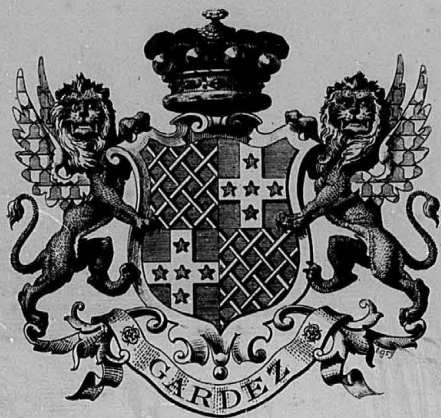




EX LIBRIS
ALUREDI BARONIS DE BRAYE
IN ÆDIBUS STANFORDIANIS
IUXTA FLUMEN
APUD LEICESTRIENSES

Note.
I do not know if the works of
Bacon (father of the great Bacon)
either in print or in MS.
contain the present work -
This might be ascertained by
research - possibly at the
British Museum.

Braye.

Stanford -

Jan. 4. 1918

1723

FOR
TELEGRAMS & PARCELS
YELVERTOFT STATION.

STANFORD PARK.

RUGBY.

MS. speeches of Sir
Nicholas Bacon father
of the great philosopher
Bacon.

This book belonged to Sir N.
Bacon - as appears from the
inscription "his booke". If these
speeches have never been published
this MS. must be very valuable.
They shd. be copied out and
compared with the printed
copies of Sir N. Bacon's works (if they

And with his works in MS. Copy. I shall Jan. 30 1902
are published of Sir N. Bacon.

Sr Nicholas Bacon knight
 sometimes Lorde keeper
 his booke

Non solum presentis memor

ita et futuris memor

A. A. A.

8
Orations, and grave speches,
pronounced by S^r Nicholas
Bacon, knight, somtymes
Lorde Keeper. /

An oration made by the L: Keeper to
the Quenes ma^{tie} at Westmynster
exhortinge her to marriage

May it please yo^r ma^{tie} to vnderstande that all my
lordes here presente and all the rest both spiritual
and temporall, beinge the whole bodie of yo^r high:
upper house have agreed and consented, that I all-
beit vnneste and vnworthy, for them & in all theire
names shold make vnto yo^r ma^{tie} theire moste hum-
ble sute & petition, to be so much theire gracious
radie & Conseruaigne, as to graunte them a fa-
uourable hearinge in a matter vnto & nextly and
dorely concerninge yo^r moste royall person, the
imperiall weorne of this realme, and the vniuersall
weale of the same, & therin them selves also,
and all other yo^r high: lovinge subiects, euerie one
from the higheste to the lowest, & theire whole
posterities & sequels. Wherefore alwaies & all
together humblyng & submyttinge the whole that
I haue saye to yo^r high: consideration & reuerence
And howe I thoughte meete, because yo^r high: shold
the better vnderstande the whole discretes of this
matter, firste to open the occasion of this sute, then
howe diuersly my se: all thinke them selves bounde
to make it, & lastlye what theire opinions, reme-
dies

And desired be concerninge the matter contayned
in it. For the firste the occasion growe vpon a
readinge of a bill exhibited laste wednesdave be-
fore my lord concerninge matter concerninge the
succession of the crowne of this Realme, vpon the
well weighinge & consideringe whereof, it dwi-
dencelid appeared vnto them that neither by that
bill, nor by any other arte already made, any
open and certayne declaration or limitation is
made to whom the crowne shall remayne if god
shold call yo^e high: without heire of body, wh^o
lovede forbid. And here touchinge to their remem-
brance that the onelid meane to have an heire to
the greates & unspeakable ioye & comforte of
all yo^e subiect, is the honorable state of matrimo-
ny firste instituted by god, as yo^e high: know-
yth in a pured place, then remember, yea & honored
as his sonne here on earth with the firste fruites
of his myracles knownen, and ever some as his
providente continued, as the theife & moste ne-
cessarie cause of o^e comynge noyse, and of all those
that have bene, or hereafter shall be. my lord
& lady, rememberinge this & therewith also that
all printed, as they now so greates, now so yonge
& like to love, are yea mortall & subiecte dy-
ng, yea dyng howe to gode call, & lastly con-
sideringe in what miserable estate & condition, yf

god shold see call, this Realme and all the members
therof shold stande, and to what a marvellous hope
of greates & mynynge dangers, perils & mis-
chaunces it shold be subiecte, they all thought they
had moste iuste occasion to beseeche humblye petiti-
ons to yo^e matie for the helpe therof: for the se-
conde parte they thinke them selves, so bounde to
make this petition, that without offence to god, to yo^e
matie and to their countrey, it shold not be profer-
mitted. firste to god: for that it cannot be that a
man shold lose his othe & homage made to yo^e
high: and crowne in so greates & weightie a cause
as this is, to be forgetfull or neglecte the content
therof. And what an offence it is to god, it is
easie to indge: for the offence to yo^e matie. surely
everye subiecte or vassall without exception know-
inge any peril or danger to the crowne or state
or any parte therof, & not revoltinge or con-
sideringe his loyde lady & Sovereigne therein, or
some surise of how high: mynsters to whom he may
have access, without doubte offendeth yo^e matie: in
the dutie of his allegiance as it is, evident in
petitioner offences touchinge the crowne: & yf
see, how much more in this vniu^{er}sall matter. now
for the offence of their countrey, how can a man
knowinge his countrey to be towards perill and

danger & not so longe as the wayes & meanes
 he maye by foresighte to prevente & withstande
 them, but muste be thoughte greatlie to offende
 his country. And thus I truste it appereth
 unto yo^r matie: that vpon this occasion & greates
 duetie bounde, I am to open to yo^r high: the wished
 desires & remissions of all my lordes here vnto
 the offertes wherof, breuillie & summarilie to
 speake consisteth in this, that it myghte please
 yo^r matie: to dispose yo^r selfe to marie, where
 ye will, wth whom ye will, & as shortlye as
 ye will, as the moste honorable present &
 sure meane & waye to increase comforte to yo^r
 selfe, to avoide all manner of danger & perill
 that may happen to the crowne and to the common
 wealthe of this Realme. For yo^r selfe: howe can
 it be possible but that such an honorable con-
 iunction, makinge yo^r thers as we doubt not
 but you will, muste needs bringe & breede to
 yo^r high: person increase of comforte, quietnes, &
 delight, thers of the thers worldlie felicitie
 belonginge to life. Nowe to bringe in reasons
 for proofe herof, I leave as wayne matter, beinge
 so evident & apperant to yo^r selfe. One of one
 comforte I woulde put yo^r matie: in mynde of

And that is, of yo^r high: conde imagone or conceave
 the comforte, sweetie & delighte, that shold happen
 to yo^r selfe, by beholdinge an image of yo^r owne
 that shold in tyme to tyme by godd grace inherite
 & enioye the Imperiaall crowne of this Realme to the
 greates increase of all yo^r lovinge subiect, it
 woulde. I am assured sufficientlie suffice to remove
 all manner of litle impediments or scruples, of
 thers be anye that myghte hinder this thers desire.
 Nowe for the state & vniuersall weale of this Realme
 can any waye be devised so sure & certayne for
 avoidinge of all danger concerninge the same,
 as to devise that wth onlie member thersof dothe
 hartelie & continuallie pray for. Nowe returned
 & tunc it is, that woulde wth all dangers & troubles
 in tymes past have risen of dangers of states,
 have over taken thers foundations of vniuersaltes
 & doubtles of titles that either have bene indeede
 or ellse have bene imagined to be & thersfore I
 muste moste assuredly conclude, that that wth is
 the moste certayne remedie to remove the occasion
 of such non certainties & doubtles, muste of necessity
 be allowed in reason to be the greates defense &
 gainste all such dangers & perilles, & the moste sur-
 stage that can be devised for the common weale, and is

there any thinge that can bringe that soe pfectio
soe safetie, soe shortlie to passe as this. the feare,
fear slaughter, the pitifull effusion of blood, the
miserable people that have soe ofte happened by
the sufferance of non retortation of titles to
womans, soe more lamentable to be thoughte on
than needfull to be by me spoken of, consideringe
they be as they are indede soe notoriouslie known.
But and it like yo^r high: of the examples be
bothe many and true, that for increase of amitie
ondie, diverse mariages of princes have bene
made wthin the degrees prohibited to all other
persons, & sometimes to religion, yea sometimes
contrarie to all solemn vowes otherwise aforesaid,
made, what then oughte the daungers before re-
membered imynente to a realme, more a prince
of the same realme to doe, in a cause noo waye pro-
hibited, but onlye waye honorable, commendable,
& profitable, and whereas the gift of nature
fortuned & yward doe continue to the furtherance
theroof. But here forgettinge my selfe, and fear-
winge I holde be troublesome to yo^r matie in a
matter that I trust god hath alreadye or now
presentlie dothe, or shortlye will soe entere yo^r
high: harte unto, that farder worde mighte serve

4
I leave any further on my lordes behalfe to move
yo^r matie. Submittinge and comittinge the whole
that I have saide to yo^r high: com: & ret: & have
for my parte, I moste humble beseeche yo^r matie,
that of any thinge in this my declaration have
passed me undisturbelie or uncontrollie done, that
yo^r high: will soe much my prayers radie as not
to impute it to me otherwise than for wante of
understandinge in soe weightie a cause, & likewise
I desire my lordes, that of any thinge have bene
permitted by me agreed to be saide, or any thinge
added that I had not commaundement to speak,
that they presentlie will helpe me out wth their
declarations, and on the other side of I performed
my com: that they would soe affirm it. D H

Linnis
S

Another oration made to the R. matie:
by the L. Keeper concerninge her
marriage and the succession of
the Crowne.

In molic beſeeching yo^e excellent matie. yo^e
faithfull, loving, and obedient ſubiect, all yo^e
lordes both ſpiritual & temporal aſſembled in
yo^e Parlyament in yo^e upper houſe to be ſee muche
thene good radie & Governour, as accordinge
to yo^e accustomed benignitie, to grante a favon-
rable & gracious hearinge of thaire petitiones
& ſuite wth wth all humblenes & obedience
they are comd hitherto p^{re}ſente to yo^e matie: by
my monthe in matters very novelly & doubtful
touchinge yo^e moſte royal perſon the imperiall
woman of this yo^e realme, & the univerſall weale
of the ſame, wth ſuites for that they tende to the
p^{re}ſervation of theiſe three thinge, yo^e perſon, wealme,
and realme, the devotie Jewels that my lordes
have on the earth, therefore they thinke them
ſelves diverſlie bounde to make theiſe petitiones,
as firſte by thaire due tie to god, then by thaire
allegiance to yo^e High: & laſtelie by thaire

faith thei thoughte to beare to thaire naturall con-
ſcience: And like as moſte gracious Governour
by theiſe bondes they ſhoulde have bene bounde to ha-
ve made the like petition upon like occaſion to any
pryncer that it ſhoulde have pleaſed god to have added
to yo^e regne over them: ſo they thinke them ſelves
double bounde to make the ſame to yo^e matie: con-
ſideringe that beſides the bondes before ſayd
before, they ſtande alſo bounde ſo to doe, by the
greate & manyfold benefites they have and
ſhall doe receive at yo^e High: handes, wth
ſhortlie to ſpeak, be as greate as the fruites
of peace, comen quiet, merrie & juſtice, & this
wth greate care & charge to yo^e ſelfe. And thus
my lordes diverſlie bounde as yo^e matie: hath
heard, are nowe to open to yo^e High: thaire
humble petitiones & ſuites conſiſtinge in two
poyntes theiſelie, wth not ſunderlie or the one wth
out the other, but both joynelie they deſire yo^e
High: to aſſente unto. The ſo^{er}more is that it
will pleaſe yo^e matie: to diſpoſe yo^e ſelfe to marrie
where it ſhall pleaſe yo^e, to whom it ſhall pleaſe
yo^e, and as ſone as it ſhall pleaſe yo^e: The ſe-
conde that ſome ſuch reſtrayned limitation might
be made howe the imperiall woman ſhall remayne

of god's call & high: without heire of yo^e bodie
wth o^r loode defence, as theris yo^e loode and
nobles & othere yo^e subiecte then lovinge &
mighte sufficientlie understande to whom
they sholde owe thowre allegiance due to be
done by subiecte & that they mighte be
yo^e maties: lyvenre, and wth yo^e favo^r remon
strate & consolve together this parliament
of the weal doms of this. The former of
these two wth is yo^e marriage, they doo in
thowre hartes moste hartelic wth & praye
for, as a thinge that muste needes breede &
bringe greate & singular comforte to yo^e selfe
and unspeakable ioye & gladnes to all true
English hartes. But the seconde carrieth
wth it such necessitie, that without it, they can
not see how the safetie of yo^e royall person,
& the observation of yo^e imperiall crowne
shalbe or can be sufficientlie provided for.
Moste gracious & Sovveraigne Ladie, the
lamentable & pitifull state & condition where
in all yo^e nobles & commoners late were, when
it pleased god to laye his heavie handes upon
you, & the amassment that moste men of
understandinge were by the breake that

6
grew by that sickness broughte unto, is one cause
of their petition, the seconde the aptnes & oportu
nities of the tyme, by reason of this y^e Parlia
mente wherby both such advised consideration
& consente as is requisite in so greate and
weightie a cause may be better had & used now
than at any other tyme when nos y^e Parliament
is. The thirde for that the assenting to and
performinge of these petitions cannot as they
thinke but breede greate terror to yo^e enemies
& therefore muste of necessity bringe greate
subtie to yo^e person, & speciallie by addition of
such lawes as may be ioynd wth this longi
tation for the recovery & sure observinge of
it & performinge of yo^e matie: Against all
parties & chambers. The fourth cause for
that the like as it is supposed hath bene done
of record of yo^e noble progenitors of olde
tyme and late dayes, & also by othere
renowned yo^e neighbours of greateste state
in Europe, & for that experience hath
taught that good hath come of it. The
fifte that it appeareth by histories how
that in tyme past persons inheritable to

worshippinge votaries & religious to avoid
such damages as might have happened for
wante of succession to Kingdomes, have cofe
theire vowes and monasteries, and taken them
selvet to marriage at Constantia, an heire to
the Kingdom of Citill married after fiftie
yeares of her age to Kinge Henrie the sixte
Emperour of that name and had issue Frederick
the seconde, & likewise Peter of Aragon beinge
a monke married, the better to establish and
pacifie that Kingdom; & Garnd Antonius
Pius is as much commended for that not two
daies before he died he saide to his comforters
late animo morior quia filium vobis relinquo,
as Pirhus is of all men doctored for savinge
he wolde leave his realme to him that had
the sharpest sword: what but wante of
a successor knowne made so shorte an ende
of so greate an Empire as Alexander the
greate cofe at his death. The sixte cause
for that my lordes indge the pforminge of
this will breede such an universall & inward
contentation, satisfaction, ioye & gladnes in
the hartes of all yo^r true & lovinge subiecte

7
that it is likelie & probable you shall fynde
them in all yo^r commandmentes ready & gladd
to adventure theire goodes, landes & lynes in yo^r
high: service accordinge to theire bounden dutie
wh^{ch} of necessitie as soe muste bringe greate be-
nificence to yo^r matie: The seventh reason
the not doinge of this, of god shold call yo^r matie
without heire of yo^r bodie wh^{ch} god grannte to be
never sonne, yf it be his will, and yet yo^r matie
knoweth right well that p^rinc^res & theire offspringe
be thes never so greate never so fewe, now
soe like to lyve, as yet mortall & subiecte to dye
dave, you dyve hoired to god call: my lordes thinke
that happeninge, & noe comotacion made cannot
be theire indgemente, but be the occasion of
verye evident & greate damage & perill to all
states & sortes of men of this realme, by the furth-
er, sedition, & intestine warres that will growe
through wante of understandinge to whom they
shall sold theire adveantures & duties, wher-
by much innocent blood is like to be shed, and
many of those to loose theire lives that wolde
nowe gladly bestowe them for yo^r sake in
yo^r matie: service. The eighth for that the

not performinge of this, the other happeninge,
doth leave the realme without governance, wh
is the greatest danger that can happen to a
new Kingdome. for everie prince is anima legis
& soe reported in lawe, and therefore upon
the death of prince, the lawe doth, & the offices
of justice whereby lawes are to be executed &
raised, all written & commandments to all par
ties for the common weale, & for the punishment of
offenders doe lose their force where it followe
oth commandment that strength and will must
will & neither lawe nor reason dwinge such
a variation & interregnum, wh in such an un
certayntie of succession is like to laste so
longe as it is to be feared (if god move us
not the greater) that the realme thereby maye
become a prey of straungers (wh the lawe
forbid) or at the leaste lose the greatest hono
& estimation that of longe tyme hath appertey
ned to it. And like as my gracious & over
reigne, my lord have bene moved for the
worldlie respect aforesaid to make ther
their humble petition to yo^r matie: soe do the
on sampled consailers, your commandment that

8
they have heard out of the sacred scriptures, and
for conscience sake they seele them selves con
firmed & enforced to doe the like. God y^e
high knoweth by the course of the scriptures
hath declared succession & havinge children to be
one of the principall conditions in this case.
And therefore Abraham prayed to god for y^essue
bearinge to Ishaac his steward & Ishaac
have bene his heire, and had promise that Lincolne
should come out of his bodie. Anna the mother
of Samuel prayed to god wth teares for y^essue, &
Elizabeth whose name y^e matie beareth mother
to John the Baptiste was ioyfull that god had
blessed her, wh attempted her selfe delivred there
from reproche. And as this is a blessing in
a private house, soe is it much more in a Kingdome,
as it playnly appeareth by the two Kingdomes
Israel and Iuda: unto the Kingdome of Iuda
continuinge but two tribes or thereabouts, god
gave continuall succession by descents of Lincolne, &
therefore continued a longe tyme. The Kingdome
of Israel continuinge some tribes or therea
bout often deprivd of lawfull heires, the one
halfe of the people followinge the one, and the

other halfe the other, by warres & seditions
beinge weakened, came soon to vnuone ab playne
lye appeareth by the thirde & fourth booke of the
Ringes. Daynd in the tyme of the Judges be-
cause there was no ordinarie succession, the
people were often overcomen & broughte in
to captivitye, besides it is playne by the scrip-
tures that godlied gouernours & printers as far
ther of theire countreies have alwaies bene
carefull to avoide the greates evils that might
ensue by the wante of a certayne limitation of
succession. and therefore Moses did assigne Josue
to be his successor, and David his sonne Salomon
whosoevr a greates portion began by Adamas.
of them there be many ensamples. farther
seeinge it may be easilie gathered by the ex-
perience of all ages past, that civil warres
effusion of christian blood & consequentely
vnuone of Kingdomes doe followe wherby wealthe
be losse without certaintie of succession and
that y^e matter is alsoe informed of the same
& shew vnto fore redresse, of there none no
sufficiente remedie shoulde be by y^e High
provided, it muste needes be a damgerous
burden before god to y^e matter, and you are

to seeke a straighte attempte to god for the same
consideringe that you are placed at the prophete
Ezechiell saith in altissima specula of this
comon wealthe and both the swordes runninge
& provided no ordinarie remedie for the defence
of it. Lastlie the spirit of god pronounceth by
the mouth of St. Paule that whosoevr maketh
not due provision for his familie is in verie greate
damnger to godwarde. alsoe by the mouth of
St. Iohn that whosoevr doth but one brother
in necessitie, and doth shutte vpp the bowels
of compassion from hym, hath not the love of
god remayninge in hym, wherby it is ma-
nifeste & playne, how fearefull a thinge it
were, of this whole realme containinge so
many families were not in this perillous
case provided for. or of the bowels of com-
passion shoulde be shutte vpp from so many
thousandes, wherby wealthe were like to falle
into moste extreme miserie, of god shoulde
rall y^e high: without certaintie of succession.
wherby we pray god may never happen. Moste
excellente y^e vnto the place of scripture
containinge the saide threateninge be sette

fourth wth much more sharpe wordes than
be here expressed. Thys moste gracious &
sovereigne y^e lordes & nobles bothe
spirituall & temporall have ad breifed
as they can firste shewed unto y^e matie:
howe diverse they take them selves bounde
to make theise humble petitions unto you
& then what theire petitions be, & after
that what reasons for worldlie respectes
and what by the scriptures & for consi-
derance sake have moved them soe to doe, w^{ch}
have upon theire harts according to theire
bounden dutie thei moste humble and
earnestlie praye y^e matie to have consi-
deration of, in tyme moste gracious &
sovereigne, in tyme, in tyme, & to geve them
such favorable & comfortable answers
to the same as some god offerte & conclusion
may grow thereof before the ende of the
session of this y^e parliament, the other
moste daye of theire greateste hope, where
by this comon wealth w^{ch} y^e High: founde
to be Laterica as Augustus did his,

10.
And by y^e greates providence it nowe become
maxmorea shoulde not for wante of this, yf god
shoulde raise y^e High: wthout haire of bodie, be in
more dangerous estate & condition than ever it
was that any man can remember. And it is
that this suite is made by my lordes not wthout
greates hope of god success by reason of experience
that they have had of y^e honorable goodnes shew-
ed unto them & the rest of y^e lovinge subiecte
divers & sundrie waies since the beginninge of
y^e reign w^{ch} I praye god longe to continue
to his hon^r w^{ch} all felicitie. *¶ . ¶ . ¶*

Speeches vsed by the L: Keeper amonge
the lordes of the Starre chamber
Anno dni . 1568.

The rank of vs. saing together at this tyme
is this the Q: matie is given to vnderstande
that sundrie of the lawes & ordinaunces committed
to the charge of such as her High: hath made
speciall choise of to see executed have bene
either not executed at all or vntimely and
negligentlie put in execution. & especially
in those lawes whiche ought principallie & chief-
lie to be executed, those I meane that concerne
godes hono, & his true religion established in
Parliament by the whole consente of the
three estates of this realme & confirmed and
sette forth by the Q: matie. The vntimely
or negligent, or some other thinge worse
than either of those two, vsed in the execution
of those lawes, by such as by their othe and
dutie to god & the Quene shoulde have bene
them carefulle & diligentlie put in execution,
hath broughte to passe as it is advertised, that
many men have entred into such licentious

11.
disputings, licentious departinges, & such lyen-
tions, magnifyinges, upholdinges, & extollinges, that
therby the lawes & ordinaunces before remembred
are brought woe night hands into contempt and
factions & disorders the very rootes & seedes of
seditions & tumulte be planted & sown amonge
the people: A matter of verie greates danger, &
perill, much to the disturbance of common quiet.
And albeit this thinge of it selfe be verie evil,
yet the circumstances considered & added doe
make it much worse; for where be those thinge
done tyme & place? in priuee roundes & priuee places:
noe, noe, but in greates assemblies, in open meetinge
& common conferences, yea & many tymes in places
altogether vnmete for speeches of any such kinde
of matter: & where in what persons be those thinge
done & vsed? Doubtles many tymes by sundrie persons
that haue noe respecte of person or person. Be it
howe & in what sorte be those speeches & doinge sette
forthe? as they done fearfullie & doubtfullie: noe,
but boldlie & stoutlie & arrogantly, whereby those
wordes be growen to such greatnes & vndeue, that if
there be not wth wisdom & consideration whistled and
that speedie, it wilbe much more easie to vnderstande

the perill of the soules, than to devise a good remedie.
For these factions & discorde tends to noe other ende
but to breede tumulte & seditions, & what follows
therin? what? rivall & intestyne warres, & what
then? destruction & depopulation, & desolation, therin
doe as nere kinne followe one another, of they be
suffered & not withstood wth goddys righte, as the
shadowe followeth the bodie, for such vices, such
plante such plante such fruit. And as it is tene
that noe vete is more stronge, nor sweeter hym
sweeter more, than the vete of faction, so certainly
theris no faction so dangerous as the faction
of religion; This is evident in reason & to
evident in proofe. theris no eye but hath seene
it, no eare nor might but hath heard it. but
here it may be saide that these admonitions
be verie generall, & that for more declaration it
werd mete that I shold descende into particulars
of the same before spoken of. And
it is I made these admonitions generall of
purpose, because they shold comprehend the
whole, & besides to deale wth particulars w^{ch}
aske to longe a tyme & growe both tedious and
troublesome unto you. And yet to satisfie in

12
parte such as desire particularities, I have thought
it not amisse to impart unto you one kinde of parti-
cularitie, and not the least comprehended w^{ch}in fewe
generall admonitions, and it is this, the bringinge
over, dispersinge, spreadinge, & publishinge of sediti-
ous booke & wordes abowt contenting matters drive,
the against the Q: maties Supremacie & antho-
ritie against the lawes before spoken of, the allow-
inge, defendinge & comon usinge of the same booke in
menys handes, more common indeede, than any one parte
of the Bible, and the extolling of the learninge
wisdom & knowledge of the authors of these booke.
Now can there be devised a more ready waye to
bring the vices & dangers before remembred
amongste vs than to suffer these thinges, thus common-
thus boldlie thus manifestlie to be done wthout con-
viction or blame? But wherfor it may be saide by
some, how can yo^r bring these manner of thinges
w^{ch}in the compass of the lawes before remembred,
for as infinite punishments may be imposed vpon
the offenders? I answer first that albeit they
could not be brought w^{ch}in compass of the lawes
yet at all handes it muste needes be confessed that
thus to breede & continue factions, is a verie dan-
gerous & unchristian evill, & for the dangers followe

inge of it, necessary to be reformed, if not
by lawe, then by this or some other com-
petent. But as me thinketh, these manner of
dealings, be wthin both the intention & the ex-
t^{er} of the lawe also: for the intention is void
elagunt that the lawe sh^old be made of purpose
& intent to avoid these factions, the bidding
& making of them must needs be against the
intention of the lawe. Now the wordes of the
lawe be these. whosoever by wordes or deedes advi-
sedly, maliciously, & directly, dothe sette forth
magnetyng, & defende the authoritie spirituall
or ecclesiasticall of any forreyn y^erolate or
potentate wth & against wthin the realme &c.
he shall suffer the paines contayned in the lawe.
whereupon it is to be considered whether the
doinges before remembred doe tend to the set-
ting forth, or magnetyng of the authoritie
ecclesiasticall of any forreyn y^erolate or poten-
tate, maliciously advisedly, & directly: And
therin me thinketh that it somewhat void strangle
that whosoever breedeth & establisheth a faction
that magnetyng & sette forth the supremacy
of some contrary to the lawes here established
& contrary to the supreme authoritie of the R.

13
high: wittingly & of purpose, must not needes be
thought maliciously to doe the same. for malici-
ously to doe to my understanding, is nothinge else
but to doe a thinge, that is so graduall & universall
well, as this is not by chance or unawares, but
wittingly & of matter st^onded: now those that
bringe over the d^octrine against the R.
meties supremacy, & doe sette forth the same forreyn
authoritie against the lawes established for the
same, & doe disperse the same booke amonge the people
or doe defende their booke & the matter contayned
in them or doe publish or commend the same knowinge
as is aforesaid cannot be thought but wittingly & of
malice st^onded & therefore maliciously to doe the same.
Now I wolde aske this question, whether a man wit-
tingly can sow the seeds of faction & not maliciously
a thinge not possible in myne opinion, & wittingly to
sow these factions, is to sow such seeds wittingly
therefore to sow & breed such factions, cannot be
but maliciously so to doe. And these these doinges
seme to me to be wthin the letter of malicious doinges.
And as touching this worde advisedly, that sm^oth
more relevatly to comprehend these manner of doinge
for advisedly to doe, is nothinge else but wittingly,
& thinkinge afore what is to be done to doe the same
and such as doe the thinge before remembred, must

need so so do, & therefore so to do must need
be thought advised so to do, and againe like
as unadvised to do, is unawares & by chance
to do, so advised to do is that wth neither by
chance nor unawares is done, and as this do-
inge before remembred cannot be intended by a
ny means to be unawares & by chance done, be-
therefore muste the need so be intended advised
to be done. Albeit thinge may be done advised
yet not maliciously, yet can there be nothinge
done maliciously, but muste need be done ad-
vised. And therefore thinge proved before to be
maliciously done, be by the conference proved
advised to be done. And as for this worde di-
rectly that of all other comprehendeth this mat-
ter moste playnly, for howe can a man more
directly magnifye & sette forth the lawe
authoritie, than by settinge forth meenteinge
publishinge & dispersinge of both wth he knoweth
dothe contrary matter of purpose written to
sette forth & extol the same. And thus for the
respects aforesaid in mynde opinion those do-
inges be directly wthin the lawe of the lawe, but
admittinge that they that thus do be not by
the lawe of the lawe primally do as me

14
thinketh they shoulde be, yet out of question to my
understandinge they ought to be accepted as aidors
& enynners, wth opinion I have thought good
of purpose to signifie unto you, as I hope not out of
the worst wayes & means to the perswadinge &
restoringe of these greates & univ^{ers}all evils lea-
vinge notwithstandinge to other men in other countries their
opinions asse. But howe it may be saide to
straine penall lawes, is to smother of civillie & to
savour of blood, wth no man misliketh more than
my selfe: maye I cannot see how a lawe that do-
evereth a man from bondage & thraldome as this
dothe can well be called penall. But admittinge
it to be penall, then this question woold be, who
that he that expoundeth a penall lawe to the re-
dution of a fewe, and savinge of a greates numbers
or he that expoundeth a lawe to the destruction of
a greates numbers, & savinge of a fewe dothe more
civillie expound the lawe. This question in my
judgement is not much unlike another question,
and that is whether it be a greater civillie to extend
a penall lawe so as thereby a fewe are whipped, &
manye hangd or eke some shalbe whipped, & fewe or
none hangd, a matter remembred have not longe
sithen. And I have troubled y^e here somewhat

longer than I mente wth theise pticularitide, &
yet not longer than I thinke it needefull, & there-
fore to retonne wher I cofte, this realme ha-
vinge made lawes & ordinaunces for the avoydinge
of theise factions, & for the establisshinge of one u-
niforme religion agreed vpon by thre estates,
sette forth by the R: high: confirmed daylie
by doctrine, to suffer the same to be impugned &
defared by these evolutions denge & dealinges,
is nothinge eas but to suffer thinges establisshed
by order, by disorde to be overthrowen, to the decaye
of god government, & the breache of unitie and
comon quiet, & shoudid to beare, to lay a fou-
doun of all evill. The faultes in this mattee
muste needes be confessed to be verie comon and
manye, and the corrections of them verie fewe &
ward, now it wolde be required in whom we
stoth this blame, the realme hath establisshed,
the R: matie hath confirmed, she hath procla-
med, she hath ordeyned, she hath enicyned, she
hath made choise of men to execute theise
lawes, she hath exhorted as now she dothe,
she hath to save trouble left nothinge anon
for her high: to doe, & therefore it cannot be

15.
but this whole blame muste lie altogether vpon
us that shoud be the executors of theise lawes, yf
we save we be not such thinge, then muste we
be blinde, & yf we save we heard none then muste
we be deafe, and yf we knowe none, althow we may
affirme we knowe nothinge, no, no, there is no
wylind or sleighte, no lokinge through fingers
can misteiv excuse us, the burden is greati, and
harder to be borne, yf we shoud be charged. it
standeth us therefore greaterlie vpon to take
more earnestlie to it, than hitherto we have
dowd, and to supplie wth diligencie from henceforth,
that wth hitherto hath bene omitted by some of
negligence, & by some other of a worse. This I
am to assure y^e from the R: matie: for I have
god warrante so to doe, that her High: will have
us likinge of such as shall for any respect
whatsoev^r the same be shewe them shoud remisse
in theise mattees, wherfore to conclude lett^e o^r
dutie to god & obedience to o^r Sov^{er}aigne, o^r
love to the comon quiet of o^r countrey, & con-
quente lie to o^r shoud, move us to take such care
and to use such diligencie, for the amendinge and
reforminge of that that is amisse in those mattees
as therfore we may in parte satisfie for o^r negligencie

and do sanctes parte, and avoide the perill and
damages to come

Amis

The speche ysed by the L^r. Keeper. wth shaves
before Christmas. 1559 at the counsell
borde concerning an aide required by the
Scottes for the removinge of the frenche
out of Scotland.

My wordes & matters for that in soe greates & weigh-
tie a cause as this is greates understandinge & ex-
perience of the substance & dependances of the cause
is required in hym that shold make speake & iudge
therof, wth no bringinge vpp & shorle tyme in
conscience suffred not (y^e know) me to have, there-
fore wth it not that the order of this boarde binde
me otherwise I wolde preferre soe s^{er}vice in this mat-
ter. And s^{er}vice binde by order I shall saye that
I shall saye, soe havinge s^{er}ved it, I committe it and
submitte it altogether to yo^r order. The question
is whether it be necessarie for the safetye of our
overseigne, and for the common weale of o^r countrye
to assiste openly & presentlye the rebellion of
Scotland and theire adherents to expell the frenche

or no; Nowe some have shewed there reason to
prove it necessarie, others albe it the s^{er}vice in myn-
de have affirmed the contrarye. Nowe in myn-
d opinion neither is it necessarie that a s^{er}vice
be openly & presentlye granted them nor yet vt-
terlye denied them. but rather that they be s^{er}ved
& s^{er}ved forth wth answers & doninges full of good
hope where by both s^{er}vice warre & hostilitie
wth s^{er}vice may be deferred to be begun & enforced
by us, & also the s^{er}vice & other commodities
that may growe by the friendship of the Crowne
to us may be reserved & continued. The reasons
that move me openly & presentlye to aide them be
these: firste y^e oughte not to enforce, s^{er}vice and
openlye to assiste them, excepte yo^r be able s^{er}vice-
lye & openlye, to mainteyne warre wth s^{er}vice,
wth necessarie s^{er}vice of it, but you are not
s^{er}vice & openlye ^{able} to doe, & therefore y^e oughte
not to enforce s^{er}vice & openlye to assiste them.

The former parte of this argumente is assented
to on all sides, & therefore needeth noo proofe: the
later parte is best proved by the inste & indifferent
consideration of the equalitie & inequalitye of this
match, I meane of the power of Englande & of
s^{er}vice, for if s^{er}vice be to mightye for Englande

then is not Englands able to magnetyne
warre wth it, and that it is soe at this pte
I am moved to thinke particlar because of the
weaknes & wante that I see this realme is
in for wante of monye, men, & fowles,
wth be the very smowes, strength & fowles
of warre, and particlar for other respect wth
I meane to declare unto you. Firste for monye
it is soe well knowne to vs all that the Q. high.
is soe farre from havinge such a masse of treasur
sure as is moote for to have to magnetyne
warre wth such a pte as the French
kinge is, that she hath not sufficient to
upholde her owne estate as is becominge in
tyme of peare, & to paye such debtes as she
oweth wthin the realme & without wth are
of necessitie to be payed, excepte the dayes
of paymente be prolonged by givinge of greates
intereste. yea yf I doe not mistake it, there
is more owinge this daye by 60000 then
there is wherewith to paye albeit for the
better answeringe of this debte yf take in
alwea all the monye yssinge of the subsidie
granted & sold & of all other rasuall &
renewed, as allso of all the ordinarie revenues.

Secondly howe bare & needie, & howe vnmete
to serve for verye wante of monye the moste yte
of the realme be, by reason of the manye
souldiers served & charged that they have bene
raided unto. no man can tell soe well as yo
selves. Thirdly the gentlemen & souldiers havinge
bene soe ofte & soe thred together charged wth
Englishes & Frenches & makinge out of
soldiers horse & harness, & such like, be so
unable to beare their burthen as the rest, and
thus yf be the warres outwarde, & seditions
inwarde of late happened have avoide soe de
voured the treasur of the three estates of this
realme, that onye of them hath wth the least
to magnetyne & upholde them selves in the
tyme of peare, as becomed the degree of lyfe
that onye of them could. Of the spirituallie
howe I have spoken nothinge, because their
revenue can geve nothinge. Thus much
for monye. Now for men & fowles for souldiers
of owne nation surelie this three yeres after
past by the unreasonable of them and the
infection that happened in them have consumed
such a number of men on the one parte & the

warrs & troubles such a number on the o^r
ther parte, that those that remaine be, by the
reporte of yo^r yomen & husband men in all the
counties become so fewe & scante that wth
much adoe & wth greute diffinitie can
they fynde ynough, to till the earth & to bringe
in the fruites thereof in due season, wth is a
reporte of greute perill. I saye to make pro-
vision for forerone soldiorcs wthout monye
is impossible, besides the greute damager of
it C^{as} it might be that growes by receaving
of many straungers into this lande, as it is e-
vidente by dyvers examples. Thus muche
for men. And as for the thirde wth is for
hendes it is to my vnderstandinge well knowne
to all, that the C^omunie standes soft aboute
wthout promise either of assistance or of
frende shipp in this quarrell of any one prince
or state in Europe savinge certayne of the
republicke of Swedelande & theire confederates
whose power by exche we fynde so small that
they were not of them selves able to expell the
frendes beinge in number not above thre

18
thousande out of thaire interior, yea & that
more is havinge a conflict wth them abrode
in the fildes, they were not able to wthstande
theire force. And besides knowinge that theise
Rebells had men ynough in thaire Coignories
& vnto that woulde goe wth them to the fildes in
maintenance of thaire enterprise accordinge
to the custome of the lande, yet certayne it is
that they neither will nor can abide in armes
to doe any exploit above the number of thirtie
daies or thereabout, excepte they be undertownd
as hired soldiors wth monye & wth those rebells
(God knoweth) are altogether unable to doe
whereby I am moved to iudge the small amount
that is to be made of this frend shipp. And howe
necessarie it is to fore an enterprise of so
greute damager as this is shoulde be taken in
hande to have greute frende shipp besides so
is verie easie to vnderstande, beinge well myght all
the s^uperiorities of this realme before this tyme
have ever forborne any such attempte, untill
they have overcome & assured to them selves by

partes & otherwise the assistance of some
foreigner & you not, nor not when this realm
was replenished wth monere & men and t^{he}
you were thereof longe settled in his usual state
& bym selfe exporte in those warlike matters
besides furnished wth victuals & exporte rap-
tyned for that purpose. I meane not to st^{and}
on this that I mislike the experience and
vnderstandinge of the state & state, but to lette
you to wittie when it was in better condition
for those exportes than now it is (as I thinke
no man can deny) but it hath bene & yet be-
fore friends assured abroad the like to this
hath not bene assayed. If I should remembre
you of these friendships for their better su-
ortie sought either by E. the ninth or E. the sixth
& so forth, when they intended to have to doe
wth France, I should both trouble you longe
& to a p^{ur} but that wth you know. And to ad-
venture to doe that wth never y^e you
durste before this tyme doe so much better

appointed than we be for such a matter is (indeed) to be more hardie than wise. Thus havinge in this parte declared unto you the reasons & wante that I take the realme to be in, by defaulte of money men & friendshipps I wolde wish you shoulde consider alsoe on the other parte some other matters much more importunt to have in abstinentie for a tyme from waivinge alsoe, whereof one is the number of men of honor & understandinge within this realme that be discontented persons, w^{ch} ever the more soone easilie be perswaded to have an alteration & therefore but soone given to defende the state that nowe is w^{ch} their loves, lymmes or lyminges, yea playndie to seea be men not to be trusted, how they wilbe ordered at home when any greates force shalbe sente forth in defence abroad. These discontented persons I divide into two kindes, the one & the greatest be those that mislike the gouernance that nowe is for religious sake, whereof in my iudgemente the number is not small, nor

their understandinge or intelligence grosse
or feeble. The second is those that take them
selves since the R: reigne to have had their
writte of pardon or licence derayd or defu-
red. Of this sort what men of experience &
knowledge there be I leave to yo to thinke
of w^{ch} in tyme past know some of them as
followed in comraile w^{ch} you. I leave besides
the danger of their discontented, there is a
second as greuous as it, w^{ch} is the unwilling-
nes in my countie, that the greater parte of
all the estates of this realme have to make
warre by invasion. And the cause is the ill
fortune that thys daye we see warre bringeth
forth. it is evidente to their eyes, that it
bringeth & breedeth slaughter & spoyle of in-
nocente, overthroweth all lawes, & fillt the realme
full of felonies, burglaries, & robberies, where
of there is small neede of discourse at this
tyme beinge (as I suppose) no man can re-
member so many committed, & of so greuous
outrage & violence as of late hath happened
& the cheefe ring leaders of these founde by

examination to be desperate soldiers, the worse
degree of warre. I leave the scarcitye of men
maketh ^{the} husbandman & farmer to feare, of warre
shoulde be, that for wante of sufficiente helpe he
shoulde not be able to make such profite of the
grounde in his occupyinge, as may suffice to feede
his wife, & children, & wher to paye his landlord
w^{ch} the landlorde beinge, lightlie is as unwilling
as the farmer. And as for the merchant, he of all
othres is moste unwilling, because warre
doth his wayvaile w^{ch} is indeede his plough.
And herewithal when men remember what fa-
moure & misery have ensued warres
in tyme of plenty, is it then any marvel though
in this tyme of scarcitye of money men should
they be unwilling to make warre? There is
yet a third danger greater in my opinion
than the former two, w^{ch} groweth by the doubt-
fulness of the cause of warre, and the appareance of
a misflow that it carrieth w^{ch} it, as the first fare to
the worlde. And the cause why doubtfulness in
such a case shoulde breed danger, is for that the
principle is infallible, that only cause of warre

wherein cometh so much blood is shed, ought
 evidently appear probable & mte to the se-
 dious & to the whole world, & especially where
 the warre is by invasion; first to the soveraigne
 because it is very hard to make a man that is
 not of nature traitor or felonious, thoughtless
 & without courage to fight in a quarrell wh in his
 heart he doeth not for justice, yea & when
 the justice of the cause is disputable. Surely
 nothinge so much as this, & the persuasion of
 this whereof small difference is to be made
 hath bene in myne opinion the chiefest cause of
 much revoltinge & tumults of foule flyinge.
 Secundarily to the world: for that the
 maintenance of a quarrell that raveth the
 visage of justice wh it, is like to breede
 in the hearts of forreign & domestic that shall
 heare of it, yea opinion of those that inferre
 such warre, whereby lieth as in owne nose, &
 all manner of sinners shall be therefore
 be danged them: soe shall it appeare those prin-
 ces upon owne lighte occasion to be ready to
 give succour agaynst them. Nowe that the

cause of this warre varieth wh it a sheweth appa-
 rance of justice, is proved thesame by two
 reasons & arguments whereof the former is,
 To ioyne wth the Crowne to oppose the French
 is to ioyne wth the subiecte agaynst the soveraigne
 but to ioyne wth the subiecte agaynst the soveraigne
 is injustice therefore to ioyne wth the Crowne is
 justice. The seconde, to be the first breake
 of a league agreed upon is justice, but to assiste
 the Crowne to oppose the French is to be the
 first breake of a league, therefore to assiste the
 Crowne is justice. And albeit these two argu-
 ments may be in my iudgement answered by other
 two, that is to saye, it is not justice for any prince
 for defence of hym self & his countrey from imminent
 danger to assiste either soveraigne or subiecte, and
 the Crowne assistinge the Crowne doth defende her self
 & her realme from imminente danger therefore to
 assiste the Crowne is not justice. The seconde,
 a league of amitie & peace made by two princes
 & first broken by the one, is not justice although
 the other expect not the league, but the league made
 betwene the French King & the Duke, was first
 broken by the French King, by ravinge the armes

of Englande in open treumphe by vsing the stile
of Englande in open remission, by gevinge the
same in his stile, & by offeringe dyvers other greivous
injuries, w^{ch} of th^{er} nature make a plaine demon-
stration of open warre & hostilitie. Therefore it is
not imittive although the R: keep not the parties
of the same league wth the French. Yet notwithstanding
for as much as all men that be wth in these warres
knowe not theis answers ^{that} we knowe. Also for
that it wilbe harde to make men so dauntles to con-
tend so much as it is to be considered thew^{ch}, & that
it is not easie to make straungers abroad so true
believe all that we heere affirme for the truthe
of the same if we begynne warre firste & informe
them after. And for that also the severall argu-
ments beinge framed vpon open matters knowne
to the world, beare a good countenance & force
where th^{er} answers be not vnderstoode. there-
fore vntill both be at home, & others also abroad
may by some convenient meane in tyme & place
be brought to the vnderstandinge of this that
we knowe, or at the least w^{ch} towards, we
thinke that behoofull (although not other im-
portant word) for this onely respect to forbear

22
for a tyme to make any warre. Now as I have de-
clared o^r impediment at home aswell by wante
& weakness as otherwise for the danger above
remembered much movinge (as I indge) an ab-
stynence from warre. Soe meane I shal to
remember to you this impediment abroad, by
the strength & mightnes of the enemy persuading
the same. wherin for the firste parte who is so
ignorant that knoweth not that the Kingdome
& Dominion that be vnder the governance of the
crown of France be found tomed as much
as the realm of Englande, and the men found
to med as many, and the revenue found to med
as much and more, & therewith that the French
wth as large authoritie & commandment to
levie money & treasure vpon his people for
the maintenance of his enterprise as the
English here hath & more. Against for
redite because it moste comenlie gooth wth
the power & reabilitie of the person redited,
& therefore his power beinge so greate, I
cannot see but his redite muste be much
therafter. Besides what an advantage the
French have by the continuall warres that

France hath of longe tyme had, whereof
ther be sundre experte captaynes & old fol-
diere it is easie to iudge acesse. And yet the
French may besides his owne subiects con-
tayne as many Armagnacs to invade vs, as
he is able to hire where we cannot without
greate damagee doo the like to defende vs.
And as for friend ship, I cannot see but he
either by alliance or by league or by both
hath the friendshippe of moste of the princes
of Europe. And how manye of these will as-
siste hym in this warre it is harde to knowe.
But if he hath as they saye rather of
all his other enterprises & compounded all
his controversies, yea & that as it is saide
with some vnderall conditions to the ende to
have to doe with Scotland & us, because
the house of Burgoyne who is the founder of
this quarrell hath gotten the choise reuerence
& governance vnder the Kinge, then it is
out of doubt that he will prece et prece
procure all his allies & confederates to

23.
aide hym in his quarrell. And as the French
can vnderstand paye, soe have they very greate
Cognitions wherewith to paye, I meane wth
for the atcheyvinge of this purpose they will
gaddie & departe wth. Besides also he that
remembereth howe the Spaniards is gonne
in religion, & what god will they boare to
vs for the shewde opinion that we have had
of them, and also what offence maye growe
in Kinge of Phillipps breast of his spite
take not offence, or what an apt occasion he
may take to furre his spite to take offence
by ioyninge wth the French. & therewith
what godlied thinge the French hath to at-
tempte Kinge of Phillipps wth may well
be donotefull of the Spaniards sorrowe
to the French in this quarrell, but ad-
mittinge all these considerations shold faile
yet doubt is there none but the Bishoppe
of Rome for recoverye of such profite as
he by usurpation for ammas & such like
that longoth here, will both wth monney &

and other Romish practises assiste hym and
further his cause to the uttermoste. And
agayne what helpe of shipp he may have
of the states wth whom you have stode in
termes longe for thaire liberties it is to be
doubted, specially because the french will
promise much, & then have of longe to me
have founde very little, wth assistance is
not counted to be feared among the rest
because it is an aide by water wth the french
of all other have moste neede of, and mo
moste cause to feare. There be diverse other
thinges that were o^r wants & weakenes and
theire plenty & force, wherewith I meane
not to trouble you, because I suppose by
the comparison already made, it is evident
enough, how unable we be at this instant to
maintayne this match. And enforced pro
bably to begynne a match not magnanimous
wth we doe when we instantly & copulie
assiste the Scotte, I cannot allowe for
sonne a good consail. But to this
it is sayde that we not vnsupplied but in
forced of necessity muste instantly assiste

24.
the Scotte, excepte we will wittinglie and
willinglie fall headlonge into a greater danger
and that the more wante we have of monye or
men & friends, the more needefull it is instantly
to give this assistance while such an aide as
the Amdie is able to make may serve the
purpose & that is to see the onely meane to
make a roete of necessity, and see all that
have produced agaynst the invasions of Scots
warres, further & magnified the contrary
parte. And in proof thereof this hath bene
affirmed that as it is retayned that freame
under the name of suppressing a rebellion in
Scotland, sooth not the conquests of Scot
lands out of Englande & Ireland, as
theire own I murdres already offered partlie
before & that the next way to bringe that
to passe is for the french to lande his magni
fence in Scotland. And it is as retayned
that the best meane to disapprove that pur
pose is to expell those that be there landed, and
to defende the rest from landing. And even

as it is verie likely that notwithstanding all
wantes of money men & friends, we are at
this p^{re}sente able without greates power or verie
greates charges to expect those that be there
to have the Countie according to their pro-
mise assured to us for this assistance, & this
without any danger to our realm so that the
thing is essentially expected. And it is ve-
ry probable that if the time be forbore until
the French ^{have} landed their standed force, that
then it is hard to say, whether all the charge
to the whole force that this realm shall
able to make, shall be of power able to expect
them, yea & to defende the Northern borders
& the coastes & the northwardes. And yet thus
shall you be sure that the Countie will forsake
you because you have forsaken them, and be-
cause thereby the realm shall not be without
some damage. To this also is added that
the French being expected, it is much more
easier to defende them from landing, than
suffering them to land it is to defende them
from marching, specially if David being

25
of the force it is to have & port being in it
as stormes & tempests be temerous & hard to
ab they be & there is the contrarie. Besides ex-
pecting the French, your friendship & amitie
is as much thereby increased by all likelihood
as Countie comes to, whereas you friends
abide with the more rather to break with you
& your enemies the more glad to make peace with you.
It is also saides assiste the Countie essentially &
openly & have warre, assiste them not & have
warre also, may with the fewende you shall have
their friendship & aide, with the friends their
offence & injury, & because it is better in time
of warre with you be only way will follow, to
have their friendship than injury, therefore
it is better openly & essentially to assiste the Countie
And my lordes their reasons have greates
apparance of good & some reasons & divers
parte of them muste needes be confessed for true.
And thus of the contrarie parte & this be
considered to the bottom, me thinke as I said
in the beginning, that an abstynance from warre
for a time were the safest & surest way for

albeit it be true that France hath choise
in the conquest of England & under such
steere as is remembered & that the best waye
to bringe this to passe is to lande his maynt
fores in Scotland, & that he is likeliest thing
to doe of us eithe hym not, & that it is more
easie to defende their landinge than their
marchinge, & therefore also that the best
devise to avoide this is to expell the French
out of Scotland, & that done to defende
their landinge there and also where wher
the French lande from tyme to tyme, yet doth it
not followe consequentially that it is best
therefore presently thus to doe, as though
tyme had nothinge a doe in doinge, wher as
it is not true in other thinges, nor more
doubtles is it in this, for as it is necessarie
for us to expell the French, & that done to
defende their landinge from thenceforth.
Nowe it is necessarie for us to see that
we be well able when we begynne to enter-
prise in all point to performe it. & like as
we be stronger enough to drive out the
French that be now there although

26
perhamper not so gentle as so easie as some
thinke. Nowe I thinke would be that for the
respect above remembred, that hostilitie and
warre that we shall enter into wth France by
doinge of that, we shall not be able as a condi-
tion now stande to susteine & endure. And there-
fore to take such a tyme oportunitie to drive the French
wherby open warre shall begonne as we maye
be able both to expell the French thence and
to defendinge their landinge afterward, were
the most assured dealinge in mynde opinion.
And the way is this: Drive the French breake
by all wayes & meanes you can this summer
wherby yo^r shall bothe conserve their amitie
& also make them better able to annoy the
French, wher shall be their ensueing & there-
fore to strengtheninge. And as for any warre
that France will begonne to make upon
us before winter come a yeare, ye shall not
need be doubtfull of. by w^{ch} tyme it is verie
probable that the matter beinge wislie to be
to, we shall by reason of strength be that tyme
enough & therefore drive as more able to
drive the French out of Scotland, & from
thenceforth to keep them wth the help of

the ~~Scott~~ out of the ~~Islands~~, than now we be
albeit not thamed means ~~good~~ ends the ~~cont~~
verbe as it is like it ~~hold~~. Now that the
ffrenche will not ~~beginne~~ warre wth vs before
Comer come twelvemonth, although he lande
a mayne forte in ~~Scotland~~, this is my reason,
The ffrenche will not invade Englands although
his power hath landed in ~~Scotland~~ until he
hath conquered ~~Scotland~~, but he is not able
before Comer come twelvemonth to conquer
~~Scotland~~ although nee assistance were given
by vs, therefore before Comer come a year
he will not invade Englands. The firste p^{te}
is evidente, for if he shold invade Englands,
before the conqueste of ~~Scotland~~, then shold
they have their enemies both before them &
behind them, wth wittinglie nee man enforced
dothe suffer. To prove the seconde parte that
the ffrench cannot this year conquer ~~Scot~~
lands is the greatest diffinitive in this matter
wth I knowe not howe more plainelie and
strongelie can be proved, than by former ex-
periences of the same countie & examples
of conqueste of other like countiees. And

27.
Amonge many attempte & experiences that have
bene made in tyme past, as the Kinges of Eng-
lande to subdue ~~Scotland~~ & to attayne to the
choise superioritye & the choise gouernment thereof,
I meane to remember no two or three: wherof
the firste is of the experience had in the tyme of
L. Edwards the firste who reigned aboue xxiii
yeares & was knowne to the world both a
prince of greates pollicie & understandinge in
martiall matters & also of greater power &
reason of his dominions in ffraunce, than the
Quene is now of, & the second to be as well
furnished wth noble men, & experte captaynes
as any of his successors shuld. And albeit the
marke wth this y^e prince wente cheifelie all
his force to shewe at duringe his longe reigne
was, as is evidente by the ~~Scottish~~ & English
stories, the superioritye & choise gouernment of
~~Scotland~~, yet detayne it is that he could
not in all his tyme establish any gouernment
thereof that had any tyme of continuance, &
yet made he foure or fve iourneys thither
in proper person & foughte wth them the

many battles the first at Barnwile the second
at Dunsbarre & the third at Flemmish wherein
were slayne of the Scotte by the opinion of
writers threescore thousande, besides that for
his better speede, & to make his enterprise the
more able to be attempted there was then such
a disorde betwix the nobles of Scotlande
as the life was never since, yea & a greater
sorte of them were at the same tyme assisting
to E. Edwards, & for his further helpe as be,
the othe to the that the woman here hath to
the cheike lord of Scotlande was then free
& out of care in ver, wh. I thinke was no
small furtheraunce to his purpose, & yet
wold no order that he toke there for good
name laste longer than it was a danger.
The second experience was made by King
Edwards the third, who albeit he was able
by his greute force & valour to passe through
a greute parte of flamm as a conquerour
& that he made two iournes voyall into
Scotlande in person for that purpose, & did
lie in one battell of the Scotte as it is

128
written 130000 yet toke he never by this, make
any such establishment of government as had
any contrary manner. I dare say any man of reason
by reason thinke that E. Henry the Eighth whom
in all his enterprises victories did followe, havinge
given to the Scotte so greute an overthrow as he
did, & thereby possessed the person of so greute a num-
ber of the nobilitie & men of estimation of Scot-
lande as persons, & thereupon also the Scot-
tish King ymediate ly dyinge, wold by the ad-
vice of his counsaile, have taken the course he did,
if one yeares warres wold have made a conquest
of Scotlande. yea wold the Governours in E.
Edwards the sixte his tyme have done as they
did, after so greute victories obtained againste
the Scotte, if they had thoughte such a matter
in soe shorte tyme able to be compassed. Nowe
if none of these ydynes beinge of such power
& valour, & thus way wold so well furnished for
warre as they were, & therewith havinge such ad-
vantage as yo have heard they had, & besides,
wh. is a verie good matter, havinge continuent lande
to march vpon wherby they were able without

damages of wounds or water to take hold of
any apte occasion @ to be ready to receive such
necessities wth men, victuals @ comfort and to
winters their lodgings at their pleasure, not
not for all this at any time duringe their
residence at home this enterprise, nor any other
of yours since the conquest: who holds a
man then thinke that the French be fore
wonder some a yeare shalbe able to bringe
this so to pass, that he mighte alsoe the
same yeare invade Englande wth a mayne force
of extraordinary souldiers that all his transportations
without the wth he can doe nothinge, he ronty
maillie subjects to the wound @ to the water.
And that his successe in such necessities where
of many happen in warre matters, be alsoe
be feared of. hitherto of the experience made to
conquer Scotland: where shortlie to the ex-
amples of other like countries, wth in my opinion
confirmed their experience. For how longe will
it our Englande could attayne to the governance
of Wales beinge nothinge comparable to the
strength of Scotland. And as for Irelande al-
beit that hath bene so oughte assayed, yet is it

29.
not at this daye settled. And the reason whie it
is so hard a thinge to make a conquest of a
countie, is, as I take it, for that every man in that
quarrell fighteth for his goodes his lands his wife
@ children, his liberties @ his life. And every man
so fightinge (ceteris paribus) is worthe three
hiredinge. And thus both by the experience of
the same countie, @ by the examples of other,
I am moved to judge that the French cannot in
one yeare make such a conquest in Scotland
as he maye without greates damages invade Englande
alsoe wth a mayne force the same yeare. whereupon
I inferre this conclusion, that forasmuch as I but-
lie we be not able to withstande the force of France,
for the reasons aforesaid shewed, @ that for a yeare
there is no quell of invasion of the French to be
made upon vs, and for that by that time money
men @ friends may either sufficiently be pro-
vided, or at the least brought into such state as
we shall then be much more able to defende the
force of France than now. And because by
that time alsoe, all the factions in the realme
either may be much better compounded or the
superior parte much more reasonned. and for

that by that tyme, the causes of our warre may
be made to appeare both to us at home & to
strangers abroad wothable & iust, and
that the endes shall be that tyme by his
sundry conflicts of force to be used, for the
maintenance of his quarrell, in this longe
tyme consume his men, his money, his vir-
tuall, his munition, & armour, & thorough
the comitree of Scotland w^{ch} shold then
be his velleys shal also be so that tyme
maye wolden & destroyed. And because
also in that tyme, no man knowes what
maye happen to the Frenches & bringe a
verie fickle woman & whether the house
of Guise, the cheife upholder of this quarrell
shall continue their fauor & governance aboute
the Kinge or not &c. whether o^r Gouernour
shall be that tyme soe muche her selfe in mariage
as it shall doe muche to the ende of that con-
troversie. or what the wind & water in a
whole yeare will doe wth all these transpor-
tation. or to whom god will geve victorie in
such bickeringe & frowne as duringe that

yeare the French shall have wth the Scotte.
Therefore I conclude as I saide in the begyn-
ninge, that it is not beste & profitable & openlie
to assiste the Scotte, soe as hereby we shall
enter into open warres wth France, but rather
to abstaine for a tyme, surrounde the Scotte by
all waies & means possible, duringe this ab-
stynence, allwaies notwithstandinge, that if
in this tyme of abstynence anye greuous misfor-
tune shall happen to the Frenches, after we
shall growe more stronge, or they more weak
either by tempests conflicts, wante of virtuall
or such like, that then s^hall advantage be
taken thereof by us & assiste to the
uttermoste as vpon the firste breake of the
treatie betwene both Realmes. H H

finis

A speche y^eet by the L. Keeper in counsell
in the ende of mydsummer terme 1562 when
it was broughte in question, whether the
enterview betwene the Q. matie and the
Scottishe Q. were conveniente to be allowed
of or noe. the effecte wherof he spake in Turke
to the Quene at Grenew.

My lordes to my vnderstandinge the beste waye
to iudge whether the interviewe be the good & pro-
fitable to the Realme or not, is to consider what hope
of good & feare of y^e ought to growe thereby. The
hope of good to be conceived shall in mynde opinion
be beste vnderstande by the righte iudginge, what
their affection & disposition at this p^{re}sente be
from whom the good that we are in hope of is to
proceede, & inuaine the affection & disposition of
the Scottishe Q. and at the house of Grist. for
if we by reason be taughte to iudge that they be
p^{re}sente w^{ch} disposed & affected towardes vs, then
shoulde we oughte to conceiue greates hope of this
enterview. If interviewe breedeth into occasion
of interest of frendshippe in w^{ch} disposed myndes
wh^{ch} I muste needs confesse men doe not agreee (though
my selfe doe) but some, y^e & thes^e w^{ch} affirme the
contrarie. God contrarie w^{ch}, yf we by reason

31.
oughte to iudge that they be p^{re}sente w^{ch} disposed and
affected towardes vs, then doubtles oughte we to con-
ceiue greates feare of y^e of this interviewe on the one
parte grounded vpon dissimulation, excepte interviewe
be there fore doe breed in myndes y^e disposed a trans-
formation of y^e into London, & of displeasure into
amitie, wh^{ch} I haue not heard any man affirme. Come
for the more certayne knowlege howe the Q. of
Grist at the house of Grist. be p^{re}sente affected, is
firste to be wagghe, howe in their theire state
& vult, when our bodie is beste to be vnderstande,
they were in lond & disposed, & then that beinge
made manifeste to be y^e, whether any thinge h^{ad}
done, or any signification shoulde made by them, oughte
to move vs of righte, to thinke them better disposed
than they were. Howe y^e they were disposed towardes
the Q. and the Realme, when they all were at the high-
este appeared euidentlie, by gevinge the demerit of
Englands in open triumph, by vsinge the fleyce of
Englands in remission, by gevinge the same in exaltation &
placitie to speake, so muche by theire settinge forth,
was made euident vnto vs, and the whole worlde
of their y^e disposition to the Q. and the Realme, as
nothinge more w^{ch} be added w^{ch} open violence,
wherof thes^e were certayne Eulandres, y^e & of
nothinge els^e more, their settled disposition in matters

of religion, both then & now contrary cleane to
providing good, might suffice to make vs thinke
that neither then more, nor are like to be well af-
fected toward vs. Then further it is to see what
since that tyme hath bene done by vs to deserve
that their affection shoulde be changed, or what
signification hath bene made by any of them to
good vs good cause to thinke that it is altered.
For of neither we have deserved, nor they have
promised sufficiently the change, then ought
we to thinke, the whole affection remayned, & of
see, then verily no hope of good. That we have
not deserved the change of this affection, it is
proved by the dishonour the house of Burgundy
by expelling the French out of Scotland
by o meanes, & by the hard changed maner
waies that through our sinnes happened to them
in that enterprise, decayed by the continuall of-
fence that the Q: of Scotland & the house of
Orkney findes within their breastes daily for
that the Queen by o meanes hath not the
governance in Scotland, that she wolde have
had if we had not bene, nor that she & they
desire she shoulde now have. A matter doubtles
of it selfe, sufficient to contynue any olde dis-

32
pleasure, or to breed a newe, what good shew or comen-
dation by wordes or promises is made to the contrarye.
He does thinke vs that the Scottish Queenes suite
made in a friendly manner to come through England
at that tyme she costly forraigne to come into Scotland,
and the downfall thereof excepte the contrarye word vati-
fied is by them forgotten. Or ead vs sendings of Shippes
to the sea at the tyme of her transportation: no doubtles
to please as I thinke, theist & the vestie wh vs remem-
ber aswell as I, were able to make her before well
disposed, to be cleane otherwise given: And then much
more to contynue wh the downfall of the olde continued
affection towardes the realm. Speciallie beinge it is
ignored wh ambition to a Kingdome. And as I doinge
on o side have deserved no change of their affection,
but rather the magnanimite of their olde displeasure
wh downfall, no more hath any thinge done by them
that is of waighte, given signification to vs of better
hope. For what hope oughte we to receive of the do-
minal to please the treatie solicited & required in forraigne
firste by the Embassadour legat & after by my lordes of
Bedford & Chum, wh in how the Q: of Scotlands
shoulde have pleased, the same beinge before assented
unto by her commissioners, wherein as I remember
her firste answer was, that she wolde not doe it without
her uncles privie, scandalous not without the consent

of her Nobles in Scotland. Thence she was an-
swered that she would not do it till she came
into Scotland. And after her cominge beinge
moved, she would not scale it, till she had settled all
things there. And now as I heard she will not
until the interview, and then as I remember,
it will be deferred till all testimony out of fear,
and then I cannot tell till when. Wherby it is
evident, that that which in hope they are bound to
do, hath been, & yet is refused to be done, a plaine
manifestation of the contrary manner of their old af-
fection, specially beinge their scalinge word &
have done so much to the dryinge of the old
contract. And other signification of good will
than this, beinge matter of waights I knowe not
I knowe if there hath been any private signification
that might move a man to thinke them now better
affected than they were, I could be glad that the
that knowe it would showe it. that we might
indge whether it be a matter of moment, and if
it stand in things to be done, what justice there
is of the doinge of them, for if there be nothinge,
but but a plaine speech & promise, then

33
see I not, the things before remembred considered,
why these matters ought to move us to thinke that
they be changed in hearts, specially since we in hope
of their promises have & sent the assente to a thinge
out of hand, the interview I meane, that is pindical
to the Kinge and the Realme, as by my declaration I
indge it shal appeare, & stand in expectation of the
good that shal come of the promises hereafter. But
I and others to whom the private signification is not
knowne ought to indge as we such word. And then we
thinke I may conclude, that neither by a deservinge
nor by any signification from them, we are given to
understande that their old affection or disposition to-
wards us is changed, but the same is rather to be
thought contrary & increased. Besides it might
be asked why this interview havinge been so long
talked of, was not sooner assented to by the R. of Scotte.
for my parte I knowe not either, but because her uncle
did not sooner allowe of it, & why did they not sooner
allowe of it. Doubtles in my iudgement because their
matter in fear did not sooner by contrary fallinge
out to their expectation, as yet drove them to it.
as a verie newe Marie meane now in their time of

trouble to surmount the opinion & credit that
shall grow to them by their interview. wherein
I doubt they doubt verie wisely. for of all treaties
although made by means of Ambassadors & Commissioners,
be the foundations of y^e princes amities & amities
the foundation of their strength, then must the
treaties made by the y^e princes themselves be more
entirely with verie happen make a plaine
manifestation to the world of amities & so con-
sequently of a greater strength growne to them w^{ch}
must in this case of necessity marvellously fur-
ther the parts of the house of Empe in this vo-
wed dangerous time. and like as it cannot be out
the demonstration to the world of the great and
straight amities that shall grow between the
Kings of England & the K^{ing} of Scotte beinge the
chaife personage of the house of Empe, & besides
and that is altogether grounded by her will, &
must in reason greatly surmount the credit &
strength of the house of Empe. God cannot
it be denied but it must marvellously weaken
& discredit v^{er} throughout all Christendome
further at this time they beinge in flame the
unhindered omie of the authoritie of Rome,

34
and in armes to the uttermost of their power to
magnifye the quarrell. How can strength and
credit be given to them by v^{er}, but that we w^{ch}
have banished Rome must if so fallow discredit
& greatly weaken v^{er} blood. For how can credit
& strength be given to them specially at this present
whilst the cause of Rome is in hand, but thereby
credit & strength be given to Rome? For how
can the y^e Protestants receive credit & strength where
& when the cause of Rome is in question but thereby
the y^e Protestants must needs be weakened and dis-
credited? And what else can be more to v^{er} discredit
& weakeninge, than to hurt & hinder the y^e Protestants
& favo^r & further the y^e Protestants? certainly it is, if
the house of Empe prevail in flame in the matter
they have undertaken, w^{ch} by the credit & opinion
that shall grow to them by this interview they shall
much be enabled w^{ch} then is the cause of religion in
flame cleare overthrowen, & throughout Christendome
much weakened & the y^e Protestants in flame utterly
overdressed, & throughout Europe much encreased,
wherein v^{er} parte is equal w^{ch} the greatest, w^{ch}
if they prevail then followeth it, besides the overthrow
of religion & the magnifyinge thereof, that flame

Duringe the Kinges minoritye shalbe thought
to be governed by them, w^{ch} god namede and ordeined
then is it gratulie to be feared, that Spanne &
those & other y^e printed given as they be in this
common cause of Rome, will ioyne. And that beinge
done, then may we assured b^e knowe that noe force
or violence shalbe lefte unoffered. And practise
improved to bringe aboute a change of religion
in Englande. Then are we to looke for newe
gates, then will sedition moved by some men
be many waies attempted, for s^{er}vice & magistres
nowe of Rome at home at this tyme neither love
nor like the state here, nor yet stande in feare
thereof, what will they then doe towe you?
Then are we to looke for noe aide of any y^e printed
stante y^e printed, because we have not onely fore-
borne to aide the y^e printed in France in
this their neede, and b^e their common cause of
religion, but also by this Entrevue strength-
ned their advarsies, & weakened them. And then
who doubted but that the house of Guise beinge
by this prayinge broughte a little, & in havinge
this assistance, will under the colour of religion
sett above the all olde titles & quarrells or at the
least violently present the cause of religion

35.
here. And what by force & what by devils
at home, their enterprises for their titles shal thereby
be made more sensible, & shal have for their bringinge
to passe easie danger & diffinitive. And in furtherance
of their quarrells what the Grotte will then doe, is
harder now to knowe. You although an English man
would make him selfe believe, otherwise than I can,
that the house of Guise cominge to such godnamed
in France duringe the Kinges minoritye as they
desire, you consideringe what credit & opinion
hath grown to that house by this Entrevue in the
middle of the tyme of their trouble, to the Anne
& resolutione greatly charged, and how honorable some
of them have bene entertained of late in their passage
through this realm, & also what to some of private
love & affection betwene the two y^e printed, & what
the twentie allready passed contyneth, that their
love neither the olde ambition to this Kingdome
neither the matter of religion would make them
doe any thinge that mighte tende to the trouble of the
Anne & state here as indeede in hand they are beinge
if here can make a bande whose ambition to a King-
dome & oration by power of some hope to attayn
would be rare. Although I saye, this mighte be

Some for their respect as beloved, yet who can
believe but that the Q: of Scotland would not have
the judgement of Scotland otherwise than by
their hath, or that her uncle will not do their vt-
tmost as he hath they have done, to bringe her to it,
or that they cominge to the rule before rememored,
dona their utmost, wh the pte the Q: of
Scotland is able to make in Scotland shall not be
of sufficient power to bringe in Scotland what
they will to passe except the Q: be by this
realm assisted, wh if they be as foreward warre
hath shewed, howe unable the woman here is to con-
forme the assistance. And againe then is the Q:
of Scotland her uncle discharged of this bond
in hand. And as they will inflie in sword become
Enemies to vs their enemies & thereupon take
occasion to set forth their foreward titles, & so
this realm driven to the defence both of
England & Scotland against all them
their friends & allies & all the fauourers of
Some both at home & abroad, wherein albeit
we have a Sea for defence & besides (thank
be to god) be well furnished aswell with Shippes
as with all manner of munition, & artillery for

36
warre, yet the forwaige Enemy by such commotion
beinge so strange & so selues so divided & there shall
poore, it cannot but breede more greates vicia to the
Realme. Thus in my opinion it is more evident
that not hope of good, & greates feares of ill is to be re-
reased of this Enterpryse and therefore for my
parte I cannot allow of it.

Finis

Speeches vsed by the L. Keeper unto
the Lordes and other assembled in the
Parliament house

My Lordes and me be the Queenes moste excellent
maite: & natural & moste gracious & overraigne lady
havinge (as yo know) summoned hither her highnes
counsaile of Parliament, hath commaunded me to open
& declare unto yo the chiefe causes & considerations
that moved her high: thereto. And here my L. I wispe
not without greates cause, there were in me habilitie
to doe it in such order & sorte as is becominge for
her maite hono & understandinge of this p'sente
& as the greates waightnes & worthynesse of the matter
dothe requyre it to be done. the remembrance where
of & the number of my imperfections to the well re-
forminge of it, dothe in more doore p'ynfully to speak

breede in me luche leare & drede that as from a
man asayed & wellinghe a fownd, so are to heare
all that I shall saye theron. And it is that some
comforte & encouragemente I take through the
hope I have receaved by that I have seene & heard
of y^e gentle sufferance wth others, wherof I
looke vpon equall cause, equall wth others to be
a partaker, & the rather for that I am sure good
will shall not want in me to doo the uttermost.
And also because I meane to occupie as small
tyme as the greatnes of the cause will require,
thinkeing that to be the moste fitte medycine to cure
yo^r tedious hearinge & my imperforthe & disordered
speakinge. I ammarilie to saye the mediate
counsel of the seuerall & assembled be consultacion,
advise, and contentacion. for although I desire
thinge that are to be done here in y^e Parliamente
might be meane to be performed wthout y^e Parliamente
yet the R: matie. seeinge in her consuetudine of
importance contentacion by assente, & consentie
by advise & therewth disposinge her selfe not a
little in yo^r fidelities wisdom & discretions,
meaneith not at this tyme to make any resolution
in any matter of waighe before it shalbe by yo^r
sufficientlie & fullie debated examined & considered.

37
Now the matters & causes wherupon yo^r are to
consulte doe choise & principallie consist in thre
pointes: Of theise the firste is the most makinge of
lawes, for the orderinge & unitinge of the rooles of
this realme into an uniforme order of obediencie to
the hon^{or} & glorye of god, the establisshment of his
thierth and tranquillitie of the realme. The
second is the reforminge & removinge of all enor-
mities & misthoises, that doe or mighte hurte or hur-
der the rivid order & quiettie of this realme. The
thirde & laste is advisorie to waighe & dispose con-
sider the estate & condition of the realme & the laste
& dreages that have of late happened to the Imperiall
worshipp of this realme, and therewth to advise the
best remedie to supplie & recover the same: For
the firste, the R: matie havinge god before her eyes
& beinge neither unmyndfull nor unwarefull of his
devout protest & counsailes meaneith & intendith
in this conference, firste & choise these shoulde
be soughte the advancemente of god his hon^{or} and
glorie, as the sure & infallible foundation wher-
vpon the quiettie of anye publike weale is to be
erected & builded, and as the straight line wher-
by it is whollic to be directed and governed & as
the choise victore & buttresse wherewth it is con-
-

manne to be susteyned & magnified. And yet as
the well & private doings of this, cannot but make god
prosper in all the world: so the tumult & waste doinge
in this, cannot but make all the world full of importu-
nations & discontentment w^{ch} must needs bringe w^{ch}
them contumacious change & alteration, thinges unho-
to be estewed in all god government, & most of all in
matters of faith & religion, w^{ch} of theire nature
be & ought to be most certain. wherefore her
high wisdom, & most earnest request w^{ch} you
all first & principally for the duty y^e beare to god
(whose sake this is) & then for the service y^e owe
to her nature & y^e country whose weale it concerneth
undisturb, & for the love you ought to beare to yo^r selves
whom it toucheth one by one & particularlie, that in this
consultation, you w^{ch} all humbled, singler & un-
der of minds conform y^e selves together usinge
y^e whole indoe & diligency by lawe & ordinaunce
to establish that, w^{ch} by y^e learninge & wisdom
shalbe thought most meete for the p^rservinge of
theire godlie purposes, & this without respects of
honor, rule or sovereignty, profite, pleasure, or ease,
or any thinge that might touch any person in estima-
tion or opinion of wittie learninge or knowledge, and
without regard of any other private manner affection.

38
And therfore w^{ch} that y^e will asse in this y^e assemblie &
conference regardie forebeare, & as an Enemy to god
consaile, flee from all the contentions reasonings &
disputations, & all sophistical reasons, & frivolous argu-
ments & quiddities, more for ostentation of wittie, than
consultation in weightie matters, consider for scholars
than for consailors, more becominge for schools than
y^e Parliaments houses, besides that tumult they be greater
cause of much expence of time, & breede some god res-
olutions. And likewise in consaile all contention w^{ch} be
estewed, even so by consaile, provision w^{ch} be made
that all contentions, contentions, or expressions worde,
as Gesticulation & Ismatique & jupiste & such like manner
& novelties of s^rivens fancies & fecte, may be banished
out of mens mouths, as the consaile contumacious & m^rada-
sed, of displeasure, h^rute, & malice. And as v^rther Enemies
to all concord & unitie, and the v^rre m^rake that y^e
are now to shate at: And even as in the proceedinge
herin, greater & more consideration are to be had, that
nothinge be devised or done w^{ch} any waye in contumacious
of time, w^{ch} be like to breede or nourish any kinde of
Idolatry or superstition: so on the other side greater
care is to be taken that by no contention or loose hand-
linge, any manner of oration be given, wherby any
contempt or irreverent behavio^r towards god or godlie

thinges, or fautes of irreligion might wepe in or
be remoued. The examples of seruylia puni-
ment & plagues that have followed theise foure ex-
tremities, & moone & volutary Enuylition, contempte
& irreligion in all ages & tymes, are more in number
than I can & better known than I neede to make re-
citall of to yo^r. And yet are they not so many or better
known, than be the continual benedictioⁿ
& blessing of god to those that have forsaken theise
extremities & embraced their contriti^on. And for
yo^r better encouragement to vnmind this righte & straight
course (although that w^h is said ought to suffice &
thereunto) I thinke I maye affirme that the good
kinge Ezechias had no greater desire to amende
that was amisse in his tyme, nor the noble R^ome
Master a better hart to overthrow the mightie
Enemie to god his olde t^r, than o^r Conuersione Radia-
ment hath to doe that that may be in the accepta-
table in god his sighte. Thus forced to this by yo^r
inductioⁿ to god, feared thereto by his punishment,
persuaded by his benedictioⁿ, & drawn by yo^r love to
yo^r contriti^on, & yo^r serues encouraged by soe p^remissioⁿ
La y. Natronesse let w^h in god his name god aboute
this worke endeuouringe o^r serues w^h adiligent
as I have before said, to make such lawes as may

39
tende to the hono^r & glorie of god, to the establisshment of
his church & to the tranquillitie of the Realme. And
thinke muche for the firste parte shal suffice. for the
second there is to be considered what thinges by private
wealthes devised have bene practised & put in v^ude w^h
in this Realme, contrarie or hurtfull to the comon wealth
of the same, for the w^h not lawes be yet provided. And
whether the lawes be for this tyme made be sufficiente
to redresse the enormities they were mente to remove.
And whether any lawes made out for a tyme, be mente to
continue for ever, or any made to be p^reternall, & yet
mente to be continued but for a tyme, or p^reternall to laste.
And besides whether any lawes be too severe or sharpe
or to soft & to gentle. To be shorte yo^r are to consider
all other imperfections of lawes made, & all the wante
of lawes to be made, and thereupon to provide their
moste remedies, respectinge the nature & qualitie
of the disorder & offence, the malignacion & disposition
of the people, & the manner of the tyme. Now the
thirde & laste (a marvailous matter) I cannot see
how a good true Englishman can enter into the consi-
deracion of it, but it muste needs be in his owne
two contrarie Effort, comforte & merue & discomforte,
is yo^r & sadnes. for on the one parte, howe can a man
callinge to his remembrance that god of his deigne

power & ordonnance hath brought this Imperiall
crown of this Realme to a Princess that so
noble, diligent, willing & careful doth, by
theadvice of all the states of her Realme see all the
waies & means that may be, to reforme all disorders
& thinges that be amiss: to continue & make firme that
that is good to assiste & encourage those that be honest
& iust to correct & amende those that be dishonest &
evil: to execute iustice in all countie, to all persons
at all tyme without rigour & extremite, & to use re-
uerence without indulgence or fauour. I praye
& saye that it is not now neede meaneth to be so wedded
to her owne will & fantasie that for the satisfaction thereof,
of, she will doe any thinge that were likeli to bringe
any bondage or seruitude to her people or geue any
iust occasion to them of any inward grudge where-
by any tumult or stirre mighte rise as haue done
of late daies thinges moste pernicious & pestilente
to the common wealth: I praye that now mea-
neth, or intendeth for any private affection to ad-
uaunce the quarrell of any foreyne Prince or
Potentate to the destruction of her subiectes, to
the losse of any her realm or to the impoverishinge
of her Realme, I praye to whom nothinge,
what nothinge: no, nor worldly thinge vnder the

40.
Crown is so deuoted as the hartie love & good will
of her nobles & subiectes, & to whom nothinge is
so deare as that that mighte cause or be any meanes
to vnder the contrarye. How can I saye, a man re-
member these wonderfull benefites, out of necessitie
muste needs hartilie reioyce & geue god thankes
for the same. But my selfe the handeling of this
perillous vertue of this noble Princess, the cause
of o reioyng of purpose & protestation be-
cause I haue and suppose it not altogether meete
for this presence, but chiefly for that it requirith
a person & an excellent Orator in whom both
arte & nature conuene, & not to me a man in
whom both faile. I praye I wish, in my hart
that an apt person mighte offer haue meete presence
and iust occasion to handle this matter as the wor-
thines of it requirith. But as the cause of
reioyng for such respectes be thankes be to
god & both many & great: Good for other re-
spectes the causes of o paines & discomfortes be
neither few nor litle, But here vpon great
cause as a man perplexed & much amazed &
flaunted, not knowinge what is best to be done, very
lothe I am to utter that wh is vnpleasante for me
to speake, & as vncomfortable for y^e to heare.

But because sores & wounds be hardlie cured
excepte they be well opened & scarred, there
fore concluded by necessitye if soe I muste
trouble you wth these sadde matters, what
man that loveth either his Conduigne, his
reputation, or hym selfe, thinke both of weighty
the greates detractions & losses in hand strength
& treasure, you & the reuel otherwise that hath
happened to this Imperiall crowne of late tyme
but needes muste inwardlye & earnestlye la-
moure & bewaile the same. Could there have
happened a greater loss in hand strength & trea-
sure to the crowne, than to loose that p^{er}se Calis
& moant w^{ch} was in the beginninge soe noblie won
and of longe tyme hath soe honourable & politiquie
in all ages & tyme & agaynst all attempts both
of force & treason bene defended & kepte. Did
not the keepinge of this breede feare to soe greates
Enemies, & made soe faynt friends the more assured
& the more lothe to beuile. yea hath not the
winninge & keepinge of this breede throughont
Europe honorable opinion & reports of the En-
glishe nation. Agayne what one thinge soe
much as this hath preserved & garded your
reuerence in all their traffiques & ~~intercourse~~

41
intercourse, or hath bene soe greates an helpe to the
utteringe of these commodities. or what soe much
as this hath kepte a greates parte of soe coast from
spoilinge or robbing. To be shorte the losse of this
is muche greater than I am able to utter, & as
yet (as I suppose) is able to be understode of anye.
And yet my selfe if this were all the losses then might
men have some hope in tyme to come to recover that
that hath in tyme bene soe soe dayntie & straungelye
lost. But when a man looke further & considereth
the marvellous detractions & waste of the revenues of
the crowne, the unestimable consumption of the trea-
sure covered both of the crowne and of the subiecte
the exceeding losse of munition & artillerye the greates
losse of divers valiant gentlemen, men of vertue &
service, the irretrievable summe of monye owinge at this
present & in hand due to be payde, & the bit^{ter}ing
intorsion that is to be answered for the foreben-
eing of this debte, & thereby remembreinge the
strength & mightnes of the Enemy & of his
ransomed, & how readie he is upon divers occa-
sion upon shew shew & in shew tyme to annoy us
and howe the tyme moste mete for that purpose draw-
eth on at hand. Agayne if a man consider the

huge & wonderfull charges nowise growne to the
crowne more than on before hath bene wonte,
nowe of necessity to be contynued. as firste the
maintenancie of garrison in certayne places
on the sea coast as y^e Dorsetmouth & other w^{ch}
new munition & artillery besides the newe
increased charge for the contynuaunce of the
English floure to be on in readinesse agaynst
all as happen, the strongest waile & defence that
can be agaynst the enemies of this lande. And
further also the newe augmentacion of charge
for the maintenancie of garrison at Burwiche
& the frontiers northward. indeede I muste
needes confesse that in these matters my understan-
dinge is but small, & my experience &
tyme to learne least. But in myn opinion
this doth exceede the quantitie requirede
and of the wayne, besides that double so much
is of necessity requisite to be spent aboute the
fortefyinge of these places & buydinge. When
I see a man rememberthe & well consider
eithe these thinges it maketh hym so farr
from hope of recovery of that that is lost, w^{ch}
out some advise or contrivance of the subiecte
that he will indge all to litle to make & provide
good defence for that that is lost. howe ver

42
thamre a question wolde be asked, & yet I shold
marvaile to heare a question made of the place & a
matter, what shold be the cause of all this, if it
were asked, thus I meane to answer, that I thinke
noe man so stonde, but both it, noe man so deafe
but hath heard it, noe man so ignorant but
understandeth it: marre whall I thinke there is
noe man so hard harted, thinkinge of it, but
muste w^{ch} a mooste dyd pittie it, noe man so
unmatricall, but for the restoringe of it, will ven-
ture lande & limbe, yea & life. But nowe to the
remedies wherewith to relieve this I have to saye,
that as the weale longeth to of the whole, both
coste and coste vnderstande, is the onely sure pro-
servacion of our one principall: Good someth
it of all convenient & reasonneste meete that our one
principall shold be by all waies & meanes readi-
lie & gladlie accordinge to his power recovered &
joynd to redime & assiste the whole vnderstande.
Redithor can I see, thinge standinge as theye doe,
howe a man that loveth his countrye, or hath
wille to forese his owne fortune, can w^{ch} draw from
this. is there anye trave you, that hearinge a
warninge of houses in perill of fyre wolde not gladlie
plucke downe parte to have the rest preserved or
saved: doth not the wise merchant in divers

adventure of danger gave parte to have the
veste assured. these muste well compared,
small difference shall be founde. And for all
this a strange matter & strange credible wth
how deafe an eare, & how hardelic the Q. maye
may endure to heare of any devise that shoulde
be undonous to her Conscience & p^rovide under-
stande & diverse others p^rentolic p^rovide. is
not the case undonous p^rovide that the necessity
& neede of this ragged & torne state so my go-
vernance shoulde so fere so byddle & vestrayne
the noble nature of such a y^e princeesse that she
is not able to have such lib^rallitie & comiti-
fiance to her p^revail & subiecte as her harte
& int^rinur^r disposeth her High: to. What
a greife & torment is this to a noble mynde
what a greife. Surely such a greife as but of
a noble mynde who feelde it cannot be suffi-
ciently understode. But for the more playne
declaracion of her Highnes disposition in this
matter, her High: hath commaunded me to saye
unto yo^r, yea even from her owne mouth that
were it not for the p^reservacion of yo^r selves
& the p^rovide of the estate, her highnes woulde
have bene adventured her life wth o^r lordes

43
god longe p^reserve) than she woulde have adven-
tured to trouble her lovinge subiecte wth any
offensive matter, or that shoulde be bounden or
displeasante to them. And for the further notify-
inge of her High: mynde heren she hath com-
maunded me to saye unto yo^r, that albeit yo^r yo^r
selves be, that this is not matter of will, nor
matter of displeasure, nor private cause of her
owne wth in tyme past have bene sufficiente for
y^e princeesse p^rovide (the more p^rovide) but a matter
for the univ^rsall weale of this Realme, the de-
fence of o^r countrey, the p^reservacion of our man-
ner & familie p^rovide: yet her matie will
& p^rovide is, that nothinge shalbe requirid or
demanded of her lovinge subiecte, but that wth
they of their owne free will & lib^rallitie wilbe
contented readie, gladi, franklie & freely to
offer. Good greute is the truste & confidence
that she v^roseth in them and the love & affection
that her High: beareth towards them, nothinge at
all doubtinge but that they will be lovinglie
carefull, & p^rudently weigh & consider this
greute & weightie matter, that such p^rovision
shoulde out of hande be taken thereon as her high:

hallo y^e served in da hon^r & royal dignitie
& y^e & the rest of her lovinge subiecte in
comon quiet & quietie. Now to make an end
the R. high: pleasure is, that y^e her trustie
& welbelovéd knightes of her shires & bur-
gesse accordinge to y^e laudable custome
shall repaire to y^e comon house, & there deli-
berate lie & advise in elects, or rather among
so many a readie elects y^e shal elect one both
guard & disrepute, who after he be so y^e pre-
sented & that presentation be her high: admittid
shal then occupie the office & roome of y^e
comon menthes & speaker & for y^e day
of presentation the R. high: giveth y^e &

Amis

An oration made by the L: Keeper the
eight of Marche the Parliamente then
endinge to the Nobles and comons in
the presence of the Quenes matie:—

Alas speaker the R. matie: hath heard y^e
how disreputable and wiselie y^e have declared
the proceedinge of this session in the comon house
for answer wherunto & for the better firm-
fixation to be made to my lordes here of the upper
house of her ingement of the y^e Parliamente men
and of those y^e Parliament matters, her pleasure
& commandement is that I shold open & utter
unto y^e three thinges. The one is what her
high: understandeth by y^e doinges in this y^e Par-
liamente of y^e wisdom & diligence. The seconde
what of y^e liberalitie & benevolence, & therewith
how comfortable the former is, & how than the
seconde is. The thirde is what her high:
wille have y^e doe for the good execution of the
lawes now devised by y^e. And here my L: and
maistres all, albeit in laboring to heare this
breven I am much more like to fall than out
to fayne under it, because neither I am able to
performe it as the R. high: hath commanded it,

now as y^e doo sothe in stele it, now as my
will wisheth & dooth it: yet notwithstanding my
truste is that y^e will y^eden my word & denie
wante, soe as noe note of arrogancye or follie
be ascribed to me, for that sayinge (as y^e knowe)
by duetie dyoven I doe it. I had rather & I
knowe it woulde much better to be silent
& to have noe neede of y^e y^eden, than by
speech to all y^e paynt in hearinge & to
mynd as also in speakinge to doo serve to pray
it, yf myne office woulde suffer: But nowe
to the firste parte, when her matie. consid-
ereth how in debatinge of the greates & weigh-
tie causes in the Parliament, ye have dis-
missed all sodaynes, rashe, & swifte worde-
dinges, dangerous Enemies to our comfite
& in place thereof have taken such conveni-
ence to me & to us as the weightynesse of
the matter for the better consideration hath
requyred. And agayne what freedom of
speech hath bene used & permitted for the playne
declaracion of our maner knowledg & con-
science, yea & how men in some cases & some
places have bene rather by gentle persuasio-
on provoked thereto than by any sharpe

maner of speche of men of comfite disswaded
therefro. And therewithall howe learnedlye and
unninglye the disputable matters beinge of
momento, have bene argued & reasoned, howe
greatlye & deeplye weighed & considered, howe
advisedlye & consideratolye resolved & concluded
and lastlye woenighte wth an unisall consente
& agremente they have bene by y^e statutes and
establisshed, as also remembryng y^e great
studie & endeavour & diligences for the openinge
& declaringe what mighte be saide pro et contra in
all cases of doubt to the ende (as it seemeth to
her High:) that when all was saide & heard
on both parties that by any of y^e side be in-
ferred or produced, then that wth theroveron shold
for all respect appeare to stande moste wth the
honor & glorye of god & the comon weale of the
realme mighte be the better & safelie agreed
upon & determined: when her matie. I saye,
remembryng & considereth theise thinges she
cannot but much commend & allowe y^e wisdom
& diligence therin greatlye to her comfite &
consolation & much to all y^e prayes & recomen-
dacion: for nowe her High. woulde trusteth
that like as noe maner of determinacion in

¶ Parliament neither can or oughte by any pro-
bate meane be infringed or vndermined. Good therfore
determinations of y^e o^r in this forme begone, pro-
ceeded, & concluded, cannot hereafter in folow be
not by wordes be impugned or gayed, for
seeinge all men have thynke & thynke at consuew
with libertie vpon the makinge of theise lawes
franklye declared their opinions & knowledges
like wise and learned men. Good the lawes be-
inge made & past, howe high: donoteth nothinge
but that they will like humble & obedient
subiectes willingly & humblye yelde and
submitte them selues to the law & to the thinge
whereby the man enioyeth his livinge, libe-
tie & life, & the rather because that no man
in obeyinge the lawes made at this session
beinge of the greatesse momente shoulde there-
by be enforced any other wise to doo than either
hym selfe hath by lawe alreadye done, or els
others have before this tyme done, whom both
for wisdom vertue & learninge it shall not
be vndermined for any man here without offence
so it spoken to forawards & to take example of.
And thus much for the firste parte. for the
second with concerneth y^e libertie & libe-

46.
nervolence, howe much hath comended me to saye
vnto you that y^e o^r wise & grave consideracion
had & vsed in the grantinge of a p^{re}sent ayde
& relief towards the relievinge & discharginge
of the p^{re}sent charge wherewith the Realme at
that tyme of howe cominge to the crowne was & is
yet charged, is by howe high: taken in thankfull
parte, and so is the restitution of the rontymall
revenue as some supplyment towards the magni-
tude of the rontymall charge of late growen
to the crowne as y^e o^r have heard, & of necessitie
to be rontymed aswell for the suertie of you all
as for the conservacion of the whole estate. And
howe my lord & my all, I take it to be my duty
to doo y^e o^r to understande of certayne princelie
& noble observations & considerations had by howe
high: of theise y^e o^r doinge much sweete to y^e o^r
comfort. wherof one is in that he forgetteth
not that theise grante be made not by the
subiecte that have of longe tyme bene free
from all maner of tax, lorde & censures
& so well able to beare this burthen but by
conscience much to howe greife when he thinketh
of it, that have bene wyllynge rontymallie
taxed & burdened with theise thinge to the

which shall impoverish many of the Realm, and
that worst is, not waied to the strengthning
enriching or honouring of the same, but rather
to the weakening deraving, & dishonouring
thereof (plaguelike to you) & provide effect
to followe so contrarie cause, & bitter fruites
to be brought forth by so plentifull plantes
whereby it is evident, you & to evident, (if it
pleaseth god otherwise) that these supplyments
are to be borne not of superfluitie but ra-
ther of yo^r necessities, many of necessities
also soe to be to which stande a greater necessity
which otherwise might touch you & all others
in suertie. The second observation sh^{ew}
forwarde is yo^r readines & willingnes in
grantinge, whereof her matie ma^{ke} both
verie much account, p^{ro}ssuringe thereby
that neither sharpe nor warme wordes
now yet darrest nor longe p^{ro}ssasions w^{ill}
amonge yo^r have drawen you to this, but
rather that the same hath bene by yo^r wil-
linglie readie & franke offerre, than
by any of the meanes above remembred at
yo^r handes traved, a plague & manifeste

47
argumente that these yo^r grante have alto-
gether proceeded from the benevolente mindes
& hartie affections yo^r beare to yo^r Sovereigne
ladie & unto yo^r benevolente & affection
her matie taketh for the greatest benefite and
moste precious favour that a subiect can p^{ro}ssente
to his Sovereigne. and to be shewd in this matter
of his dat qui cito dat ad a true sayinge, yo^r deserve
great commendation for yo^r small stayinge. And
unto also her Highnes addeth a thirde, that is a ge-
nerallitie of the consente of these grante,
knowinge with what diffinitie & definitie of opi-
nion in times paste these thinges have bene
broughte to passe. It is a certayne & unfallible
grounde that whie god thinge the greater it
is the better it is, now this unanimitie in con-
senteinge doinge (as undoubtedlie it is) a good
thinge, hath not her matie (trow yo^r) god
cause to reioyce in the unisallitie thereof. yo^r
lovellie and thanke yo^r therefore accordingly.
To make an ende of this parte, her Highnes hath
commanded me specially to saye unto yo^r, that
when she receiveth to remembrance, what yo^r
have granted, whoe hath granted & the forme
of grantinge, she findeth her selfe overjoyed

disposed of y^e s^uer^o & the states w^old be suffer
freely to admitte these grante as y^e did glad
ly grante them. And where in tyme past
longe & vehement p^{er}suasions have bene in
thai^e rates w^old to such as occupied y^e places
for greate diligence & careful circumspec
tion to be had for the tyme carryinge of that
w^h hath bene granted, for that the comon
memb^{er}s resorte altogether them selves
as private men & not them selves as mem
bers of the whole bodie, where by agaynst
all reason & righte the Realm hath bene
defrauded of a greate p^ort of the benevolence
granted: These notwithstandinge her High^{nes}
hath willed me herin to use fewe wordes
& endie for this resorte, coste as y^e that
have shewed such lib^{er}allitie & benivolence
in grantinge mighte seme to be suspected
by her either of feolitic or diligence in ex
ecutinge, wherof she thinketh her selfe assu
red & thereupon repose her truste
donob^{le} nothinge but by y^e god serve
these thinges shall be truly answered

49
as they have bene gladly granted, & that this
faithfull truste thus reposed by her High^{nes} in y^e
tyme s^{er}vice shall serve her to better purpose
than any wordes that coude be spoken by me
in her maties behalf. And as for the thinge
oth^{er} w^h is much to be noted, much I would that
it were better to adventure the losse of a greate
p^ort of w^h is granted w^h she hopeth shall not
happ^e by speakinge to little, than to adventure
the diminishinge of any of that. She taketh her
selfe assured of y^e benivolence ^{mynded} meand^e by
speakinge one word to much. Now to the
third & laste w^h concerneth the R: Mat^{ty}.
I beseech for the well executinge of lawes. how
my Lordes & me^o remembre y^e wisdom &
fidelities: albeit it be not much needfull to putt
y^e in mynd to how small purpose good lawes
doe serve beinge not daylie & diligentlie exe
cuted: yet because the amercements o^oder hath
bene that somewhat at this tyme. It doo be
saide for y^e remembrance in this mat^{ter}:
Therefore it is thoughte meete that I shoul

trouble y^e wth a few wordes. I am sure y^e
all indge if a man wolde be verie diligente
to provide a faire sort of tithes to guide hym
in his goynges or nighte, & yet wolde be as
negligente in lightinge anye of them when he
goeth in the darke, shal shewe a notable
poynte of follie, much like to a man that
beginne to cleane his gardyne & goodne
from weeds & brambles carefullie provideth
many sharpe & meete talles and instruments
for that purpose, & when he hath done layeth
them all furth vpp in a house wthout burn-
yng anye of them. And is it not as greuous
a fondenes (trow you) for men to use their
endevours to make good lawes to governe men
doinge, & to weed out those that be evill in
the common wealthe, & therupon to bynde
them faire vpp in lawes, & so to laye them
vpp wthout bringe to the execution of their
lawes? v^e swelke, wherefore y^e see that
as ther hath bene wth us y^e greates
wisdom & discretion in devisinge of their
lawes. so it is verie necessarie that like di-
ligence & paynt be ^{by u} used & others used in
bringe to the good execution of the same. The

49.
effectes of w^{ch} charge consisteth principallie in
three poynts. The firste in conservation of the
R: peace, The seconde in the admonishinge of
Justice betwene subiects & superiours. The thirde
in the observance of one uniforme order of Religion
accordinge to the lawes nowe established. For the
firste y^e are to foresee the avoidinge of all manner
of furies, forces, rages & rowtes, & the disordring
& revealing in tyme of all manner of respiracions
confederacies, & conventicles, and in this parte
also y^e are to provide for the swift & speedie
appealinge of all tumults, strifes & uprores, w^{ch}
any happen, & for the diligente searchinge out &
speedie punishinge of all manner of felonyes, mur-
ders, & such other like enormities, matters
as y^e knowe agaynst the R: High: power, honour
& dignitie. for the weedinge whereof two thinge
are requisite to be shewed, the one is slothfullnes
the other is uncharitablenes. for how can Justice
banish these enormities, where her ministers
are so slothfull, that they will now weede out
of their doores to any route & session or assise
for the due administration thereof, excepte they
be thereto drawn by some matter of their
owne, now cannot endure to have their eares

with matters of controversy of their neighbour
for the good appeasinge of the same. For howe
can the uncharitable man that maketh no ac-
count of the common weale of his countrye,
but respecteth his private matters and
commodities as a mite & diligente searche
out followers & correctors of badnes & murther
& such like common enemies to the common weale.
And yet true it is that such rascalls & scottish
men doe dailye contynue & loose thaire
faute with the title of quietnes in seekinge to be
unmolested good & quiet men where in verie deede
they seek to ouerthrowe, profite & please
themselves. And that to be susteyned & borne
by other mens rascall & laboured as dronnes
amonge bees. But of such man shoulde doe so
who seeketh not out thynge weelde & murther
to vniuersall in defaulte of order. For they may
easilye imagine that it is a madnes to seek the
conservation of any particular member, & to
suffer the whole bodie to decaye. But beinge
well served by some mens opinions, as they
care for none, so shall none care for them,
or say that better were it in my opinion,

50
that they wolde be used by men as dronnes as used
by bees. And thus much for this parte. For
the seconde ye are to provide for all ambassadours
magnatenantes & champlains the vntowne
mies to the due execution of Justice betwene
subjects & subject, that they be neither com-
mitted by any of you, nor yet, as now as ye
can be suffered to be committed by any other,
a verye behofull matter to be dothe rare fullie
& earnestlie looked vnto as the vntowne
of all iustice, & seruicice of any of theise
faute righte vpon any person that hath antho-
ritie & rule in the countrye or hath any
office of Justice to execute amonge the people.
is it not true y^e, a monstrous dishonour to
have a Justice & magnatenant to have hym
that shoulde by his othe & iudicie sette forth
Justice & righte, agaynst his othe & iudicie
offer iniurie & wronge? to have hym that is
speciall chosen amongste a number by the
y^e vntowne to appease all brawlinges & contencion
to be a sower & magnatenant of strike & sedition
amonge them, bringe his reputation & opinion
by condempning & swayinge of iniuries according

to his will. Arguinge some for gaine, inditinge
other for malice, bearinge witness from ab his per-
vantage overthrowinge other as his Enemies, pro-
vokinge all Anestmongers to be of his lyverge
or otherwise in his danger that his wicked
frowninges & contumacious may dwelle all
Inguette. Envidie suvodie it is trowe that
these be they that be subvertors & pervertors
of all lawes & orders, yea that make darlie
the lawes that of theire nature be good, to be
some instruments of all injuries & mischief.
These indeede be they of whom such example
wolde be made as of the fowder & magnety-
ner of all enormities, and these be they that
if y^e cannot reforme for theire greatnes, ye
oughte have to complaine of for theire evillnes.
And thus much for the tene administration of
Justice. And as for the threth which is the observa-
tion of one uniforme order in religion, ye are
to endowe y^e selves to the best of y^e power &
understandinge, drawinge togethor by one lyne
in all poynte to further sette forth & mainte-
tayne the same which by greates & deliberats

advise have in y^e Parliamento hath bene established
And have greates observation & watch wolde be had
of the whoremasters and hounders thereof, & spe-
cially of those that subvert by indirect meanes
the lawe & procure the contrary. Amonge these I
meane to comprehend as well those that be to swift
as those that be to slowe: those I saye that goe before
the lawe or beyonde the lawe, as those that will
not followe: for god godnamed cannot be where
obedience faileth, and both these alike breake
the ^{rule} lawe of obedience: and these be those which by
all likelihood, shal be begynners magnetyner &
upholders of all factions & parties, the very mo-
thers & nurres to sedition & tumult, with no
cessitie bringe forth destruction & depopulation.
Of these therefore greates heed wolde be taken
& vpon these beinge founde, sharpe & severe re-
vocation accordinge to the order of the lawes wolde
be imposed, and that in the begynninge & without
respite of persons, as vpon the greatest adulterers
that can be to unitie & concord, without which no com-
mon weath can longe endure & stande, wherevpon
ye knowe all y^e standinge & fallinge whollie con-
sisteth, & the suertie of o^r Soveraigne all so, &
marvellous matter that the lawe whereby men
possesse all that they have, & theire lyves all so,

shold not be able to direct men's actions, so as
thereby all factions & parties founded for the
moste parte either vpon will, or vpon the
glorie of man's witte & inventions shold not
sufficientlie be repressed & bridled. Now for
the handsome bridlinge of these factions men
I see not that a better waye may be taken than
is vsed by the horse m^e who provideth for the
good government of horse, witte or bridle accord-
ing to the tenderne or harden^e of his mouth
whereunto he addeth a reitayne and well
taughte hande. And like as like as it is verie
well to be allowed that none other bytte or
brake shold be provided for these factions folke
than by lawe may be forgo^d: Good wote it not
meete that any of that kinde wote it now for
these shold be omitted of the case so voy-
neth, and this wote be executed by a reitayne
and well taughte hande for it cannot be ^{but that} the
windinge & withdrawinge from this bridlinge
in this, or the remiss or losse handlinge thereof
might of necessity overthrowe in time the whole
that is done, & so shall yo^r lose the fruites of all
yo^r labours, & put yo^r blood, yo^r remittie & the
Q: matie asse (whom the lordes reserve) in

52
peria, wh^{ch} now beinge warned yo^r may easilie foresee
& provide for. And this is all that I have at this tyme
to saye. And therefore here to make an ende her matie
is contented according to yo^r petition to graunte her
Royal assente to such ordinaunces & lawes as be
 devised and agreed vpon ^{be} yo^r in such order & forme
as by the clerke of this Parliament according to
the ancient order shalbe read & declared.
I have said.

Read clerke

Am^g.

The answer given in the Quenes presence
to the L: Mayor when he was presented.

The Q: matie hath heard & dothe verie well understand
yo^r humble suite & petition, & hath commaunded me to saye
unto yo^r, that in this yo^r election yo^r have done as wise
done & consideration wote yo^r shold, & that she hopeth
that this years good government will make p^{ro}of
& evident p^{ro}of thereof, & therefore is contented to
approve & allowe of it. And as by this her allowance
her High: remitteth to yo^r charge vpon yo^r suite
the rule & order of her theise & principall city.

Soe if he y^e negligent, & remissioⁿ in the well
exercisinge of anye of her High: lawes or proclama-
tions, or in administration of Justice to rich & poore
indifferentlie, or by y^e uncharitable lookinge to conser-
vation of common quiet of her people, any evil or dis-
order shoulde happen, her matie meaneth to burden
y^e therewith, and to call y^e to answer of it. And
therefore warninglie she deserveth y^e to use y^e
office wth such diligence & circumspection as y^e
may satisfie her High: good hope & expectation, wth
whether her matie shal have cause to repent
this her admission, nor y^e my s^r mayor in the
retaininge of the charge, nor y^e brethren the
Deacons in their election.

A speche y^esed to a Serjeant at
lawe called to be a Judge.

Wth Serjeant y^e wisdom & my woulde
not require the fewer wordes. And in very deede
few wordes be best remembred. Tyme it is that
the opinion wth the R: matie hath conceived firste
of your knowledge & learninge how to iudge ar-
ranginge to the lawes & customes of this Realme
betweene subiects & subiects in matters of con-
trovercie wth shal come before y^e, & secundarily
of y^e indifferencie, uprightnes & diligence in
iudginge wthout respect of person wthout favo-
r more or lesse for drede, and castles for

13
y^e discretion & circumspection in consideringe & con-
sidinge all accidentall & by matters note & necessarie
to be foreseen wth mighte followe & ensue any judgmente
whereunto y^e shalbe percyve, hath moved her High: to
call y^e to the office & name of a Judge. Now y^e duty
is to doe y^e whole ende y^e to satisfie & content this
good opinion conceived by her matie of you, & to con-
tinue & increase the same in others as be. And that
y^e maye easilie doe of y^e wth labour to have & keep
the three points before rehearsed, wth in mynde opinion
doe brieflye content the whole office of a Judge, and
in doinge of this, you shal both serve god, serve y^e
Soveraigne, serve your countrye, you & in the opinion
of good men serve y^e selfe best as be. And thus I
reasse to saye any more to y^e savinge some y^e way in
rewards y^e othe, take your patent.

After the othe taken vpon the delivrye of
the patents these wordes were spoken
I doe deliver y^e have the R: maties patent con-
tinge but a fewe lines, but yet a very grevouse charge,
I pray god y^e maye aswell performe the content therof
and receive as good successe & rewards for the ex-
ertion of the same as ever happened to any that oc-
curred thro place

The effecte of the speche vsed by the L.
Keeper vnto her matie: at suche tyme
as her high: firste called hym to serue.

I wish for seruire safe I might it please th^e matie
to call me to serue: that those thinges wh^{ch} y^e High:
by reporte supposeth to be in me, were more in
reall doode. But indynginge rightlie of my selfe
I muste needes confesse that I am so muche vn-
purueyed of them, that he sh^{ould} diligently & diligently
I can promise nothinge wherof I truste there
shalbe no wante. But yf there were ynough
in me to answere theise reportes, yea & as much
more as I would wish to have, I wold be righte
woll contented, as my dntie is, to applie the whole
in y^e seruire. And yet to be playne wth y^e matie:
I have founde in the course of my lyfe that I haue
ledde s^{ince} the tyme y^e fathers deathe, such a
surtie in ad charges & quietnes, & delighte in other
tymes that I cannot but like & love that sorte of
lyfe, as the beste for my selfe, nor cannot make my
selfe believe, that I can make any charge therof
but for the worst reportinge my private condit-
ion. And that I doe thus indge the continuance of
that order of lyfe notwithstandinge some

54
distant occasion geuen to the contrarie dothe I truste
sufficientlie witness wth me. M^{ay} when I remember
this tyme, wh^{ch} I geue god thankes that it is my
thande to lyue to see, & therowth my dntie to y^e
matie: my Soueraigne Ladie, & my dntie to my
countre, I am then drayn to thinke that I ought
of righte to make of my paynt tendinge to that
ende a delighte, & to p^{er}forme mynes & trustes so
fore quietnes & ease, and to aduenture my danger
whout regarde of private surtue. for I muste needes
confesse that y^e High: & my countre haue a greater
Interest in me than I haue my selfe. And because god
knoweth, that when soe I shal enter into seruire
that vpon theise reportes therof I shal doo it, there-
fore I hope y^e w^{ill} assiste me in my doinge, wher-
vpon reposinge my whole truste & alwaies beinge much
encouraged by the greates noblenes & gentlenes that
I haue not onely by theise y^e remembrance to be in y^e
High: but also by a generall affirmacion of all that
knowe y^e: I haue remitte my selfe wholly & fully
into godd hande & y^e to dispose of me as y^e shal best
like, assuringe y^e High: that as I wold willinglye for-
mone owne selfe contynue the thoure of life that he
w^{ill} I haue lyued alwaies aduanced, soe for dntie
shal I shal wth god contentacion, enter into such tal-
linge, as y^e matie shal commaunde me. #

An answer made by the L. Lopez to ^{Mr}
Thomas Gargrave beinge elected Speaker
of the Parliamente. . . .

Thomas Gargrave her matie: dothe well
perceive & understande yo^r humble & modest man-
ner in disablinge yo^r selfe in this office & want
whereunto her wisdome & wellbelov'd knight and
burgesses have enabled & elected yo^r, doo now
therewith p^{er}sonally p^{er}sent yo^r. and also heard
yo^r petition & suite made wth a humblenes &
reverence for yo^r discharge in this matter, for
answer whereof her matie hath commaunded me
to saye unto yo^r, that she thinketh yo^r selfe righte
well to understande, that by the wisdom & good
governance & policy, power & authoritie to
receive or refuse any office of service in any
common wealth she doo not be permitted to be in the
arbitramente of hym wth is therewith orderly
raised & appointed, nor that the iudgements of
determining ability & disability in service be-
teyneth to the p^{er}son raised, but to the matter, as
doth righte well appeare by a singlitude that
is done & comen, but neither vnapt nor vntrue
that is: like as ^{to} the heads of a natural bodie be-

teyneth the appointments & as it were the marshal-
linge of our member of the same bodie to the per-
ticular office & service: Soe to the heads of our
bodie politike be it Empire, Kingdome, or lesse
state belongeth y^{mediateli} & y^{mediateli} deriued the
assignments & admittings of our member of the same bodie
to his ministrie & duties. And as the contrarie doinge of
the foremore were monstrous in nature: So the contrarie
doinge of the seconde were monstrous in reason. Now
her matie havinge this authoritie in her as the head
of the politike bodie of this realme, and therewith be-
ing^e redoubtly informed of yo^r approved fidelity, wisdom
& discretion, & of the longe experience yo^r have had
in y^e Parliamente matters, thinketh that yf her High:
shede assente to yo^r desire it shold be prouidiall both
to the service of her matie & the common wealth of
the realme, besides also for so much as yo^r have bene
chosen & enabled to this office & place, accordinge to
an ancient & laudable order, by so many wise, sage,
& discrete knight & burgesses to whose iudgement
& opinion her High: thinketh it meete & convenient
for her to have greates regard, & to geue muche credit
& faith, that for that respect also, her matie may
not convenientlye graunte yo^r petition. Againe yo^r

sette in sekinge in humble and reverente manner
yo have discharged by disablenete, have in varie
doode by the wea remedie, modeste, & the oodvlie
doinge thereof given noe sinale cause whereb
yo are to be enabled. And therefore how matie op
pon this respect & divers othars doth now p^{re}s^{ent}
lie admitt & approve this election & p^{re}s^{ent}ation
made of yo, nothings at all doubtinge but that yo
will w^{ith} such diligente faithfulness & expecta^{tion}
yo office, as thereby the god here & expecta^{tion}
that her matie hath received of yo, by that she
hath heard of othars alreadye. But by that her
selfe shall see & heare not onlie confirmed, but
allso increased & augmented, And soe as her high
lovinge subiecte shall neither have in p^{re}s^{ent} to
repente thoir election, her matie her admission
nor you yo selfe the assumption & takinge upon
you this charge.

A speche used by the L: Keeper in the Starre chamber

Go ranse of o motings in this place yesterdaye con
ferend my L: of Cambrerie, whose p^{re}s^{ent} we then
expected to have answered to such matters as were
to be objected agaynst hym, but understaunding
the indisposition of his bodie w^h holds his appoi

56
nment, the matter was deferred untill this daye, to
that end therefore are we come hither at this tyme
but havinge had now all the further words of the con
mance of his sickness to be such as he cannot be heard
in persoi, & because it is thought expedient not to
proceede agaynst hym beinge absente, her matie p^{re}s^{ent}
beinge to the contrary: till both my L: health &
a further occasion call the matter in question, we
have thought it good to dismiss this compaign assen
bled, acquainting yo soe in conscience to departe
w^{ith} dueiful myndes toward her matie, as becometh a
lovinge & obedient subiect to doe. And albeit my
tense is that I neede not in many wordes put you
in mynd thereof, yet such is my motive that I cannot
but alwaies rememb^{er} yo of that w^h yo oughte
never to forgette. Come noe doubts are apte enough
to marvelle whie her matie should soe proceede agaynst
hym, but if it were as well knowne to yo, as to my
lovedd howe p^{re}s^{ent} what reasons her high: hath to
load her hereunto, I should not neede soe many wordes
in this matter. w^h thinge therefore upon yo good
opinion & dutie toward her matie: unto further
occasion we have thought good to dismiss yo.

The effecte of my L. speche to me Belle

But the Q. maie through the good opinion wh^{ch} she had conceiued of me & that had made choise of hym before other to serue her maie in the same office of cheife Baron of the Exchequer wherby he shoulde become the cheife iudge of that reue for the lawe accordyng to his name, & one of the principall iudges of this Realme besides.

And though he saide it shoulde not be greatlie needefull to desire to me & that such thinges as did belonge to that callinge, not don'tinge out that he had sufficientlie considered thereof al readye. yet he thoughte it not unfitte sothe in respecte of the person to whom he spake as of the place wherein he was somewhat to touch & those pointes wh^{ch} in his opinion were requirite to be in a iudge.

And those he noted
to be foure.

The firste Knowledge
The seconde Discretion
The thirde Integritye
The fourth Diligence

Knowledge

Now the firste he saide that beinge the rare was the principall matter wherby a iudge oughte to directe his iudgement, it is therefore a thinge moste necessary, that he have sufficiente & grounded knowledge of the lawe, wherby he shalbe soe great a mynister for as the perfecter understandinge thereof shal leade them in a straighte course to Justice: Good ignorance of the same muste needs cause them to committe manye errors, & thereby manye iniuries. And in this parte he saide word requirite two thinges: studie & practise wh^{ch} make perfection in all professions. Both thes he tooke to be in me & that: A man longe trownd in the studie of the lawe, havinge passed all proofes of learninge wh^{ch} in studinge are requirid: A man soe through the number of causes, that as a counsellor & pleader of the lawe he had dealt in, soe well acquainted wh^{ch} the practise of the same, as there was no doubt of his abilitie in the one & in the other.

Discretion

Touchinge the seconde pointe he saide that albeit the lawe be the very rule by the wh^{ch} the iudge muste guide hym selfe in all iudgement: yet he oughte to consider that noe lawe of man was or can be made of that perfection, but sometymes of necessity the rule of the word muste be tempered with equitie. &

things of such in all was ordered to men wealth for
for otherwise the old sayinge Summ in's wood
become Summa inuria. And therefore the iudge
is not allowed to be narrowe to weigh the worde
of the lawe, but somtyme in respect of the person,
place to the occasion, or other circumstances to
qualitie & moderate such extremities as the
first worde of the lawe written may offer. Of which
disposition he said in the 2nd Booke had good such regard
to the world in the course of his life, as there was
in this parte al so little doubt in hym.

Integrity

For the thirde point he said, that as the know-
ledge of the lawe & disposition to moderate extre-
mities were thinge that a iudge by no means
could lacke: even so both those beinge executed
with integrity & uprightnes would prove instru-
ment rather to provide than divert iudgement.
wherefore he said a iudge ought to be void of
affection & corruption, thinges dangerous to be
in any person, but most dangerous to be in a
iudge. for if either respect of persons in love, ha-
tred contempts, feare of pain or displeasure
are comprehended under affection do move hym,
or if ambition or desire of gaine do corrupte his
mynde, then will it be impossible for hym to

58
iudge in folic, or to minister iustice uprightly, but con-
sidering all will turne to the oppression of righte
& injury of the partie whose cause he shall iudge. But
herein al so he said was little doubt in me. 2nd Booke
havinge showed to the world allready so good experience
of his honest & sincere dealinge in all thinge. /

Diligence

And touching the fourth & laste pt he said that were
the iudge never so well learned in the lawe nor so
skilful in qualifyinge extremities, & nor so void of
those faultes which shoulde rarye hym from uprightnes
in iudgement, yet if he lacke Diligence, & did not
with care & travaile attende the execution of his charge
his knowledge, his disposition & integrity, shoulde be
of small value to answer his callinge. For this
would rather prove he said a greates point of min-
ister to the subiecte. for the negligence of the iudge would
breede them such infinite delays, as greates charges &
greates loss of tyme would make their suite more co-
stlye than their cause were worth, & by that occasion
often forced to leave & abandon their cause as it ne-
ver so good. It behooveth therefore a iudge accordinge
to the trust that he is putte in, to spare no labours
now hard, but with all diligence to expedite that matter
which shall come before hym, though he answeringe the
expectation of her ma^{ty} that placeth hym, & satisfie
her people whom he hath to iudge by her autho-
ritie.

Finis

An oration made by the L: Keeper to the Quenes
matie: at Westminster exhortinge her to mariage.

May it please yo. matie: to understande that all my Lordes here p'sente and all the reste both spirituall and temporall, beinge the whole bodie of yo. High: upper house have agreed and consented, that I albeit unmeete and unworthy, for them & in all their names should make unto yo. matie: their moste humble sute & petition, to be soe much their gracious Ladie & Sovereigne, as to graunte them a favourable hearinge in a matter verye nerely and derelie concerninge yo. moste royall person, the imperiall crowne of this realme, and the univ'sall weale of the same, & therein them selves allsoe, and all other yo. High: lovinge subiectes, everie one from the higheste to the loweste, & their whole posterities & sequells. Nev'theles allwaies & alltogether humblinge & submyttinge the whole that I shall saye to yo. High: consideracon & correction. And here I thoughte meete, because yo. High: sholde the better understande the whole discourse of this matter, firste to open the occasion of this sute, then how diverslie my Lo: all thinke them selves bounde to make it, & lastelie what their opinions, counsailes and desires be concerninge the matter conteyned in it. For the firste the occasion grewe uppon a readinge of a bill exhibited laste Wednesdaye before my Lordes conteyninge matter concerninge the succession of the crowne of this Realme, uppon the well weighinge & considering whereof, it evidentelie appeared unto them that neither by that bill, nor by any other acte allreadie made, anye open and certayne declaracon or lymitacon is made to whom the crowne shall remayne if god shold call yo. high: w'thout heire of bodie, w'ch o. lorde forbid. And here callinge to their remembraunce that the

onely meane to have an heire to the greate & unspeakeable ioye & comforte of all yo. subiectes, is the honorable state of matrimonye, firste instituted by god, as yo. High: knoweth in a pure place, then cōmended, yea & honored by his sonne here on earth w'th the firste fruites of his myracles knowen, and ever synce by his providence contynued, as the cheife & moste necessarie cause of o. beinge nowe, and of all those that have bene, or hereafter shalbe, my Lordes I saye, remembre this & therew'th allsoe that all princes; be they nev' soe greate, nev' soe yonge & like to lyve, are yeat mortall & subiecte ev'ye daye, yea ev'ye houre to gods call, & lastelie consideringe in what miserable estate & condicon, yf god sholde soe call, this realme and all the members thereof, shold stande, and to what a marveilous heape of greate & ymmynente daungers, perills & mischeifes it sholde be subiecte, they all thought they had moste iuste occasion to become humble petitioners to yo. matie: for the helpe thereof: for the seconde parte they thinke them selves, soe bounde to make this peticon, that w'thout offence to god, to yo. matie: and to their cōtreie, it colde not be pretermitted. Firste to god: for that it cannot be that a man sholde kepe his othe & homage made to yo. High: and crowne in soe greate & weightie a cause as this is, to be forgetfull or neglecte the contentes thereof. And what an offence it is to god, it is easie to iudge: for the offence to yo. matie: suerlie everie subiecte or leigeman w'thout exception knowinge any perill or daunger to the crowne or state or any parte thereof, & not reveilinge or counsellinge his leige Ladie & Sovereigne therein, or some suche of her High: mynisters to whom he may have accesse, w'thout doubte offendeth yo. matie: in the duetie of his alleigance as it is evidente in particuler offences towchinge the crowne: & yf soe, how much more in this univ'sall matter? Nowe for the offence of their cōtreie, how can a man knowinge his cōtreie to be towarde perill and daunger & not sekinge all the wayes & meanes he maye by foresighte to prevente & w'thstande them, but muste be thoughte greatelie to offende his country. And thus I truste it appeareth vnto yo. matie: that vppon iuste occasion & greate duetie bounde, I am to open to yo. high:

the wishes desires & counseiles of all my Lordes here p'sente. The effecte whereof, breifelie & sumarilie to speake consisteth in this, that it myghte please yo. matie: to dispose yo. selfe to marie, where ye will, w'th whom ye will, & as shortelie as ye will, as the moste honorable presente and sure meane & waye to increase comforte to yo. selfe, to avoyde all manner of daunger & perill that may happen to the crowne, and to the comonwealth of this Realme, ffor yo. selfe: howe can it be possible but that such an honorable coniunction, makinge yo. choyce as we doubt not but you will, muste nedes bringe & breede to yo. high: person increase of comforte, quietnes, & delighe, three of the cheife worldelie Jewells belonginge to life. Nowe to bringe in causes for prooffe hereof, I leave as vayne matter, beinge soe evident & apparaunte of it selfe. Onely one comforte I wolde put yo. matie: in mynde of and that is, yf yo. high: coulde imagyne or conceive the comforte, suertie, & delighe, that shold happen to yo. selfe, by beholdinge an impe of yo. owne that sholde in tyme to come by godes grace inherite & enioye the Imperiall crowne of this realme to the greate reioycinge of all yo. lovinge subiectes, it wolde, I am assured sufficientlie satisfie to remove all manner of lettes impedimentes or scruples, yf there be anye that mighte hinder this their desire. Now for the state & univ'sall weale of this Realme, can any waye be devised soe suer & certayne for avoydinge of all daunger concerninge the same, as to devise that w'ch ev'ie member thereof dothe hartelie & continuallie pray for? Very certayne & true it is, that well nygh all daungers & troubles in tymes paste have risen of chaunges of states, have ever taken their foundacons of uncerteynties & doubttes of titles that either have bene indeede or ells have bene ymagened to be & therefore I muste moste assuredly conclude, that that w'ch is the moste certayne remedie to remove the occasion of such non certaynties & doubttes, muste of necessitie be allowed in reason to be the greateste defence agaynste all such daungers & perills, & the moste suer staye that can be devised for the comon wealc, and is there any thinge that can bringe that soe p'fectlie, soe safelie, soe shortelie to passe as this. The fearefull slaughters, the pytifull

effusion of blood, the miserable spoyle that have soe ofte happened by the sufferance of non certayneties of titles to crownes, be more lamentable to be thoughte on than needefull to be by me spoken of, consideringe they be as they are indede soe notoriouslie knowen. But and it like yo. high: yf the ensamples be bothe many and true, that for increase of amytie onelie, divers mariages of princes have bene made w'thin the degrees prohibited to all other persons, & sometymes to relygions, yea sometymes contrarie to all solemne vowes otherwise aforemade, what then oughte the daungers before remembred imynente to a realme, move a prince of the same realme to doe, in a cause noe waye prohibited, but ev'ye waye honorable, comendable, & profitable, and whereas the gyftes of nature fortune & grace doe concurre to the furtherance thereof. But here forgettinge my selfe, and fearinge I sholde be troublesome to yo. matie: in a matter that I truste god hath allreadie, or now p'sentlie dothe, or shortelie will soe enclyne yo. High: harte vnto, that fewer wordes mighte serve, I leave any further on my Lordes behalfe to move yo. matie: submyttinge and comyttinge the whole that I have sayde to yo. High: con: & cor: & here for my parte, I moste humblie beseche yo. matie: that yf any thinge in this my declaracon have passed me vndiscretelie or vncomelie done, that yo. High: wilbe soe much my gracious Ladie, as not to impute it to me otherwise than for wante of vnderstandinge in so weightie a cause, & likewise I desire my Lordes, that yf any thinge have bene p'termitted by me agreed to be saide, or any thinge added that I had not comaundemente to speake, that they p'sentlie will helpe me out w'th their declaracons, and on the otherside yf performed my com: that they wolde so affirme it.

FINIS.

Another oration made to the Q: matie: by the
L: Keeper concerninge her mariage and the
succession of the Crowne.

Humblie besechinge yo. excellente matie: yo. faithfull, lovinge, and obediente subiectes, all yo. Lordes bothe spirituell & temporall assembled in Parlyamente in yo. vpper house to be soe much their good Ladie & Sovereigne, as accordinge to yo. accustomed benignitie, to graunte a favourable & gracious hearinge of their petitions & suite w'ch w'th all humblenes & obedience they are come hither to p'sente to yo. matie: by my mouthe in matters very nerely & derelie touchinge yo. moste royall person the imperiall crowne of this yo. realme, & the vniv'sall weale of the same, w'ch suites for that they tende to the p'servacon of theise three thinges, yo. person, crowne, and realme, the dereste Jewells that my Lordes have on the earth, therefore they thinke them selves diverslie bounde to make theise petitions, as firste by their duetie to god, then by their alleigeaunce to yo. High: & lastelie by their faithe they oughte to beare to their naturall countrye. And like as moste gracious Sovereigne by theise bondes they sholde have bene bounde to have made the like petition vppon like occasion to any prynce that it shold have pleased god to have appoynted to reigne over them: soe they thinke them selves double bounde to make the same to yo. matie: consideringe that besides the bondes before remembred, they stande alsoe bounde soe to doe, by the greate & manyfolde benefites they have and daylie doe receave at yo. High: handes, w'ch shortelie to speake, be as greate as the fruites of peace, cōmon quiet, mercie & Iustice, & this w'th greate care & charge to yo. selfe. And thus my Lordes diverslie bounde as yo. matie: hathe hearde, are nowe

to open to yo. High: theire humble petitions & suites consistinge in two poyntes cheifelie, w'ch not sunderlie or the one w'thout the other, but both ioyntelie they desire yo. High: to assente vnto. The foremer is that it will please yo. matie: to dispose yo. selfe to marrie where it shall please you, to whom it shall please you, and as sone as it shall please you. The seconde that some such certayne lymitacon might be made howe the Imperiall crowne shold remayne yf god call yo. High: w'thout heire of yo. bodie, w'ch o. lorde defende, as theise yo. Lordes and nobles & other yo. subiectes then lyvinge mighte sufficientlie vnderstande to whom they sholde owe theire allegeaunce due to be done by subiectes, & that they mighte by yo. maties: lycence, and w'th yo. favo. cōmon treate & conferre together this parlamente of the well doinge of this. The foremer of theise two w'ch is yo. mariage, they doe in theire hartes moste hartelie wish & praye for, as a thinge that muste needes brede & bringe greate & singuler comforte to yo. selfe and vnspeakeable ioye & gladnes to all true English hartes. But the seconde carieth w'th it such necessitie, that w'thout it, they cannot see how the safetie of yo. royall person, & the p'servation of yo. imperiall crowne shalbe or can be sufficientlie provided for. Moste gracious & Sovereigne Ladie, the lamentable & pytifull state & condicon where in all yo. nobles & comons late were, when it pleased god to laye his heavie hande vppon you, & the amasednes that moste men of vnderstandinge were by the brewte that grewe by that sicknes broughte vnto, is one cause of theire petition, the seconde the aptnes & oportunitie of the tyme, by reason of this Parlamente whereby both such advised consideracon and consente as is requisite in soe greate and weightie a cause may be better had & vsed nowe than at any other tyme when noe Parlamente is. The thirde for that the assenting to and p'forminge of theise petytions cannot as they thinke but breede greate terror to yo. enemies & therefore muste of necessitie bringe greate suertie to yo. person, & speciallie by addicon of such lawes as may be ioyned w'th this lymytacon for the certayne & sure observeinge of it & p'servinge of yo. matie: agaynste all practises & chaunces. The fourth cause for that the like as it is supposed hath bene

done of dyvers of yo. noble progenitors of olde tyme and late dayes, & allsoe by other princes yo. neighboures of greateste state in Europe, & for that experience hathe taughte that good hath come of it. The fyfte that it appeareth by histories how that in tymes paste persons inheritable to crownes beinge votaries & relligious to avoyde such daungers as mighte have happened for wante of successions to Kingdomes, have lefte theire vowes and monasteries, and taken them selves to mariage as CONSTANTIA, an heire to the Kingedome of CICILL [Sicily] married after fiftie yeares of her age to Kinge HENRIE the sixte Empero. of that name and had issue FREDERICK the seconde, & likewise PETER of Aragon beinge a monke maryed, the better to establish and pacifie that Kingdome; agayne ANTONIUS PIUS is as much cōmended for that not two daies before he died he saide to his counsellors *lato animo morior quia filium vobis relinquo*, as PIRRHUS is of all men detested for sayinge he wolde leave his realme to hym that had the sharpeste sworde. What but wante of a successor knowne made soe shorte an ende of soe greate an Empire as ALEXANDER the greate lefte at his deathe. The sixte cause for that my Lordes iudge the p'forminge of this will breede such an vniv'sall & inwarde contentacon, satisfaction, ioye & gladnes in the hartes of all yo. true & lovinge subiectes that it is likelie & probable you shall fynde them in all yo. comaundementes readie & gladde to adventure theire goodes, landes, & lymes [limbs] in yo. High: service accordinge to theire bounden dueties w'ch of necessitie allsoe muste bringe greate securitie to yo. matie: The seventh because the not doinge of this, yf god sholde call yo. matie: w'thout heire of yo. bodie w'ch god graunte to be never sene, yf it be his will, and yet yo. matie: knoweth righte well that princes & their ofspringes be they never soe greate never soe stronge, nev' soe like to lyve, be yet mortall & subiecte ev'ye daye, yea ev'ye houre to godes call: my Lordes thinke that happeninge, & noe lymytacon made cannot by theire iudgemente, but be the occasion of very evidente & greate daunger & perills to all states & sortes of men of this realme, by the factious, sedetious, & intestyne warres that will growe through wante of vnder-

standinge to whom they shall yelde theire allegeances & dueties, whereby much inocent bloode is like to be shed, and many of those to loose theire lyves that wolde nowe gladlie bestowe them for yo. sake in yo. maties: service. The eighte for that the not performinge of this, the other happeninge, doth leave the realme w'thout governaunce, w'ch is the greateste daunger that can happen to anye Kingdome for everie prince is *anima legis* & soe reputed in lawe, and therefore vppon the death of princes, the law dyeth, & the offices of Justice whereby lawes are to be executed ceasse, all writes & comaundementes to call parties for the cōmon peace, & for the punishmente of offenders doe lose theire forces whereby it followeth consequentelie that strength and will muste rule & neither lawe nor reason duringe such a vacacon & interreigne, w'ch in such an vncertaynetie of succession is like to laste soe longe as it is to be feared (if godes mercie be not the greater) that the realme thetherie maye become a praye of straungers (w'ch the lorde forbid) or at the leaste lose the greateste hono. & estīmacon that of longe tyme hath apperteyned to it. And like as (my gracious Sovereigne) my Lordes have bene moved for the worldelie respectes aforesaide to make theise theire humble petitions to yo. matie: soe by the ensamples counsailes, yea & comaundementes that they have hearde out of the sacred scriptures, and for conscience sake they feele them selves constreyned & enforced to doe the like. God yo. High: knoweth by the course of the scriptures hath declared succession & havinge children to be one of the principall benedictions in this lyfe. And therefore ABRAHAM prayed to god for yssue fearinge leste ELIAZAR his stewarde sholde have bene his heire, and had promise that Kinges sholde procede out of his bodie. ANNA the mother of SAMUELL prayed to god w'th teares for yssue, & ELIZABETH whose name yo. matie: beareth mother to Iohn the Baptiste was ioyfull that god had blessed her, w'ch accompted her selfe delyv'ed thereby from reproche. And as this is a blessinge in a private house, soe it is much more in a Kingdome, as it playnely appeareth by the two Kingdomes ISRAELL and IUDA: vnto the Kingdome of IUDA conteyninge but two tribes or thereabouts, god

gave lyniall succession by dissente of Kinges, & therefore contynued a longe tyme. The Kingdome of ISRAELL conteyninge tenne tribes or thereabouts often destitute of lawfull heires, the one halfe of the people followinge the one, and the other halfe the other, by warres & seditions beinge weakened, came sone to ruine as playnely appeareth by the thirde & fourth boke of the Kinges. Agayne in the tyme of the Judges because there was noe ordinarie succession, the people were often overcome & broughte into captyvitie, besides it is playne by the scriptures that godlie gov'noures & princes as fathers of theire countreies have allwaies bene carefull to avoyde the greate evils that might ensue by the wante of a certayne lymitacon of succession, and therefore MOSES did assigne IOSUA to be his successor, and DAVID his sonne SALOMON whereby a greate sedicon began by ADONIAS, of them there be many ensamples. Farther seinge it may be easelie gathered by the experience of all ages paste, that cyvill warres effusion of christian bloude & consequentelye ruine of Kingdomes doe followe where realmes be left w'thout certaynetie of succession, and that yo. matie: is allsoe enformed of the same & sued vnto for redresse, yf there nowe noe sufficiente remedie sholde be by yo. High: provided, it muste needes be a dangerous burden before god to yo. matie, and you are to yelde a straighte accompte to god for the same, consideringe that you are placed as the prophete EZECHIELL saithe *in altissima specula* of this cōmon wealthe and seeth the sworde cōminge & provides noe ordinarie remedie for the defence of it. Lastelie the spirite of god pronounceth by the mouth of ST: PAULE that whosoever maketh not due provision for his familie is in verie greate daunger to godwarde, allsoe by the mouthe of ST: IOHN that whosoever seeth but one brother in necessitie, and doth shutte vpp the bowells of compassion from hym, hath not the love of god remayninge in hym, whereby it is manifeste & playne, how fearefull a thinge it were, yf this whole realme conteyninge so many famylies were not in this perillous case provided for, or yf the bowells of compassion sholde be shutte vpp from soe manye thousandes, w'ch ev'ye waye were like to falle into moste extreme miseries,

yf god sholde call yo. High: w'thout certaynetie of succession, w'ch we pray god may never happen. Moste excellente Princesse the places of scripture conteyninge the saide threateninges be sette forth w'th much more sharpe wordes than be here expressed. Thus moste gracious Sovereigne yo. Lordes & nobles bothe spirituall & temporall have as breifelye as they can firste shewed vnto yo. matie: howe diverslie they take them selves bounde to make these humble petitions vnto you & then what their petitions be, & after that what reasons for worldelie respectes and what by the scriptures & for conscience sake have moved them soe to doe, w'ch here vppon their knees accordinge to their bounden dueties they moste humblie and earnestelie praye yo. matie: to have consideracon of, in tyme, moste gracious Sovereigne, in tyme, in tyme, & to geve them such favorable & comfortable answer to the same as some good effecte & conclusion may grow thereof before the ende of the session of this Parliamente, the vttermoste daye of their greatest hope, whereby this cōmon wealth w'ch yo. High: founde to be *Latericea* as AUGUSTUS did his, and by yo. greate providence is nowe become *marmorea* sholde not for wante of this, yf god sholde call yo. High: w'thout heire or bodie, be in more daungerous estate & condicon than ever it was that any man can remember. True it is that this suite is made by my Lordes not w'thout greate hope of good successe by reason of experience that they have had of yo. bountifull goodnes shewed vnto them & the reste of yo. lovinge subiectes divers & sundrie waies since the begynninge of yo. reigne w'ch I praye god longe to contynue to his hono. w'th all felycitie.

Sir Nicholas Bacon. 1570-79

A number of his Speeches are preserved
in Collections of MSS. of which
Bishop Tanner gives a list.