

Of the several murders of the D. of Guise, of David the Scottish secretary, and of her cousin Darnley, called King of Scotland, it cannot be but she seeth that whatsoever the several pretences were, the sequels of those acts shortly brought forth the plain deprivation of the one prince from her whole dominion, and the dividing of the other into halves, as it were, between that King & his confederate subjects. On which examples, being all so fresh and new, when men that be wise do deeply bethink them, & do withal remember what ugly pretences were used to shadow them all when they were in doing, which in this short time have already appeared so vain, so idle, so false and fabulous toys as yourselves (I dare say) will now confess them to be, this being so, what less or other can it now be than a plain bewitching that your Queen, being of so rare wisdom for a woman, should yet be so circumvented and blinded as not to see herself made the instrument of her own undoing?

Will they, troweth she, lack pretences to plead and to object against her when they see their time, that have found these pretences against her two cousins? Will they lack matter to defame her to the world, and to bring her in hatred and obloquy of the people, that have forged so many colourless slanders against these that are her nearest in blood? Specially having given them beforehand their pardon, as it were, and a free discharge of what villainy soever they shall commit against herself? For less than that do few wise men deem & gather of this captivity of those two princes that are her children, her heirs, her pillars to lean on, her stays to uphold her, her faithfullest friends, her most loyal servants, and the only revengers of her quarrel and wrong.

11.
Your realm purposely
divided into factions.

Now these treasons against your Queen's person being not traversable in the eyes of all them that can and will see light at noondays, review a little again the other committed against your country and realm, the two seeds of sedition (I mean) purposely sown to divide it into factions that it may rent itself in pieces. For like as no man denieth but that civil sedition and intestine division is the most pernicious poison that possibly can be given to any commonwealth, even so must all men confess that by nothing earthly are all men drawn thereunto so soon, so sharply, and so uneasy to be reconciled, as when for their religion, on which resteth their souls, or for the title of their crown, on which resteth their lives & their wealth, a question, quarrel, and pique is put whereof not only two but ten or twenty parties and factions may have colour each to resist and withstand other. And see whether purposed preparation be not made for both, and both two planted, yea, and well grown already, as if one of them were too little, or might fortune to be appeased, that yet the other then might serve to tear the country asunder.

Of the quarrel for your crown you have somewhat heard before, how the title of a third house is provided for, and preferred before the second, which in law is before it. How they both two, and all other interests besides, are laboured by law to be brought in oblivion and to become unknown, now and at this time (I mean) when the contrivers thereof find themselves in that strength that they shall be able to make themselves judges and arbitrators of the quarrel, & to give the crown to whether parties they list. And look not hereupon as upon a forced or strained argument, but look upon your own law *that giveth to him that can first lay hands on it whatsoever is found without an owner*. And this last new law taking his effect (as needs it must if it continue in force any time), leaveth your crown without proprietary to claim it, *ut occupanti concedatur*. And the crown of your realm being such a garland as few in Christendom do pass or exceed it, can any man imagine that mo than one will not press to lay hand on it when they shall find it free for him that can catch it? Or if such provision shall be made in the meantime that none but one shall be able to attempt the same, then see how base the rest must be brought before.

And over that besides, the duty the people doth owe to whomsoever they take to have just title (and for such the multitude taketh whosoever is by authority among them commended for such one unto them), besides this, I say, if both by nature, by justice, & by all experience every subject looketh for advancement and reward at his hands whom they can set up, now behold you whether here be a bone cast forth or not for your own to strive for? Yea, though that law should fail of his effect whiles that title of Scotland that your law preferreth is by false arts and arguments laboured to be supplanted. Neither is it to be forgotten that in like cases it hath chanced in other countries, where whiles two such titles have been at contention, the weaker hath been glad to call for foreign help to make him equal with his adversary, who many times hath taken the bone from both.

For religion likewise, behold how manifest it is that they will have the contention maintained. For being impossible (as every man seeth) to extinct the party Catholic

while France, Flanders, Spain, Italy, Ireland, a great part of Germany, Poland, Switzerland & divers other states cannot be induced to admit any other, yea, whiles your own authority in all public words & apparence, & in all preferred letters to princes, do give and make show that Catholics with you may live after their conscience, that none of them are impeached for their religion nor faith, yea, whiles to crave the thank and glory to be accounted clement and merciful, your governors make choice to pretend other crimes against such Catholics as they would kill, and rather to pine them and waste them away by length of imprisonment & oppressions, by pillage & endless vexations, than by speedy and violent death (which were less pain of the two, & the way to extinct them), are not all these evident arguments and plain demonstrations that these contrivers will not have the Catholic party so utterly extinct but that there should still remain a party of them to uphold and maintain the inward division, howsoever they oppress it, and seek to make the other the stronger?

And what possibly can come of this among yourselves but the same that you have seen come to pass in Scotl. and France whensoever any gap shall be opened whereof both parties may have hope to take hold? And who can say that these practices are not purposely procured to bring forth this end that is so evident to be seen ensuing upon them? And can there be to any country a more unnatural treason intended? Howsoever with fear you tie up most tongues among yourselves, there be numbers that see it plainly enough, & where they dare trust, do speak it also. And as for the rest of the world abroad, few or none of any discourse conceive otherwise, nor look for less.

The conclusion.

And now, good reader, look what I have here showed you to be the speech, sense, and sentence of all foreign nations and of many of your own if they durst show it (speaking severally of the most number of them whose judgements are regardable), in these few particulars of which by iteration in a sort I have made new mention, the like could I also show you of all the rest before spoken of, and so sensibly prove them as by reason they should not be denied. For most certain, undoubted, & well known it is to them that converse with strangers abroad and are trusted by your gravest at home, that it is not the stopping of the mouths of the multitude among yourselves, nor yet the forged fears pretended to your own, that can stay the tongues or pens of the world abroad, nor deceive them in seeing the truth of those affairs upon which the eyes and ears of all the west world are bent at this day.

But these sufficing to bring more to mind, and plainly showing to them that have any eye open that these painted pretences of plausible things suggested to draw your Queen on by little and little from time to time into this confusion have so far failed and wanted of performing that they promised, and of bringing forth the fruit that the fair blossoms gave hope of, that after fourteen years following the trade and steps of those men, instead of all quiet, security, and prosperous reign, she never found herself less quiet, less secure, nor her state more doubtful, wisdom (I ween), yea, and Machiavel himself, if he were now living, would think it good policy to cry *Bo* betimes, to believe words no longer, but deeds another while, & rather wisely to acknowledge herself seduced & out of the way by following those

erroneous guides that, forsaking the highway of her public office, have led her the bypath of their own private gain, than wilfully to run forward without sparing thick or thin, or care of inconveniency.

**No benefit to her nor hers
by none of all the
changes.**

But prejudices many.

If your Q. therefore shall vouchsafe to consider, by occasion of these few, what other important mutations and practices have passed under her name and authority since the time of her reign, & shall, by that great wisdom wherewith God hath endued her, discover and find (as easily she may, since every man seeth it) that by none of them all unto herself or her state, to her realm or dominions, to her line or succession, to her nobility or people, no manner quiet nor security, no common benefit nor care, no provision nor honour, no estimation nor other advancement hath been in deed and in truth purchased or procured, but clean contrarily by them all almost herself in honour touched, her security of state weakened, her assured friends in number minished and in affection alienated, and thereby her realms & dominions endangered of damage, her known succession by penal law laboured to be brought in doubt (that of her own body fast growing to despair, and that of her next line brought even to the brink to be utterly extirped), her nobility so wasted in number and their credit so consumed that few or none of them have authority with her or reputation with her people, and finally her commons so corrupt with want of conscience & lack of fear to sin, and so fast growing to incivility by lack of justice and religion, that all fidelity is failed, all mutual trust ceased, & scant is one man found that dare and may safely trust another, yea, and that all this hath been by art and cunning compassed and contrived by a couple of companions (whom she called to credit, of base parents born, at school barely maintained, first called to court the one from book, the other from buttry, now more than barons by office & dignity, more than earls in possessions and wealth, and more than any dukes in authority with her) chiefly to feed their own humours, to serve their own turns, and to bring their own private purposes about, which were to root out the old religion and with the name of a new for awhile, in short time to leave none at all, to raise a rabble of rascals as base as themselves to countenance & accompany them, to enrich themselves without limit or measure, to plant them a posterity among the noblest, to establish their own authority stable and permanent, and finally to advance that family unto the crown to which by marriage they have united themselves -- if this fruit and end only herself (I say) shall see to have grown and been gathered of all the mutations in her time, and in truth to have brought forth none other to herself, nor to any of hers, and the promised bringing also all princes to her bent to be at this day as far from performance as when they began it, what show and face soever they lay on the matter, then hath she great reason, now at length, to know these Catilines for such as they are, and to cash & cast both them and their counsels out of her credit and court, and thereby recover herself out of their thralldom and subjection in which by fraudulent fears, by crafty counsel, by false persuasions, & by many a loud lie upon many an honest man they have long holden and detained her.

Out of which captivity if she were once delivered, and thereby at liberty to lay the fault where it is (which she can never do whiles they be the chief of all her consultations), there would be do [sic] doubt but that grace would so work with her

wisdom and good nature that in short time she would redress these disorders, and restore herself again to her primitive quiet and first assured state.

The best ways of her return with safety.

1. The way whereunto (if I may presume to show it her) is first to reconcile herself unto the see apostolic, whereby she may reign in that Christian unity of the Catholic church that all her progenitors for eight hundred years and more have reigned in before her, whereby God may prosper again her attempts & proceedings, & whereby her people may again uniformly and for conscience' sake both love and obey her.
2. Then to renew and establish the unfeigned amity of the old confederates and allies of her crown, by which mutual amity every prince is made the stronger.
3. Then to restore her cousin of Scotland to her liberty, state, honour, and fame, whose prosperity (no doubt) is her own assurance.
4. Then in one place or other to marry herself at her own good liking since yet she is not past hope of child-bearing.
5. Then to reduce her nobility to their just and wonted credit, and by their advice to govern hereafter.
6. Then to rule her people by religion and justice.
7. And lastly, to repair the wasted treasures of her crown by the due search and just correction of the bribery, corruptions, and oppressions long used unto her subjects.

These shall she find to have been the steps and precedents of her royal progenitors. And in these shall she find true quietness, both outward and inward, true honour before God and man, unfeigned amity abroad and hearty obedience at home, faithful love and reverence of her cousins and heirs, and all duty and loyalty of her nobility, which are the principal and undoubted pillars of all security and safety of every Christian prince's state. And by these shall she long (if God so please) enjoy her reign, & end it (when God will) with the quiet and peace that she began it.

The inconveniences of going forward.

Which way if her pleasure be not to take, but that (either for favour or fear of the faction that herself hath set up) she shall make choice to run on the race already begun with whatsoever event, it is not only likely but it must be looked for that she hath already seen the best and the quietest of her time.

That she shall be, as she hath been, in everything almost still circumvented more or less. Her name shall be abused, her authority misapplied, the religion of her realm so oft turned this way and that way till none at all shall be left in her people's hearts, the justice of the same shall be set as an harlot out to hire, her nobility shall be wasted till few be left of them, and they of no credit. She shall bear the infamy of consuming the old, and her Catilines shall have the glory of erecting the new. She weakened by the one, and they strengthened by the other. Her people shall

obey her no farther than fear of man's law shall enforce them, her foreign friends shall fall from her, her foreign enemies shall grow insolent & glory over her, her realm shall still be impoverished and oppressed with strangers of whose love nor service she can never be sure, of foreign invasions ever in doubt, of tumults at home never assured, her nobles brought low that should defend her, her kindred consumed that should stand by and succeed her, her security talked of but nothing intended, the success of her own line in short time desperate, and she made the instrument to extinct the next.

Which when she hath done, and taken them away whose lives are her surety, then shall the time be ripe untimely also to make an end of her own, if God by some mean prevent not the malice of them that this way lead her for their own ambition to her own destruction.

And then shall she leave her crown in question, the religion in debate, her people divided for both, and her realm answerable for infinite injuries to all nations adjoining (the smart whereof, you my Lords of the nobility, and your successions, shall chiefly feel) without hearty friend abroad to succour or defend it.

And after all these troubles and garboils in which she shall lead and end the rest of her reign, with the lack of all the comforts of this life, yet shall she leave the things for which she foreignly contended in little other terms than she found them, as fourteen years' experience already hath taught her. For still remain both Flanders and France, Italy and Spain in their former state touching religion (which she was borne in hand by her caitiff Catilines would with her have renounced the obedience of the Church of Rome), and Calais still French as it was before, and their princes still so ready and able in all those their countries to impugn her proceedings that she hath no more hope than she had at the first of drawing them to follow her example therein.

Whereby her wisdom may see with what care and fear she turmoileth, how vainly she laboureth, and is likely at last in great infamy to end her days, and with her body to bury her honour, with more reproach for other men's faults than ever any parent of hers, prince of that realm, hath sustained for their own. Which God grant her as much grace to consider and prevent as he hath given her wisdom to understand and perceive.

FINIS