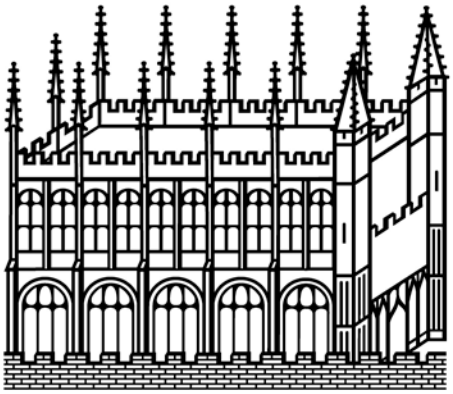

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HISTORY

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS;

A FRAGMENT;

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH
OF ADAM BLACKWOOD.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH,
MDCCCXXXIV.

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TO THE

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BY

ROBERT ADAM.

THE MAITLAND CLUB.

M.DCCC.XXXIV.

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THE mutilated historical fragment here given, from the only Manuscript known to exist, is a translation of the work entitled "Martyre de Marie Stuart Royne d'Escosse et Douariere de France; par Adam Blacvod, Conseiller du Roy au siege presidial de Poictiers." It was first published anonymously in the year 1587, and passed rapidly through several editions; owing its celebrity more, perhaps, to the intense interest of the subject, than to the intrinsic weight or merit of the composition.

His occasional employment in negociations in behalf of the Queen of Scots, and his intimate connection with the Archbishop of St Andrews, had certainly afforded the author the means of access to correct information; but Blackwood's object was not that of writing a faithful history, but an eloquent panegyric on the virtues of his royal mistress, an indignant exposure of her sufferings, and an unsparing invective on the atrocities of her whom he regarded as the relentless persecutor and murderer of the unfortunate Mary. In these respects, his zeal and his passions had plainly hurried him far beyond the bounds of decency or discretion; and the remark of Jebb, the latest editor of

Blackwood's tract, will be generally admitted as just : " Dum prae fer-
" vidioris animi impetu Elizabetham Angliae Reginam, tam virulento
" insectitur calamo, dum facta illa et falsissima de Henrici VIII. et
" Annæ Boulenæ incestuosis amoribus historiae suae inserat, id quidem
" fere efficit, ut dicendo nimium nihil dixerit."

On comparing the French and English copies of the work, it will be found that the translation is not always very close or very accurate ; and that, in the English copy, names, circumstances, and remarks, not indeed of much importance, are occasionally introduced, which are not to be found in the original. The Manuscript, which is obviously of the latter part of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century, was latterly in the possession of the late Mr Dillon, a member of the Club, but of its previous history he has not left any notice.

The French work of Blackwood is so easily accessible, that it has not been deemed worth while to attempt a translation or to reprint the original of the parts which are here wanting ; which at the beginning extend to about twenty-five pages, and at the end to more than sixty pages of the edition of his works published at Paris in 1644. Between these two deficiencies, however, there is this difference, that the first nine leaves of the manuscript have evidently been lost or destroyed ; but that it had never been continued beyond the point where it now terminates.

HISTORY

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

On the other ſide, he extolled the name of Steward, ther auncient waloure, ther wertue, and the long time that they had reigned, and what miſfortune it wer if the croune ſhould be taken from ther heade, and giwen to another ſurname. To remedie ſuch an inconvenient, and to reteine the memorie of her maieſties ſelff and her noble aunceſtouris, (all which was ſpeeche too pleaſinge and curreinge fawoure,) he wiſhed with all his hearte that ſhee wold tie and ioine the croune to foure houſes of the name of Stewarde, and ſubſtitute them one after another, incaſe her maieſtie ſhould deceaſe not leawinge anie roiale iſſue of her bodie. The foxe thoughte with him ſelff he might eaſelie obtein this requeſt, and that he ſhould not feill to be firſt nominated him ſelff, conſideringe the lowe that ſhee bare him in giwinge him the authoritie in the realme, he beinge of her ſurname, and therwithall the reputed naturall ſonne of King James 5, her late deceaſed father. But her

Maieſtie was not ſo ſimple or onadwiſed but ſhee preſentlie conceiwed whither the impudencie of this demaunde tended; for if ſhee had then graunted it, ſhee knewe this ſubſtitution wold have beene her ruine, knowing the men that wer nominated, but her baſe brother ſpeciallie, who was firſt in ordour, to be in natour ſo ambitious that he wold hawe no pacience till he had killed her Maieſtie, either with poyſon, ſworde or by ſome other indirect, oblique and ſiniſter meanes, to compaſſe his deſigned enterpriſe. But this her intention the Queene did werie wittelie cower and excuſe in regarde of her minoritie, and for the obligatioun ſhee was bound in to thoſe to whome the courſe of nature after her death had allotted the croune.

By this aunſwere the Baſtarde weele perceiwinge that he could not corrupt the goode meaninge of the Queene concerninge the houſe of Hammilton as neareſt to the Roiale familie, and that ſhee was ſo jealous for the greatnes and adwancement of her laufull heires, that ſhee wold newer permitt that by this ſubſtitution the courſe of the auncient lawes of the croune ſhould be ſtopped concerninge the laufull and naturall ſucceſſion, he dewiſed one meane whereby he thought to aboliſhe all the race of the Hamiltons, and to hinder her Maieſtie that ſhee ſhould not marie, and in ſo doinge in the end to inweſt him ſelff in the poſſeſſion of the croune; and the meanes was the reſtitution of the houſe of Lenox; but the mater hapned quite otherwiſe: he knewe the deadlie ſpite that was betuene the houſe of Lenox and the houſe of Hammilton, and for that cauſe the Earle of Lenox retired him ſelff into England, and had ther continewed ſo longe that he was not nowe taken for a Scottiſhman, but for a natural ſubiect and waſſale of Elizabeth, hawinge married within her dominions; of the which mariage he had two ſonnes aliwe, the Lord Dernelie his eldeſt ſone beinge then ten or twelfe yeares olde, one of the goodelieſt Princes that ewer man ſett his eyes vpon; the other was Lord Charles, a goodlie younge gentleman of greate future hope alſo. The

Baſtarde, (whome hencefoorthe throughout this Hiſtorie we will name Murraie, ſeeinge other writers, and thoſe ſpeciallie of his cuntrie call him ſo) hawinge hindered her Maieſtie to joine herſelf in mariage with anie forrenner beyonde ſeas, or to allea her ſelff with anie of greate mighte that ſought her mariage, thinkinge to keepe her fruitleſſe in her bodie and without iſſue or heire to the croune, and yeet thinkinge he could hardlie ſo keepe her, ſuch was the youngnes of her yeares honoured with excellent beautie, but at lenth by the commone conſent of her nobilitie shee wold ſeeke for her ſelff a fitte peere, offered and propounded vnto her the mariage of this younge Prince, not intendinge that the mariage ſhould go forwarde, but onlie to turne her from the conceate of anie other more mightie: and to maſke and to cower his purpoſe, which was in no waies to ſuffer her to marie: all this was done, and he ſett theſe reaſons doune for certane motiwes to hinder the intended mariage, he him ſelff beinge the firſt propounder and authour theroff. Firſt, he held it ſure that ſhee ſhould newer marie with this younge Prince for the proximitie and nearnes of bloode, they beinge cuſinge germanes; and ſecundlie, for the inequalitie that was betuine him and them that offered them ſelwes to her, and ſo if it hapned to fall out, that ſhee ſhould marie him, he aſſured him ſelff he could fruſtrate her by lettes and impedimentes he could procure from Elizabeth out of England. Beholde then howe he offereth this prince to her Maieſtie, thinkinge werelie that ſhe ſhould refuſe him; and in refuſinge him he thought then werie redelie to plaie his parte, and keepe her from any prince that might in anie time after come to reſtrane and bridle him, or make him to liwe vnder anie lawe but in ſo farre as him ſelff beſt liſted.

The Queene had newer dreamed of the Lord Dernelie, nor yeet of the Earle of Lenox his father, when Murraie and his complices firſt propoſed it; ſpeakinge of him werie honourablie, and extollinge him abowe the ſkies, he wiſhed her to call home his father from exile, not to the intent

ſhee ſhould take his ſonne for her huſband, but to iuſe him to ſerwe ther turne, and that they might hawe meanes to propoſe ſume againſt the potent Houſe of Hammilton after he wer by ther meanes inſinuated weele into her fawour, who being ignorant to what theſe greate commendatiouns did tend, ſuffered them to ſpeake without anie more to do, till vpon a certaine time after that his father was reſtored to his honour and his goodes they preſented the ſonne before her, when ſhee ſeeinge him beautifull and of good grace, weelebelowed alſo as by Murraie and by ſome of the cheiffe of the nobilitie whom they had commended aſweele abſent as preſent, ſo much declared his wertues as they did ſee no prince vnder the heawen more woorthie to be companion of her ſcepter, ſhee thinkinge that ſuch ſpeaches came aſweele from ther heartes as from ther mouthes, beganne to receiwe him into more fawoure then they wold hawe had him in that had made a ſporte and game of him, and ſo ſufferinge her ſelff to be owercome by litle and litle, reſolweth to aſſociate him to her roiale perſon. But Murraie and his complices, that it was in goode earneſt, and that ther was no more jeaſtinge, was like to burſte for werie malice, and biting ther fingers and blaminge ther folies, and blamed ewerie where the lightnes of ther Miſtres that had ſuffered her ſelff ſo to be caried awaie with ther perſuaſions: and yeet the ſubtile traitour made a faire ſhowe before her, feineinge that the mater wold do weele wheroff he him ſelff not thinkinge was the firſt authoure: But knowinge it was all contrarie to his deſignes, he endewoured and lauboured by all meanes poſſible vnderhand to breake the blowe he had ſtricken; yeet [all] the cunninge he could iuſe in Scotland was to no purpoſe: and therefore he addreſſeth him ſelff to England with manie thouſandes of accuſatiounes and falſe reportes againſt the Lord Dernelie and his father, which for breuitie I omitt, thinkinge that by Elizabethes commaundement they wold deſiſt.

Elizabeth ſendeth into Scotland Mr Throgmorton her ambaſſadour,

who leſte no thinge vndone to diſguſte the Queene of the lowe of this young Prince. But the mutuall affection of the two lowers had alredie taken roote ſo deepe in ther heartes, that it was not poſſible by evil reportes or threatninges of anie in the world to diſplant it. Her Maieſtie thought not ther was anie in the Realme that diſliked this mariage, being mowed therto by her baſtarde brother that could do all by the moſt part of the nobilitie, whoſe praiers hawe almoſt a forme of conſtraint. The onlie impediment which ſhee founde in it was conſanguinitie, wherwith the Pope had diſpenſed. When the mariage was vpon the point to be confirmed, ſee howe Murraie and his complices wer enraged; they runne to open force, and thinke to kille the Lord Dernelie and his father at ther returne from St Johnſton to Edinburgh, and to confine the Queene, whome they wold accompanie, to perpetuall preſon to the caſtle of Lochleawen perteninge to the bellie brother of Murraie. The place apointed for the aſſaulte was the church neare Lochlewen, which they had executed onles they had ſtaied vpon the cominge of the Earle of Argile, one of the principall of the conſpiracie: the goodman of Douhill, by name Lindeſeie, had aduertiſed her Majeſtie, and made her haſten her pace on her jornie. The Earle of Rothus, who was brother in lawe to Lochleawen, tooke remiſſion for hawinge a complice in this conſpiracie, and the other ſeeinge that they had ſo manifeſtlie ſtumbled, albeit of the fidelitie and clemencie of the Queene redier to pardone then they wer to entreate, notwithſtandinge all this, grew deſperate like Judas, and did reſolwe to followe ther purpoſe, confoundinge heawen and earth to cauſe the breach of this mariage ſo farre preiudiciall to ther tyrannie: for to hawe gone about to execut ſuch a treaſon, and to plaie with ther miſtres, without endinge ther action and interpriſe, they thought it was to make the rope ſhould ſtrangle them ſelwes, or whett the kniffe ſhould cutte ther owen throates. They purpoſed not therfore to holde ther armes acroſſe; and to go on by open

warre they thought beſt; and to drawe the commone people, too prompte of nature to rebellion, they cauſſed it to be publiſhed throughout all Scotland that the Lord Dernelie was a papiſt, as was alſo his father and mother, and that the Queene had for no other cauſe maried him then to extirpat the faithfull profeſſoures of the true religioun, and to owerthrowe the ſtate of the realme eſtabliſhed with the perill of ther liwes and of ther fortunes, and that fore to bringe this deſigne to paſſe intended, they had ſecrete intelligences and preparatiouns nowe ordered in Fraunce, a thinge which they ought not, nor ſhould, nor yeet could ſuffer, not onlie in regard of ther perſons and eſtates, but for the mantenance and honour of God in the profeſſion of a pure and true religion reformed by them. That ther perſons, goodes and religion dependeth vpon the amitie by the deputies of Fraunce and England at the ſiege of Leith and ſince confermed by the States of Scotland, which at this preſent they wold corrupt and fruſtrate; and that in this doinge ther proceſſe wer alredie made as beinge attaint and conwict of treaſon againſt God and man, and no thinge was behind but the haulter: that they muſt of neceſſitie prewent the danger, ſeeinge they had no meanes to reſiſt with might, if the Queene and her huſband had newer ſo litle aide of forren Princes, which they expected ewerie daie; and for this reſpect, it was much better for them to aſſaile then to be aſſaulted, and be prewented by the tempeſt which they did ſee hang ower ther heade.

Heire you ſie the pretexte of aboliſhinge the amitie and ther reformed religion was a werie faire and ſtronge pretence to drawe much people to ther faction: but in ſo much as manie of the nobilitie had no intereſt therein, they adioined another clauſe which did touch the greater parte of the nobles of the realme, and that might giwe them occaſion to thinke of ther afairs; giwinge them to underſtand, and liftinge it vp as an enſeignie, that her Maieſtie wold rewoke all the alienatiounes of domane by her made duringe her minoritie, which is a cuſtomarie thinge to

the Kinges of Scotland after they come to be tuintie yeares olde, as is to be ſeene in ther actes of Parliament; and further declared vnto them her Maieſties intent to rewoke and annexe to the croune all and ewerie of the landes of the church poſſeſſed by the nobilitie, which was better then the two partes of the reveinue of all the realme, a thinge werie hurtfull to them to hawe ſo ſweete a morſell pulled out of ther mouth, for they thought the rent of the church and all eccleſiaſticall liwinges to be ther owen patrimonie, as they do yeet at this daie. Thoſe reaſons alledged by Murraie had ſome appearance, if the ſubiect had been true, principallie in regarde of religion: but the Queene newer thought it, nor her huſband, to truble the eſtate of the realme or of the religion which was then at her mariage, for ſhee ſawe at that time no meanes in the world to remowe it. But on the contrarie they keepte not on ther promeſes which they promeſed to her Maieſtie by the Eſtates, wheroff we hawe ſpoken heirtofore, for it was agreed, that her Maieſtie and thoſe that followed her ſhould not be trubled in the free exerciſe of ther religion; and yeet hawinge but one preiſt, he was outraged and beaten before his miſtres face, his ornamentes of the altar taken out of his hand by Murraie his followers, and if it be true which Buchanan wreteth in his hiſtorie, they thought to hawe proceeded againſt him to hawe puniſhed him in ſuch ſorte as is ordained againſt idolatoures in the lawe of Moſes, in which you maie weele ſie the meanes that this ladie had to effectuat that which theſe goode fellowes do mention heire. And yeet manie greate Lordes of greateſt accompt, and namelie the Duke of Shetleroe, father to the Earle of Arran, ſuffered them ſelwes to be led by thoſe cunninges that they tooke weapons in hand with Murraie, holdinge that true which he ſaide, becauſe they ſawe him gowerne the whole realme at his diſcretion, and beliewed that he knewe the greate parte of her ſecret thoughtes. The thinge which principallie mowed them to followe him was the feare they had that all tragedies by them plaied in

Scotland was the abſence of ther miſtres ſhould be examined, if this lawe of amitie wer aboliſhed. Beholde them therfore in a redines in armes to attend the armie of her Maieſtie, and to bidde her battell at Glaſcowe bridge. Amongeſt others of ther faction they had the Earle of Morton and the Lord Lindeſay, who newertheleſſe feinyied him ſelff to be for the Queene, and continowed on her ſide to hawe the leadinge of the foirewarde, and at the firſt encounter he did flie and forſake her Maieſtie, cauſſing her to be taken if they came to hard blowes, but by Godis providence the conſpiratouris wer afraied; for albeit they wer ſtronge enough to encounter with her Maieſtie with the multitude of intelligences which they had yeet taken, I knowe with what panicke feare they durſte not ſubmitt the mater to be decided by one doubtfull battell, but fled awaie as they wer armed remowinge from place till they came into England, wher all traitoures ar welcum, cheriſſed and receiwed with honour and credite. The traitour ſonne to a commone ſtrumpet beinge ther, plaied the part of Coriolanus the Roman, ſollicitinge Elizabeth to make warre vpon his ſoweraigne and ſiſter againſt his natiue cuntrie. But her councell thought it not beſt for ſawinge of charges to proceede to open warre, but onlie by ſtratagems and cunninges without expoſinge them ſelwes to ſo greate a multitude of men, to the hazarde of ther lawes and troblinge of the two realmes, hawinge meanes to effectuat ther deſigne in mowinge ſome ſedition in the cuntrie, in the which the Kinge and his wife ſhould be mingled and dewided for the two ſewerall parties, which wold be a thinge that wold diſcower ther mindes, and make a diſcorde and mortall diſſention betuine them, and the meanes to take them boith, and to diſpatch therby firſt the one and after the other.

Secretarie Cecile and Thomas Randolph knewe weele this plotte, who gawe adwiſe and councell to diſpatch out of hand and to committ the two cruell filthie murders we ſhall ſpeake of heirafter. Morton

had credite in the courte, beinge lefte ther by the traitoures to giwe intelligence howe all maters paſt there, and howe to betraie his miſtres; for they could not chuſe a more fitte man than him to do ſuch an act, who from his werie youth had beene renouned for his treacherie, and of whome his owen father had no goode opinion in his werie infancie: for at a certane time his nurſe coming foorth with him in a garden, where his father was with ſome that had come to wiſite him buſie in talke, the nurſe ſettinge doune the childe on the greene graſſe, and not much mindinge him, the boie ſeeth a toade, which he ſnatched vp, and had eaten it all till a litle of the legges; which when ſhee ſawe, ſhee cried out, thinkinge he ſhould hawe beene poiſoned; and ſhee takinge the legges of the toade that he had lefte as yeet oneatten, he cried out ſo loude and ſhrille, that his father and the other gentlemen who wer not farre hard the outcries, who ſend to ſee what ſhould be the cauſe; and when the meſſinger returned and tolde the mater as it hapned, in all haiſte he come where his ſonne was, and vnderſtandinge as it was, he cauſſed giwe the legges alſo, which he greedelie ate vp alſo; which the father ſeeinge, ſaid, The dewill chewe the or burſte the, ther will newer come goode of the. As he prognoſticated ſo it hapned; for after, he was beheaded at Edinburghe, attainted and founde guiltie of heigh treaſon, for the murder of the King his maiſter. This gallant, then, as is ſaide, forſooke her Maieſties parte, and he followinge the courte plaied the ſlaiwe ſo weele, that he gott him ſelff to be ludged within the roiale palice of his miſtres, it beinge a houſe of great receipte.

Within alſo ludged the Queenes Secretarie, Dauid Rizio, a Pedemontane, a man of greate and longe experience, and underſtoode beſt of anie ther the afaires of the ſtate, weele reſpected of his miſtres for his ſingular witte, nowe beinge olde. He was a man of no beautie or outwarde ſhape, for he was miſhapen, ewil fawoured, and in wiſage werie blacke; but for his fidelitie, wiſdome, prudence,

wertue and his other goode partes and qualities of minde he was richlie adorned. His maiſter the King much hated him becauſe he was informed by the rebellis, he did what he could to eſtabliſh a ſure amitie and freindſhipe betwine him and the houſe of Hamilton, who had beene the cauſe of the baniſhment of his father the Earle of Lenox in England. An other cauſe whie he hated the Secretarie was, becauſe he refuſed to ſubſcribe a conſpiracie which the rebelles had drawine the King in, and made it knowen to the Queene. The conſpiracie was thus: they did mowe the Kinge to reſolwe with himſelff, to take upon himſelff the authoritie and ſole and the whole governement, excluding the Queene, and to ſhutte her faſt up in a ſtronge caſtle under the keeping of a ſtronge guarde. This conſpiracie being detected, as ſaide is, the Lord Ruthven one of the conſpiratouris much hated the Secretarie for his fidelitie to his miſtres; albeit he durſt not nor could not but diſcloſe the treacherie intended to hir maieſtie who did finde him and the conſpiratouris together at councell within a litle cabinet, for which her huſband was heighlie offended. Morton alſo doubting the provident foirſighte of this man, he being contrarie to his deſignes, leaſte he ſhould be hindered in his courſes that wer not goode, did fullie reſolwe to kill him, and in ſo doinge, dexterouſlie to execut the councell given him by Elizabethes councell of England ſo euil and curſed as might be dewiſed, onles it wer by diſloiale traitouris that thinke ther is no goode onles they rewenge them ſelwes of them that be oppoſite to them. Morton commeth to the young prince (not greatlie beſeene nor acquainted with the afaires of the commounewealth by reaſon of his younge and tender yeares,) he putteth in his heade to take the ſole gowernement vpon him, excluding the Queene from all authoritie, and by this means he ſhould become greate and be reſpected, obeyed, and feared and honoured of all the kingdome; in the which enterpriſe he wolde rine with him: it wer the beſt courſe to emancipat him ſelff out of

the handes of a woman, to whom it did not belonge to commaunde her huſband, it beinge a thinge againſt nature that the henne ſhould crowe before the cocke; yea, againſt the commandement of the eternall God, that a man ſhould be ſubiect to his wyffe, the man beinge the image of God, and woman the image of man. See heire the faire beginning werie plauſible in ſhowe to a yong gentleman of a loftie ſtomake, and that hath honour and greatnes bearinge in his heade, a thinge that commounlie befalleth the greateſt ſpirites, as Plato and Tullie report, goode maiſters of politie and gowernement of eſtates. At this werie ſame time, (to ſett fordwarde the enterpriſe,) the miniſtrie begann to preach againſt the gowernement of women, and Knox publiſhed a booke for this purpoſe.

So Morton perceiwinge the Prince gaiwe eare to him, he paſſeth forther, and putteth into his heade, that the Secretarie of whome we hawe ſpoken, was more familiar with the Queene then was for his honour to ſuffer, and for the maieſtie of the croune to endure it; and that it was this Dauid that perſwaded her not to yeelde vp her matrimoniall croune vnto him, which of right did belonge vnto him, as beinge heade ower his wiffe, whom he might compell by all lawe diwine and humane, to conſent to a thinge ſo reaſonable; and if ſhee refuſed to do it, he promiſed him the Queene of Englandes aſſiſtance, with Murraies, his owen, and all the reſt of ther faction, to ſtande ſure his, and do the beſt they could for him; who wer all retired thither to ſtrengthen him, if it wold pleaſe him to pardon ther former factes, and reſtore them to ther eſtates, a thinge which he ſhould and mighte do without the adwiſe of the Queene, albeit ſhee wer borne ſoweraigne Kinge and Queene of the realme: He was her heade, and therfore ſhee ſhould depend vpon him, and not he vpon her. Thus you ſee he promiſed the Prince for his parte the title of a Kinge, not only duringe the mariage, but ewer after to him and his, if it ſhould hapen the Queene

to die without iſſue, for he might weele enough hinder the heires of her Maieſtie to aſpire therunto. This falſe Judas, on the other parte, ſhewe to the Queene the youth of her huſband, giwen all to his owen will and pleaſure, and that he wold owerthrowe him ſelff if her maieſtie helde not the bridle, and that the croune which he demaunded wold be the ruine of them boith if ſhee agreed vnto him ; ſhee did weele to keepe the ſoweraignitie with her ſelff, who was weele acknowledged of all the people to be ther lawfull Ladie and miſtres, and that they wold not willinglie come vnder the Engliſhe yoke, for he could not but ſomewhat hawe a touch of the nature of the place where he was borne ; meaninge heirby that the Engliſh were fearce and proude of nature, and that the Scottes could not endure them. And thus he did not content him ſelff to giwe councell to the Queene to make her huſband odious vnto her, but alſo he deſired that this poore Prince, that ſhee might think him her beſt freind amongeſt the nobilitie, in blaminge his pride, that he was ſo inſolent as to aſpire to hawe the title of the Kinge of Scottes, and abuſe the Queene as if ſhee wer a ſlaiwe ; that his inſolencie was intollerable, not onlie in regarde of her Maieſtie, but alſo of all the nobilitie ; that it was neceſſarie to bridle it, to the end he might not abuſe his goode fortune, and that he might not adwance him ſelff forder then the lawes of the realme eſtabliſhed wold permitt. See heire the ſubtile and dewiliſh practiſes of this makebate, in the abſence of Murraie his confederate freinde.

The poore Prince, doubtinge nothinge of the treaſone which was a bruinge, tendinge to his laſt ruine, and dreaming no thinge but of his owen particular meanes to attaine to be greate, putteth his whole truſte in Morton, and ſuppoſeth the Queene his wiff by the councell of her Secretarie did refuſe to inweſt him in the kinglie diademe ; ſo that you maie behold from the begininge of this tragedie, the death of this poore man is agreed vpon, and fullie reſolwed to

be putt in execution. The Queene knewe nocht of theſe notable cowenantes and bondes betuine Morton and her huſbande. But ſeeinge the occaſion was offered by the abſence of Murraie and his complices, to do ſomethinge for the honour of God and religion, which till that time ſhe durſte not nor yeet had ſhe anie meanes to undertake, ſhee aſſembled the thrie Eſtates in the beginninge of March, that iuſtice might be exactlie and trulie miniſtred without reſpect of perſons, indifferentlie to all men throughout the realme, it ſome fewe yeares together with religion beinge troden vnder foote; wherwith her huſbande ſeemed ſo weele content, and cheriſſed the Queene more then uſuall, that he knewe not howe to do enough to pleaſe. But in ſo much as in treatinge thoſe afaires, ther muſt needes be ſpeech of the rebelles that wer in England before the firſt Seſſion of the Eſtates, theſe buſineſſes wer trubled by the meanes of a treaſon the moſt bloodie and barbarous that ewer was harde of to be committed in the preſence of a ſoweraigne Queene bigge with childe. When ſhee had ſupped in her palice of Holieroodehouſe within her cabinett, ſupper hardlie yeet ended, her huſband, the Earle of Morton, the Lord Ruthwen, and the Lord Lindeſaie, came within the cabinet, accompanied with a companie of men all in armour: Amongeſt others, Ruthven, hawinge his heade peece vpon his heade, and the reſt of his bodie armed vnder his goune, at his cuminge in ſitteth him ſelff doune in a chaire, and looked vpon the Queene with a ſterne countenance. The Queene markinge him weele, ſaide, that his comminge in was like the faſhion of one that came to do no goode. To her he anſwered, he wiſhed no harm but to a willen that was neare vnto her, pointinge at the Secretarie with his finger, and that he muſt needes go out. Theſe woordes wer no ſooner uttered but he was ewerie waie aſſaulted, when he catched holde of her Maieſties goune, cryinge aloud, Juſtice, Juſtice; but for all that, they ſtroake him ower the Queenes ſhoulder, without anie reſpect of her roiale per-

ſon, when ſhee was greate with childe and neare her reackninge. Amongeſt otheris of the murderars, the Lord Ruthvens eldeſt ſonne, (ſome ſaie it was Andrewe Carre of Faudonſide,) hearinge her Maieſtie complaininge of ſuch crueltie done in her preſence, helde a piſtoll againſt her bellie, all in a rage and blaſpheming God ſaide he wold kill her if ſhee roſe out of the place or did ſpeake one woorde more. To whome ſhee aunſwered, (after they had offered her manie iniurious ſpeeches, which no honeſt man wold hawe offered the moſt abiect and contemptible perſon in the world,) ſhee truſted in God, who did beholde this from the hie heawens, wold rewenge this wile contempt; and ſettinge her two handes to her ſides, ſhee ſaid, ſhee hoped God wold mowe that which was betuine her ſides, meaninge the childe of whome ſhee was then bigge, to roote him out, and his treaſons, and all his treacherous poſteritie; which the world nowe maie ſee to hawe taken effect.

The rebellious traitoures wer adwiſed by the councell of Englande to attempte this cruell murder in her preſence, that the Queene being frighted at the ſight of this terrible tragedie, might be brought to bed before the time, and ſo the infant might die; which he had not failed of but had died, (as was ſuppoſed) with his mother, onles one of the companie had not turned backe the hand of one that ſtroake cruellie at the ſecretarie with his dager, from the Queene: But God in his mercie, who ſaide, Touch not my anointed, had lefte of her a mightie King, who hath taken wengeance of manie of theſe treaſonable traitoures, as the mother had longe before tolde in ther hearing.

Beholde this maſſacre accompliſhed, the poore Secretarie beinge cruelly murdered before the eyes of his miſtres, and aſſaſinated with ſixtie mortall woundes, and ſhee her ſelff locked vp and putt in preſon within a chamber, her domeſtiques, guarde and ſerwitoures chaſed and driwen by force awaie out of the palice, and 24 men in armes, reteinars of the murther-

ars, ſett to keepe her chamber dore, to hinder that no man leivinge ſhould come neare to ſpeake or conferre with her Maieſtie. Morton had prowided 400 men all in armes, and conweied them within the palace courte, attendinge the execution of the cruell murder. Then within xii houres after this aſſaſination of the Secretarie, Murraie and his complices arriwe from England, weele guarded and accompanied; wherby we maie weele perceiwe the Engliſhe was partie. I call my Lord of Bedforde, then Gowernour of Berwicke, witnes, who deſired, coulde and wold ſpeake the truth in this point, if Elizabeth and her freind Leiceſter had ſuffered it. The rebelles beinge arriwed, the firſt thinge they did was to appeare at the time apointed them, within thrie daies of the which daie of ther appearance was the laſt that they ſhould hawe beene diſpoſeſſed of all there goodes and eſtates, and degraded from ther nobilities, and ther armes rent and torne in the publict aſſemblie of the Parliament, if they had feiled in ther cruell enterpriſe. They preſented themſelwes ther all in armes, and demaunded the acte of ther appearance, finding no perſon in iuſtice that demaunded of them anie thinge contrarie to ther goode liking. So the Parliament keept not; the realme beinge trubled by theſe broiles they ſturred vp to hinder them to come to ther dewe triale.

Murraie at his arriwall gaiwe his adwiſe, that the Queene ſhould be gwarded ſtraitlie in ſome ſtronge holde, where he and his aſſociates might commaunde, which they purpoſed to do. But before the execution of this adwiſe, ther intent was to conferre openlie with the Kinge about that which they purpoſed to do; the thinge beinge ſo weele begunne, and beinge no time of daliance ſince they had entered ſo farre, and ſo much offended the Queene, that it ſhould be an abſurde and ridiculous thinge to thinke to pleaſe her, that ſhee had no hearte if ſhee wer no white touched with ſuch crueltie, and that it was needfull to diſpatch her out of hand, that they muſt of force

publiſhe throweout Europe her adulterie with Dauid Rizzio the ſecretarie, to make ther cauſe goode, not onlie before the people to appeaſe ther furie, but alſo before the Kinge of Fraunce, and all Chriſtian Princes that might be offended therwith, and ſeeke rewenge of ſuch an outragious offence. And to cullour all thinges with a vizarde or maſke of aboliſhinge poperie and eſtabliſhinge the religion of the Goſpell, they promeſed to the Kinge to inveſt him in the ſacred diademes authoritie, and to acknowledge no other but his; and to aſſure him of ther promeſe, they deſired that inſtantlie ſome ordinances and edictes ſhould be publiſhed at Edinburgh vnder his onlie name, without adioining therunto the Queenes name, as the cuſtome was: but by goode happe it ſo fell out, that Murraie preſentlie repented him ſelff, (diſſemblinlie plainge the double knaiwe,) excuſinge him ſelff, ſayinge he was ignorant and innocent of all the conſpiracie, deſyringe her pardon of the firſt faulte by him and his complices committed when they retired into England, ſhewinge her beſides the danger wherin ſhee was, that if ſhee did not finde meanes to appeaſe thoſe who had killed the Secretarie, which ſhee might do by receiwinge them to mercie, ſo taking awaie the deſpaire of hope which they had to obtaine pardon. To whome ſhee aunſwered, that he had newer knowen in her anie cruell minde, ſpitefull or vindicative, but to the contrarie, manie of them had a ſufficient triale of her greate ſweetnes and clemencie, whereof ſhee newer repented her ſelff; this wertue beinge a thinge more beſeeminge ſuch a prince as ſhee was then anie other; but beinge captive, deteined and reſtrained of her libertie by open force, as ſhee ſawe her ſelff to be, ſhee had no meanes nowe to performe it, and ſhowe in effect the grace which he requeſted for them; for that which ſhee did could be to [no] end nor purpoſe to them, nor yeet to him, whom ſhee deſired to gratifie abowe all others, and to do him all the pleaſure ſhee poſſiblie could, as ſhee wold make it knowen by effect, ther violence hawinge taken ſuch deepe courſe that it did

paſſe meaſour, but her bountie might exceede ther willanie. As this ſpeech paſſed betuine and the baſtarde Murraie, the Kinge in the meane while entered the chamber where ſhee was loked vp faſt; ſhee ſeeinge him, roſe vp and came to him werie kindlie, tellinge him of his greate faulte, and the greate danger wherin his aſperinge minde had and was like to bringe him in throwe ambition, and howe he had but ſmalle meanes to remedie the ſame, and howe litle occaſion he had to diſtract him ſelff from her lowe, and to adhere to her mortall ennemies, who had ſo often ſworne and attempted her ruine; that he had no thinge in Scotlande but by her, and vnder the ſhaddowe of her authoritie; that ſhee was readie to bringe him foorth a childe, which mighte encreaſe his power and credite; and that ſhee was endangered with her iſſue to die, by the manifolde outrages done againſt her; that if that ſhould happen, he wer vndone, and that he muſt not hawe anie hope to eſcape the bloodie handes of theſe by whoſe perſuaſion he had killed his wiffe and his childe; that they wold not ſo be pleaſed to be freed onlie from him that had ſo quicke and ſharpe an eie into ther afaires; it was not Dauid Rizzio they ſhotte at, but they wold go forder in ther buſines; that this poore man, whom he had made be maſſacred ſo willanouſlie, without reſpect or apparence of iuſtice, wold crie for wengeance to God by his bloode; and for that cauſe he ſhould make his recourſe to Goddes diwine Maieſtie, with vnfeingied repentance for his ſinnes, and namelie that, and that ther was no other meanes to exempt him ſelff from the hazarde of danger in the which they wer boith brought at the preſent by his onlie pride and raſhnes, except his omnipotent mercie, that abandoneth not them who aknowelege ther offences with an humble and contrite hairte.

This poore Prince, what ambition ſoewer did blind him before, hawinge weele harde and conſidered the Queens ſpeeches, beganne to putt water to his wine, to ſounde his conſcience, and with watrie

eyes, after he had craiwed pardon of her, he diſcowered fullie all the tale, without concealinge anie one pointe of conſpiracie, yea, not hidinge ewen that which did concerne the liffe of her Maieſtie; as alſo howe they had agreed in ther councell, by forme of iuſtice, or rather vnder a cullour of lawe, to ſatiſfie ther blodie mindes, the heades of the Lord Levingſton, and the Lord Fleminge, and Sir James Balfoure, and to maſſacre a greate number of the cheiff and principall Lordes of the realme, and to droune manie of her Maieſties ladies of honour, namelie the moſt auncient and nobleſt families. He declared alſo ther faire promeſes they made him, of the title of a Kinge, and the aide and aſſiſtance of the Queene of Englande, and howe by her letters, ambaſſadors, and large ſummes of money, ſhee had ſtirred vp all the former broiles and cruell conſpiracies; and howe Jaſper Collignie, Admirall of Fraunce, in cace the Chriſtian Kinge Charles then liwinge, or thoſe of the Houſe of Lorran, or other Maieſties parentes, wold take notice of thoſe afares, promeſed to do the like to aide and aſſiſt them to the uttermoſt of his power; and he tolde her he could put no truſte or confidence in the woordes of ſuch cruell people, beinge ſawage, fearce and inhumane, and that on the contrarie he did attend no other thing then to accompanie her Maieſtie to the death, which was nowe certane and fullie agreed vpon and reſolwed.

The Queene, vnderſtandinge theſe myſteries of ſo horrible and preſumpteous treaſon, after that ſhee had againe ſhewed him the danger wherwith they wer compaſſed, and the litle aſſurance that ther was to be giwen to the promeſes of men ſo barbarous, diſloiale, and ſo full of impietie, praieth him to returne to them, and report vnto them that he had founde her in werie goode temper to accorde and ſubſcribe whatſoewer they wold; but beinge preſoner as ſhee was, all that ſhee did was in no force nor wertue, and that was of the adwiſe that for this onlie night they wolde ſuffer her to hawe ſome libertie without guarde, ſeeinge ſhee

was ſicke, and could not holde her ſelff vpon her feete, and that he wold aunſwere for her perſon. The conſpiratours attending his ſpeech werie diligentlie, to perceiwe his negotiation with the Queene, beinge returned vnto them againe, he aunſwered them according to the inſtruction which the Queene had giwen him, and vpon it they longe deliberate. Some ſaide they muſt not loſe the occaſion to ridde her out of the waie, vpon whoſe death ther liwes depended. Some propoſed the commotion of the people, if ſo they proceeded againſt her by waie of deede. Some gawe adwiſe to putt her to death, but they muſt exſpect ſtill till ſhee had ſubſigned and ſubſcriwed ther remiſſion and pardon, accordinge to the reſolution taken in councell: but yeet in the end, beinge certifeed of the greate extremitie of her ſicknes, and that ſhee wold hardlie liwe till to morrowe, it was concluded that her huſband ſhould keepe her that nighte, and that he might remowe and retire the guardes, as he thought it beſt: which he did ſpeedelie in the nighte, and founde the meanes to go foorth at a backe gate, where the Queene with greate danger of her liffe was helped and mounted vpon horſbake, behinde Arthure Erſkine, ſonne to the Lord Erſkine, her ſcriwinere, who conducted boith Kinge and Queene, fearinge ther liwes, in poſte haiſte to the caſtle of Dumbarre, 20 ſcottiſh miles diſtant from Edinburgh.

The rebelles wer readie to burſte for deſpite that they had ſuffered them ſelwes thus to be deluded, wherby they had loſte the occaſion to ridde them ſelwes of ther Queene, which, perhapps, they might newer after recower; but yeet they do ther beſt to aſſemble all ther aſſociates and complices in armes, to aſſaulte her Maieſtie.

The Earles of Huntlie, Athol, and Boithwell, who had, on the other pairte, ſaiwed them ſelwes, eſcapinge out of the windoes when the Secretarie was kilde, had nowe gathered together 9000 men, whome they brought to ſuccour her Maieſtie, wherwith the rebelles, much amazed, did betake them ſelff to flighte, ſome into England, the old ordinarie re-

ceptacle for traitours, ſome into Argile amongeſt the Iriſhe hielande men, exſpectinge and attendinge ſome newe conſpiracie and change of the Courte, as they call it, to the end to be called againe and reſtored againe to ther goodes and honours, and to hawe the meanes to plaie the laſt acte of the tragedie. The Queene, onwillinge that her huſband ſhoulde be defamed with ſuch a willanous murder and ſo deteſtable, made it be proclamed, with expreſſe prohibition, vnder paine of incurringe her indignation and heighe treaſon, to all perſons, that none ſhould ſpeke euil of his heighnes, or ſaie that he was partaker of the death of Rizzio, her ſecretarie. Shee gaiwe him alſo letters of pardon, to the end his ennemies might newer hawe meanes to prewaile againſt him in ſuch a heinous crime, not that ſhee feared, or had anie miſtruſte, he could be puniſhed for ſuch crime whileſt ſhe liwed, but in cace it hapned that ſhee ſhould die before him; theſe letters giwen ones by the prince might awarrant him againſt all enquirie in a crime committed by him, (for in Scotlande letters ones giwen by the Prince ar not ſubiect to the iudge to [be] enquired and examined againe by them, but be preſumed to have beene giwen with full and entier knowledge of the crime): wherin you maie clearlie ſee the ſynceritie of her lowe and coniugall affection which ſhee bare towardes him without fraude or fiction, notwithſtandinge the rigours that ſhee made ſhewe of ſome time after, which proceeded not from anie ewill will, as you maie judge, but of greate diſcretion and wiſdome to make knowen [to] this younge Prince, ſtoute of hand and curage, his greate pride and raſhnes.

I praie the good readar compare this my diſcourſe with that of Buchannans in his Scotiſhe Hiſtorie, wherin for this mater he hath as manie lies as woordes; and with the defamatorie libell compoſed by him in Latine, and declamed at London, when he was ther with Murraie and his complices, to make the Queene his miſtres odious. The Engliſhe durſt newer hawe vndertaken the iudgment of ſuch thinge, as ſhalbe heirafter declared,

if this falſe traitoure had not beene incited, boith at home and by them, to diſguiſe the weritie of this facte by painted eloquence. But in deſpite of them all, it ſhalbe moſt ewidentlie ſeene to a man that hath newer ſo litle iudgment, and that is experienced in the afaires of the world at this moſt miſerable time, what we can remember in our daies: he foundeth his principall argument, which he propoſeth againſt his ſoweraigne to make her guiltie of her huſbandes murder, vpon the mortall hatred which ſhee bare him, or had occaſion to bare him, and to the rigour ſhee uſed towardes him ewer ſince the murder of her ſecretarie: But to make the contrarie appear vnto thé, and that they, who killed the one, maſſacred and aſſaulted the other, and that boith of the two murders came out of the ſame chope, by the paines and induſtrie of the Queene of Englande and her councell, I will continowe my narration to prowe this, albeit my propoſitiounes of prohibitiounes made by her Maieſtie for ſpeakinge euil of her huſbande, and of letters of remiſſion giwen him, be ſufficient for full reſolution and refutatioun of theſe ſhameleſſe, perverſe and deteſtable calumnies, proceedinge from the forge and invention of Satan him ſelff.

After the barbarous and cruell murder of the ſecretarie, the rebells, not able to make ther partie goode, forſooke the feildes and fled into England, the ordinarie herboure of ſuch treacherous people, and theſe wer the cheiff and principall of them; wiz. Morton, Ruthven, and Lindeſaie, who all wer at the execution of the cruell fact. Others fled into Argile with Murraie, who doubted not, as we hawe alredie ſaide, but he ſhould be called home againe to the court to communicate in this mater of the murder, becauſe he was abſent, and the indignitie of the facte ſo greiwed her Maieſtie, that ſhee wold eaſelie deface the memorie of all precedent iniuries, which thinge came ewen ſo to paſſe; for her Maieſtie ſieing her ſelff environed with traitouris, and knowinge not whom to truſt, and being ewerie daie ſollicited by perſons interpoſed

by Murraie, did, in the end, by too greate a clemencie, yieldit him his pardon, giwing him againe all his honouris, and communicating vnto him her afairs and her moſt inwarde thoughtes, as in times paſt ſhee had; which thing cauſſed all the miſcheiwes that ewer ſince hawe diſtreſſed her huſband and her, and brought them boith to that lamentable end they came to. The King ſeeing this traitour afoote, and that his credite was more regarded in all the realme then his, tooke diſpleaſure at it, and could not endure it. On the other parte, Murraie, Morton, and the reſt of the murdering butchers of the ſecretarie, wold wiſhe willinglie the death of the young Prince, for abandoning ther parte, and for rewealing and telling all the tales he told of them to the Queene, of ther cruell conſpiracies, to make them odious to her Maieſtie ewer after, for which cauſe he could in no ſorte truſte them, knowing ther diſloiale and falſe partes, without feare of God, pietie of men: he commeth to the Queene, he telleth the intention he had in his hearte to kille Murraie, whom he ſo much miſtruſted that he doubted ewen his ſhadowe, and that ther was no other meanes to aſſure him ſelff of his liffe; declaring farther vnto her, that the death of ſuch a tratour was the repoſe and reſt of the whole realme, the aſſurance of the ſtate, and comforte of the people.

Her Maieſtie amazed, heiring his reſolution, forbidde him in ſewere and ſharpe woordes not to blowe abroade this wicked deſigne, nor to paſſe anie further to effect the ſame, telling him, that it was vnfitting for a Prince, as he was, to be bloodie, and that he could not be content to kill her Secretarie, but he muſt needes alſo enter in her bloode and kill her brother, which ſhe could not indure for the honour ſhee bare to the deceaſed Kinge her father; ſhe could not endure his bloode ſhould be ſhed whom ſhee acknowledged for his naturall ſonne, albeit a traitour and diſloiale, by this meanes making no account of the bloode whence ſhee iſſued; ſhee ſaid ſhee had iuſtice in her handes

to puniſhe him as he deſerwed, when ſhee deſired to be ride of him, and ſuch a cruell fate was forbidden of God and man. Yeet, notwithſtanding all theſe declarations, he could not content him ſelff, but diſcowered it to manie perſons that he lowed them not ſo weele as they did Murraie, and he waunted werie boldlie to the purpoſe that they wold meete vpon the firſt occaſion ſhould be offered. But Murraie, more craftie and ſubtile then he, made a goode countenance on the mater, and feingeed werie cunninglie as if he knewe no thinge of the mater, ſhewing ewer a goode cheare, and yeet ceaſed not for all that, to giwe ordoure to prewent him: he did ewer perceiwe that the liff of this young Prince was ewer contrarie to the deſignes he had to come to the croune, and that he was of ſuch curage that he wold not feill to execut his purpoſed intent, if in a goode houre he did not forſee the iminent danger, and prowide for it.

And for this cauſe, addreſſinge him ſelff to his ordinarie councell of England, he brought it about in ſuch ſort, aſweele by the entreatie of Elizabeth, as by the interceſſion of the greateſt faworites of the courte, and the moſt affectionat ſeruitouris of his miſtres, that Morton and his complices obtained pardon of ther treaſons, and wer rewoked from baniſhment, which thing much fortified him, aſweele by reaſon of ther aſſiſtance, as by reaſon of the goode councell they brought him from Elizabeth and her councell, and for the olde hatred they bore alſo vnto him. At ther firſt arriwall, ſeeing her Maieſtie giwe ſome ſhow of diſcontent towardes her huſband, they put it in her heade to forſake him, aſweele by reaſon of his diſſolute liffe, as for becauſe of the death of the Secretarie, wherof as they ſaide he was the onlie authour. To the which ſhee made aunſwere, that her huſband was yeet but younge, and that ſhee wold eaſelie bring him into the right waie, and that of his nature he was weele enclined and goode, and that ther was not a better natured man in all the world, and that his corruption came of euil

councell of theſe that wer neither his freindes nor hers. Of this aunſwere they receiwed no content, hawing heirbye diſcowered that the greiffe of her Maieſtie againſt her huſband was no other thinge but a countenance, and that from her hearte ſhee perfectlie lowed him.

James Hepburn Earl Boithwell, hereditarie heigh Admirall of Scotland, had beene all his liftime a faithfull ſerwant of the croune, a man waliant, and for magnanimouſe proweſſe, abowe all others; but, as touching other thinges, audacious, proude, inconſtant, changable, and eaſie to be perſwaded, readie to vndertake, and more readie to put in execution; and for this cauſe did Murraie and his wicked complices muche doubt and ſuſpect him, and had ewer beene his deadlie ennemies; and knowing full weele the humour of the perſon, and that he was the fitteſt man in the world to execute ther minde and deſigne, they lauboured earneſtlie to make him on ther ſide, to effectuat the councell which they had taken in England, tendinge not onlie to the ruine of the Queene and her huſband, but to his owen, who had not witt enough to conceiwe it. Having, therefore, entered familiarilie with him, they do beginne to propoſe the indignitie of the mariage of ther miſtres with a younge and ſtubrunne foole, that had ſo much gulled her that ſhee was nowe diſcontented with him, and wold be glade to be ride of him, if by anie honeſt meanes it could be done; but that ſhee was ſo wertuous, ſage and modeſt, that ſhee durſte not diſcower her greiffe to her beſt ſerwantes, that might remedie it, a thinge which cauſſed her to be werie melancholious; for hawing taken this young man vpon her owen motion, and without the concent of thoſe of Lorran and Guiſe, her mothers freindes, ſhee feared to be accuſed by them of lightnes, if ſhee ſhould not diſpatch her ſelff of him; but if anie goode companion wold giwe him a deadlie blowe without her priwitie, and that nothinge might be imputed vnto her, ſhee wold not greiwe, nor be much diſpleaſed therwith; for albeit he had giwen her the greateſt cauſe of the world to

die, be it by iuſtice or adventure, ſo that it is that ſhee could not, without blame, openlie conſent, aſweele for the peoples woice, ignorant of her miſerie, as in regarde of her parentes, whoſe adwiſe ſhee durſte not aſke, who beinge yeet duelie certifeed of the leaſt indignities which ſhee ſuffered by conſtrainte of a man of no woorthe, wold councell her to be rewenged vpon him, and emploie the nobilitie of her countrie to deliwer her from his bondage; for that it was he that was the onlie authour of the murder of the ſecretarie, and not ſo contenting himſelff, he thought to diſpatch out of the world her Maieſtie, (ſo ſpoke they to Boithwell,) if ſhee had not ſaiwed her ſelff throwe a windowe: And after that he had done this famous acte, he was ſo impudent and proude, that he durſte write to the King of Fraunce, and to the greateſt Princes of the Chriſtianitie, letters defamatorie and full of lies againſt his wiffe, thinking by ſuch meanes to excuſe his willenie, boith of the inwenting and execution of the cruell murder of the ſecretarie; for albeit this poore man knewe not himſelff, and made himſelff odious to the nobilitie, yeet ſhould he not hawe handled him ſo roodlie as he did in the preſence of her Maieſtie, hawing meanes enough to remedie the mater with leſſe ſcandale. There is no doubte but her Maieſties parentes of Lorraine and Guiſe, wold holde it werie agreable and convenient to awenge the crime, if it wer fitte likewiſe for a woman to demaunde it; but ſeeing we haue this ranke to be the firſt in honours in the realme, and that we haue the principall intereſt concerning the honour of our Miſtres, and the vpholding of her greatnes and authoritie, we muſt not attend till we be entreated, and that ſtrangers ſhewe ws our leſſons. That is to us heigh treaſon to knowe ſuch thinges and to endure them: We do not complaine of the litle account he maketh of ws, and all the Lordes of this realme, whom he eſteemeth no more then ſlaiwes, threatning to kill ws, now one, and then another, at ewerie worde he uttereth; but the onworthie behauiour he uſeth towardes her Maieſtie, and knowing

the duetie of a ſubiect, and the cauſe and grounde of his fortune, ought no ſooner by us to be endured. We hawe oftentimes merwalled at your Lordſhipe, moſt affectionat to her ſerwice, how you coulde hawe ſo greate pacience, and hawe not beene mowed with ſuch greate outrages that you ſee her daielie endure, which is the cauſe that doeth mowe ws to addreſſe our ſelwes vnto your Lordſhipe, to knowe your intent whether it will pleaſe you to ſubſcribe to this councell which we hawe taken to deliwer her Maieſtie from the captiuitie of this younge foole, and to giwe her to huſband ſome Lord of the cuntrie whom we ſhall thinke fitte, and agreable for her, which we hawe nowe weele adwiſed, and made choiſe of your perſon if you thinke the condition goode. Amongeſt all the reſt of us there is none can accept it, ſome for proximitie of bloode, ſome for impoſſibilitie to be ſeparated from ther wiwes, ſome others for the multitude of ther children, ſome others for the hatred her Maieſtie beareth vnto them, albeit to her moſt humble and affectionat ſerwantes; you ar one of the youngeſt and nobleſt Lordes of this realme, beautifull, waliant, without charge of children, honoured, reſpected of her Maieſtie for your greate ſerwices paſte, whom ſhee can not weele refuſe, beinge by us choſen and preſented amongeſt others of the nobilitie, to be companion of her croune and ſcepter: our praiers ſhall hawe force to conſtraine her, beinge founded vpon ſo goode and ſo apparent reaſons; for the realme being ſo trubled, as you ſee, and ſo manie quarrellis amongeſt them of the nobilitie, it ſhalbe no aſſurance vnto her to liwe wedowe, and leſſe aſſurance to marie ane forren prince. The Scottes be compoſed of ſuch humouris that they can not be ſubiect to a forreiner; howe ſoone ſhaked they of ther nekes the yoke of Queene Marie of Lorran, her Maieſties mother, and refuſed ther due obedience to Frauncis the ſecond, King of Fraunce? Thinke you that after they be enfranchiſed from the tyrannie of the Engliſh, they will endure to be commanded by anie other then one of ther owen na-

tion? Will they referre them ſelves in ther diſcordes to a ſtranger, as they will to your Lordſhippe? Marke weele our purpoſes, and ſuffer not this occaſion to ſlippe; it is goode fortune which offereth it ſelff vnto you; it will turne to your greate ſorrow, to ſee an other heirafter enioye that which you might hawe had with the goode liking of all men.

Theſe faire promeſes in ſhewe made Boithwelles mouth water, and did much tickle his minde; for, he beinge werie ambitious of nature, and much giwen to his pleaſurs, he did not a litle merwell and thinke of the owerture that was then offered him, to content boith the one and the other of theſe paſſions: For his anſwere, after he had giwen them manie and large thankes for ther goode will, and the opinion they had of his prudence, he ſaide he thought him ſelff leſſe then capable of ſo goode fortune, and to the which he durſte newer aſpire. He beganne to deplore the iniuries done to her Maieſtie by her diſloiale and ingrate-full huſbande, and the greater goode hape that it wer to him, and to all the realme, if ſhee could theroff be deliwered, that it ſhould ſticke vpon him, and that he wold ſubſcribe willinglie to all that which ſhould pleaſe the Lordes for the ſolace of his miſtres, ſwearinge and proteſtinge to be [a] faithfull ſeruitour to them all his liffe, what fortune ſoewer might befall him: but tuiching the condition they propoſed of the mariage of her Maieſtie, that he ſawe not howe it might be executed, ſeeing he had ones alredie allied him ſelff in one of the greateſt in the realme, which he could not by anie meanes diſſolwe. To whome they againe replied, that he ſhould take no care of that, hawing iuſte occaſion of diworce, and that they wold make his wiffe, and all her parents, giwe ther conſentes therunto; and albeit they refuſed, yeet they wold not ceaſe to go forder, for Boithwell had maried one of his neareſt kinred, whoſe cuſinge he had carnallie knowen before, and this was a moſt laufull impediment of ſuch a mariage; and albeit ther wer no other cauſe of divorce, yeet the repoſe and peace of the realme

ſhould content them together, that the perſonis of Princes ar priwiledged, which, for iuſte and goode occaſions, ar diſpenſed with all, and be not as other people ſubiect to the lawe; and albeit ther wer no reaſon, nor apparence of reaſon, in the world to be ſeparated from his wiffe, they had the miniſters at ther commande, who wold make diworce as they ſhoulde deſire: To conclude, they led on this miſerable younge man by ther ſubtile craftes and inwentions, that he vndertoke to aſſaulte and murder the Kinge, followinge therin the adwiſe and councell which they gawe him cuninglie. This reſolution was vndertaken, the ſolemne and authentike wretinges beinge firſt ſubſcribed and ſealed, and writen by Alexander Haye, publict notarie, after Clerk Regiſter in Scotland. Murraie cometh to the Queene, and telleth her, that the Lord Dernelie her huſband, the Earle of Lenox his father, and the Earle of Glencarne, with manie mo of the nobilitie, wer aſſembled together at Glaſcoue to take councell by what meanes they might depriwe her Maieſtie of the gowernment of the realme, and to inweſt her huſbande, and to take her and to confine her to perpetuall preſon if ſhee refuſed to conſent, and therfore he counſelled her in all ſpeede to repaire to Glaſcoue ſtronglie accompanied, to prewent ther deſignes.

By ſuch reportes this foxe did thinke nothing but to alienate her minde from her huſbande, and prepare and diſpoſe her to beare moderatlie the death of him whome ſhee lowed dearelie, notwithſtanding the feinzeed rigouris and counterfutes which ſhee made ſhowe of to him. But her Maieſtie, knowinge weele the malice of Murraie, made no great account of his aduertiſment, but beinge otherwiſe informed of his ſickneſs, and that the ſmalle poxe* was broken out on him, not able to diſſemble anie longer the lowe which ſhee bare him, tooke her iurnie towarde Glaſcoue to viſite him, whither when ſhee came, ſhee uſed him werie kindlie and courteouſlie, without any diſlike or ſhowe of offences paſt, eand entreated him ſo weele as was poſſible for anie woman to do,

* Alexander Haye, physitian, who ministred vnto him, saide it was poison, which the strength of his nature, he beinge of a goode complexion, did driwe forthe.

wheroff Murraie and his complices wer no white glade, ſeeing the greate ſorrowe ſhee had in his death plotted by them, which might take awaie the opinion from the people of her conſenting; for this was the principall of ther deſignes, to procure the ſuſpicion of this cruell facte [to] be bruted to proceede from the Queene, and to make her become odious, and to ſeaze them ſelwes in the roiale gowernment of the ſtate; which after they did, pairting the pelfe amongeſt them, that is, ſpendinge the revenneus of the croune as they liſted.

After ſhee had ſoiourned a while at Glaſcoue, and that the ſickneſs had runne his courſe, Murraie tolde the Queene that it was needeful for the Kinge to be removed for the change the aire, and that the Lord B thought it werie fitte that he ſhould be ludged with the Proweiſt of Kirkfeilde at Edinburghe, being a place heighlie ſituate, pleaſant, and in goode aire, inwironed with pleaſant gardens, and removed from the noiſe of people; but to the contrarie, the palace ſtoode lawe, and by meanes of the Courte keepte ther, had greate reſorte [of] people. The Queene thought this councell goode, not doubtinge anie danger, conducted thither her huſband, and as ſhee led him by the hand to the houſe of the Earle of Arran, harde adioininge to the Kirke of feilde, Murraie did bid her returne, and led him to the balefull fatall ludgine, where he ended his liff: Whilleſt he was ther, her Maieſtie werie often viſited him, not miſtruſtinge anie euil, whatſoewer her falſe ennemies ſaie to the contrarie. Shee lowinglie ſtaied with her huſband, giwing him all the contentment ſhee coulde, ſtaying with him almoſt till midnighte, and about two or thrie houres after, the houſe was blowen vp with gunnepouder in a commone poſtern at a hoile, the ſame time that her Maieſtie was there, and it was done by thoſe who muſte needes theraſter, (the better to cullour ther deſignes), ſeeme to be the rewengers of the crueltie, whereoff they wer the cheiff authouris, for the Queene goeing foorthe of the ludgine to go to her palice, ſhee did

meete Paris, the Earl of Boithwallis ſerwant, whom ſhee aſked whence he came, he ſmelled ſo of gunnepouder.

The daie before the cruell deede, Murraie tooke his leawe of the Queene, feingeinge that his wiffe was ſo ſicke in childbed that no man expected her liff one hour. But full weele knewe he what ſhould be done that night, as alſo he did vnderſtand, yea dewiſed it him ſelff, that this young Prince ſhould hawe beene blowne vp in a pouder traine in a place in the walie forgainſt the caſtle gates of Stirling, onles his uncle who keepte the young Prince his ſonne, repenting him ſelff that he gaiwe his conſent to ſuch a cruell facte, had forwarned him not to go furthe to the walie to beholde the fireſhewes for feare of danger. Murraie wold faine hawe awoided all ſuſpitione of [the] foul facte, in going to ſee his wiffe before her death, but his owen tounge did bewrie him to be acceſſarie therunto, and knewe weele the whole mater, ſo that it ſeemeth he was the chieffe and principall dewiſer, if not the executioner, for after he had taken leiwe of the Queene, he ſaide to the Lord Harriſe, this night ſhall the Kinge looſe his liffe; which ſpeech of his the ſaide Lord hath often ſince mantained to his face boith at home and abroade, and namelie at the citie of Yorke before the deputies of Elizabeth ther councellouris, that was acceſſarie to this cruell murder: and he ſpoke theſe wordes not onlie to the ſaide Lorde Harriſe, but he alſo repeated them to ſome of his freindes beinge embarked in a bote when as he paſſed ower the water at the Queenes ferrie, which is an arme of the ſea two miles broade betuine Edinburgh and Dunnfermeling. If he was ſorie for the death of the King, as he made ſhewe ſome time after, whie did he not certifie the Queene of the conſpiracie, ſeeing he knewe it? Whie did he not ſhowe the Kinge of it, and forwarne him of the danger? The leaſt woorde of his mouth might hawe hindered this bloodie murder, and hawe ſaiwed the innocent princes liff, and the honour of his Queene, and the whole kingdomes.

But ſithence he could not be ſtaied at the Courte, notwithſtanding all the inſtance her Maieſtie could make, but conwoied him ſelff awaie almoſt at the time that the murder was committed, knowing weele the maner howe it ſhould proceede, and that he might hawe letted and hindered it by one onlie woorde, in that he declared that he was at leaſt conſenting to the crime, and that his affected abſence was but to ſerwe him for a maſke and culloured cloake to excuſe him in the ſight of the world, and he wold not be at the execution, contenting him ſelff to hawe his agentes and miniſters of his goode will, vpon whome he might aſſure him ſelff.

The nexte daie after the actinge of this tragedie, earlie in the morninge arriweth Robert Durie, archer of the Chriſtian kinges guarde in Scotland, ſent from the archbiſhope of Glaſcowe from Fraunce, to aduertiſe her Maieſtie of ſome greate intended conſpiracie againſt either her liffe, her huſbandes, or her young ſonnes, or all thrie, wheroff ther was certane and ſure aduertiſment giwen to without ſpecifeinge either the authours, ther names, or them and ther names againſt whom it was prepared.

So this parracide thus cruellie committed, diuers rumouris runne abroade throwe Edinburgh of the authours and cauſſes of ſo damnable and cruell a treaſon, ewerie one iudginge and ſpeakinge accordinge to the goode or badde affection that he caried to the Lordes of the Courte. But the Queene, whom theſe afaires more concerned then anie other, ignorant of the bruites ſpred thorowe the citie, and not able to diſcower the miniſters of this action, ſhee was forced, by ſounde of trumpet, to publiſhe the goode will ſhee had to rewenge the death of her huſband, and to recompence liberallie theſe that wold reweale the authouris of it. The neighbours of the adioininge houſes ar

The Earle of Argile, hereditarie Lord Chieffe iuſtice of the realme, had

commandement from her Maieſtie, to do all his beſt diligence poſſible to learne out the truth, and to apprehend all the complices of the facte, which he tooke no care to do his duetie in his office, for he was intereſted in the foule facte.

In the end, by certane libellis fixed in the market place, and publict and open gates of the citie, the Earle Boithwell is defamed to be the authour and the doare of the cruell murder, and that by the meanes of thoſe who ſett him aworke: Which thing, after that it came to the Queenes eares, albeit ſhee could hardlie beliwe ſuch an accuſation for the goode opinion ſhee had of him, that newer before had beene delated to offend her, or her lawes, yeet ſhee cauſſed him to be taken, and putt into the handes of the iuſtice, that he might be proceeded againſt by ordour of lawe; and for this purpoſe, ſhee did make choice of thoſe who did not fawour him, and thoſe wer Morton and Murraie, who boith after perſecuted her ſacred Maieſtie for this woefull act with all ſpitefull hatred. All that wer prouided to go vpon this triale, wer of Murraies factioune and faworites: they onlie ar charged to take inſtruction and iudgment of the proceſſe;— if they did cleare and abſolwe him, it is ther faulte, if they knewe him culpablie guiltie, they did againſt her commiſſion giwen them; and not takinge notice of the thinge accordinglie, be them ſelwes guiltie, and maie be ſuppoſed to be of councell and knawledge of the facte. Shee can not iuſtlie be blamed (ſhee being in ſuch anguiſh of minde as ſhee was in for the death of her huſband), for the miſcareinge of the triale of that, which, by the lawes of the landes, ſhee truſted them with. Shee did not thinke, that they, whome ſhee put in truſte to trie the mater, had ſubſcribed with ther handes the write and inſtrument of agrement to do this wicked parricide, and ſealed the ſame approwinge it, which was ewident by Mortouns confeſſion, who ſuffered for the crime, and that beinge Protectoure and Regent Gowernour for the young Kinge in his

minoritie a long time, becauſe he did not puniſhe and purſue with iuſte wengeance accordinge to the lawes, which he ought to hawe putt in execution, all that wer guiltie of ſuch heinous treaſounes. But becauſe they them ſelwes who wer of that factioun wer guiltie, none of ther aſſociates and complices wer puniſhed, and ſo Boithwell ther copartner, againſt ther conſciences, was abſolwed, not for anie goode which they did beare him, they being ewer his mortall ennemie, but to make ther miſtres her ſelff to be ſuſpected theroff.

But the potte of Roſts being diſcowered by Boithwellis death, if they had condemned him, ther guiltines, and ther miſtres innocencie, ſhould ewidentlie appeare in the eyes of the world: For this cauſe they diſſemble werie cuninglie the malice they had in ther mindes againſt Boithwell, and make greate ſhowe of reſpect they hawe to his amitie, till ſuch time as they had meanes to entangle and compaſſe the Queene, and make her miſerable, to ſeaſe vpon the gowernement of the croune, which was the onlie marke they ſhotte at. And for to make better the miſhaps, and to giwe her certane argument of ther zeale and goode affection, wheroff they built ther a paradice, and that ſhee ſhould no thinge doubte of that which they bruted of her, Murraie tolde her that he muſt needes take a woiage into Fraunce, and commended vnto her his afaires, leawinge them to her protection and ſaiwegarde all the meanes which he had in Scotland. But before ther partinge they muſt finiſhe the worke with the actioun like vnto the beginning, and adde a cataſtrophe to the tragedie conformable to the other which they had lauboured, ellis ther endeworinge laubouris ſhould ſerwe to no end, if the Queene ſhould not runne the ſame fortune with her huſband.

They propoſe vnto her werie cunninglie, the greate diſordour that was in the realme by the diviſion of the nobilitie, and the inconwenience that ariſeth by the gowernement of wedowes, in regarde of the ſmalle meanes they hawe to put a remedie therto, onles it be by the mariage

of ſuch a man as ſhould be agreable to them all who ar of the nobilitie. This owerture thus made, and ſeeing that after manie aſſayes they had almoſt gained this point of her, that ſhee wold marie againe, and that they wolde force her to do it, they propoſed vnto her, in the firſt place, the difficultie to rule and gowerne the people of Scotland, lowers of libertie, inſolent of ther ſelff, and altogither onwilling to beare the yoke of a ſtrange Prince, putting befor her eyes manie examples; and amongeſt others, Queene Marie her mother, a Prince ſo ſage, vertuous, debonare, and eaſie to be led, as ewer was anie in the world; Fraunces 2, Kinge of Fraunce; John Baliol, of the cuntrie of Normandie, one of the firſt yeet of the peeres of the Scotiſhe bloode, whoſe gowernement was vnto them vnſupportable, not for anie other reaſon but for that they wer borne in a ſtrange cuntrie. They added to theſe the Romans and Engliſhe, who, for this cauſe, wer newer ſuffered to effect ther entended conqueſtes do what they could, thé wer ſo curageouſlie reſiſted, and beaten home with ſhame at the length; and therfore it was neceſſarie for her to chooſe ſome Lord from amongeſt her ſubiectis, accordinge to her heart, to whom ſhee ſhould by ſolemne oth, and they all binde themſelwes to reſpect, honoure, and feare, and yeeld vnto her the obeiſance due to her roial Maieſtie. On the contrarie, if ſhe thought to go her owen waies, and refuſe him whom all the nobilitie and people wold ſubmit themſelwes of ther owen motion, ſhee ſhould owerthrowe her ſelff and her eſtate, and put all the realme into a fire of diſſention.

Theſe entries thus made, in the end of the place thé put the Earle of Boithwell, hereditarie Admirall of the realme, whome they extoll, aſweele for his nobilitie as for his beautie, valour and dexteritie in warre, to her choice, like wnto whom they could not finde the like. They alledged alſo the goode ſerwices he had done for her Maieſtie, being almoſt the onlie one of all her realme that had newer waried nor

failed of his duetie, and that had neither ſpared liff nor goodes for advancement of her authoritie. To conclude, they ade the different quarrellis and mortall enmities which wer amongeſt the greateſt parte of the nobilitie, wheroff they wold referre them ſelwes to her and to no other, which ſhould be the greateſt goode that ewer ſhould befall her Maieſtie. In the end, ſeeing the difficultie ſhee made to yeelde to ther councell, as to abaſe her ſelff ſo much as to ioine her ſelff by ſo ſtraite a lawe to one of her ſubiectes, they cauſſed a certane draught of mariage to be made, which they all of them ſigned with ther handes, and deliwered it to Boithwell, to ſerwe him for his warrant in time and place. This notwithſtanding, ſeeinge the principall exception her Maieſtie tooke to withſtand ther perſuaſiouns, was the murder of the Kinge, and the mariage contracted betuine Boithwell and the ſiſter of the Earle of Huntelie, and that it was contrarie to all right and reaſon, that ſhee ſhould marie him who was thought guiltie of her former huſbandis murder, as alſo werie onſeemlie for anie man to hawe two wiwes together being aliue. To the firſt they anſwered, he was cleared of all ſuſpition by the lawe; and as for the ſeconde, ther wer manie goode and ſufficient reaſons for the diworce which they could procure eaſelie.

Seeing thus the Queene not to ſtand content with the diworce, they made her beliwe that the Earle of Boithwellis ladie was alredie deade, and ſaide nowe the mater was without all difficultie; and the occaſion was nowe offered, that Boithwell wold ſerwe him ſelff with this contract of mariage betuine him and her Maieſtie, ſubſigned with the handes of the greater parte of the nobilitie of the realme, for ſo they had adwiſed him to do, as he was an apt ſcholar, being ambitious no doubte enough of nature. They councelled the Queene to go to the caſtle of Sterling, to viſite her younge ſonne the prince, and made Boithwell acquanted at what time ſhee ſhould returne; and in the

meane time, they wiſhed him to lie in wmſcadoe, weele accompanied, and ſo he might catche her, and carie her where he wold, and force her to marie him; and as he was taught he did, aſpiringe to be greate. For while as the Queene returned from Sterling, he ſtaied by the waie, weele accompanied with a greate number of men all in armes, and led her to the caſtele of Dunnbarre, where when he had brought her, much againſt her ſtomake, he ſhewed her the contract, ſaying to her, ſhee muſt needes conſent, ſince the nobilitie and all the people hold it expedient, aſweel for the publict ſaiwegarde of all, as for aſſurance of her roiale eſtate, promeſing, in other thinges, to be her moſt humble and affectionat ſeruitour, as he had ewer beene, and ewer to acknoweledge, (for the honour that he receiwed of her Maieſtie,) her his dreade Soweraigne; he promeſed all humble obeiſance for the greatnes of his vnderſerwed fortunes which he ſhould hawe by her, and vnexpected, wherwith the greateſt monarch of the earth might reſt ſatiſfeed.

Thus the confortles Princes ſeeing her ſelff captiuated, and none of her nobilitie to come for her deliwerie and reſtitution agane to her former libertie, and on all ſides aſſailed and importuned by the praiers and ſolicitations of ſome of the greateſt and moſt mightie of the realme, and otherwiſe affrighted with the remembrance of her huſbandis murder, and her ſecretarie, and howe then ſhee was threatned with the danger of her liffe, then being bigge with childe, as it wer ſhaking and trembling at the memoriall therof, not being able to reſiſt, nor knowing whom to truſt, nor whether to turne her ſelff, ſeeing her ſelff deſtitute of her nobilitie, and that they had by ther wretinges and ſignes conſpired to bring this mariage to an end, gaiwe place, though much againſt her ſtomake, to the preſent danger and neceſſitie, aſſuring her ſelff no thing could be imputed vnto her for faulte, if anie thinge did fall out otherwiſe then weele, vpon ther heades who wer the onlie and authouris and con-

ſtrainers of her to yeelde to the mariage, which ſhee newer dreamed nor thought of.

The mariage thus finiſhed, beholde the cheiffe authouris and councellouris theroff gett them ſelwes together vp in armes, to dazell the eyes of the people, as they had newer beene acquainted with the purpoſe. In ther firſt inſurrection and tumultuous rewolt, they make no ſhewe or ſigne they caried ane diſcontented minde againſt the Queene ther Miſtres; but made it be imprinted and publiſhed throwe the cuntrie ther proteſtation, by the which they did ſweare, calling God to witnes, that they wer forced to take weapons in hand for no other occaſion but to deliwer her Maieſtie out of the captiuitie of Boithwell, the murderer of the Kinge; and therfore they did praie all the faithfull ſerwantes and the goode ſubiectes of the Croune to aide, aſſiſt and ſett to ther hand to ſo commendable a worke, and woorthie of men of goode fame and honeſtie; which was the cauſe that manie men of marke, and that did not uſuallie rebell, had ioined them ſelwes to ther ſides.

The conſpiracie was reſolwed vpon at Dunkell, in the werie finiſhing of the mariage, and ſo came fordwarde in armes towarde Borthike caſtle, where the Queene was for the time; when ſhee hardlie eſcaped by flight vnto the caſtell of Dumbarre, whither ſhee commanded ſo manie as wold yeelde her obedience to come in armes, to reſiſt her betraiers and traitourous ennemies, who ſubtillie had brought her in this greate danger, and the cuntrie to be thus trubled. Wnto her came ſpedelie a goode companie of men, as might vpon ſuch a ſudden aſſemble them ſelwes together for the defence of ther Prince. Shee came fordwarde with her forces to Carbarrie hill, thinkinge no ſubiect durſt be bolde to ſtande in the ſight of ther Prince in armes; but it fell out contrarie to her expectation, for the rebellis that ſought her ſo farre, came fordwarde in armes with deſplaied banere.

Thus the two armies, being ranged in battell and readie to come

and encounter the rebelles, ſent vnto her Maieſtie William Kirkcaldie of Grange to declare vnto her, in all humilitie, that they could not ſee her ſo capitiwed and held in ſubiection, as it were a ſlaiwe to Boithwell the murderar of the Kinge: and if it wold pleaſe her Maieſtie to forſake him, and to come to them, they proteſted, with infinite othes, they wold continowe and reſt her Maieſties moſt affectionat and faithfull ſerwantes more then ewer before, and more then Boithwell or anie other. The Queene, wondering of that which was ſpoken of Boithwell, whom at ther inſtant praiers and threates ſhee had wedd and eſpouſed, and whom now they blamed of that cruell murder, became amazed, hawinge neither care nor regarde what ſhould become of her ſelff: ſhee commanded Boithwell to retire him ſelff from her preſence, ſaying, his cauſe was neither goode nor honeſt, for as begunne in miſchieffe, ſo he had gone fordwarde; and ſo ſhee came to the rebellis, thinkinge they wold be as goode as ther woorde, and keepe touches with her Maieſtie; and this was done 15 June 1567.

This yeelding her ſelff in the handes of her diſloiale ſubiectis, whoſe treacherie ſo often ſhee had tried, hath beene her beginninge to her latter ruine, and brought her Maieſties moſt faithfull ſubiectes to greate truble ſince, for ſhee had meanes enough to puniſhe ther pride, if ſhee had keepte her ſelff out of ther handes. But ſhee ſaid, ſhee wold not hawe the bloode of her ſubiectis ſhed, and ſhee truſted to ther ſolemne ſworne promeſe made by Grange in ther name, who thought not that they wold hawe broken with her, nor wiſhed him to carie a meſſage that they newer meant to keepe, making him an inſtrument to betraie his Princes in ther handes. But he perceiwinge treacherie, and that his honour was ſtained, he tuke notice theroff, albeit too late, and turned himſelff to her Maieſties ſide, and ſince did her Maieſtie goode ſerwice in keeping the ſtrong holde, the caſtle of Edinburgh, to her Maieſties behowe, thinkinge one daie to ſee her Maieſtie adwanſed to her former

roiale eſtate. He wold newer yeelde this fortreſſe to her Maieſties rebellis, for that they had ſo treacherouſlie deceiwed him in the foirſaides promeſes towardes his ſoweraigne, when he was enwironed in the caſtle foirſaide by the Queenes rebellis, and Elizabeth ther defendreſſe in treacherie had ſent them aide, and boith did aſſaulte him, and batter the fortreſſe for the ſpace of two yeares, ſhooting in that ſpace 12000 ſhoote of greate canon and ordinance, beſides manie mo ſmaller ſhotte, he hardlie was driwen by compoſition to yeelde him ſelff and the houſe, not to Morton, nor his miſtres rebellis for the cauſe foirſaide, but to Elizabeth, who promeſed him his ſaiftie of his liff and his brothers, together with ther landes, and whatſoewer ellis did belong vnto them, and to departe, as the prowerbe is, with bagge and baggage: But howe weele ſhee keepte promeſe you maie ſee by this, that when they had yeelded them ſelwes to her, ſhee put them in the handes of the falſe traitour Morton, her right eie and ther deadlie enemie, contrarie not onlie to all faith and conſcience, but alſo to all ciwile and militarie diſcipline, hanged them boith vpon a gibbet.

The abominable traitouris, hawinge the Queene as a preie in ther handes, without much ado led her to Edinburgh, careinge before her a banner, wherin was painted her deade huſband, and the young Prince at her feete cryinge for wengeance; and this they did the more to ſpitte her, and make her die for exceedinge greiffe, ſorrowe and outrage. They had prepared this baner, hawing it in readines to ſhewe her the wofull ſpectacle, aſſuring them ſelwes ſhee wolde yeelde and come to them ſo ſoone as ſhee ſhould beholde the ſpectacle, in an image of the parricide of her former huſband by Boithwell; wherein you maie [ſee] their treaſon premeditated. Nowe, being come to Edinburgh, they encamp themſelwes within the roiale palice, ſtronglie fenced with men of armes. They put the Queene ther miſtres to ludge with the proweſt of the toune, and apointed a companie of

commone ſouldiouris to watche her boith day and night. Ower foir-gainſt her ludgine they ſpred abroade the foirſaide banner, and left ther miſtres without ladie, or maide of honour, or chammerlane, or anie grome to attende her in her neede. All the night longe they robbed her mowables, and all that was in her Maieſties roiale palice: all the roiale furnitour and ornamentes of the croune wer maid hawoke of, wheroff ſome of greate price and walewe Murraie deliwered to Elizabeth in England, and ſome to her councell, and other ſome was ſent in Fraunce and Flaunder, and ther made monie of to help them fordwarde in ther treacherous rebellioun. In the morning betimes ſhee was attired with . . . . . of a . . . . . which came hardlie doune to her Maieſties knees, and ſett vpon a haikneie without anie roiale furnitour, and be chance was founde feeding in a medowe, and ſhee is caried to the caſtle of Lochlewin, beinge ſituat with [in] a freſhe water deepe laike in circuit ſixe miles, hawing no entrie but by boate, ſo that now they ar ſure of her perſon to diſpoſe of it at ther pleaſour. The owner of this houſe was Murraies wombe brother, who with Marre his uncle, Lindeſaie, Mortoun, and the reſt of that treacherous crewe, who intended nowe to adwance this cruell baſtarde to the roiale croune and ſcepter, thought it beſt ſhee ſhould be ſtrangled betuine the quiltes of her bed, and after to make it be blaſed abroade ſhee had hanged her ſelff with her owen handes, fearing ſhee ſhould hawe come to triale of iuſtice and ſo be diſpatched: others, more politicke, thinkinge this crueltie wold make them be ſuſpected of the people, and that ther was an other more pleaſaunt waie to come to the accompliſhment theroff. But all ther deſignes be odious, not to proceede anie farder till Murraies comming, that he might be ther partner in ſo dangerous an action; for albeit no thinge paſſed till that time but vnder his name and authoritie, as beinge cheiffe and authour of the league, yeet ſo it is, that as traitours miſtruſte one another, they feare his coming, and that more eaſelie to obteine his pur-

poſe, he wold make as if he wer offended for the badde entreatie of his ſiſter, and in the meane while he wolde demaund iuſtice and wengeance, althought nothinge [haid?] more contented him then to hawe her quitlie diſpatched out of hand. Murraie was then in Fraunce negotiatinge with Admirall Collignie howe he ſhould hawe the cardes ſhuffled, that is, howe he ſhould behawe and carie him ſelff to attaine to the croune of Scotland. The Chriſtian kinge Charles 9, the Lordes of Guiſe, and all the greateſt of the peeres of Fraunce, ſhewed him werie goode countenance, and finding ther fawour, he promeſed to ſett his ſiſter frie at her owen libertie to enioye her roiale authoritie, and to appeaſe thoſe that wer rewolted from her obedience, and make them acknowledge her Maieſties ſcepter.

In this meane while Murraie receiweth letters from his aſſociates the rebellis, by the meanes of Elizabeth and her ambaſſadouris, commanding him with all diligence to returne home into England, firſt to hawe notice what his goode freinde Elizabeth, what he muſt do towardes his ſiſter, and then into Scotland to ſett forward thinges as they had begunne, for his better adwancement. But he at the firſt doeth neither obeie his complices commandement, nor followeth ther councell, and therefore, he thought beſt to cleare him ſelff of anie malice towardes his ſiſter: he returnes them with all ſpeede, by the ſame meanes he receiwed ther letters together with Elizabethes, an anſwer willinge them, by all meanes poſſible, out of hande to ridde his ſiſter out of the waie before his cominge, for ſo long as ſhee liwed he ſhould never return, nor yeet they ſee him. But yeet his goode freindis and aſſociates thought if they followed his directions in this point, the treaſon wold be too manifeſt to all the world, and the excuſes they could make to him at his return, (for they doubted not but Elizabeth could make him come home,) ſhould content and ſatiſfie him; for if without the aſſemblie of the eſtates, hawing her perſon in their owen cuſtodie in Murraies

wombe brothers keeping in a ſtronge holde, they ſhould attempte ſo greate a enterpriſe, they could not aunſwere it, but all the people wold crie out on them. And that they might the better content him, as he deſired them by the meanes of Elizabeth, an act is concluded, and done by conſtraint and faire promeſes, by which it is notifeed to the ſubiectes, that the captiwe Queene diſmiſſed her ſelff of all gowernement of the realme, leawinge the croune and all the roiale authoritie to the younge Prince her ſonne, aſſigninge vnto him for his regent and tutour the falſe double hearted traitour Murraie, whome they willed and commanded to be named and called Regent to the King, and all his ſubiectes and whole realme.

This act, thus framed and procured by Elizabeth and her councell, ſhee thinkinge the captiwe Queene her cuſinge wold not ſo eaſelie yeelde vnto, as they deſired, ſent vnto her Maieſtie Nicholas Throgmorton, ane weele acquanted with ſuch deepe diſſembling, deliweringe by him vnto her cuſinge letters full of counterfute ſorrowe and greiffe, which ſhee ſaid ſhee tooke for her miſfortune, promeſing her all fawour, ſuccour, and aide, and that ſhee wold come to her in her owen perſon, leading with her a ſtronge and mightie armie, to ſett her at libertie, reſtoringe her to her former authoritie, if her ſubiectes wold not do her reaſon. But in the meane while, being certifeed and informed that they wold compell her to yeelde vp her croune to her ſonne, and that they wold kille her if ſhee refuſed, for the amitie which ſhee had ſworne and woued vnto her, and for the deſire ſhee had to ſaiwe her from ſuch inconvenience, and in ſpecialle her liff, ſhee ſend her ambaſſadour to certifie her of the danger ſhee ſtoode in, and to declare vnto her, that this act could not in anie wais turne to her preiudice, it beinge by force and violence, as it wer, extorted, ſhee then being in preſon, and in the handes of her ennemies, and therfore ſhee did inſtantlie praie her to yeelde to the neceſſitie of the time, and to ſaiwe her ſelff by granting them ther demaundes.

This ſudden meſſage and aduertiſment weele ſheweth, that nothing was done by Murraie and his complices, without the direction of Elizabeth and her dewiliſhe councell, who by all meanes ewer did ſeeke and procure the ruine of this poore ladie. And the rebelles likewiſe, not vnmindfull of the buſines they had in hand, do ſend vnto her Maieſtie, nowe captiwe in Lochlewin, Lindeſaie, a raging, furious, rude, ignorant man in the afaires of the Eſtate, and one who, except the outward ſhape, hath no thing belonginge to a man, for, touching the reſt, he was blokiſhe and brutiſh, no thing differing from the beaſte. Marcus Varro ſpeaketh of thus, that the liffe was giwen it for falte to hinder the fleſh from corruption; for when he commeth to the preſence of his Soweraigne Ladie and Miſtres, he entereth on his faſhion rudlie, without making anie obeiſance, without doinge anie rewerence in geſtour of bodie, without all preface of honour, and without anie ſhowe that he ewer had beene her ſerwant or ſubiect, and ſaide he was ſend vnto her by the nobilitie, who wold hawe her to ſigne that act, which he had in his hand, and that ſhee ſhould yeelde vp the croune to the King her ſonne, and if ſhee wold, he tolde her, it wer but to a freinde ſhee did it, but if ſhee wold not reſigne and ſigne the act, he wold by conſtrant and waie of facte do boith, nill ſhee will ſhee, if ſhee made newer ſo litle ſcruple.

To whoſe blokiſhe ſpeeche ſhee made this anſwere, that ſhee held no thinge neither of her ſonne nor of the nobilitie, and that the Croune came to her by right of inheritance and ſucceſſion, and not by guifte from her ſubiectes; and that on the contrarie, the nobilitie had no thinge in Scotland, but her and her progenitouris, and therfore ſhee did not a litle merwell of ther impudence and greate ingratitud towardes her, who hath ſo often pardonned them and forgiwen them ther treacheries, when ſhee had iuſte occaſion and power to hawe rooted out them and ther poſteritie, either by armes or by waie of iuſtice; but in place therof, of her owen accorde and gentle nature, to do them goode, and

make them aknowledge ther duetie to her, he had ſpoiled the better parte of the patrimonie of the Croune, and the reveneus theroff; ſhee had adwanced them to honour, and enriched them and her ſelff by this meanes made vnable to liwe as becometh a Prince of her eſtate and callinge; and ſpeciallie Murraie, Morton and Marre, the cheiffe plotters and dewiſers of all the treacheries and treaſons committed againſt her and her huſband; all the goode I did vnto them could not content them, but in ſteade of aknowledginge my bountie and manie benefites done to them, they wold nowe leawe her nothinge, but by wiolence bereiwe of the ſmall remainder, ſeeking to robbe her of her liff, honour, wealth, and all in a moment. Shee ſaide ſhee knewe weele the butte they ſhotte at was neither the adwancement nor profite of her ſonne, nor yeet the publict goode and quiete peace of the realme, but the inſatiable deſire that her baſtarde brother had to be King; who, albeit he ſo wer adwanced beſides his deſertes, yeet he could not be ſo goode, and ſo naturallie kinde to her ſonne as ſhee. It ſhould be a hard caſe to take the gowernement from the mother, that knewe howe to commande, and howe to uiſe it, and by longe experience had learned howe to manage the affaires of the ſtate, and who, for the time paſt, had moderated the yoke, that no perſon had iuſte occaſion to complaine they had beene preſſed owermuch, or troden vnder foote, to yeelde it to her ſonne, not yeet a yeare olde, who, for a longe time to come, could not be able to diſcerne goode from euill; to ſatiſfie ther deſires, it was not fitte that a cruell baſtarde, mortall ennemie to the mother, ſhould hawe the ſuperintendencie and noble guarde of the ſonne, and not ſhee that was the lawfull heire of the realme, and mother of the infant, whoſe guarde, God, the lawes, cuſtome, and nature itſelff, gaiwe vnto her; and therfore ſhee ought not, nor wold not, ſubſcribe nor conſent wnto ſuch an onlawfull demand, as to reſigne and quite the right and title which God and nature had giwen her.

Lindeſaie, beinge like vnto him ſelff, had no pacience to attend the end of the Queenes ſpeach, but alewtrie chaungine his ſpeech did interrupt her, chaunging alſo his countenance, bending his browes, and frowninge with his face, ſhaking his heade with an angrie laughter, gawe ewident ſignes of an vnſtable and furious minde; and after manie iniurious and blaſphemous wordes againſt her Maieſtie, ſwearing execrablie and denyinge his God, if ſhee did not foorthwith ſigne with her hand this act, that he wold ſigne it with her bloode, and ſeale it vpon her heart, and after throwe her into the lake at the foote of the caſtle, to feede fiſhes, in ſteade of a grawe to burie her in.

Notwithſtanding all the conſtancie this Princes hath ewer held before, and all her anguiſhes and adwerſities, hath had an invincible minde in all her actiouns, yeet ſo it fell out, that being nowe ſtriken with the apprehenſion of deathe, and ſeeing no meanes to helpe her ſelff in ſuch a wiolence, and weele knowinge the humour of the barbarous inhumane man, diſloiale, bloodie, and without all feare of God or lawe, diſſemblinge her choler and paſſiouns of her minde, ſhee gawe place to preſent neceſſitie, and ſubſigned this miſcheiwous act, not enquiringe or readinge the contentes of it, nor the meanes that ſhould be lefte vnto her for her eſtate: ſhee praied him onlie this much, werie earneſtlie, to do her one fawoure, as ſhee had done M^r^ Robert Melvin, that was ſent vnto her, (as I will tell yee heirafter,) to tell in her behalfe thoſe of the nobilitie, that ſhee entreated them that it might be ther goode pleaſur at the leaſt, to heare her iuſtifications in ther councell, or in the aſſemblie of the Eſtates, to whoſe iudgement ſhee wold ſubmitt her ſelff in all wheroff thé could accuſe her, ſo much did [ſhe] relie and aſſure herſelff vpon the puritie of her conſcience and innocencie; promeſing them, in the faith of a Prince, in cace ſhee wer found culpable in anie ſorte of the murder of her deceaſed huſband, either by knowledge or conſent, ſhee, not claiming the priwiledge or authoritie of a Queene, wold not

refuſe ſuch puniſhment as they ſhould impoſe and appoint. This requeſt was often refuſed her, for they had the preie in ther handes, and ſo gaiwe a deafe eare to her requeſtes, and flooted and mocked, yea often threatned them with death that did ſpeak ſo much as one woorde in her Maieſties fawour. Ther be ſome letters to be ſeene, ſubſcribed with Murraies owen hand, in the which he aunſwered her, that ſhee could not be harde ewerie time. That her Maieſtie ſawe her ſelff ſo refuſed, ſhee ſaide ſhee was in the number of theſe who hungred and thirſted after iuſtice, which was by her owen ſubiectes denied her, but her goode and mercifull God one daie wold do her iuſtice, and heare her iuſt praiers.

Lindeſaie, returning with affaires diſpatched, not ſo much as thanking her Maieſtie, nor taking his leawe as it became him, like a ſenſles ſott, comminge to the reſt of the treacherous ſocietie of traitoures, reioiceth with them, for that they had no neede, before Murraies returne, to paſſe anie furder, and practiſe ther crueltie vpon the perſon of her Maieſtie, as they had fullie concluded, if ſhee had refuſed to ſubſcribe dimiſſion and reſignation of the Croune, to be ruled and gowerned by the ſaide Murraie, as they had determined.

Then Athole and Lethington, principall ſecretarie of Eſtate, albeit they wer partners in the conſpiracie for her empreſonment, yeet ſeeinge ther complices ſought no thing but ther owen particulars, they repented them ſelwes, and returned to the partie of the Queene, and did aduertiſe her by Maiſter Robert Melvin, praying her moſt inſtantlie to yeelde to the onciwile and iniuſte demaundes of a parte of the nobilitie, to prewent greater inconveniences, and to pardon them ſelwes in the fault they had committed, in ſufferinge them ſelwes to be ſo farre abuſed as to follow the traitoures, who had ewer ſworne and proteſted vnto them, that they attempted no thing againſt her Maieſties perſon, and they wold onlie do all againſt Boithwell, and thoſe who proditoriouſ-

lie, by night and priwie watch, murdered the King ther maiſter: they ſaide forder, that her ſubſcribing ſuch an act, ſhee being in preſon, and reſtrained of her libertie, could not in anie waies be preiudiciall to her, for the goode reaſons they gaiwe her by wreete to underſtand, and therfore it wer beſt to ſaiwe her ſelff till a forder occaſion, for thinges might chainge; and in token of ther faithfull and true minde towardes her Maieſtie, they ſent her a faire golden ringe, ſett with a torquaſe.

This adwiſe, giwen her Maieſtie by the Earle of Athol and Secretarie Lethington, did much amaze and aſtoniſhe the Queene, and cauſſed her the more eaſelie yeelde to the petition of her rebelles; and otherwiſe I knowe not, (albeit ſhee knewe Lindeſaie to be a dewiliſh ſwollen lumpe, altogether diſpoſeſſed of reaſon and vnderſtandinge,) whether ſhee ſo ſoone wold hawe yeelded vnto his blaſphemous ſuites and petitiounes.

The rebelles, haiwing ther determinatioun ſigned by the Queene, aſſembled them ſelwes together at Sterline, where thé ſett the roiale croune vpon the Princes heade, that could not yeet ſpeake, and knewe not what they did was to his greate preiudice, with intention ſhortlie after to defraud him theroff, and to take awaie after his liffe and croune, as they had alredie the croune from his mother. In this commotion, it is not needfull to enquire whether the ceremonies, in ſuch caces required and uſed, wer regarded, as the auncient lawes and obſerwances of the realme deſired, that commande ſuch a thinge to be done in a generall aſſemblie of all the eſtates; but ther was onlie at this action ſewen perſons that had woice in Parliament, and theſe no men of marke, but of the leaſt renoune and loweſt degrie amongſt the nobilitie.

The newes of all theſe treacheries comming to the hearinge of James Betoun, Archbiſhop of Glaſcoue, ordinarie ambaſſadour for her Maieſtie in Fraunce, who was a man woorthie not onlie of ſuch a charge, but alſo to gowerne a councell, and rule in Eſtate, and conduct in the

weightieſt afaires of the greateſt monarch in the world, he ſhewed vnto the Chriſtian Kinge and his councell, in greate frequencie, werie grawelie, the whole mater as it was done, and that Murraie was the cheiff dewiſer, conductour and executour of all the treacherous conſpiracies and treaſons practiſed againſt the maieſtie, honour and liffe of his Miſtres; praying in the meane while his Maieſtie to ſtaie him, and not to beliwe his faire promeſes, which he made onlie to deceiwe, but wold newer keepe on worde forder nor ſhould ſtand for his owen goode, he hawing made the contrarie to Admirall Colignie, which he wold not faill inwiolablie to keepe, for the forder adwancement of the cauſe of the rebelles of Fraunce and Scotland. Murraie, hearing by ſome of his fawourites, howe he was like to ſpeed if he ſtaied to anſwere, knowinge him ſelf guiltie of theſe imputatiouns, in all haiſte getteth him to his ſpeede, and leaweth Fraunce, and poſteth into England, to conferre with Queene Elizabeth and her councell in the adwiſe the ſaid Admirall had giwen him, and heirupon to take certane reſolution.

Elizabeth and her councell, knowing howe all thinges went in Scotland, and howe her cuſinge was nowe keepte ſure, and lookinge forder to her goode likinge by the ſerwice to be done her by this Judas, who was the onlie cauſe of the betrayinge of his Miſtres, hath nowe a newe promeſe made vnto him, for the continuation of the paiement of 4000 lib̄s. Starlinge, to be weele paid him, as it was uſed to be, with aſſurrance of her aide, fawour and ſuccour, in all his interpriſes, willing him to poſt into Scotland in all haiſte, which he did accordinglie. And ther arriwinge, tooke notice of the courſe of his affaires in his abſence, and ſeeinge his deſignes furthered beſides his expectation, he beganne foorthwith to put of his maſke of hypocriſie, ſhowinge to the world his diſloialtie, and the litle faith which men of his treade and craſte take of ther othes as he did of his made to the Kinge of France and the Lordes of Lorrane, he obliging him ſelff to God and man, and accep-

inge manie faire jewelles, they all gawe him beſides greate ſowmes of golde. At his firſt arriwall he calleth a Parliament, albeit he hadno power ſo to do, to ratifie and approwe the negotiatiounes of his complices, which they had done for him in his abſence, to the preiudice of the Queene, the Prince her ſonne, and the ſtate of the whole realme.

This convocatioun and aſſemblie of the Eſtates, was more ſolemne then others that they made ſince or before this time; for, to the end no thinge might be wanting to this buildinge, and that ther maner of proceedinge might not be declared neue and unlaufull, for wante of ceremonies which hawe ewer vnder the Kinges or ther liwetennantes beene accuſtomed in ſuch caſe to be religiouſlie obſerwed, they cauſſed thither to come, to repreſent the eccleſiaſticall eſtate and ſpiritualitie, the venerable often periured and foirſworne father, Mr Adam Boithwell, whom for this purpoſe they beforehand helped him to be made biſhope of the Orcades, a camelion, a ſorcerar and execrable magitian, a perfect atheiſt, and for manie cauſſes much exclamed vpon by the comoune people, who, him ſelff being vpon the conſpiracie of the rebellious traitours, was choſen by them to ſolemnize the mariage of ther brother Boithwell with the Queene, and after cauſſed him to blame it and ſpeake againſt it at Yorke, in the aſſemblie before the commiſſioners, whom Elizabeth had apointed to take knowledge of the cauſe then in queſtion. This worthie prelate, accompanied with two or thrie abbotes and priours, of the ſame ſtampe [with] him ſelff, was all Murraies neare kinred or allies, repreſented the ſpirituall Eſtate: God knoweth howe weele the church was repreſented by ſuch treacherous people, foirſworne atheiſtis and whoremaiſters, and worſe if worſe could be.

The greateſt of the realme, and who had greateſt intereſt in the afaires to be propounded by Murraie, wer not preſent, perſuadinge themſelwes that the rebelles wold be the ſtronger partie, and that they ſhould gaine no thinge, but be contradict, becauſe iuſtice ſhould take no

place. Yeet the Earles of Huntlie and Argile, with the Lord Harriſe and ſome other Lordes, came thither, and vndertooke an act of oppoſition, aſweele to the dimiſſion made by the Queene, as for the erection of the ſaide Murraie to be Regent and gowernour of the realme; ſaying and alledging that the ſubſcription of her Maieſtie, by him ſhowen and produced, could not be a ſufficient warrant for the Eſtates in a mater of ſo greate weight and importance, for it was gotten of her againſt her minde, ſhee being threatned therunto throwe feare of imminent death, and, therfore, they ſaide they could not, nor wold not, approwe as goode in lawe in ther conſciences, a mater of ſo great conſequence done in her captiuitie, if they did not ſee her at owen libertie of her owen accorde villinglie, and that by the adwiſe of the Eſtates, do all theſe thinges. But for all this, ther oppoſitiouns and ther remonſtrances tooke no place, and wer no thinge woorth; force had the vpper hand ower righte, and the traitouris exceeded in number the true ſubiectes and ſerwantes of the croune. It is not therfore to be merwaled if the concluſion of the mater turned to Murraie and his complices goode likinge, for the lawfull inheretrix of the croune is depriwed of her eſtate roiale, and in ſhewe for a infant is adiudged to the baſtarde Murraie, a double and falſe hearted traitour to God and man.

But before we paſſe anie furder, let us conſider the diſſembling and cunning of the rebellious traitouris. At the firſt interpriſe, they falſlie ſaide and waunted they wer the Queenes moſt affectionat ſerwantes, and that they had taken weapons in hand onlie to deliwer her from the captiwitie of Boithwell, to whome onlie they wiſhed wengeance and puniſhment, aſweele for the rawiſhment of her Maieſtie, as for the murder and aſſaſination of the Kinge ther maiſter; proteſting with moſt fearefull and horrible othes, when the ſaide Boithwell was retired, to laie ther weapons aſide, and to giwe her the ſerwice, honour and

reſpect due to ther ſoweraigne Ladie and Miſtres. But after that ther princes had, in ower greate ſimplicitie, credited and beleiwed them, diſmiſſing her armie, lewing Boithwell to do for him ſelff as he could, and come in perſon to them, then hawinge her in ther handes, they make no more account of Boithwell; they put her in a cage; they leawe Boithwell to his eaſe and reſt; they ſuffered him manie monethes together to liwe peaceablie after in the cuntrie, and that in place ſo neare and adioining vnto them, that if they had ſo much deſire, as they made ſhowe of, to puniſhe him, they might hawe done it.

But if they had beene too buſie, they feared all the myſterie of iniquitie ſhould hawe beene laide open, and ther knawerie diſcowered; then the Queenes innocencie beene made knowen, had cutte the throate of all ther treacherous deſignes, and they had beene diſcredited for ewer. Nowe, like the ſcholars of ther father Machiwell, they thinke it the ſuireſt waie for them to keepe them ſelwes abowe, whether they wer climed they be content to change the ſubiect of ther malice and the perſon, and grounde ther rebellious enterpriſes vpon the Queene, ſayinge they demaunded iuſtice of the death of the King; they ſpeake no more of Boithwell, (for the cauſſes foirſaid,) who was therin but ther executioner; they betake themſelwes to ther Miſtres, as if ſhee had beene the onlie authour of this abominable crime; they charge her with it, and for prowe theroff, and to make Boithwell afraied, that he might be gone and retire him ſelff foorth of the cuntrie, they killed certan gentlemen innocent of the fact; and certane ſerwantis of Boithwellis, guiltie of the heinous crime, wer executed to death, after they had beene extraordinarielie racked, to drawe ſome one woorde, if they could be driwen therto throwe the paine of the torment, althought not true in the ſelff, againſt ther Miſtres, after ewerie blowe and ſtroake of the bitle or hammer, aſkinge whether ewer her Maieſtie had ſpoken to them of the facte, or commaunded the murder of her huſband. O God, beholde

what notable iuſtice! in ſteade of extortinge the thorowe knowen truth, they laubour with tooth and naile to ſeduce a falſe blaſphemous accuſation, and by force of tormentes laubour to make a prowe, ſeekinge to corrupt witneſſes, ſuggeſtinge to them a thinge newer done nor thought vpon by them whom they thinke by this meanes to entrape. Such people hawe newer ſtudied the lawes howe they ought to hawe proceeded in the true waies and beaten pathes of true dewote iuſtice.

But who hath ordeined this inquiſition? who is the iudge? who is cheiff and preſident theroff? who be the aſſiſtantes? who be the accuſers? All the Queenes mortall ennemies, boith iudges and others, ewen the werie dewiſers, furtherars, fordwardſetters, councelloures, practiſers and butchers of her huſband. Who ewer hard of ſuch iuſtice! Though they tormented theſe poore creatouris, they themſelwes who cauſſed them to be tormented, wer as woorthie to hawe vndergone the ſame triale, and to hawe taiſted of the ſame ſauce. But notwithſtandinge anie torment they could uiſe, to bringe foorth ſo much as one woorde againſt her Maieſtie to her preiudice, they wold newer accuſe her, ſaying often, fie vpon ſuch crueltie, they wold not ſpeake againſt her to condemne themſelwes to the deuil, do what they wold againſt ther bodie, ther ſoules was Godis.

They often proteſted and ſwore her innocencie, ſaying that her Maieſtie was altogether ignorant of the enterpriſe, and that Murraie, Morton and ther partners and complices wer the authouris theroff, and ſubſcribed and ſigned it with ther handes the facte and the execution of the cruell deede, and that manie times they had ſeene ther ſignes and the inſtrument of all the whole complete in the handes of the Earle of Boithwell ther maiſter; and that the principall of theſe mennes freindes and adherentes aſſiſted, and freindes helped with ther handes the execution of the cruell murder, the wengeance and puniſhement wheroff nowe they made ſhewe to proſecute vpon ther bodies, wheras

they themſelwes wer more deeplie therin intereſted then they; which thing [they] wowed to declare ſolemnlie at ther executiouns before all the people, telling the truth then as thè looked to be ſaiwed; and ſo they wer as goode as ther woorde at ther laſt breth, curſing and banninge Murraie and all his complices, that had ſo betraied them and ther maiſtres, after they had ſett them a worke.

They greatlie charged Mr Archebald Douglas, neare kinniſman to Morton, to be the principall actour in this damnable murder, whom theſe goode conſcionable iudges did newer urge, nor ones name in the proceſſe of ther verbale queſtion in controuerſie nowe debated, for that it wold hawe blotted ſome of hie place, for whom then he then was in place; but yeet nevertheleſſe the ſaide Mr Archebalde, by manie letters wretin with his owen hand to his miſtres ſince her detention in England, yea, ſince the execution of Morton, hath adwouched and declared that [he] knewe not onlie the intention of Murraie and Morton allone, and others of the nobilitie ther confederates, touchinge the death of her huſband, but alſo hath acknowledged his faulte for beinge ther by ther commandement and ſoliſtatioun at the deed doinge; which he communicated before to Secretarie Lethington for the parte of the ſaide Morton, to the intent to aſſure that he had no hope to do it in deſpite of her, but by an other meanes.

This proceeding againſt Boithuellis ſerwantes terrifeed him ſelff ſo much, that he beganne to looke to him ſelff, and proceeded to take the ſea, ſailinge alonge the coaſte; but the conſpiratouris ſeeinge that he retired not, but that he wandered vp and doune from one place to an other, without anie ſigne and demonſtratioun to abandon the cuntrie, they noiſed it abroade that he was become a pirate and ſcourer of the ſea; and therfore they rigged and furniſhed foorth ſome ſhippes to keepe him in, which thinge they might hawe werie weele done if they wold; but they wer werie weele content to make a ſhowe, not at all aſſaulting him, to make him begone

out of the cuntrie: And ſo by longe wanderinge vpon the ſea, he landeth in Denmarke, where beinge knowen by ſome Scottiſhe merchantes, he was taken and empreſoned, where, after he had liwed in that ſtate ſome ten yeares, he departed this liffe, confeſſinge his griewouſe crime, aſkinge pardon of God in a moſt deepe and bitter remorſe of conſcience, blaminge and rewilinge the firſt authouris of it, whome he named by ther names and ſurnames, and in the preſence of a Biſhope and other Lordes of Denmarke, who wer preſent at his death, and wer witneſſes of his laſt woordes; in the which he did diſcharge the Queene his miſtres of the facte impoſed to her by thoſe who wer the principall authouris and actoures in it: he confeſſed the murder by him committed, and the mariage with his miſtres, and the maner of proceedinge in all this buſines, to hawe been enterpriſed and ended by the adwiſe of Murraie and Morton, and ther adherents, as is alredie abowe ſaide.

Theſe thinges beinge maters of ſuch a hie conſequence, wer faithfullie receiwed from Boithwellis owen mouth by ſpeciall commande from the Kinge of Denmarke, and after they wer related to the Kinge, ſent by him to the moſt of the Princes of the Chriſtianitie, but namelie to Queen Elizabeth, who could in no waies excuſe her cruell tyrannie in mantaininge the falſe traitouris againſt her conſcience, to accuſe ther miſtres, her neareſt kinniſwoman, of ſuch a heinous crime, wheroff ſhee was innocent. But we will reſerwe this mater to the owen place, and returne againe to our firſt digreſſion.

After the Generall Aſſemblie of the ſtates broken vp, Murraie, ſeeinge himſelff in the hieſt degrie of his fortunes, and that nowe he wanted no thinge but the croune of a Kinge, as the affectiouns of men newer end in the begininge of the thing they deſire, but it ordinarilie hapneth that the ſucceſſe of an vnhoped goode ones atchiwed engendereth hope of a greater, for this wicked ſonne of Agar, not contented of his eſtate, and ſeeinge that he had to deale with an infant whom he had in his power,

aſweele as his mother, to diſpoſe of ther perſons, if and when he pleaſed, and that ther no thinge remained nowe but to come and gett the people to hawe an goode opinion of his deſignes, he beganne to call himſelff the laufull begotten ſonne of King James 5 deceaſed, and that his mother was the Kinge his father true and laufull wiff, and that ther was promeſe of mariage betuine them before the mariages after contracted, and that that appeared by laufull actes and autentike inſtrumentes that wer to be founde, yeet within the recorde of the officialitie of St Andrewes, when neede required, and that that promeſe was not waine nor fruſtrate in that the effect theroff followed in that it was fullie accompliſhed by carnall copulation and procreation of children, the true teſtimonies of mariage. Marke the faire ſpeeches he uſed to waunt of amongeſt his freindes that he thought lowed him weele, that they might blaſe the ſame abroade amongeſt the people. He thought by theſe meanes to ſupplant the true bloode roiale, and to turne the peoples affection not onlie from the Queene, but alſo from the Prince her ſonne. But this ſo much failed him for adwancinge of his cauſe, that by this his ſhameles lie, on the contrarie wer therby ſturred vp not a fewe of the greateſt which before had aſſiſted him to forſake him; for if his mother, (thought they with themſelwes), had beene the laufull wiff of Kinge James 5, as he impudentlie pretended, then had Ladie Magdalen Valoys, the eldeſt daughter of Fraunce, and Ladie Marie of Lorran, beene no thinge ellis but ſtrumpettes and harlottes, and not the Kinges laufull wiwes, and Queene Marie and her ſonne had been but baſtardes, and coulde pretend no right to the realme of ther father.

Theſe propoſitiouns beinge urged with his dewiliſh intention to put the younge Prince to death, followinge the councell given him in England, if he could not come otherwiſe to the heade of his deſignes, was the cauſe that manie noblemen and gentlemen ſoundinge ther conſcience lefte him, and amongeſt others this greiwed ſo much the Earle of Athol and the

Lord of Hume, and others of marke, that they altogether forſooke Murraies pairte, repentinge themſelwes too late that they had helped to exalt him, and wer led by ſuch a gule that could not be contented with the honour he had to be reputed the naturall ſonne of King James the fifte, but muſt needes alſo be Kinge in his place as his laufull ſonne, when as he was nothinge leſſe, beinge the ſonne of one Porterfeild chalmer groome to the Lord Erſkine. But for all this, he wanted not agentis in his buſines and promoters of his deſignes, who did giwe out vnto the world, that ſimple and naked mariage is not awailable contract, althought it be confirmed with carnall copulation and procreation of children, if you hawe made anie former promeſe or contract to anie other perſon, the firſt carieth it awaie. By this meanes, to ſtrengthen the pretended mariage alledged by Murraie, and to inweſte him with the croune, to defraude Queene Marie and her ſonne, it was neceſſarie to ſett this doctrine for goode and ſounde abroach. Beſides the falſe bruites and defamatorie libelles made againſt the Queene and her murdered huſband, they ſaide they doubted whether the begettinge of the ſonne ought to be attributed to the Kinge, or to the ſecretarie Dauid Rizzio. See the ſhamleſſe impudencie of the dewiliſh men, who, albeit a litle before they had crouned him and aknoweledged him for ther laufull Kinge, yeet nowe they chaunge ther minde, for indirect reſpectes not beſeiminge true chriſtianes.

Other abſurde pointes, for the better furtherance of Murraie in his
Knox. attemptes, wer conſtantlie helde and diwulged, as that it was not laufull for wemen to gowerne and rule kingdomes and commoune wealthes,
Buchannan. and the croune ought not to go by ſucceſſion, but by election. But to what end wer theſe goodlie axiomes propoſed, but to defraud Queene Marie and her ſonne of the croune, and to ſett it vpon the baſtardes heade, ſubuertinge all auncient politie of kingdomes and commoune wealthes in the cheiffe fundamentall pointes, takinge awaie the force of

the old cuſtomes and lawes ſo religiouſlie obſerwed from all antiquitie in all ages. No merwell that Murraie did challenge the croune, and become as it wer infatuate and inſolent in aſpiringe to attaine it by theſe goodlie iuglinge trickes; for on a time when he went to Lochlewen where the Queene was in the keepinge of her wombeborne brother, his cariage towardes her as of a King towardes his ſubiect, without anie dewe regarde of honour or reſpect vnto her perſon, which, when diwers did ſee his inſolent dewiliſhe pride, mowed them to take pitie and compaſſion of the noble ladies diſtreſſed eſtate, and amongeſt others, the ſaid Murraies youngeſt wombe borne brother was ſo mowed thairat, that therafter he ſought all oportunitie, and left no thinge vndone to ſett her frie of her empreſonment, which he thus brought to goode effect: firſt, Murraies youngeſt brother George Douglas, grudgine to ſee her Maieſtie ſo euil entreated by thoſe who ſhould not hawe doone it, did winne and gaine ſome of the Queenes gwairde to his opinion to ſett the Queene frie, and amongſt others ane Williame Douglas, a youth of 16 or 17 years of age, who carefullie tooke oportunitie when he eſpied a fitte time: And vpon Sundaie the ſeconde of Maie, when the maiſter of the houſe, Murraies eldeſt wombe borne brother, did ſitte at table at denner, the keies wer conweied from vnder him out of his chire, wher he did ſitte by the ſaid youth: they ſhutte the gates faſt after them, and locke all faſt within the caſtle, ſo that none could follow them; they tooke a litle boate and brought the Queene ſaiwe to the bankes of the lake, where a goode companie did expect her Maieſties comminge, and ſo ſhee was ſtreighte waie conwoied to the caſtle of Hamilton.

In this meane while was Murraie poolinge and peelinge the poore ſubiectes, hanginge by the purſe theſe that could bringe him monie wer ther offence newer ſo greate, but others by the necke albeit ther faulte wer newer ſo ſmalle, that brought him not monie. Such was the lowe

he had to iuſtice in the keeping of his iuſtice ſeſſion then at Glaſcoue, that God ſeeinge his wiked deſignes, to ſtaie him of his wicked courſes, gawe an other buſines to buſie him about: for in this meane while, the newes of the Queenes deliwerie comminge to his eares maketh him amazed, and bringes him in ſuch a rage and furie throwe aſtoniſhment, that he knoweth not to what hand to turne him. But after he had recowered him ſelff of his paſſiouns, he ſendeth in all haiſte to his fellowe complices and traitours, Morton, Glencarn, Marre, Lindeſaie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Ochiltrie, Cathcart and Glames, with manie others: On the parte [of] the Queenes ſubiectes, true in hearte, came in all haiſte to her Maieſties ſuccour and aide, who wer the families of Hammilton, Levingſtoun, Campbell, Fleminge, Bruce, the Earle of Rothus, the Lord Harriſe, the Lairde of Wachton, Balwerie, Lochinwer, with diuerſe others: The Earle of Huntlie and the Lord Ogilbie was a cominge out of the north towardes the Queene, but was a graite waie from her Maieſtie, ſo that they could not come to wine them ſelwes to her Maieſties armie in time, ſo that the rebellis tooke the oportunitie boith of time and place, before all her Maieſties forces wer aſſembled together, and the Earle of Argilles forces as yeete wer not come to wine with her true ſubiectes. The Queene, ewer deſirous to ſpare the ſheddinge of her ſubiectes bloode, as it became a goode Prince, thought beſt to retire her ſelff to her caſtle of Dumbarten, a holde inexpregnable, and to ſaiwe her ſelff from the iniuries of her ennemies till a better fortune; but whill as ſhee is goinge towardes the ſaide caſtle, accumpanied with a goode companie of her faithfull ſubiectes, but not hawinge all her forces with her, the rebellious traitouris had entrinched and encamped them ſelwes in a cuntrie willage called the Langeſide, which waie ſhee muſt needes paſſe: and this they wer councelled to do by one of the Queenes partie, who hath ewer beene a man that had borne two faces; for as the night before he came from Murraie to betraie his miſtres, ſo the nexte daie he plaied

the traitouris, and lefte her in the diſtreſſe. In the night before the battle, this falſe double diſſembling hearted traitour, the Lord Boide, who ewer, like Judas, followed for to hawe the full bagge, wrete to Murraie that her Maieſtie thought beſt not to precipitate the mater, but onlie to make her owen perſon in the caſtle of Dumbarton, till ſhee had aſſembled all her forces, which wer in the fardeſt partes of the realme. Theſe letters Murraie receiwed about midnight, which he communicated to his complices, who adwiſed him in all haiſte to ſend foorth certan troupes to lie in amuſcado and ambuſhment by the waie the Queene came, and they them ſelwes wold followe with the maine battle. Murraies partie tooke the oportunitie boith of the place and the ſunne, which did helpe them much in the fighte, which was feughten werie fearcelie: but the thing that gauled the Queenes pairtie was, that hawinge ther feilde peeces ſtinted and ſett behinde the armie, and Murraie his pieces, and a greate number of harquebuſhes and muſcaters in orchardes, ſhootinge them of againſt the Queenes folkes, forced them to retire after they had broken ther launces, ſwordes and ſpeares in the fight, they tooke them ſelwes to ther dagers to defend them ſelwes, and in the end they gaiwe place to the furious ennemie. In the combate wer ſlaine 57 gentlemen, moſt of the name of Hammilton, and 27 preſoners wer taken.

Thus the victorie fallinge to Murraie, the Queene, fearinge the crueltie of the traitour, guarded with two or thrie cornettes, haiſteth towardes England, and wold newer ſtaie till ſhee came to Lochmaben, where her councell did ſitte, which did adwiſe her, whatſoever ſhee did, not to go within England, for the manifolde experiences her Maieſties anceſtouris had of perfidious dealinge of the Engliſhe againſt ther faith and credite towardes them. Some of her beſt affectionat ſubiectes then there offered her Maieſtie ther ſtrong houſes and holdes, wherein ſhee might be defended againſt the wiolence of all her ennemies, boith of

England and Scotland, till all the whole companie of all her faithfull freindes ſhould come to her ſuccour, if perhappes anie durſte be ſo impudentlie bolde thus to aſſault her Maieſtie. Others did councell her to retire her ſelff into ſome of her owen ſtronge holdes and caſtles, neare vnto which ſhee might hawe ſuch meanes to exſpect ſuch aide and ſuccour. Others praied her to flie into Fraunce, offering them ſelwes to be her guides and conducters thither: but ſhee her ſelf tooke full reſolution to trie nowe in time of neede, the often promeſed fawour and goode will of Elizabethe of Englande, for ſhee ſawe the deſperate dealinge of the baſtarde and his complices, and had alredie tried it; and as yeet, hawinge the apprehenſion of deathe in her hearte, wherwith they had often threatned her Maieſtie, to go into Fraunce, in ſuch diſaraie without weſſellis, without a competent number of followers fitting for her eſtate, and want of her roiale furnitour, ſhee ſaid ſhee could not, nor wold not, in regarde of the former greate pompe and traine attended ones her thither, and thence home againe, when ſhee returned into Scotland.

None of her faithfulleſt ſubiectes and ſerwandes councellis did like her minde, ſayinge, ſhee wold truſte her ſelff in the handes of her neareſt kinniſwoman and cuſing Elizabeth, whoſe amitie and freindſhipe ſhee was ſure of, boith in regarde ſhee caried with her the pledges and gages of her promeſed freindſhipe and conſtant lowe which ſhee had ſend her, and alſo the letters which ſhee had written vnto her, full of honeſt offers and fauour to ſuccoure her when and as often as neede ſhould require: for howe ſoone her Maieſtie came foorthe of Lochlewin, ſhee ſent to Elizabeth a gentleman, deliwering vnto him a jewell, which was a faire diamonde, receiwed before as a token of mutuall amitie, ſo longe as they two ſhould liwe together, from her ambaſſadour Throgmorton, for the better conferming of the promeſes ſhee made vnto her, which was to aide her againſt all her ennemies and rebelles, and if it would pleaſe her Maieſtie to retire her ſelff into England, that ſhee wold come in her

owen perſon ſo farre as the frontiers, to receiwe and aſſiſt her with all her power and mighte.

This was the cauſe that her Maieſtie did enteirlie relie her ſelff vpon the faithfull promeſes of Elizabeth made by Throgmorton and diwers otheres, and that if ſhee did not promeſe, yeet ſhee wold not be ſo ſhameleſſe and wicked as to breake the righte of hoſpitalitie, either to uiſe her hardlie her ſelff, or to delyver her in the handes of her mortall ennemies, but giwe her frie paſſage and libertie to retire her ſelff home amongeſt her faithfull ſubiectes, who wold defend her with ther liwes, landes and goodes, or ellis to go fordwarde towardes Fraunce, which ſhee beſt liked.

Thus ſhee wold giwe no place to her faithfulleſt ſubiectes cou ncell and reaſons, but did offer and caſte her ſelff in the armes of her ennemie, who had greateſt intereſt in gewinge councell for takinge ordour for the death of her huſband, and thirſted after her bloode. Shee exſpected that Elizabeth wold have helped her to take wengeance of the murder of her huſband, he beinge the ſecunde heire of her croune, and he beinge ſo neare of her owen bloode. Shee thought to hawe made her innocencie knowen to her and her nobilitie, and to hawe cleared her ſelff of all the falſe calumnies which the committers and authouris of the cruell murder impoſed vpon her, wheroff ſhee was innocent, and by her ſupport ſo cruell and damnable a deſigne might have beene puniſhed: Shee thought ſhee ſhould hawe founde ther Ladie Margaret Douglaſſe, her huſbandes mother, that wold hawe ioined with her in the perſuite of ſuch a damnable crime, that it might hawe clearlie and manifeſtlie appeared vnto the world who wer the execrable committers theroff, that the truith beinge fullie examined, they might hawe beene puniſhed accordinglie. Theſe reaſons thoroulie perſwaded her to make choice of England, for her refuige befor manie other places, where ſhee might hawe beene more kindlie uſed.

But the moſt Rewerend father, Mr John Hammilton Archbiſhop of

St Andrewes, and Primate of Scotland, a man of greate yeares and longe experience, newer could be of her Maieſties minde, he newer thought her opinion, he knowinge, from time to time, the infidelitie of Elizabethes aunceſtouris, of her ſelffe and ther councellis; he plainelie tolde her Maieſtie that manie of her Maieſties aunceſtouris, too lightlie truſtinge the promeſes of the Engliſh, wer brought to all extreme neceſſitie in liewe of ther promeſed freindſhipe, to the greate danger of ther realmes: for example he ſett before her eyes, and ſhewed her howe Kinge James the Firſt, grandfather to her greate uncle, thinkinge to go into Fraunce, whether Kinge Robert his father had ſent him to awoide the tyrannie of his uncle, was taken preſoner in quiet time of peace, hawinge landed on the north coaſte of England at Flameburgh, to take the freſhe aire, beinge then ſewen yeares of age, when he could not in anie waies hawe anoied the Engliſh; for all this they keepte him faſt 17 yeares, and in the end, againſt the lawe of natiounes, made him raunſom him ſelff, payinge weele therfore, as if he had beene taken in iuſte warre and oppen hoſtilitie: the father hearing of thoſe ſorroufull newes, within thrie daies after, died of melancholie. Henrie 2 of England delte ſo with Malcolme the fourth of that name king of Scotland, and after him with his ſonne William king of Scotland, whome boith he entreated to come to London in pretence of amitie and freindſhipe, but he wold not ſuffer them to go backe till they had done him homage for Cumberland, Northumberland, and the Erldomes of Huntington and Cheſter, which he held in his realme; he led them captiwes beyond ſeis to be ſpectatoures of his warres in Fraunce, by that meanes to breke the auncienteſt league in the chriſtianitie, and make his ſubiectes the Scottiſhe rewolte from the French, who did moſt conſtantlie with all force reſiſt and beate backe the attemptes of the Engliſh, that they could not, nor wer not, able to ſubdue the French, as they thought to hawe done. This Henrie before had ſworne newer to truble the Kinges of Scot-

land for theſe ſeigneories; after, when the ſaide Malcome knighted him, cominge into Cumberland by the conduct of his mother vnto him to craiwe aide for the recowering of his right to the croune of England, without whoſe aide he had newer beene kinge: This faithleſſe man, before they came thither, ſwore and faithfullie promeſed newer to demaunde or do anie thinge to the preiudice of ther perſons and rightes of ther crounes. Alexander Duke of Albanie, brother to Kinge James 3, greate uncle to her Maieſtie, returning from Flanders from the Duke of Guilderland his grandfather, whom he went to ſee, was alſo taken by the Engliſhe vpon the ſea in time of peace, and without all cauſe deteined preſoner till they wer forced, by open denunciation of warre, for feare to lett him go frie, and reſtore him all his weſſellis and furnitour, which they againſt the lawe of armes had taken. He forder tolde her Maieſtie manie other declaratiounes and remonſtrances, and more in ſpeciall he ſhewe her the mortall hatred that Elizabeth did beare her, together with the confederatiounes wer betuine her and her mortall ennemies, which by her perſuaſion, councell and adwiſe, and by her aide, fawoure and ſupporte, had acted ſo manie terrible tragedies in Scotland.

But all this, and much more, could [not] remowe out of the heade of this Princes the confidence and aſſurance ſhee had in the promeſes of her cuſinge Elizabeth, which, when the venerable father and prelate perceiwed that ſhee wold caſte her ſelff in a certane danger, as ſhee tooke water to go to her deſtanie in this fatall cuntrie, he humblie fell vpon his knees, ſeizinge vpon her Maieſties bodie with boith his armes, ſaide vnto her with manie teares, that ſhee wold be trubled to drawe him with her if ſhee went fordward her determined iorney, he beinge ſo olde and ſo onable to trawell; he beſought her to giwe him leiwe to retire, ſeeinge he could not reſiſt her: he then tolde her yeet ones againe flatlie, ſhee was goinge to vndo her ſelff, her eſtate and realme, and all her faworites and faithfull ſerwantes; he praied her therfore

to giwe him a note of her remonſtrances, to fortifie thoſe of the Houſe of Hammilton in time of place, and all the other Lordes that had followed her in all her trubles.

In this meane while, in a rage ranne thorowe the cuntrie Murraie like a wilde boare, depopulatinge the landes of the Queenes faithfull ſubiectes, robbing them of ther goodes and pullinge doune ther holdes and houſes, perſuinge them with fire and ſworde whether ſoewer he came, confiſcatinge all ther mowables for his owen particular uiſe: Hamilton, Draffen, Skirlinge, and Lochinwar, together with the moſt of the holdes and fortreſſes ſituate vpon the riwer of Clide, beſides manie mo places, can witnes this to be true.

So the Queene pairtinge from this wenerable father, after ſhee had yeelded him his petition, cometh to Workington, the firſt toune vpon the frontiers of England, and from thence to Cokermouth, and from thence to Carlel, thinkinge thence to go directlie to the Courte to finde her cuſing, to throwe her ſelff in her armes, and to ſhowe her greiwes to her and her Councell: but howe ſoune Elizabeth was aduertiſed of her cominge, ſhee commaunded ſhee ſhould be keepte preſoner, and ſtaied vnder ſure guarde and keepinge, that ſhee ſhould not eſcape or go bake anie where.

Thus ſhee cauſſed her be ſtaied ſo farre from Court, leſt ſhee ſeeinge her, ſhould bluſh becauſe of her letters and faire promeſes ſhee had made vnto her, but nowe was not minded to keepe them. The pretexte of this reſtrainte to keep her from fallinge into the handes of her rebellious ſubiects, and that ſhee wold ſend her backe into her owen realme with an armie and ſtronge gariſon at convenient time, by this meanes making her kinniſwoman liwe in hope, whenas ſhee did no thinge but hinder her to retire, or to demaunde ſuccour of others. Shee cauſſed her firſt be ſtaied at Carlel, and from thence to be led to Bolton caſtle by my Lord Scroope. To which place Fraunces Knoules, capitan

of Elizabethes guarde, was ſent, who galled her moſt terriblie with reproaches and infinite indignities.

In this meane while, the Scottiſh nobilitie, prowoked with this treaſon done to ther miſtres by Elizabethes treacherie, did aſſemble them ſelwes together in armes with full intent to puniſhe the traitouris, and to roote out all theſe of that faction; and Huntlie, Craufurde and Ogilbie, accompanied with ſixe thouſand men, had now marched fordwarde towardes St. Johnſton, and Argile had now paſſed the riwer of Duiuon with thrie thouſand men, the Hamiltones with Caſſilles, Eglinton and Maxwell, with the greateſt parte of the armie, exſpected ther cominge at Glaſcoue, the place appointed for the generall meetinge. But Murraie perceiwinge him ſelff feble and waike, not able to encounter with ſo greate an armie, in all haiſte ſendeth to Elizabeth, prayinge her to giwe ſpeedie ordoure for his diſtreſſe, and to ſuccour him, ellis he wer vndon, and all his deſignes brocken. Elizabeth, hearing theſe newes, diſpatches one preſentlie to the Queene, to declare vnto her the oppreſſion of her people, and the wakninge of her realme by thoſe ciwile trubles, and if it continowed, the loſſe wold turne to her; and therfore ſhee ought by all meanes poſſible, to preſerue her ſubiectes, leaſt thinking to roote out the euil ſhee ſhould deſtroie the goode: and for this cauſe her adwiſe was, that ſhee ſhould commande the lordes of her parte to retire them ſelves home, and not nowe afreſhe to beginne new ſturres and broiles; wherin ſhee her ſelff wold take ſuch goode ordour that ſhee ſhould ſtand weele content therwith. This adwiſe of Elizabeth was followed, and commandement forthwith giwen to her faithfull ſubiectes to leawe the enterpriſe and returne to ther houſes, aſſuringe them of the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth, and of the promeſe that ſhee had to her made, to bringe her backe to her realme with ſuch an armie that her ennemies ſhould not darre look vpon the. But all theſe promeſes wer fruſtrat, and no thinge elles but delaies and deceates, to keepe the poore Ladie in ſuſpence till

Murraie had diſpatched his afaires, and broughte vnder the Queenes goode ſerwantes, one after an other, ſo diſtracted and ſeparated.

If Elizabeth meant to ſend her cuſinge backe againe, and ſuccour her in her diſtreſſe, why deteined ſhee her vpon the bordours, where her rebelles might ſooner do her harme, nor at her courte, whither ſhee ſhould hawe cauſſed her be conweied, like a prince as ſhee was, to be keepte in princelie dignitie, till ſhee had beene as goode as her woorde in accompanyinge her homewarde as farre foorth as the frontiers, with an armie to ſett her in authoritie againe ower her owen kingdome? But Elizabethes aunceſtours, fugitiues from England by the rebellion of ther ſubiectes, wer not ſo proditoriouſlie dealte with in Scotland: Example Henrie 6 chaſed from the poſſeſſion of his croune by the Duke of Yorke, ſeekinge to ſaiwe him ſelff from the furie of his ennemie till a better oportunitie, came in Scotland, with his Queene, children, brethren and uncles, cuſinges, and manie Lordes that followed him, wer not keepte preſoners by Kinge James 3; but this Kinge did leade him to his courte, and roiallie entertained him with all his companie, and ſo long as he pleaſed to ſtaie, permitted him to laike nor want no thinge fitte for the eſtate of a Kinge; and after had beene thus entertained as longe as he pleaſed, perceiwing him deſirous to returne home againe into his kingedome, he helped him with an armie to recower his right, and ſubdewe his rebellious ſubiectes: he made no ſubtile plottes, and dewiſed [no] treacherous ſlightes to trappe the diſtreſſed Kinge: he practiſed not againſt him by intelligences from his ennemies, as Elizabeth doeth. Shee, in liewe and recompence of ſo manie goode offices done to her aunceſtour by the greate grandfather of this Ladie, croſſed with fortune, hawinge recourſe vnto her vpon the aſſurance of her promeſe by her letters and ambaſſadouris, which ſhould be abowe all other thinges a holie and inviolable thinge, prepareth for her at her entrie in her realme, a preſon farre from her ſighte; ſhee cauſſeth

her be braiwed daielie, apointinge ſawage inhuman perſons, that had no thinge of men but the outwarde ſhape or ſhewe. Was [it] the womanlie and courteous nature of a prince, to inſulte vpon the diſtreſſed, and aggrauat the miſeries of her neareſt kinniſwoman in the world, and apoint others to do the like, who, inſteade of guarding her, onworthelie abuſe her, no white at all reſpecting her roiale perſon?

In the meane time, ſhee thinketh yeet to gulle mennes eies and dazell them, to make them beliwe that of lowe ſhee keepeth her in ſaiweguarde from the iniuries of her rebellious ſubiectes, with whom ſhee hath dailie intelligence, helpinge fordwarde ther treaſons againſther cuſinge, of the which treacherie ſhee is the onlie cheiff architect, builder, dewiſer, procurer and heade councellour.

But to returne to the purpoſe. The nobles of the parte of the Queene hawing laide ther weapons aſide by her commandement, at the treacherous requeſt and perſuaſion of Elizabeth, that Murraie and Morton his liwetennant mighte keepe their authoritie, vnder which for the preſent Scotland nowe was, without reſiſtance or gaineſayinge of anie perſon whatſoewer, ſhee wrote to Murraie, that forren princes might take offence, not onlie at the perſuite which he made againſt his miſtres, but alſo at her reſtrainte in England, ſhee beinge a frie prince, and not ſubiect to the power of anie other, if ther were not ſome ſhewe of iuſtice made that might leade them to do this: and for this cauſe her councell was, that ſome forme of proceſſe ſhould be made againſt her, and that ſhee ſhould be accuſed of her huſbandes death, a thinge of it ſelff ſo odious, that it wold mitigate the heartes of thoſe which wer kindled with deſire of rewenge for the euil entreatie of ſuch a Ladie, not onlie by her ſubiectes, who ſeemed, for religions cauſe, to hawe ſome reaſon of miſcontentment, but alſo by her, who was her neareſt kinniſwoman, and that ought, by the lawe of nature, to defend her and mantaine her againſt the force and wiolence of all her ennemies whatſoewer: that this forme and ſhewe of iuſtice wold

giwe cullour to all ther deſignes, and appeaſe the grudge and indignatioun of other princes, and ſhutte the mouthes of her parentes and freindes in France, that wer ther ennemies: that he ſhould ſend, or come him ſelff in all aſſurance, and that ſhould bringe with him men of councell to urge and ſett fordwarde this accuſation, and that they ſhould be werie weele harde to the end of the buſines, neither in the ſighte nor hearinge of ther miſtres, but by her agentes and procurars, who ſhould hawe longe time to replie, or ſaie anie thinge for her iuſtificatioun to cleare her. Thus the cruell accuſatioun beinge reſolwed vpon and vnderſtoode, the Queenes agentes ſhould be diſturbed howe ſoone they ſhould enter a litle to anſwere in the mater before the Commiſſioners apointed by Elizabeth, and to iuſtifie ther miſtres in her righte: the aſſemblie ſhould be broken vp [by] ſome Alman quarrell, (as we uiſe to ſaie), or ſudden fraie to that purpoſe, or ſome other occaſion or accident, wheroff they could procure anewe for the ſerwinge their turne, and feinyied to happen, to the end they might hawe no time nor leaſure to iuſtifie ther miſtres innocencie.

Murraie, likinge this councell weele, determined to ſend ſome of his beſt and ſureſt freindes, the moſt apparent of his faction, with memorialles and inſtructiounes to urge the accuſation againſt his miſtres, fearinge leaſt it ſhould ſeeme odious to the Engliſh nobilitie, and not fitting his mouth, he being the naturall brother to the accuſed, and adwanced by her in goodes and honours, hawing no meanes but which he had by her bountifulnes; but refuſed of his faworites in his determinatioun, who feared aſmuch the ſhame of the cauſe as him ſelff, and the crueltie and infamie of the perſuite intended againſt ther miſtres, before it ſhould leiwe he tooke purpoſe (all ſhame ſett aſide), to go him ſelff in perſone to followe it. He took with him thoſe ſpeciallie who had ewer ſerwed him before in all his wiked enterpriſes againſt his miſtres; and to cullour the mater the better, he was not eſhamed to giwe out

that the thrie Eſtates of Scotland had alredie iuſtified the accuſatioun againſt his maiſtres; and for prowe theroff, he had brought with him of ewerie eſtate ſome to cleare the mater, which wer the dewiliſh magitian ſorcerar of the Orcades, his hired man, of whome we hawe ſpoken before, Mr Robert Pitcarne, a filthie, adulterous whoremaiſter, who keept all his liffe an other mannes wiff, Abbot of Dunnfermeling; and theſe did repreſent the ſpirituall eſtat; the Earle of Morton and Lindeſaie, as filthie conſcienſles men, for the nobles; and Mr James M'Gill and Mr Henries Balnawes, councellouris and lawers of the Seſſion and Bench of Eſtate, for the thirde eſtate; together with Mr George Buchanan, whome he brought to giwe apparence to ther lies, in painted woordes of eloquence, framed before hand for the purpoſe in latine, that it might be ſent in Fraunce, Germanie and other forren natiouns who underſtood not the Engliſhe language. This wicked man conſtrained alſo to go in his companie, Sire William Metellan of Lethington, who often refuſed to do it, who in conſcience knewe the weritie of the facte, and that the cheiffe accuſer and conſtraner of him to wndertake the iornie, was more guiltie of the crime nor his liege Ladie and miſtres; but knowinge weele the humour of the man, he durſte not refuſe incace it ſhould hawe coaſte him his heade.

The time of meetinge apointed by Elizabeth drawinge on, Thomas Howarde, duke of Norfolke, the firſt of the nobilitie of England in honour, goodes and reputation, and the Earle of Suſſex, and Ralphe Sadler, councellour of eſtate, wer ſent to take notice, and heare the griewances of the two parties. In this meane while, the Queene ſeeinge her vnnaturall accuſars, much degeneratinge from the curage and ſpirite of ther aunceſtouris, and to follow the footſteppes of John Baliol, that ſoulde himſelff and the realme to the Engliſhe, ſubmittinge themſelwes, not onlie they beinge her ſubiectes, to the iudgment of Elizabeth and her councell, but alſo by the ſame meanes wold aknoweledge her for

ther ſuperiour, and make her, beinge an heire of a kingdome, and as frie as her ſelff, become her waſſall, if it ſhould lie in ther power, and to ſtand to her pleaſure and courteſie to do with her what ſhee thought goode; therfore ſhee ſent her agentes to requeſt Elizabeth, that it might ſtand with her goode likinge to heare her in perſon, and ſhee wold be willinge and readie, all whoſoever wold accuſe her, and wolde cleare and iuſtifie her ſelff in all what ſhould be obiected before her and her councell. But yeet ſhee proteſted ſhee wold not ewer acknowledge them for her laufull judges, or her true and faithfull ſubiectes, beinge a Princes and an heire of a kingedome as frie, and ewer ſo reputed, as that realme of England, and that Elizabeth, beinge but her equall, could not be her judge, or her ſubiectes. But if it pleaſed her, with other chriſtian Princes, to take knoweledge of the mater, ſhee wold moſt willinglie ſubmitte her ſelff to ther iudgment, not refuſinge her for anie thinge that had paſſed heiretofore betuine them, but from the beginninge had determined newer to heare her in perſon.

Yeet, notwithſtanding, ſhee commaunded her Commiſſioners, (after Elizabethes deniall of her iuſte petitions,) to poſte to Yorke, the place appointed for the meetinge, where Elizabethes wer come before, weele inſtructed and informed againe the poore diſtreſſed Ladie, and furniſhed with all the malicious reportes that could be dewiſed to make her odious; and to this effect her ennemies made a longe naration of all that was done in Scotland, and in ſpeciall of the ordinances made ther in Parliament for the gowernement of the realme, not accuſinge the Queene of anie faulte, but proteſtinge them ſelwes her maieſties moſt affectionat and humble ſerwantes, with all deſiringe by waie of ſupplicatioun to the Queene of England, to do them iuſtice towardes her, and to ratifie and approwe that which they had concluded and determined in the aſſemblie of ther eſtates.

When they had beene weele at large harde of Elizabethes Commiſ-

ſioneris, as was promeſed them, Mr John Leſlie biſhop of Roſſe, the Lord Boyd, the Lord Harriſe, Mr Gawin Hamilton abbott of Kilvininge, her Maieſties Commiſſioneris and agentes, perceiwinge that the articles did cowertlie and vnderhand deprawe the honour of ther ſoweraigne, albeit they did proteſt themſelwes her Maieſties moſt humble and affectionat ſerwantes, yeet ſecretlie and priwelie ther projectes and ther conſciences wer farre otherwiſe, and that they had poſſeſſed Elizabethes Commiſſioners with a werie harde opinion of her behawiours and cariage towardes her huſband, as they duelie certified and aduertiſed, they did fullie reſolwe not to make a ſimple anſwere to that which was propoſed, but thought it moſt expedient fullie and whollie to refute all ther impudent accuſatiouns, and whatſower ellis they might urge for the diſadwantage of ther miſtres.

They made therfore declaratioun to Elizabethes Commiſſioneres, in the hearinge of the rebelles, that they could not aknoweledge Elizabeth nor them for iuſte and laufull iudges of the cauſe, nor ther aduerſaries laufull accuſars, to be harde to accuſe ther Soweraigne, to whom, by the lawe of God and nature, they wer to be ſubiect, and not to Elizabeth of England: Yeet they beinge werie deſirous that the innocencie of ther Miſtres might appeare to all the world, and to take from them that euill opinion which was in ther mindes by the ſiniſter informatioun of her ennemies, they deſired that they might adwiſe and conſider the fundation of the ordinances of the Eſtates of Scotland by them alledged; and ſaide, that all ther accuſatiounes conſiſted vpon no thinge but vpon preſumptions, the greater parte wheroff wer ſo frewolous and ſo light, that they deſerwed not in ſuch a companie to be either alledged, propounded or giwen eare vnto or harde; for ther could not be founde out one witnes that ſawe her Maieſtie preſent at the death of her huſband, nor that ewer hard her commaund ſuch a willanous acte. The accuſars them ſelwes do not ſaie it, but onlie that ſhee conſented to it,

☞ The deputie Commissioners of Marie Queene of Scottes made this apologie at Yorke in the defence of ther mistres, in the hearinge of Elizabeth Queene of Englandes Commissioners.

to the end that ſhee might marie Boithwell, foundinge themſelwes vpon I knowe not what conniectures, which be not buildinges to owerthrowe the honour or liffe, I ſaie not of a Queene, exempted from lawe, and that hath no ſuperiour, but of anie perſon of the baſeſt eſtate in all the world; for in ſuch caſe the comoune lawe ſaieth, that the prooffe ſhould be more cleare than the noone ſunne ſheyninge in the midle of the daie. But let us ſee them, I praie you:

1. The firſt is founded vpon the preſumption of the enwie which they ſaide ſhee had againſt her huſband ffor the inhumane murder of the Secretarie. 2. The ſeconde vpon the contempt of her faith of wedloke, giwinge part to Boithwell in her goode fawours. 3. The thirde vpon letters writen with her hand, and other papers of inſtructiouns founde in a litle ſilwer coffer. 4. The fourth vpon the litle account ſhee made of him after his death, diſdaininge to mourne, or cauſſinge him to be buried as was fitte. 5. The fifth vpon the mariage ſhe contracted with Boithwell, the murderer of her huſbande; and for that they uſed the confeſſiounes made vpon the torture of the ſerwantes of Boithwell, and others, who wer miniſters in the execution of this horrible murder.

☞ Fie for shame, they them selwes, the accusars, wer actouris boith in the murder and mariage, as Morton, one of the principall of the Queenes accusars, confessed before he suffered for beinge acte and parte in the saide murder. Queene Elizabeth and thy deputie commissioners, whie do yee not blushe for your shamles impudencie! Yea, the shameles traitour Murraie told the Lord Harrise of the Kinges murder before it was executed.

Albeit, then, all theſe preſumptiounes maie weele be refuted with a ſimple deniall, which proceedinge from the mouth of ſuch a princes, ought to be of more efficacie and force to cleare her innocencie then ten thouſand ſuch men her accuſars alledge to the contrarie; yeet to content your mindes, and to deliwer vnto you the evident truth, without approwinge her authoritie that had made you her deputie Commiſſioners, or aknoweledging you for iudges, we ſaie all the accuſatiouns of our miſtres be in the ſelff falſe, and founded vpon the malicious ſpeeches of her ennemies: for touching the firſt, true it is, ſhee had moſt iuſte occaſion to be angrie with her huſband, who had conſpired with her ennemies who killed her innocent ſecretarie, an olde, feble, wake, and impotent harmeleſſe man, her moſt faithfull ſerwant and councel-

lour to her goode and honour when he implored God for mercie and iuſtice, they wold not bringe to hawe triale in iuſtice, whether he had deſerwed death or not. When he did flie to her Maieſties cheir where ſhee ſatte to be his mediatour, to hawe ſuccour and triale by iuſtice and right of lawe, and her Maieſtie did interceede for him at ther handes, they ſpitefullie ſtabbed the poore man with thrie ſcoire and abowe mortall woundes, and that ower her Maieſties ſhoulder, and harde by her, to the greate hazarde and danger of her liffe, ſhee beinge then greate with childe of a ſoweraigne Prince. Shoulde anie ſuch cruell willaines be harde nowe to accuſe ther ladie and miſtres, who them ſelwes hawe beene actoures in boith the murders? Was not her Maieſtie perfitlie reconciled to her huſband in ſincearitie of heart, in lowe and amitie, and ſo did continewe with him ſo longe as they liwed together?

This poore Prince, after this inhuman act was comitted by the inſtigation and direction of theſe that nowe heire accuſe her, ſeeinge that [they] had intention to murder his wiff, founde the meanes, when they had planted them ſelwes in greate number about her, to come vnto her companie to ioine him ſelff vnto her for her ſaiftie, and after he had ſalen doune vpon his knees and craived pardon of her with greate plentie of teares, ſhee lerned weele the faulte wher it was hatched, and hard the beginninge, and that came not of him ſelff: Yeet, ſeeinge that he was a younge man, werie deliberate, ſtoute of curage and handes, and that he wold willinglie hawe rewenged this cruell willanie vpon the firſt authoures of it, he had the facte in ſuch horrour after the deſigne of them was diſcowered which councelled him vnto it, her Maieſtie was forced and compelled to ſhewe agoode countenance, and held his bridle ſhorte from the beginninge, to hinder the ſtronge paſſiouns of his magnanimous ſpirite and curage, ſo deſirous of rewenge againſt Murraie and Morton, and thoſe which putt this execrable acte in his heade, to make him enter in a irreconcileable diſcorde and variance with his

wiffe. Had they no other meanes to kille him elleſwhere but in the preſence of her Maieſtie, when he catched holde on her Maiefties goune, cryinge for iuſtice and mercie, when ſhee requeſted them to ſpare him, if not for her owen ſake, yeet at leaſt for the childes cauſe [which] was betuine her ſides, which perhappes [would] one daie call them all to account for ſuch a cruell fact? What, did he newer go out of her preſence? did he newer go abroade into the citie, where they might hawe awenged them ſelwes vpon him if he had offended them? or when he went abroade out of the palace, had he ſuch greate attendance and retinewe of followers, that they durſt not looke vpon him? They might hawe dailie founde him walkinge the ſtreates of Edinburgh and Cannogate, where the meaneſt of ther followers might hawe awenged them ſelwes on him? Why then did they dewiſe, councell, and perſuade the huſband to execute the cruell facte in the preſence of the wiffe, greate with childe, and readie to lie doune? They knewe weele whie in ther conſciences, and ſome of them that wer then ther partners hawe ſince confeſſed, that ther intention was ſo to affright this moſt ſorrowefull Princes, that ſhee and her iſſue ſhould preſentlie die, and after to putt all the blame vpon her huſband, and ridde him alſo out of the world.

This brought about, ther had beene no impediment to Murraie to be kinge. The Queene was not ſo woide of iudgement, that ſhee did not diſcower and marke all this weele, and note it weele a litle after, which cauſſed her not to diminiſhe no thinge the amitie and accuſtomed affection towardes her huſband, which for his youth and wante of experience, ſhould hawe, but could not prewent ſuch an ambuſhe: wheroff ſhee gawe werie greate and certan teſtimonie at Glaſcowe when he was ther ſicke, for hawinge intelligence theroff ſhee poſted ſpeedelie thither, and cheriſſed and entertained him moſt lowinglie, and from thence bringinge him to Edinburgh to chaunge the aire ſhee viſited him dailie, and aſſiſted him almoſt till the werie houre of his death. You will ſaie,

this amitie and lowe was counterfeited: we denie it. Who ought to be beliwed? Marcus Æmilius Scaurus hawinge been accuſed to hawe betraied the comoune wealth of Rome, takinge Mithridate fee ſilwer, albeit he was a corrupt man and knowen for ſuch, yeet for the reſpect he had in the Senate, and for the inequalitie of him and Varus Suronenſis his accuſer, he was ſent cleare awaie vpon his ſimple deniall of the facte. And her ſubiectes the traiterous rebellis, ewer knowen for ſuch, ſaie the chearinges, which ther miſtres made to her huſband a litle before his death, wer but bates and ſopes to bringe him to his end. Shee denieth it, and ſweareth the contrarie: Is ther woorde better to be beliwed, or more worthie of credite than hers? Such periured ſlaiwes, who newer had anie thinge in the world but by her, ſhould not be harde before ther ſoweraigne lady and miſtres; as now they be liſtned weele vnto, and whatſoewer they ſpeake in malice is reputed truth. O notable iudges and partiall iudgement! if ſhee had beene deſirous to ridde him awaie, and to be deliwered of him, what neede had ſhee to hawe recourſe to ſuch a wiolence which could not be concealed? One blowe with a ſworde or dager had beene ſooner giwen, and with leſſe ſlaunder, reproach and wiolence. Shee might hawe put him to death by iuſtice, hawinge the lawes at her deuotion, and her ſubiectes her owen and readie to do it, without longe proceedinge, and the prowe cleare. The Queene her ſelff hawinge ſeene him, he being aſſiſtant at the murder of her moſt faithfull ſerwant, and his owen dager beinge founde in his bellie, for albeit he was her huſband, yeet was he not Kinge, but her waſſall and ſubiect, and vnder the authoritie of the lawes as other men: but ſhee feared, ſaie you, the ſcandale, and wold hawe been argued of too greate crueltie, if ſhee had publictlie put him to deathe by the hand of an executioner: but you, that reprowe the Queene of an act [of] crueltie, if ſhee had done an act of iuſtice, proſecute her to make her die vniuſtlie by a

ſtrange executioner, if one wold beliwe you. If ſhee feared publict ſcandall and reportes of men, if ſhee had conceiwed ſo damnable a deſigne, as you accuſe her off, had ſhee not the witt to hawe poiſoned him? was ſhee ſo impudent and woide of conceate, that ſhee could no waie hawe founde meanes to diſpatch him by ſome ſecrete and priwie meanes, to hide it from the world? You hawe beene ſo ſhameleſſe and impudent, that you hawe made it be publiſhed, by the woice of your miniſters and ther artificiall libellis, that the ſickneſs he was in at Glaſcoue came of no thinge but poiſon that was giwen of and in behalfe of his wiffe, and that the wheales, blaines and culloured boiles that brake foorthe and roſe vp vpon all his bodie wer ſure tokens theroff: if that be true, howe was he healed of the ſicknes without any remedie againſt it? They that gaiwe him that poiſon had no deſire to kille him, ſince they gaiwe it him either ſo feble and wertules, or in ſuch a ſmalle quantitie, that he eſcaped of him ſelff, without anie helpe of the phyſitiouns. You abuſe your ſelff werie much, if you thinke her Maieſtie be ſo groſſe witted, and ſo roode in conceate, that if ſhee wold practiſe ſuch dewiſes to kill her huſband, ſhee could not brue him ſuch a potion, in qualitie and quantitie, as the caſe ſhould require. What argument hawe you that ſhee did ſo? Wheales and boiles do breade in mannes bodie, not onlie by poiſon, but by manie other accidentes alſo, to which they be naturallie ſubiect, and principallie theſe of his age. If you hawe then no other token of this facte, confeſſe your friwolous calumnies, and your too manifeſt falſe accuſatiouns no leſſe impudent, then that which is likewiſe ſhameleſlie divulged by your dewiliſh libelles, accuſinge her that ſhee wold likewiſe hawe poiſoned her ſonne in the caſtle of Sterling, which thinge was ſhamleſlie inwented and practized by the dewiliſh whore and witch, the ladie Marre, who made a litle pultes or gruell as ſhee wold hawe giwen the younge infant the ſame, and then gaiwe it her litle dogge, which incontinentlie burſte at the middo ſide and died. Fie, be you eſhamed of

your lies! Who will beliwe your impudencie? Wolde ſuch a lowinge mother hawe ewer attempted ſuch a thinge, in a greate frequencie of wemen about the childe? No, it is incredible; neither nature nor the feare of God, beſides the lowe ſhee bare to him, he beinge her onlie begotten ſonne, could ſuffer her to thinke vpon ſo willenous an acte, lett be to do it. Fie, bluſh for ſhame, and repent your calumnies, or ellis exſpect no thinge ellis but to be ſent to the deuil for ewer, who is that old accuſer of the bretheren, and your maiſter whoſe will yee do. All your calumnies be of the like ſorte, without anie apparence of truth, onworthie to be uttered, or thought of by a Chriſtian; they be all againſt the preſumptiouns of reaſon and nature, impugninge the wertue, knoweledge, vnderſtandinge and grace of ſuch a honeſt meaning ladie.

Touchinge the reſt, ſhee is a prince moſt meeke, towarde, gentle, gracious, bounteous and pitiefull, as all that ewer knewe can teſtifie, that fewe ewer coulde matche her. But allace, this hath beene the beginninges of all her miſfortunes, that ſhee hath made them inſolent who now accuſe her, throwe her too greate lenitie, whom ſhee ſhould hawe rather made feele the ſmarte of the ſworde, for ther manifolde treacheries againſt her committed: if ſhee had chaſed them foorthe of her dominions, and not pardoned them ſo often, or rather cutte of ther heades, as they weele deſerwed, they had not ſtude heir with impudent faces accuſinge ther ſoweraigne. Shee ſo often receiwed them to her fawour, that they made no account ewerie daie more and more to offend her, and to deale treacherouſlie againſt her; inſteade therof, if ſhee had cutt them of by iuſtice, ſhee ſhould not, at this daie, hawe ſtoode in neede to hawe ſtaied at the heaſte ſhee doeth, to hawe her recourſe to the mercie of an other for her deliwerie out of ther bloodie and merciles handes. Morton was the principall actour in the butcherie of her ſecretarie, and his maiſter Murraie the inſtigatour of his death, and yeet boith had pardon of her Maieſtie, takinge remiſſion for this ther treacherie.

I neede not repeate manie mo ther traiterous deſignes pardouned them, for they wer notorious in the eies of all the whole kingedome, for whate moneth, what weeke, or what daie wer thè idle or frie from plottinge, and imagininge either one treaſon or other againſt ther prince, ſtate or commonewelth? All theſe thinges ſhee tooke no notice of, and yeet nowe, howe barbarouſlie, like ſawage cruell wilde beaſtes, do they nowe thirſte to be ſaciat with her bloode, without all feare of God, impoſinge vpon her that crime wheroff they them ſelwes wer the firſt dewiſers, fordward ſetters and putters to execution. Wer they more deare to her then was her huſband? Was her huſband more faultie then they? Coulde ſhee keepe her ſtomoke, in regarde of him, that ſuffered him ſelff to be deceiwed, and to imparte her fawours to thoſe who deceiwed him? Before this facte you can not denie but that ſhee lowed him onlie inteirlie. Is it probable, that for this facte allone, ſhee did dewide her ſelff ſo much from him, that ſince ſhee could not finde in her hearte to receiwe him againe into her fawour, albeit ſhee was weele reconciled with you the authoris of the murder, and which wer no thinge to her in eſtimatioun in regarde of her huſband?

The comike poet ſaieth, the falling out of lowers is the renewinge of lowe. That which ſhee had ſhowed by infallible argumentis and neceſſarie, hawinge, by open proclamatioun and edict, prohibited all perſons from ſpeakinge euill of her huſband, nor to putt him in the ranke of them that acted this vnfortunat murder, ſo wicked, ſo abominable and cruell: ſhee forder graunted him letters of pardon to iuſtifie him ſelff againſt all his mortall ennemies, in cace they ſhould imput ſo a wild an act vnto him after the death of her Maieſtie. Can you ſhowe a more perfect demonſtration of ſynceare lowe and amitie?

The ſatyricall poet ſayeth, no thinge is more deſirous of rewenge then a woman. She ſhould therfore hawe awenged her ſelff vpon Murraie and Morton and ther complices, who wer much more faultie then her

huſband. This ſexe, albeit vindicative, yeet it abhorreth crueltie. And as touching the accuſed, ſhee hath ewer ſhowed her ſelff pitifull and inclinable to mercie, yea, ewen againſt her capitall ennemies, and namelie againſt her accuſers, as you maie iudge by ther often ordinarie flightes much reiterated, (not beinge able to aunſwere for ther heinous treaſons,) into England. There is no probabilitie, that in one moment, ſhee is of a meeke Queene become a tyranne. At the beginninge, when ſhee ſeemed much offended for the murder of her ſecretarie, the more parte of the nobilitie propoſed to her the diworce and ſeparatioun from her huſband, which ſhee iuſtlie might hawe done, if ſhee did ſo much ſtomoke and malice him as the rebelles alledge nowe. And you, Morton, received into fawour, reſtored to your honour and goodes, made often owertures theroff vnto her, and namelie to make it paſſe throwe if ſhee wold, denie if you can or darre. I am heire to iuſtifie it, and ſhall ſtande one daie in the preſence of the Almightie to accuſe you: ſpeake man, if yee hawe a face, or ſenſles bound conſcience: fie for ſhame, you are guiltie of that I charge you with. Denie, denie not, leaſt you fall into the condemnatioun of the deuil. When you often propounded vnto her Maieſtie, did ſhee not ewer aunſwere you, that her huſbande was but younge and litle experienced for want of yeares, and that it was a eſie thinge to bringe him to wertue, and that he was of his owen nature a goode man and weele enclined, and that the corruption he had came of euil councell of thoſe that wer neither freindes to him nor to her Maieſtie. You ſee then the ſynceire lowe of this ladie to her deare huſband, and by conſequence the preſumption of all euil will deſtroyed, which is the foundatioun, (but groundles,) vpon which her accuſars hawe builte all ther odious accuſatiounes, odious, I ſaie, in the ſight of God and man, ſhee being the miſtres and ſoweraigne, and the thinge they laie to her charge falſe in the ſelff.

Touchinge the ſeconde and thirde article of her accuſation, touch-

inge contempt and faith of mariage, which they think to werifie by letters miſſiwe, which they ſaie ſhee had written to the Erl Boithwell, that is a moſt wile, impudent and bloodie reproch, and meerelie by them falſlie and maliciouſlie dewiſed to giwe ſhowe and cullour to ther deſigned concluſion they propoſe, to drawe therof that which they pretended, namelie the murder, for it is to be preſumed that an adulterous woman maketh no more conſcience to proſtitute her owen bodie to ther indiſcrete and vnbridled concupiſcence, then ſhee doeth to be acquanted with the purpoſe of the murder and plottes tending therto, and the execution therof by the murderars. To this end they alledge ſome particular actions, ſo weele painted and diſguiſed, ſo weele vpholden, ſo weele deſcribed and ſigned boith by the names and ſurenames of perſons, the circumſtances of time and place, of thinges, of ther endes and ewentes, that the moſt wiſe and beſt adwiſed maie heirin be deceiwed and abuſed, and we aunſwere heiruntill by denyinge all: for her Maieſtie calleth God and his holie angellis to witnes, that all theſe thinges ar onlie falſe and inwented at ther pleaſure, wheroff her accuſars cannot werifie one point; for touching the letters by them brought and produced, intendinge to make this ther ſuireſt and onlie proowe to all ther accuſatiouns, her Maieſtie ſweareth and proteſteth ſolemnlie in the faith of chriſtian Princes, and by the redemption of her ſoule, that ſhee newer wrete them, and that they hawe beene ſuborned and dewiſed by her ennemies, and extorted from ſome one that could counterfeit her hand. This not the firſt time that they hawe uſed this meanes. Murraie, heire preſent, knoweth weele what to ſaie, if he wold confeſſe the truth, which is newertheles ſo weele knowen, and hath beene ſo weele awerred, that he can not denie it; for when the Lord Gordoun, eldeſt ſonne and heire to the Earl of Huntlie, was priſoner at Dumbarre, Murraie diſpatched in all haiſte a man of his owen to Craigmillar, capitan of the ſaide caſtle, with letters counterfeiting her Maieſties hand wretinge, by the which he com-

maunded him, that vpon the receipt of theſe letters, incontinentlie without all delaie he ſhould ſtrike of the ſaide Lordes heade. But the capitan, being a milde, courteous and gratious man, not inclined to crueltie at all, piteinge the younge Lordes eſtate, did ſhewe him the letters, and tooke adwiſe to deferre the execution, till that he vnderſtoode forder her Maieſties goode pleaſour by her ſelff from her owen mouth, and for this purpoſe he poſted to the Courte, then diſtant twentie Scottiſh miles from that place; he reported to her Maieſtie howe the younge Lord ſaide to him he ſhould hawe no harme, in confidence of the which promeſe he did relie him ſelff vpon her Maieſties mercie.

The capitan tolde her he was ſtriken amazed and aſtoniſhed at ſuch a commandement, he beinge in preſence when her Maieſtie thus promeſed him his ſaiwetie: he ſpared no trawell, but came by poſt in all haiſte to her Maieſtie, and came to her palace when ſhee was nowe in bed at reſt, the gates beinge ſhutte; he importuned her Maieſties guarde, who refuſed to lett him enter the palace, till ſome of the bed chamber hearinge a greate ſturre and noiſe tooke notice theroff, and by commaundement from her Maieſtie bidde them lett the partie come to her preſence whoſoewer it wer, who, when he had preſented himſelff to her vpon his knees, tolde her howe he had put in execution the contentes of her letters, namelie that he had put to death her Maieſties younge cuſinge, the younge Lord Gordoun, ſonne and heire to the Earle of Huntlie. At the reporte wheroff, ſhee beganne to take her ſelff by the haire, curſinge, abhorringe and deteſtinge the firſt authouris and cauſſers theroff. Then the capitan much conforted, thanked God, that he had not obeyed the counterfeete letters, which he ſhewed her, and the firſt ſighte ſhee thought ſhee had ſett her hand to wrete them all and ſubſcribed her name, albeit conſideringe them and the contentes ſhee weele and perfitlie remembered after ſhee newer thought vpon ſuch a thinge all her liffe, nor yeet did ewer anie mowe her in anie ſuch

thinge, and althought they had, ſhee wold newer conſented to ſuch a thinge, beſides all ordour of lawe.

But in the end, Murraie was founde to be the wreter and ſender of the cruell miſſiwe and mandate, that this magnanimous younge Lord might be diſpatched out of his waie, who, beinge a man of manie freindes, and of greate might, perhappes might hinder his hie attemptes in aſperinge to the croune, and ſpeedelie rewenge his fathers death by him, vnder the borrowed name of the Queene, moſt treacherouſlie ſlaine and murdered after the batle, and after he had yielded him ſelff to be brought and conducted to her Maieſtie, to purge him ſelff of that wheroff he was accuſed by his mortall ennemies, and to declare to her his innocencie. And to the end, my Lordes, you maie thinke this to be ſpoken in jeſte and borrowed for goode paiement, marke and beholde the letters: and ſayinge this, he deliwered the letters in ther handes, and ſome ſuch other like ſtuffe counterfeeted by Murraie and his complices, wheroff they wer eſhamed and bluſhed, not knowinge or yeet beinge able to replie.

It is weele knowen, that the letters of Marie Betun, one of her Maieſties ladies of honour, reſembled ſo nearelie thoſe of her miſtres, that it is not poſſible to deſcerne the one hand wretinge from the other: yee hawe alſo at this daie by your juglinge, where you learned it I knowe, except that God be mercifull and put remedie to it, wilbe the owerthrowe of manie in ther liwes and ſtates, nowe brought in the realme a moſt dewiliſh and lewde practiſe, that manie hawe learned of you to counterfeete mennes handes ſo cunninglie, wheroff you knowe ſome that can ſo naturallie and cunninglie imitate the hand vretinge of an other, that you wold miſtake your owen hand writinge, and approwe and allowe that for yours which hath beene falſifeed by them, and you newer did ſee with your eyes before. We ſaie then, that the Queene newer wrete thoſe letters, and albeit ſhee had wrettin them, they could

make no prooffe againſt her, nor be receiwed in iudgment; for they be *(sine die et consule)* as the prowerbe is, we knowe not what time they wer written, nor by whom, nor where, neither ſuperſcribed nor endorſed with the name or perſon of anie perſon, nor ſigned, nor ſealed, nor the wretinge knowen or challenged of anie, and yeet will you hawe her Maieſtie condemned of ſo greate and heinous a crime? Of this will you bringe a neceſſarie argument not onlie of her vnchaſtitie, but alſo of the hatred, mortall enmitie and crueltie wherwith ſhee ſhould hawe proſecuted her lowinge huſband; ther is no ſuch proceedinge againſt the moſt abiect of her ſubiectes; ther is not keept from them the preſcript forme of the lawes; the order of iuſtice is not keepte backe; they be not ſpeedelie caſt as guiltie without dewe prowe, concludinge forciblie for iudgment lawfull. You will ſaie, theſe letters wer directed to Boithwell: we denie it; how will you be able to prowe the contrarie? You will ſaie, they wer founde within a litle coffer of ſilwer perteninge to the Queene: we ſaie, that if it be ſo, you your ſelwes hawe put them there; for Mr James Balfoure, capitan of the caſtle of Edinburgh, hawinge ſtollen awaie her Maieſties jewelles that was in it perteininge to her Maieſtie, was corrupte by you for rewarde, and yeelded him ſelff to your ſide and betraied his miſtres, deliwer her ſtrongeſt hold of the heade borrowe and citie of the kingdome in your handes, he not hawinge anie warrant from her Maieſtie ſo to do: He was a ſcholar of Machewell, weele practiſed in manie thinges, not altogether ignorant of the Latine and French tongues: neither will wee ſaie and ſtande to it, that it was he that forged theſe letters, but onlie that he is a man, readie and wittie enough to do ſuch a thinge, if he ones did purpoſe ſo in his minde. Suppoſe it be, or anie other that wrete them and put them in the ſaide coffer, it is all one to us, ſince it was in your power to put therin whatſoewer you pleaſed. We onlie denie it, that it was her Maieſtie, or anie perſon to her knowledge, or

anie that can awouch it of her. Whome will you make to beliwe it, that ſuch a prudent and a wiſe Princes could ſo much forgett her ſelff as to wrete ſuch letters, to ſerwe for a memoriall and infallible argument of her turpitude? Is it poſſible that ſhee hath been ſo carles of her goode name and renoune, or that ſhee had ſo litle regarde of her ſelff, that ſhee ſent ſuch letters to Boithwell, all open to bee wiewed and ſeene of all to whoſe handes they might come? But to come to the purpoſe, who was the bearar of them? the man which you ſee in the moone! Was Boithwell ſo farre from the courte, that it was needfull to wrete ſuch ſecrete maters to him by open letters, and no waies diſguiſed nor concealed? Was Boithwell ſo blokiſhe and colde in lowe? Saie, it was needfull for a Queene, and ſhee the moſt beutifull in the world, to drawe and winne him by verſes, and charme him by poeſie.

But what is the ſubiect of theſe letters? Ther is not anie mention of murderinge, killinge, or vſinge anie ſorte of crueltie. What is then the ſubiect of them? Fooliſhe lowe. Boithwell was a man much giwen to ſuch thinges, ewerie one knoweth it, and that ther was no neede to drawe him to it by ſuch dewiſes. He depairted not from the courte, and it had been a waine and ſuperfluous thinge to him, which hath his reſidence ther, that it might hawe been communicated to him by mouth, to hawe the mater writen to him in vncloſed letters, wherthrowe it might hawe beene publiſhed and blaſed abroade, to ſerwe to all poſterities for a perpetuall note of her infamie and follie.

And to what end had he keepte them in this coffer, ſince by her it is expreſſie commanded to burne them? did he not knowe that this coffer paſſed throwe manie peoples handes? did he not knowe that theſe letters might hawe cauſed him die the death, if they had fallen into the Queenes handes, he not hawinge done againe her expreſſe commaunde, which was to burne them? Be it that they fell into the handes of his ennemies: they wold deſire no better ſubiect to moleſt and annoie him;

he wanted no thinge what he foirſawe: Did he not the inconvences beinge eſpied, foirſee the danger he might fall into? If the keepinge then of ſuch letters wer to him moſt dangerous, and could profite him no thinge, nor bringe him no contentment, it is not to be preſumed that he put them in the coffer; and albeit he had putt them ther, ſo yeet it is, that they wer not thither ſent him in the behalfe of the Queene, but by ſome other ladie of more auncient acquaintance.

Let us proceede to the readinge of them; werie ſhame and modeſtie hindereth me to paſſe anie furder to aunſwere the deedes builded vpon theſe conieƈtures drawen from the letters; the ſallettis and filth of them beinge more ſtronge then thoſe of Meſſalin, or Marcus Aurelius wiffe. But ſuch conieƈtures ar ſo colde, that I am amazed howe the inventer of them durſte digreſſe from reaſon, conſideringe the reputation of his knoweledge, which thoſe of his ſeƈt hawe publiſhed throughout all Europe, giwinge him the title of the prince of all the poetes of our age. If this woorde poeſie be taken for a fable, and poet for a deviſer of lies and fables of things that newer wer indeed, hawinge dwelte all his liffe amongeſt the ſtewes and brothelhouſes, amongeſt filthie vnchaſt perſouns, litle knewe he the honourable cariage of perſons of eſtate, in the courtes of Princes, and that made him wrete ſuch lies, and ſo we graunt he maie weele be called a ſhameleſſe poet, yea the moſt ſhamleſſe in that facultie in our age, or that hath beene in anie age before us. Paris in Fraunce can weele witnes the honeſt cariage of this man, and his goode experience he had in ſuch baudie maters, as he hath publiſhed abroade in the world, and nowe is not eſhamed to repeate, with a braſen face, defilinge the aire and offendinge your chaſte eares. As for my ſelff, I can neither heare with patience ſuch filth, nor ſpeake of it openlie, leaſt I ſhould be ſaide to paſſe the boundes of modeſtie and honeſtie. But he couched vp his baudie conieƈtoures and filthie ſuſpicions vnder ſuch vnhoneſt tearmes and ſpeech, that Sardanapalus him ſelff, nor Epicurus,

Buchannan.

maie ſeeme not to hawe beene ſo weele acquanted and practiſed in Venus games, as this filthie epicure is. Let his Leonoras and Eliſaes, and the reſt of this mans filthie companions witnes this. Fie vpon the filthie baude, was thou not eſhamed to range and drauke thy renouned ſoweraigne miſtres amongeſt thy Eliſaes and Leonoraes? If thou haddeſt knowen wherupon to founde the prowes of the alledged faultes, which thou, ſhameleſſe willaine, charges thy Prince with, thowe wooldeſt not hawe recourſe to thy filthie lowes, to drawe theroff preſumptions no waies fitting the purpoſe; thou woldeſt not openlie before the world belie the honour, wertue, chaſtitie and honeſtie of ſo greate a Princes, weele knowen in Fraunce of all the greate eſtates ther, and which had newer beene euill thought of in Scotland, but by thè and thy complices here preſent, diſloiale traitours, and more then capitall ſpitefull ennemies of your miſtres.

Touchinge the fourte article of ther accuſatioun, thè urge her with the litle and ſmall account that ſhee made of her huſband after his death, aſweele in regarde of the ſorrowe, as in reſpect of his buriall. O, howe eaſie a thinge it is to finde faulte with thoſe who excell in manie thinges, be it vertue, honour, or riches; in ther greateſt fortune is there leaſt libertie, ſaieth Saluſtius, for they can do no thinge ſo dexterouſlie, that ther ennemies do not finde meanes to gaineſaie by finiſter interpretatioun. The corpes of this Prince, after her Maieſtie had beheld it with the ſorrowfulleſt hearte that could be, and ſheddinge teares plentifullie with great commiſeratioun, was by her commandement enbaulmed and wrapte vp in ſearecloth, and then enterred by my Lord Juſtice Clarke, the Larde of Traquhare and theſe of the nobilitie, who wer then at courte, amongeſt the ſepultures of the Kinges her owen aunceſtours, and where Kinge James 5 her Maieſties father had beene buried. Coulde ſhee burie him in a more honourable place? If the ceremonies of the funerall wer not ſuch as it was meete, wherunto ſhould one impute the

faulte? Her Maieſties deſire had no place, who greatlie deſired that ſuch ceremonies ſhould hawe beene uſed, as wer accuſtomed to be done at the enterringe of the Kinges her predeceſſouris, but ther was not anie perſon to performe her will. As for the councell they wer ſecretlie of the rebelles factioun. As touchinge her ſorrowe, did ſhee not keepe her cloſet? was ſhee not longe enough without ſeeinge daie? what affurance had ſhee of her liff, if ſhee had continowed ſtill in one place ſo longe as ſhee deſired, if ſhee had not betime chaunged her ludginge to prewent your commotions and treacheries againſt her, who alſo before had killed her huſband? Shee knewe weele that you had killed her huſband, and that you wold not content yourſelwes with that offence and facte, onles you compaſſed the remainder. Shee feared your deſignes not without goode cauſe, the effectes of your goode will, after followinge, gaiwe ſufficient and certane prowe, that ſhee of right ought to hawe doubted you, and not to ſoiourne ſo longe in one place, but to remowe often without your knoweledge aſmuch as ſhe coulde. You mocked and ieſted amongeſt yourſelwes at the keepinge of her cloſet, at her candle, at her blacke mourninge attire; nowe you blame her that ſhee tooke not longe enough time in performinge theſe deueties, which you helde in conſcience to be ſuperſtitious, and you do inferre ſhee killed her huſband. O ſtrange concluſions! I praie you, wold anie of you be content, that anie of you ſhould be ſaide to hawe killed your wiwes, if you hapned not to keepe all the accuſtomed ceremonies of murninge after ther deathe? or do your wiwes murne thus for ther huſbands, as ſhee did for hers? or hawe your mothers doone the like for [ther] huſbandes? You knowe weele they hawe not: albeit ſhee had doone none of the thinges you do require, it is not a thinge ſo reprehenſible and blamewoorthie or odious, as you wold make it; you can newer name anie Queene in Scotland, that hath doone as you alledge. You ought not to meaſure this Queene by the factes of otheris, who wer no thinge ellis after the deceaſe of ther

huſbands but Douriers. Shee after the deathe of her huſband was a ſoweraigne Queene; ſhee helde no thinge of her huſband, but on the contrarie, he had no thinge but what he helde of her. Nowe to conclude this article, if in her ſoule ſhee had iudged her ſelff culpable of his death, had ſhee not witt enough to diſguiſe the faulte by exquiſite and ſumpteous funerallis, with outcryinges and lamentatiouns, and all other inwentiouns and ſingularities, which it had beene poſſible to dewiſe, which is uſuallie done of thoſe who wold obſcure and cower ſuch a facte. This obiection doeth merite no anſwere, it is ſo friwolous.

Lett us come therefore to the fifte, which is the moſt pregnant and biting of all, which alone ſeemeth to hawe ſo greate weighte, that the preſumption riſing theroff ſhould beare awaie the definitiue ſentence of this controuerſie. For theſe woordes, ſhee had maried the murderar of her huſband, ſollie and ſimplie pronounced, giwe ſuch a deepe and violent impreſſion, that the hearte of thoſe who conſidereth it, beinge no otherwiſe informed in theſe affaires, and owerpaſſe maters that thè liewe no ſcruple nor doubte, but that ſhee was conſentinge to the murder: But when the deede ſhalbe with the circumſtances diſcowered as it befell, her accuſars, that impoſe vpon her this crime, darre not ſhewe ther faces before this companie, althought it wer of ſteile which can not bluſhe, ſo ſhameleſſe, ſo aſſured and framed they ar in ther impudencie. If the firſt propoſinge of this mariage had been intimated by her Maieſtie, if it had beene made and accorded by her meere motion, and executed by her owen onlie will, without forcinge and vrginge of anie other, ther might hawe beene iuſte occaſion to ſuſpect the worſe; but if they, who do this daie blame her, hawe beene themſelwes the authouris theroff; if they hawe forced her Maieſties will to giwe her conſent therunto; if they, by forcible reaſons, hawe induced her therunto; if by threates and ſoure boaſtinge, they hawe forced her to do it, howe darre they ſtone her for a worke proceedinge from ther owen

cunninge? howe can they condemne the faulte of ther owen fundation? Methinkes I ſee the old men before me which accuſed Suſanna, and the wiff of Putiphor, that falſlie accuſed Joſeph of the crime wheroff he was innocent and ſhee culpable: Hawe you ewer ſuch Scogganizine? He was moſt leude fellowe who, to cower his wickednes, did ordinarilie impoſe and returne and retorte them vpon thoſe whom he had induced to do faultes; wherupon came the proverb, plaie you the Scoggin with me? which is aſmuch as to ſaie, as if after you hawe beaten me, you complaine firſt your ſelff. The Engliſh vnderſtand weele this worde. Hould, heire be the letters of Murraie goinge into Fraunce, reade, peruſe and conſider them; and you, Sirs, the accuſars, knowe you your wretinges, marke the ſignes of your handes: and as he thus ſaide, he produced Murraies letters and ſome other of his complices, by which he councelled his miſtres not onlie to take the Earle of Boithuell to her huſband, but threatned her alſo with greate inconveniences, if ſhee refuſed him. Ther was alſo produced a proiect to this mariage ſigned by the accuſars, and of the more parte of the nobilitie deliwered into Boithuelles handes, to ſhewe to her Maieſtie ther reſolution, and that ſhee muſt needes go that waie, if ſhee wold not endure that which was worſe. And in ſhewinge this contract, he continewed his ſpeech, ſayinge, you can not denie your ſubſcriptions to theſe letters, you can not miſtake your ſignes appoſed to this contract: we deſire alſo that you wold vnderſtand, aknoweledge and confeſſe the greate commendatiouns of Boithwell, which you ſonge dailie to her Maieſtie, the affrighters and brages you made, if ſhee did not marie him. Shee had put him into your handes to the end to do iuſtice, you did declare him innocent of the crime, and hawe exempted him from puniſhment, that by iuſtice was due vnto him, giwinge ten thouſand mockes and floutes for puniſhment to her maieſtie to drawe her to this diſhonour, and conſtraine her to accept of that partie ſo litle ſortinge to her greatnes. Remember your ſelwes of your glorious othes,

with proteſtatiouns of perpetuall fidelitie, if it pleaſed her to accept of him, whom you would name to ſerwe her for a goode and loiale companion, to aſſiſt her in all her afairs, to confort her in all her difficulties, and to defend her againſt the aſſaultes of her ennemies.

And nowe as touchinge you, wnworthie man, deſſemblinge and traitorous hypocrite Biſhope of Orkneie, ar you not eſhamed to ſhowe your ſelff in this companie? Was not you that made the mariage you nowe blame? was not you that ioined them together in face of holie Church? was it not you that gaiwe the nuptiall benediction? who ewer forced you to do it? whie do you not make declaratioun of this iniuſte impoſition? whie do you not thinke that you hawe committed treaſon to conceale your miſtres, that he that was about to marie her was the deathe of her huſbande? Should you hawe made the mariage, hawinge your conſcience charged with this knowen ſinne? The duetie of a Biſhope and order which you hold in the church commandeth you to reſiſt it and hinder it. Her Maieſtie hath ewer beene an obedient child to the church, and wold not hawe beene ſo obſtinat as to hawe withſtoode the ordinances of the church, if you wold hawe uſed newer ſo litle authoritie, and hawe ſhowen her the faulte of the mariage: you ſhould then hawe done that which this daie you doe: you had ſaiwed the honoure of your miſtres, and the liff of manie a goode gentleman, which, by reaſon of your ſilence, be deade in the quarrell. Ther bloode is to be required at your handes, and one daie you ar to aunſwere it. Bluſhe, bluſhe, if you hawe anie ſhame or conſcience, bluſhe you ſonnes of the father of lies, in accuſinge the dead, wheroff you your ſelwes be the onlie authouris. The moſt conſtant woman in the world, hawinge paſt the extremitie of fortune, as this ladie hath done, and hawinge to do with men of your humour, beinge all ſett on miſcheiffe, durſte not hawe taken other reſolution, but that which by her hath beene taken maugrie her intention, minde and deſire: and yeet ſhee ſweareth, and ſolemnlie proteſteth, that ſhee wold

hawe rather died ten thouſand deathes, if it had been poſſible, then to hawe conſented to this mariage, if ſhee had had the leaſt ſuſpition in all the world, that Boithwell had beene partaker in the treacherie of her huſbandes death. But her rebelles which nowe accuſe her, hawe ewer perſuaded her the contrarie, till ſhee had deliwered vp her ſelff into ther handes at Carbarriehill, where and when they begann to chaunge ther toungues, and giwe her firſt to underſtand ther willenie in accuſinge him, whom before they had ſo heighlie commended vnto her. It is weele ſeene at this inſtant to what end theſe commendations wer giwen, the werie marke and deſigne of ſuch threatninge is weele perceiwed was not anie lowe they bare to Boithwell, but a bate to trape ther miſtres; it was not the goode of the realme, as they feineed and made ſhewe of, but the ſcandale and honour of her Maieſtie to ſerwe for the adwancement of ther cauſe, and to open the waie to uſurpatioun of the croune and ſtate, in ſpoilinge her, as you ſie, by force, to whome by right of nature it belongeth. The landes ſtand for her to be reſtored ſo farre foorth, that all action ſhould be denied them, that hawe vniuſtlie and with publict force rebelled againſt her, and bereawed her her right.

But ther reſteth yeet one pointe not to be paſſed ower in ſilence, which is the reportes and confeſſiouns made vpon the torture by two or thrie of Boithwelles ſerwantes, that wer condemned to death for participatinge in this cruell parricide. God knoweth what that torture of the bootes and racke will make a man, thorowe the paine theroff, to confeſſe and ſaie ewen of himſelff, let be of others. Alace, what courſe of lawe was it that her Maieſties mortall ennemies ſhould make the interrogatories, prompte ther aunſwers who wer tormented and prompte ther confeſſions, ſuch [as] they beſt pleaſed to hawe them make, and to cauſe wrete whatſoewer they pleaſed to dewiſe they ſaide to touch the honour of ther miſtres. In the proceſſe of this verball queſtion, you ſee not one worde of Morton, or of

his cuſinge Mr Archebalde Douglas; and yeet they wer boith charged by theſe that wer tortured, the one, that he ſigned with his hand the conſpiracie of this parricidė, for the which after he iuſtlie was executed; the other, that he was preſent at the cruell facte in perſon. But theſe wer not they which they ſought after: they wold hawe none but thè whom thè named in ewerie interrogatorie in urginge the crime vpon the tormented pacientes. What hawe they in the end ſaide to her preiudice, and in what hawe they charged her, lett us ſee. I praie you conſider and examine the articles of your verball proceſſe, of the which you do make your ſtandard and banner in all your calumnious libellis, and which you hawe allone for all your prowe inſerted in the confeſſion of John Hepbron in theſe woordes:—Let no man do euil at the perſuaſion of the greate, thinking that they will ſaiwe them; for I thought the ſame nighte the murder was doone, it came to ewerie mannes knoweledge, yeet that none durſt be ſo bold as to ſaie, it was euill doone, ſeinge the ſubſcription of the handes of ſo manie perſons, knowinge it to be the intention of the Queene.

See all that you can extorte from theſe poore miſerable ſoules, by your owen informatioun againſt your ſoweraigne ladie and miſtres. See all that which you can builde with ſo manie cruell blowes of your bittle and mallet, your ſelff beinge ther promoters, contentinge you in that one of them hath ſpoken ſomewhat to the diſgrace of your Queene by your inſtigatioun. But I praie you, let [us] come to the neare triall of the mater: Howe knewe he it to be the Queenes intention and minde? hath he ſpoken with her? or hath ſhee ewer declared to him her intention? Shee wold newer hawe beene ſo fooliſh, if ſhee had gone about anie ſuch thinge, and you can not be bolde to afferme it for the open ſhame of the world: how did he knowe it then? by the report of Boithwell his maiſter? That might weele be, that Boithwell gaiwe him to underſtand, that the intention of her Maieſtie was ſuch, to the

end he might the better compaſſe the attempt he went about. But moſt certane it is, that Boithwell hath ewer diſcharged her Maieſtie of the crime, yea, in the werie point of death he did ſweare and proteſt her innocencie, that he newer hard her ſpeake of the conſpiracie, but that the accuſers ther preſent wer the authouris, principall interpoſers and negotiatouris, that putt in his heade this vnhappie and abominable deſigne, and that hawe ſubſcribed and ſealed with ther handes it, before that ewer he thought vpon anie ſuch thing.

I praie you let me vnderſtand, whether they had anie care to examine this John Hepbron anent the ſubſcriptions mentioned in his confeſſion, knowinge weele that it was them ſelwes and ther companions of which he ſpoke, as in the like Tala, Dagliſhe and Paris, they did not care to make anie inquiſition concerninge the manuall ſubſcriptions alleged; all of them beinge in the executioners handes, and readie to ſuffer, diſcharged the Queene, reiecting all the cauſe of the crime, and the execution theroff vpon them which made ſhewe to rewenge it, yea, ſome of the French men that ſuffered for the fact wer ſo plaine, that before ther death they openlie, vpon the ſcaffolde, did namelie repete the names of all the nobilitie conſpiratouris, that had ſubſcribed vnto the murder and ſubſequent mariage, beginninge with Murraie and Morton, charginge them to be the firſt authouris, and the principall cauſſers of boith.

But this no newes nor ſtrange thinge for them that hawe committed anie great treaſon, to go about with tooth and naile to make the ſame be puniſhed in the perſons of innocentes, as our accuſers hawe done, findinge in ther conſciences them ſelwes guiltie of the parricide, hawe made ſixe or ſewen innocenter perſons then them ſelwes ſuffer death, that they may ſaie they hawe done iuſtice, and to be thought themſelwes cleare of the facte. Allace, they might ſoone cauſe theſe poore creatouris, without ſupporte, without freindis, and without meanes, to ſaie what thè

wold hawe them, and than putt them to death for ther rewarde when they had doone, notwithſtandinge they promeſed them fawour if they wold charge the Queene, and hence came that ſuggeſted depoſition of the ſaid Hepbron alledged. I praie you tell me, how hapned it that they did not atteach Sir James Balfoure, whome they did weele knowe to ſtand charged by the depoſitions of thoſe damned perſons whom they made to be executed? Becauſe he wold hawe diſcowered the potte of roſes: He knewe all the myſterie, and had the handes of Murraie, Morton and ther complices, as he had ſince made it knowen ſome fewe yeares after to the Kinge and to his councell, that wer at ſome oddes and diſſention with the ſaide Morton. What perſuite hawe they made againſt Mr Archebalde Douglaſſe, that was the cheiff man at the murder of this diſtreſſed Prince? You ſie then, my Lordes, the apparence that ther is in the preſumptiones vpon which they founde ther accuſatioun. But if you pleaſe to conſider the contrarie preſumptions that ſerwe for the diſcharge of her roiale Maieſtie, you ſhall ſee the accuſers ſo compaſſed in ther afairs, that they ſhall newer be able to finde an outgate for themſelwes.

1. Touchinge the firſt, I wold willinglie aſke you, whome will you ewer make to beliwe, that ſhee wold hawe yeelded her ſelff ſo frielie, and without conſtrainte, into the handes of her ennemies at Carbarrie hill, if her conſcience had condemned her of this cruell murder? 2. What profite could ſhee hawe by ſuch her crueltie? As for her huſband, was he not younge, beautifull, and more agreeable ewerie waie then Boithuel? If ſhee had beene ſo light and giwen to her pleaſures, as her ennemies ſaie, the liffe of her huſband wold hawe ſerwed her better for the effect of her deſires then his death; for beſides the enioyinge of his perſonne, ſo faire as was poſſible, younge, luſtie, nimble, ſhee might hawe had Bothuellis companie at her pleaſur, which for her had beene better as a freind then as a huſband, and wold hawe thought him ſelff

moſt happie to hawe ſerwed ſuch a ladie; and if ſhee had beene willinge, no man could hawe hindered it, ſhee hawinge witt enough to hawe awoided ſuſpition, and to take her pleaſure, and that without ſcandall. Seeinge then, they can alledge no other reaſon then this, by which they can argue and taxe her of ſo horrible a crime, they muſt reſt them ſelwes content with reaſon more peremptorie, which ſhee had to conſerwe her ſelff from it: 3. The mortall enimitie which Murraie and his adherentes did beare to this Prince ewer ſince his mariage, and the feare that the ſaide Murraie had to be killed by him before, for beinge miſcontent with him ſelff, that he was ſo willanouſlie abuſed by his councell, and induced to murder the poore Secretarie by the accuſatiouns and exquiſite lies, he was reſolwed and purpoſed to rewenge this death vpon Murraie, and vpon the reſt of the actouris and inſtigatours of it. For the 4. the ambitious pride, inſatiable deſire of Murraie, which manifeſtlie appeareth by the ſubſtitution to the croune which he required, and adiudginge it to the name onlie of the Steuarde, and naming him ſelff and his iſſue to hawe the firſt place, and by the hinderances he made dailie to ſtoppe the mariages of her Maieſtie, and by the ambuſhes he prepared for her Maieſties ſelff, and her huſband and his father to kill him, by the cauſſes of diſcorde and diworce ſewed out by him, brieflie by the uſurpation of the croune and the gowernement, which we ſee this daie in his handes. 5. The departinge and abſentinge of Murraie, the daie before the murder was committed, from the courte, to exempt him ſelff from ſuſpition that he knewe anie thinge theroff, when, notwithſtandinge, within a fewe daies after, the Lord Harriſe, heir preſent, ſaide to your face openlie at your owen table, Murraie, amongeſt vther table talke ſaide to him, this nighte before the morninge the Lord Dernlie ſhall looſe his liffe. And thus ſaide, he biddeth the Lord Harriſe ſpeake as he wold aunſwer to God in this pointe, and held his peace, till the ſaide

Lorde had ended his ſpeeche, beginninge thus: I N. Lord Harriſe do charge you, N. Murraie, that within a few daies after the Lord Dernlie was cruellie murdered, I plainlie and trulie burdened you with the foireknowledge of the ſame murder, becauſe, that before your ridinge into Fiffe, with one of your moſt truſtie ſerwantes the ſame daie wherin you departed from Edinburgh, ſaide to me, amongſt other table talke then, This night, before the morninge, the Lord Dernelie ſhall looſe his liffe. Denie this if you darre or can. Heir vpon my honour, I am redie to defend with my bodie, liffe, lands and goods, ſo longe as I hawe breth, againſt the falſe diſſembling traitours, and all others of your faction whatſoewer. And thus ſaide the Lord held, and the ſpeaker beganne againe, proceedinge thus: Nowe, my Lordes, judge you indifferentlie, and to verifie my lordes ſpeaches againſt Murraie, it is alledged, he reiterated the ſame woordes to a freinde of his the ſame werie daie, when as they wer in the boate paſſinge the ferrie touardes Fiffe. 6. The contract of mariage with Boithwell was ſigned by theſe accuſars. And 7. The inſtrument of conſpiracie by them ſubſcribed and ſealed with ther armes, containinge the promeſe made to him that ſhoulde kill the Kinge, to defend and mantaine him againſt all that ſhould perſue. To which accorde the depoſitiouns of John Hepborn, Dagliſh, Paris and others, made at the werie pointe of ther deathes in a moſt frequent and affluence, when they rekned on the names of the Lordes of the nobilitie who wer guiltie of the ſaide murder; as alſo did the ſtrangers which wer executed; whom the people hearinge, aſked what the man ſaide of the nobilitie, Murraies faworites, hearinge all his faction named aſweele as others, thurſte the people abake from the ſcaffold that they ſhould heare no more, and, to ſatiſfie the people, tolde them, that they aſked my Lord Regentes grace (which is Murraie) forgiwenes, for that they had reſiſted his authoritie, and craiwed him pardon in the younge Kinges behalfe for the cruell

murder. Marke, marke weele, my Lordes, ponder, weie and conſider. On the contrarie, ther was newer founde anie one witnes that could charge her Maieſtie with anie faulte, nor yeet did anie of theſe who ſuffered, burden her in ther depoſitiouns, they beinge ſcanned and pondered conſcionablie accordinge to the courſe of lawe, with the knoweledge of the murder.

Theſe preſumptions, which be much more forcible then theſe of the contrarie partie, weie them weele, adwiſe vpon them; and to them will adioine the abſolution of Boithwel, graunted by them, ther greate malice, who, in ſteade of aduertiſing her Maieſtie that the ſaide Boithwell was the murderar of her huſband, praiſed him ewerie daie, by meanes of which ther praiſes, and incace her Maieſtie did make anie leaſt ſigne of miſlike of anie ther ſpeeches, they threatned and affrighted her ſo, that they conſtrained her to marie him, which was the butte they ſhotte at, that they might hawe ſome apparent reaſon to inwade the eſtate, and diſpoſeſſe her of the croune. And albeit all other preſumptions and conie&tours ſhould ceaſe, the inſtant proceſſe they make againſt her ſheweth the greate intereſt which they hawe, what ther intention is, and that it was not anie zeale of iuſtice which leadeth them.

When I conſider the maner of ther proceedinge, methinkes I ſee the maiſter of the Kinges palace, to proſecute the murderars of the Kinge his maiſter, which murder him ſelff at the perſuaſion of Your Engliſh hiſtories make the like report of Vortiger, which I omit for brevitie, leavinge it to your readinge: you underſtand the mater and purpoſe our accuſers hawe done the like, for they newer had anie token of lowe to ther maiſter while he liwed, but then when they uſed his youth for to griewe, wex and torment his wiffe; and when he did repent him ſelff of folie, and tolde her that they had councelled him to committ all theſe griewances againſt her, they proſecuted him with malice and hatred to his laſt breth, and

maſſacred him, and beinge deade, they plaie the goode willans, they runne after the theiwes, beinge the moſt theiwes them ſelwes; they purſue them that be leaſt in faulte, not touchinge the cheiffe authouris, conductouris and executers of the cruell fact, for feare they ſhould be forced, if the lawe had the due execution, to accompanie them to the gallowes, whom they hawe ſend thither. Murraie hath ſeazed him ſelff of the eſtate, as did the diſloiale traitoure Vortiger: he hath made him ſelff Kinge, and Morton his liwetennant, and boith be the ſworne mortall ennemies of ther miſtres, and of her late huſband; and yeet ar they ſo fooliſhe as to thinke to make them ſelwes to appeare to be innocent, puttinge her in the ranke of them that they hawe made to die for executinge the treaſons and willanies by them commanded and done.

They hawe weele learned the deceate of Donewalde, ſometime capitan of the caſtle of Forres in Scotland, in the province of Murraie, who murdered his liege lord Duffus, and puniſhed cruellie manie innocentes, cruellie murderinge them for the foule facte which he him ſelff had done. But the Lord God in his mercie, who newer leaweth ſuch cruell factes vnpuniſhed, and the bloode of poore innocentes onrewenged, by a notable miracle made the authouris of the cruell murder manifeſt, and uſe being maide of extraordinarie woonder, cauſſed ewerie man be werie carfull to ſeeke out the authouris of the cruell murder. The ſunne did not ſhewe his lighte after this murder the ſpace of ſixe monethes ower Scotland, which made all the people to looke more ſtrictlie in the mater, and ſpeciallie the Lordes of the courte, who perceiwinge Gods angrie countenance towardes the whole land, by all meanes poſſible lauboured to bringe the crueltie to light, and conſultinge amongeſt them ſelwes deliberatlie, beganne to ſuſpect the too too buſieheade and the crueltie of this capitan, in puniſhinge manie ſimple people as thoughte they had beene the doars of the crueltie, and by diligent enquirie in the ende founde the ſaide Donewald and his wiffe and

familiar freindes and ſerwands, to be the onlie committers of the crueltie, whom all they puniſhed accordinglie.

Of later time, Robert 3 of that name, Kinge of Scotland, putt his eldeſt ſonne in the handes of the Duke of Albanie his vncle, to be brought vp and trained by him in all honourable vertue belonginge to ſuch a Prince; but in ſteade theroff, this wiked man, makinge haiſte and aſpiringe to the croune after the deathe of his decripite ſicklie brother, keepte this younge gentle man, then Duke of Rotheſaie, in ſtronge captiuitie at Falkland in preſon, where he ſo pined him with famine, that after he had eaten whatſoewer came to his hand, at laſt he did eate alſo his owen fingers, and in the end died. The authour of this cruell parricide purged him ſelff to the Kinge of the cruell facte, and barbarouſlie in his furie putt them to death for it that could do no thinge in it, and that had newer ſeene nor knowen this younge Prince.

Beholde the men of whom our Machiavilliane hawe learned to practiſe ſuch treacherie! Beholde the men of whome they hawe learned to cullour ther crimes, and to cloake them with the cullouris of equitie, iuſtice and conſcience, and to impoſe vpon this innocent Princes; the crime wheroff they coulde not cleare nor excuſe them ſelwes before anie competent indifferent iudge, to whom of right the knoweledge theroff ſhould appertaine. And I aſſure my ſelff, my Lordes, albeit you be ſuch as can not pretend anie iuriſdiction in this cauſe, that they durſt not yeet appeare before you, wer it not for the fawours and backinge of ſome of the greateſt men of the courte and councell of England: and moireower we wold hawe you to knowe, we be not come heire to craiwe iuſtice at your handes by reaſon of the iniuries and wronges doone to the Queene our miſtres by her vnnaturall ſubiectes, God, who hath anointed her, hawinge giwen her the ſworde of iuſtice in her owen handes, to chaſtiſe them accordinge to ther demerites, but to roote out of your heartes the ſiniſter opinions which her ennemies

might impreſſe in your heartes and mindes, by falſe reportes and lies. That which ſhee at this preſent demaundeth of the Queene of England, her goode ſiſter, is, that ſhee will aſſiſt her for the full reſtoringe of her to her eſtate accordinge to her former promeſes and ſince her affliction: vpon the which ſhee held her ſelff aſſured, albeit ſhee might hawe werie readie help elſewhere. Shee relieth her ſelff cheiflie vpon her, and more then anie other her allies for the deſire ſhee hath nowe to be obliged to her, giwinge this honour for her that ſhee is neare of bloode vnto her, that accordinge to the comoune order and courſe of nature, ſhee is to ſucceede to her, to her croune and roiale dignitie, if it ſhall pleaſe God to call her before her deceaſe.

When theſe ſpeeches wer ended, the accuſars brought for replie, the ordinances of the eſtates helde by them in Scotland, ſayinge, ther was no neede of anie other prooffe to proceede in iudgment of condemnation againſt ther miſtres, prayinge the Commiſſioners to paſſe yeet forder and giwe iudgment: To which they aunſwered, that it exceeded ther power, it beinge otherwiſe apointed by the Queene ther miſtres; they ſaide they wer onlie appointed to heare the mutuall complaintes and the reaſons of the two pairties, and to relate to her Maieſties councell which they had promeſed to do: giwinge in the meantime certane aſſignatioun to the one and the other, to appeare before ther miſtres and her councell at London; whither they returned, reportinge faithfullie all the deductions and the allegatiouns before them: They forder declared, what they coulde perceiwe the Queene of Scottes was innocent of all the crimes faſlie on her, impoſed by the accuſars, her ſubiectes and diſloiale traitouris, and that they them ſelwes wer the authoures of all the horrible factes they accuſed her off, and that the perſuite they made was to exempt them ſelwes from the crime by them committed, thinkinge by this meanes to purge them ſelwes, and to cower ther violent tyrannie and damnable uſurped authoritie in Scotland, which they had

inwaded, vnto the which the Queene ſhould and ought to be reſtored: they exhorted and councelled Queene Elizabeth to ioine hand with her, for manie iuſte and goode conſideratiouns. According to this adwiſe, the greateſt of her councell, and namelie the auncient nobilitie of England, propoſed thrie meanes to direct and order all that which was paſt, and to ſett this ladie in her throne, makinge in the meane time Elizabeth ſure of hers. 1. The firſt was that ſhee ſhould giwe aſſurance to Queene Elizabeth not to moleſt, or truble, or diſquiet her in the ſucceſſion fallen to her perſon by the title of the croune of England. 2. The ſeconde, that ſhee ſhould agrie with her rebellis and diſobedient ſubiectes, and extend her clemencie towardes them, giwinge them pardon and remiſſion of all ther offences, in publiſhinge them frie and quite of them, accordinge as her goode ſiſter the Queene of England, and her nobilitie and councell founde it meete ſhee ſhould do. 3. The thirde, that ſhee ſhould conſent to be mareed to ſome noble perſon of England, that might binde him ſelff for her to keepe all theſe promeſes that ſhee made to the ſaide Queene and her ſubiectes, which might be the true meanes to keepe theſe two realmes in perpetuall amitie and freindſhipe in all times heirafter to come.

They forder added, that by ther adwiſe, that the Queene of Scottes, hawinge gott ſo goode reputatioun and name, by her generous and noble actes and greate wertue, that it wold not nor ſhould not be taken from her darkned, depriwed or obſcured, no not by her ennemies, and hawinge ſo wiſelie gowerned her ſelff befor, and ſo conſtantlie and patientlie ſuffered aduerſities, ſhee ſeemed to them woorthie to be aknowledged and receiwed into her right of laufull heire apparent and ſecond perſon to ſuccede the Queene of England, and to raigne ower them as ther ſoweraigne when the time ſhould come, beinge nearer by bloode and ſucceſſion then anie other that could be preſented.

Theſe ſpeeches no thinge pleaſed Queene Elizabeth, nor her greateſt

faworites, which had an other hammer batinge in her heade, then the adwancement, profite and quiet of the Queene of Scottes, whom they deſired to hawe had a hundreth foote vnder the ground, and alſo her ſonne for the greate hinderance he was to ther deſignes, which was not at that time knowen, as ſince it hath beene, to continowe the ſucceſſion of the croune of England from baſtarde to baſtarde, which was the cauſe that not onlie the Lords, which put this opinion on foote, hawe beene after greatlie afflicted in ther perſons and goodes by falſe crimes urged againſt them, of thoſe of the faction of the dewiliſh Machiavillian traitour Leiceſter; but alſo, that the Queene of Scottes hath beene rigorouſlie handled and committed to more cloſſe warde, beinge putt in the handes of the Earle of Huntington, Leiceſters brother in lawe, who alſo was in confederatioun with Murraie, as for the right which ſhee pretended to the croune of England, and the feare that they had the ſaid ladie ſhould be declared ſeconde perſon of the realme to ſucceede vnto Elizabeth. Huntington, as he was commanded of Leiceſter, who then bare him ſelff as kinge, in regarde of the greate fawour he was in with Elizabeth, boith openlie and ſecretlie, offered this ladie his preſoner, manie willanies onworthie to be endured of the baſeſt woman in England, which, for ſhame of him ſelff, and ſtaininge of his honour, he ſhould hawe not doone.

Nowe to returne to the Queenes rebelles, Murraie and his complices. The daie nowe come of the appointed aſſignatioun to the parties by Elizabethes Commiſſioneris to appeare before her; they came accordinglie, and ſhee perceiwinge the accuſars troden vnder foote through diffidence of ther cauſe, makinge the other go aſide, ſhee ſhowe them howe little diligence they had uſed at Yorke, to make ther mater goode, and if they did not better, ſhee ſhould be conſtrained to ſend backe ther miſtres into her kingdome, and that ſhee could not of her honour refuſe nor denie her the ſuccour and ſupport ſhee demaunded her. But if on the contrarie, they wold take curage to proſecut her direclie before the coun-

cell of England, touchinge the murder of her huſband, ſhee wold aſſure them of her aide and aſſiſtance, and of the iſſue of the proceſſe accordinge to ther deſire. The accuſars, being animated by theſe promeſes, ſaide they wold deliwer ther plea in wrete; which libell at ther deſire Buchanan compoſed in Latine, and impudentlie, (without regard of God, honour of his prince and natiue cuntrie,) he declamed it at London in preſence of Elizabeth and her councell, where he had manie afloote and moke of them for his paines, althought otherwiſe they did approwe his purpoſe, and the marke that he ſhotte at weele, which was the diſgrace of his miſtres, of whome he held his liffe, and all the meanes he had in the world. Histor. Scot. L. 1. 18.

The occaſion that made him ſo ſpitefull againſt her was, becauſe her renouned father had baniſhed him for certane pointes of Lutheraniſme, wheroff ſince he had recanted, and it is weele knowen that this baudie fellowe, the filthieſt of men, and dungehill, ſinke and pudle of filthe, chaunged his religion and faith as he did places where he travelled: England, Scotland, Fraunce and Portugall, can weele witnes this to be true. The perſons, with whome he was converſant in theſe places, and his liffe, hawe lefte ample teſtimonies theroff to the wiewe of the world. When he could reſt no where, this mercifull ladie, at the entreatie of traitour Murraie, called him from baniſment, gaiwe him meanes to liwe honeſtlie about the courte, ſhee gaiwe him beſides the keepinge of the priwie ſeale to make his benefite by the fees theroff. Yeet all this notwithſtandinge, this vnthankfull cruell willaine, for the olde hatred which he caried againſt her Maieſties deceaſed father, was ewer oppoſite vnto her, and to all theſe that touched her in bloode or laufull parentage, hateinge them ſpitefullie, turninge him ſelff, and whatſoewer he could do by wrete, to her mortall ennemies, who abroade without, and at home within the realme, enterpriſed againſt the liff and honour of ther miſtres, and in all had he his parte in time of peace and warre, followinge Murraie and his complices deſperatlie.

In the end, perceiwinge him ſelff to be afflicted with the goute, and his curage to be ſo much abated by the faultes of his youth, which wer theifrie and robberie, and whoredome of all ſortes, beſides gnathonicall flatterie, diſſimulatioun and cuſenage, he betaketh him ſelff to his penn, and wreteth infamous libell, defacinge the noble actes of all her Maieſties roiale aunceſtouris, and the nobilitie of the realme, takinge all regall power, authoritie and ſoweraignitie from them, and puttinge the ſame in the handes of ther ſubiectes, who holde all that they hawe notwithſtandinge of them: and this did to this onlie purpoſe to take all ſoweraignitie from his miſtres and her ſonne, to inweſt his maiſter Murraie with the roiale dignitie, wherof the ſtates of the kingdome weele aduiſed and mowed with reaſon moſt iuſte and apparent, they hawe, in open parliament, condemned his two libelles defamatorie bitekinges to vit, his hiſtorie of Scotland, and *De Jure regni apud Scotos*, prohibitinge all perſons vpon the paine of greate puniſhmentes, and forfeites of ther goodes, to reade them or hawe them in ther poſſeſſion.

This monſter of men, and diſloiale traitour, abuſinge the knoweledge that God gaiwe him, came with the rebelles to helpe forewarde ther cauſe before Queene Elizabeth, and in her preſence declamed his defamatorie libell, defaming his miſtres with manie abominable lies, partlie invented by him ſelff and partlie ſuggeſted him by his maiſter Murraie and his complices, which maie weele be reduced to the ſixe heades which we hawe before ſpoken of, all the while the impudent raſcallie willane did declame; in her hearte Elizabeth did laugh and reioice to heare ſuch ſtuffe publiſhed in ſuch an aſſemblie, in regarde of the hatred ſhee ewer bare her, becauſe ſhee wold newer reſigne the right of ſucceſſion in her handes. He after adioined to this libell another as full of lies, of the pretended mariage of his miſtres with the duke of Norffolke, with the maner of his proceſſe which he ſent to the Rochell, where it was tranſlated in French by one who ſometime an atturneie at Poictiou,

and nowe a ſworde bearar, (as ſometime was Buchannan, while his limmes ſerwed him), playinge the gentleman, a thinge too comone, and too much ſuffered in Fraunce, againſt the lawes, edictes and the ordinances.

This defamatorie libell declamed conteined the Queene his miſtres accuſatioun, with all the circumſtances they could invent, to make the forged crime probable. Her Maieſties agentes wer certifeed bythe freindes of Elizabethes councell, of all her proceedinges with ther miſtres rebelles in ſecrete, and that they ſhould take heade to enter into conteſtatioun, in ſo much that the reſolution of Elizabeth was certan, and without doubt, to declare ther miſtres attainted and conwinced of the murder of her huſband, notwithſtandinge anie thinge ſhee could alledge to the contrarie of ther allegations for her owen iuſtification, and to ſend this iudgement to all Chriſtian princes, to make her odious, and to hinder not onlie to giwe her anie ſuccour, but alſo they ſhould not care for her diſtres or ſorrowes, and her death, which was the cauſe that her agent Commiſſioners, in ſteade of conteſtatioun, denied the fact according to the power and commandement which they had, and wold newer paſſe forder, ſithence the fact depended vpon the conſcience of the accuſed. Yet accordinge to the ordinarie cuſtome of iuſtice, and uſuall forme in mater of crime, ſhee requeſted it might be permitted her to appeare in perſon in Elizabethes preſence, by her mouth to defend her ſelff; ſithen her accuſars wer alſo ther receiwed in perſon, and ſhee aſſured her ſelff ſhee ſhould make them finde they them ſelwes wer the authours of that cruell deed, which falſlie and maliciouſlie they imputed to her.

But this was cruellie denied boith to the Queene and her agentes, againſt all right and reaſon, and therfore boith ſcorned to make anie greater inſtance, thinkinge they ſhould gaine no thinge therby, ſeeinge the countenance Elizabeth and her minions to cheriſe ther miſtres accu-

ſars. So her Maieſties Commiſſioners tolde Elizabeth plainlie, ſhee offered greate wronge not onlie to her ſelff, but to the name and honorable maieſtie of all kinges, but in ſpeciall to ther miſtres being a ſoweraigne prince of her owen bloode and neareſt kinniſwoman, to be the authour, as it wer, and manteiner of a ſtigmaticall ſlaiwe and willaine, to utter ſuch willanies againſt his owen miſtres in her preſence in open aſſemblie. They tolde her alſo, that ther miſtres wold not refuſe to offer her ſelff to the triale of ſuch a companie of ſoweraigne kinges and queenes as the lawes did approwe, and abide at ther ſentence, whatſoewer they ſhould adiudge her to vndergo; and ſhee, refuſing this her lawfull offer, did offer wiolence to all the kinges and queenes of the earth, and did much prejudice her ſelff. They ſhowe her alſo, that ther miſtres could not, nor wold not, aknowledge her for ſuperiour or iudge, nor themſelwes anie waies obliged to her as waſſalles; prayinge her to performe and acquit her promeſe for ſuccouringe of her made and ſworne ſo often to her by letters and ambaſſadouris, which onlie thinge was the meanes to allure and drawe her into her realme, and without the which ſhee had beene longe ago redelie and weele ſuccoured by others, and without tyinge or bindinge her ſelff to giwe them the hearinge her cauſe, in expoſinge her ſelff to the laughinge or moking of anie. Yet notwithſtandinge all this, nothinge was concluded. Elizabeth weele ſhewinge that [ſhe] was not ſorie, but tooke great pleaſour in theſe falſe accuſations, and deſired no better paſtime then to heare her coſinge reproched, which was a iuſte cauſe and reaſon, that ſhee her ſelff after, in the courtes of all Chriſtian princes, was the ſubiect of ther talke for her crueltie and wicked filthie whoriſe liffe.

Throgmorton, Killigrew, Randolph.

But to the contrarie, the ſpeech of the Queenes agentes ſo mowed all goode men of the councell which ſtoode by, which wer of the auncient nobilitie of England, that they could hardlie conteine themſelwes and endure ſuch indignities done vnto her, that was of the auncienteſt bloode

of ther kinges, yea, more auncient then that of which Elizabeth came, ſeinge ſhee, in the right of her father, did lineallie diſcend of the Engliſhe kinges bloode, that wer before the conqueſt, as alſo they knewe her to be heire apparent of the croune, in ſuch ſoirte as they beganne to murmour, ſayinge, that it wer goode the traitours wer cutte of at ther returne in Scotland, and that ther miſtres wer ſett home frie in her owen kingdome, and ſo doinge Elizabeth ſhould purcheſſe her ſelff honour and a goode name, and acquite her faith and promeſe, ſo often made and ſworne, wheroff none amongeſt them was ignorant.

Murraie aduerteſed of theſe vnpleaſant newes, ſeeinge that he had to do with the greateſt eſtates of England, that could hawe doone all if they wold, returneth againe to his treaſons and his accuſtomed practiſes, not without the adwiſe and councell of Elizabeth, as ſhee was directed by her kinde freinde Leiceſter, who for her pleaſour had murdered his owen wiffe, Cecile, the rebelles agent and promoter Walſinghame, who all with her ſelff wer this diſtreſſed ladies mortall ennemies; he, I ſaie, by ther adwiſe offereth his ſiſter, as who ſhould ſaie by her conſent, which was not required, nor ſhee made priwie therto, in mariage to the duke of Norffolke, and promeſed that if he wer that waie bente, he ſhould not onlie hawe his conſent, and the goode will of the nobilitie of Scotland, but he wold make the Queene his miſtres to yeelde her goode likinge and conſent therto, and bringe all the cuntrie to ther due and naturall obedience. The Duke, thinkinge he did meane trulie as he ſpoke, and that he ſpoke the truth from his hearte, was werie glade, and did accept and like weele of the owerture, beliwinge he ſpoke in good earneſt without fraude or deceate, and that he was by this meanes deſirous to reconcile him ſelff to his miſtres, he gaiwe him a good ſumme of money, which he was deſirous to hawe to helpe fordwarde with his cauſe, and to beare the charges of the enterpriſe.

By this meanes the falſe traitour did much adwance him ſelff, haw-

inge readie monie to do it, ſo that onlie he obtained libertie and a free paſſage to returne into Scotland, but extorte letters from the Queene, directed to her liwetennante, who leawied a great number of men to range and order her ennemies, that they ſhould diſmiſſe ther troupes, giwinge them to underſtand, that ther was in hand a meanes for her deliwerie wherwith they wold be weele contented. When he tooke his leawe of Elizabeth he ſhewe her all this negotiation, and the contract of this mariage, declaringe further vnto her, that if ſhee ſuffered ſuch a thinge to take place, it ſhould be the readie meanes to take the croune of her heade and put it vpon her cuſinges. The Duke of Norffolke beinge ſtronge and puiſſant, and weelbelowed and reſpected of the nobilitie, that wold not faile to aſſiſt him for the defence of the title of England, which ſhee had ewer challenged, not aknowledginge Elizabeth a laufull Queene, praied her ſtill to continowe her goode will towardes him : as alſo Murraie did entreate Elizabeth to the ſame effect, and that ſhee wold aſſiſt him againſt the commone ennemies, knowinge alwaies that his fortune was ioind with hers, and that he wold not faile in anie pairte of duetie towardes her Maieſtie, and that he wold be ewer faithfull and obedient to her, to honour, reſpect and ſerwe her with all thoſe of his intelligence : he promeſed alſo, that of this pointe he wold giwe her ſuch aſſurance, as it ſhould pleaſe her Maieſtie to commande, if ſhee made anie doubte that his woorde wer not ſufficient. To whom ſhee aunſwered, that ſhee was not ignorant of the trafique betuine her cuſinge the Queene of Scottes and the Duke of Norffolke, wiſhinge him to continowe that which he had begunne, and ſhowe a good countenance, for it might be the meanes to diſpatch her honeſtlie of them boith ; for touchinge the Duke, he beinge her waſſall, ſhee could diſpoſe of him at her pleaſure, but as for her cuſinge, ſhee ſaide ſhee feared the Kinge of Fraunce, and her parentes, that might be offended therwith, if ſhee did outrage her ſo manifeſtlie and apparentlie, and

ſought no better occaſion: yeet, if he would giwe her goode aſſurance and pledge, that ſhee ſhould be ewer aſſiſted by thoſe of his partie in Scotland, and redie ſuccoured if anie aſſaulte wer giwen her of the French, ſhee wold ſend him her cuſinge home into her kingdome, and deliwer her into his handes to uſe her or abuſe her at his pleaſour, and that ſhee might ſee the meanes thus ſhee wiſhed, that ſhee might waſhe her handes honeſtlie of her, ſo that he might compaſſe the end of his deſignes; which ſhee promeſed to further and help fordwarde with all her power, and conſtraine her to do ſo, albeit ſhee had no deſire vnto it, her fortune beinge ſo ſtrictlie tried and ioined with hers, that it could not be diſtracted and ſeparated without evident ruine and loſſe of boith the one and the other.

To conclude, after manie ſpeeches betuix them, it was agreed that the Prince of Scotland ſhould be deliwered into England for a pledge, and ſome of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of that kingdome deliwered to the Engliſhe, vpon that conſideration, that the preſoner ſhould be ſent backe into her owen cuntrie, and deliwered into the handes of Murraie: Wherbye you maie moſt clearlie ſee the ambitious minde of the wicked woman, and her intention to appropriat to her ſelff a realme wherunto ſhee had no iuſte title, and ſeaſe her ſelff boith vpon the mother and the ſonne.

After Murraies departure, aſſuringe her ſelff of his promeſes, ſhee beganne to make knowen the ſpeech and conference that was betuine her and him, and ſhewe ſome litle tokens of feinyeed lowe and affection ſhee bare the Queene her cuſinge; for ſhee commaunded to warde her more ſtrictlie then from the beginninge ſhee had, and depriwed her faithfull ſerwantes of the libertie they had before, to go in Scotland and returne as they beſt pleaſed: ſhee cauſed them to be ſtaied by her guardes and the capitanes of her fortreſſes, and the letters they brought thence to her Maieſtie to be taken from them and opened; holdinge, in the mean time, her heade in the water, without anie reſolu-

tion of grace or diſgrace, goode will or euil will, ſuccour or refuiſe; all to hinder or giwe order to her afaires by other meanes, or to ſeeke aide and help of other her weele willars. Shee alſo expreſſlie diſcharged and forbidde her to ſeeke for anie ſuch meanes, threatninge her in cace that anie ſuccour or ſupport ſhould come to her from Fraunce or Spaine for her reſtitution, that ſhee wold ſend tuiſe ſo manie Engliſhe againſt them for the defence of the Scottiſhe vnnaturall rebellis, her mortall ennemies, ſo that ſhee ſhould gaine nothinge by takinge anie courſe beſides her knoweledge and good likinge, and aſſuringe her that her liffe ſhould aunſwere for it: Wheroff you maie better iudge what goode will and affection Elizabeth did beare this ladie in her trubles, by thrie or foure of her letters ſhee wrete vnto her, complaininge of vnkindnes and vnnaturall crueltie againſt her practiſed flatlie contrarie to her promeſe and othes often reiterated by her owen letters vnder her hand, and her ambaſſadouris in her name.

The copies of Queene Marie her letters to Q. Elizabeth:

Queene Marie her letter to Q. Elizabeth.

MADAME, my goode ſiſter, ſo ſoone as I had receiwed your letters of my ſerwant Borthuike, I diſpatched my ſerwant Alex[r] Boge into Scotlande, whoſe returne I hawe nowe expected tuintie daies ago, and heare no newes of him; but hawe harde that my Lord of Huniſdon doeth aſſiſt and fortifie my rebelles in perſon, accompanied with the gariſon of Berwicke, to putt in execution the uſurped gowernement of Murraie and his complices; and that a ſerwante of the Duke of Chattelaroeh, which had alredie had his paſporte, was ſent backe and ſtaied vpon Murraie his aduertiſement, and his letters taken, which I do thinke wer for me; which maketh me ſuppoſe it to be greate hazarde for me to heare anie newes out of Scotlande, if you do not take better ordour, and therfore I thought it not meete anie longer to deferre the diſpatchinge of my councellour the Biſhope of Roſſe, the bearar of theſe preſentes, to praie you, that without regarde either of

attendinge the goode or bade dealinge of my ſubiectes, you will giwe me a reſolute aunſwere, and accordinge to my longe and earneſt ſute to ſetle me in my eſtate, or that you ſuffer me to ſeeke ſuccoure of other Princes, my freindes and allies, for it is a whole yeare almoſt ſithence I hawe attended your full reſolution; duringe which time my rebelles ar fortifeed, wherthrowe I can not by my goode delaie time longer onreſolwed, as the Biſhope of Roſſe will giwe you more largelie to vnderſtand on my pairte. To whome deſiringe you, as to my ſelff, to giwe credite, I will preſent my affectionat commendations to you: in the meane time I praie God, (goode madame) my goode ſiſter, to keepe you longe in health and felicitie. From Wingefeilde, 25 Aprile 1569.

Your moſt affectionat ſiſter, &c.

M. R.

Q. Marie her letter to Q. Elizabeth.

MADAME, Notwithſtandinge you hawe commaunded by my L. of Shreuiſburie, and by my ſerwant, that my ſerwantes ſhould hawe the ſame libertie to go and come that they had at Boulton; but ſo it is, that my Lord of Huniſdon wold not ſuffer my ſerwant Alex[r] Boge, hawinge the letteris of the ſaide Earle, accordinge to your commandement, for his tranſporte, but deteined him foure daies till he receiwed letters from Murraie, that had ewer ſoughte my utter overthrowe. I beſeech you, goode madame, that your officers maie not be permitted to debarre me of the libertie you aforde me, for I had rather it wer not giwen me at all, then ſo to be giwen me, and not to enioye it. And as touchinge the newes of Scotlande, Alex[r] Boge is intercepted with his letters, which the L. Huniſdon hath ſent you them by an other after he had graunted him and an other of my ſerwantes paſporte, wheroff you maie be better aduertiſed not of that which the Duke and his brother, the biſhope, and the Lord Harries hawe written vnto me, of all which I will not feill to certifie you, (accordinge to my promeſe,) by the Biſhope of Roſſe, and make you vnderſtand the truth of what I knowe in

that buſines ; deſiringe you to conſider the complaintes which, in my behalfe, the ſaide Biſhope ſhall ſhewe you, and to giwe me a breiffe reſolution therin, to the end longe delaies make me not fall againe into the ſame inconveniences throwe greiffe and ſorrowe, to be ſwallowed vp therin. And ſo committinge my minde in all thinges vnto my ſaide councellour, I take my leiwe, preſentinge my heartieſt commendatiounes vnto you, goode madame my ſiſter, and praie your God and mine to giwe ws boith a longe and happie liffe. From Wingefeilde, 26 Aprile 1569.

Your moſt affectionat ſiſter, &c.

M. R.

Q. Marie to Q. Elizabeth.

MADAME, underſtandinge that the Biſhope of Roſſe, my councellour that I ſent vnto you, had the ſame delaies and obiectiouns made, (to hinder the readie ſhowe of your goode will towardes me,) alledginge that I had made ſome contracte with my Lorde of Anjowe, brother to the Kinge my brother in lawe, which might prejudice you, I hawe forced my ſelff, beinge euil at eaſe in health by theſe bade wretin letters, to aſſure you vpon my conſcience, honour and credite, (if you will beliwe me,) that I hawe newer made contracte with him, nor anie other, touchinge anie thinge might prejudice you, nor yeet had ewer anie ſuch mater in my heade ſo hazardfull and diſadvantagious to the realme and my ſelff, as to make anie ſuch contract and tranſmuſſion ; of which I will make you ſuch prooffe and aſſurance, as you ſhall adwiſe me, as the Biſhope of Roſſe will ſhowe you more at large, prayinge you to beliwe him and excuſe me, for I am not in health to wrete as the ſubject and will I hawe to ſatiſfie your minde in the foirſaides doeth require ; onlie I hawe ſtrained my ſelff to giwe you this teſtimonie vnder my hand, vnto which I call God to witnes, and praie vnto him to hawe you in his protection. This Sundaie morninge, the 11 Maii 1569.

Your moſt affectionat, &c.

M. R.

There be manie mo copies of letters of like diſcourſe written by her Maieſtie, ſome in Engliſhe, ſome in French, aſweele to Q. Elizabeth, and to the Earle of Leiceſter, by which one maie ſee manie conſolatiounes which they gawe this Ladie, which ſhee charged them with to hawe keepte her in ſuſpence, fortefeinge in the meane while her owen diſloiale ſubiectes, and diſarminge her goode and faithfull ones. Yee maie perceiwe howe Q. Elizabeth and her councell cauſe her letters be intercepted, to diſcower all the afaires and intelligences which ſhee might hawe from Scotland of her faithfull ſubiectes yeet remaininge loiale, althought before they had giwen her libertie to do, that they might communicate all to traitoure Murraie, ther owen darlinge. You maie ſee howe they gaiwe frie paſporte and leawe to ther faithfull loiale ſubiectes, to go and come frielie without diſturbance; and yeet, when they vnderſtoode of ther iorneie, they made them be ſtaied vpon the frontiers and bordouris, and giwe they caried anie letteris they wer taken from them; but findinge they caried none, then they were ſtrictlie examined and charged with ſuch thinges, as neither this ladie thought or dreamed of, nor anie ſhee ſent from her: ſo honourablie was ther graunted aſſurance of a frie paſtport, that it became a ſnare to this goode ladie. They will afforde her no conforte, but lende ther helpinge hand and aſſiſtance to her ennemies, openlie ſendinge garriſons to the frontiers to ioine with Murraie, when he wold emploie ther ſerwice to the greate diſhonour of his miſtres and the hurte of his natiwe cuntrie. Who is ſo blinde that he maie not weele enough ſee and perceiwe the cunninge and the iuglinge craftes which wer, from time to time, invented to amaſe and truble this ladie, to keep her from all reſolution? Whilles her rebelles go forwarde to her preiudice and her yonge ſonnes, the whole rewenneus of the croune beinge ſpent to further them in all ther traiterous attemptes, ſhee is moleſted with moſt iniuſt empreſonment, her loiale ſubiectes by force of fire and ſwoorde, by Elizabeth

and her councell, driwen in exile, ther rewenneus ſeaſed vpon by the rebellis. Shee is made by them to be the onlie cauſe of her owen miſfortune, by impoſinge vpon her that which ſhee newer ſo much as thought vpon. They falſlie laie to her charge, that ſhee made ower to the Duke of Anjowe, her Maieſties brother in lawe, to giwe vp and ſurrender the title which ſhee might hawe, or then had, to the croune of Englande, and that [to] truble Queene Elizabeth, which ſhee newer dreamed. We hawe ſeene howe Murraie, after his returne into Scotland, did ſhowe the face and countenance of a man that defired no thinge, but the deliwerie of his miſtres from her longeſome and weriſome preſon, boaſtinge it to be the thinge that he wold with all his poſſibilitie procure to eſtabliſhe a quiet peace in the cuntrie; and that he might make the mules ſleepe, and abuſe the loiale true ſubiectes of the Queene, he ſent Sir Robert Melvill to her Maieſtie, to ſounde her intention anent the mariage he had propounded to her with the Duke of Norffolke, not that he had anie meaninge to bringe it about, but onlie to bringe her in a ſnare, which after ſhee was iniuſtlie charged with by the firſt dewiſers theroff.

There is an aſſemblie of the nobilitie of Scotlande apointed at St Johnſton, indifferent boith of theſe that ſtoode for the pairte of ther Soweraigne Ladie, as of theſe that ſtoode for the Engliſhe faction and Murraie, with full purpoſe to empreſon and maſſacre thoſe that ſtoode faithfull and conſtant for ther miſtres; onles they, beinge certifeed of the intended treacherie againſt them, had come weele accompanied with freindes and ther kinniffolkes, to reſiſt the garriſons that wer ſecretlie prepared to the effect foirſaide. In the ſittinge of this aſſemblie, the Duke of Norffolke wrete vnto Murraie by a truſtie gentleman, puttinge him in minde of the promeſe he had made him, that is, that he wold ſend him the ioint conſent of the nobilitie for his mariage with the Queene, wheroff him ſelff was the firſt authour and propounder, by the

councell and Queene of Englandes adwiſe, as he tolde him. Murraie, in the meane while, hawinge catched the fiſhe in the nett, by the adwiſe of his ennemies, as he was before cunninglie taught by Queene Elizabeth and her councell, feedes the meſſenger with faire woordes, and in all haiſte ſendeth the Duke his letter, by one whome he truſted with the buſines, to the Queene of England, who, owinge otherwiſe the Duke a grudge, deſired but the leaſt pretext or ſhowe of anie cullour to make a diſpatche of him, becauſe he was weele fawoured and lowed of the commone people and all honeſt men, and ſpeciallie, becauſe he was not ſo ſharpe and rigorous in the behalfe of the captiwe Queene as ſhee deſired then when ſhee gaiwe him the commiſſion, and becauſe he condemned not her to die then, or at leaſt rudlie delte with her, to the goode likinge of her and her lyinge accuſers. In which doinge ſhee ſheweth her ſelff to be her fathers daughter, who putt manie to death, rather for that they wold not conſent to the fulfillinge of his filthie luſtes, then for anie lowe he had to a true and ſinceire profeſſion of anie religion, which he pretended they refuiſed to embrace, and ſo denied there due allegiance boith to ther God and him.

Thus was this ſimple man, not thinkinge anie harm to Q. Elizabeth, brought to his end, without whoſe aide ſhee had newer come to the croune: He was apprehended and committed to the Toure of London by the treacherie of his ennemies, but ſpeciallie Leiceſter, who bare him a priwie grudge, becauſe he diſcowered to his miſtres, that he mowed him to attempt the mariage of Queene Marie, and after at the command of Q. Elizabeth he gaiwe ower that buſines; but Leiceſter did annimate and encourage him of newe againe to proceede, promeſinge him it ſhould not lie in his miſtres Queene Elizabethes power to hinder the ſame. But moſt of all, it ſtirred vp Leiceſter to awenge him ſelff of the Duke, becauſe on a time, he holdinge the baſon to his miſtres waſhinge her handes, after ſhee had done, Leiceſter preſuminge to

waſhe, the Duke holdinge yeet the baſon before anie other receiwed it out of his handes, he daſhed baſon and water vpon his face. So anie man maie eſelie perceiwe, that the diſtreſſed Princes and the Duke be both innocentlie accuſed of that they newer intended nor thought of, which they alledge that wer ther ennemies and calumniatouris, was to bereawe Queene Elizabethe of her croune and her liffe, by preſuminge to bringe this mariage to paſſe without her goode will; for howe coulde the Duke marie the Queene preſoner without conſent of the Queene Elizabeth and her councell, ſhee beinge ſo ſtronglie gairded as ſhee was? Howe could ſhee paſſe frie, and be ſett at libertie without ther knoweledge? Whowe can be ſo ſhameleſlie braſen faced to maintaine ſuch a notorious lie? All the nobilitie, all the commoune people, knewe weele the contrarie: ther was none of the Priwie councell of Elizabeth that helde it not onlie goode and moſt expedient, but alſo goode and profitable, that this mariage ſhould be effectuated for the commone goode of all the Ilande of Greate Britainne: Onlie Bacon, keeper of the Broade Seale, ſtoode on the contrarie opinion.

Q. Elizabeth from the beginninge held this mariage goode, and likewiſe the enterpriſe in attemptinge it. Shee promeſed audience in the preſence of her councell at diwers places for reſolution, and hawe the ſame (for confirmatioun of it) lawe enacted that time and place did require. Theſe faithles promeſes, newer meaned to be keepte, wer made to the Duke, (he ſend for to come thither), at Gifforde, at Farnham, at Baſinge, at Athet, and diwers other places. But all was hindered, boith by the ſuſpicious miſtruſtes Elizabeth naturallie ewer had ariſinge in her ſelff, as likewiſe by the ſubtile practiſes of the ſaide Dukes ennemies and the captiue Queenes, by whoſe ſleightes and dewiliſhe doinges and enterpriſes, they wer boithe brought in the ſnare, and to ther ondeſerwed end: For from the werie beginninge of her raigne, Elizabeth newer liwed without feare and ſuſpicion, yea, ſhee

was ewer in ſuch care and anguiſhe of minde, that ſhee at all times was brought to ſuch diſtruſtfull miſerie, that if in her ſighte and preſence two did ſpeake and talke together, yea, althought it wer of ther owen domeſticall afaires, they ar preſentlie apprehended, committed and ſharplie accuſed and examined, and in the end charged with treaſon; and if by ignorance, and in ſimplicitie, they croſſe the interrogatorie made vnto them, and do ſpeake doubtfullie, they ar attanted, condemned in hie treaſon, hanged, drawen and quartered; and to ſpeake more plainlie, they be drawen to the gallowes on a hurdle, there bellie is ripped vp, and cutt in quarters, and ther heartes, yeet brethinge and pantinge, throwen into the fire.

The principall and chieffe cauſe that mowed Elizabeth to hate and diſtruſte Marie was, becauſe ſhee wold newer renounce nor giwe ower her right and title, which ſhe had of the croune of England after her deceaſe, and becauſe ſhee wold newer conſent that the younge [Prince] her ſonne ſhould be deliwered for hoſtage in England, for ſhee ewer ſaide, ſhee her ſelff alone had rather endur her captiuitie, then ſhee and he boith ſhould be Elizabethes preſoners to be uſed at her pleaſure. It is weele knowen howe Elizabeth, by the direction of her councell, ſend her ambaſſadoure in Scotland, wiſhing Murraie, at a certane daie ſhee apointed, to come to the frontiers and bordoures, there to receiwe the Queene his miſtres, accordinge to the cowenantes and agrementes which ſhee with him and the reſt of his diſloiale faction had agreed vpon with her and her councell; but as the falſe hearted traitour was goinge on this iorneie, hawinge come the daie before from the younge kinge at Sterlinge, where he hade apointed his uncle the counte Marre to followe after with the younge kinge, to deliwer him pledge in England priwelie, ſo ſoone as he had receiwed the mother his miſtres, the nighte, daie, and all time nowe abhorringe this deteſtable treacherie, prowe to him onfortunate, his ruine approchinge vnto him; for the next daie

after he came from Sterlinge, as he was takinge horſe at Lithquoe to ride towarde Edinburghe, nowe he beinge alredie mounted, and enwironned rounde about with freindes, James Hammilton of Boidwelhauche did ſhoote him from a gallerie with a harquebuſhe, wheroff he died the ſame werie nighte.

But in his end this to be noted, that his adulterous mother beinge weele knowen and famous in ſorcerie and witchcrafte, did ſend one in all haiſte by poſte to him at Sterlinge, wiſhinge him, as he lowed his liffe, not to vndertake that woiage and iorneie he was about, leaſt it ſhould prowe fatall vnto him: but who can hinder the ruine of him who had brought ſo manie miſeries vpon his miſtres, the younge kinge and nobilitie and the whole comoune wealth he was borne? It was weele knowen that not manie yeares before, a dewiliſh witch beinge condemned to die in the fire and to be burned, the ſaide Murraie commandinge that they ſhould take a barrell of gunne pouder to burne her with; when ſhee vnderſtoode of the preparatioun of ſo much gunne pouder, beſide the tarre barrellis that was prepared for the fire, ſhee burſte foorth in the woords on a ſudden, What needed all this gunne pouder? what needed my Lord of Murraie to prepare all this gunne pouder? les nor one ounce weighte ſhalbe his end: which thinge nowe we ſee accompliſhed. Belike the deuil him ſelff knewe weele he deſerwed a miſcheiwous end for all his theſe treacheries foirſaide. I can not paſſe by one notable crueltie, which he not longe before execute vpon the wiffe of the ſaide James Hamilton, whilk as he perſecuted all the name of Hammilton with fire and ſworde, and with a puiſſant and ſtronge armie did owerthrowe all ther fortes and caſtles, with ther other houſinge, with gunne pouder, at laſt he cometh to the houſe of him who killed him, and burned it amongeſt the reſt: but whilleas they ar puttinge to the fire, a gentle woman, accompanied with ſome others younge maides, caſtes them ſelff doune on ther knies, with ther haire about ther ſhoulders, weepinge piti-

fullie, prayinge Murraie to pitie her poore ſiſter, who was that nighte broughte to bed of a childe, neither of them like to liwe. But what ſhould they praie? what ſhould they mowe the harte of a merciles man, more harde then the flint or the adamant? He wold heare them; but commaunded that ſhee and her childe ſhould be brought foorth in a paire of double blankettes. In this meaneth commeth her huſbande, and before ſhee was broughte foorthe, he proſtratinge him ſelff befoire the tyraunte, entreateth humblie fawour for his wiffe, permittinge his houſe and all therin to the ſawage furie of the man, he receiweth no other aunſwere then ſaide gentlewoman did: he ſeeinge the rage of the cruell man vnapeaſable, and his wiff and her childe broughte foorth amongeſt the fire and ſmooke, half gaſpinge for breath, and nowe like to periſhe in the cruell flammes of the fire and ſmooke, burſte out furiouſlie in the woordes following, which after he performed in deed. I do woue and promeſe to the greate God, as you moſt cruellie without mercie denie my iuſte and humble ſute, and bring my poor wiffe and childe to this extreeme miſerie, I ſhall as cruellie make fire be your end, and loſſe my liff with you. In his death, wee ſee the iuſte iudgement and wengeance of God ſhowinge vpon him, for as he without mercie bringeth others miſerablie to end in the cruell flammes of fire, ſo do others ſerwe him with the like beaſtlie crueltie.

This gulle, whome all the leade that the moſt of the churches of Scotland was cowered with, could not ſatiſſie to fill his gredie cowetouſnes, hath nowe his bellie full of a little bullet of leade. The leade of the metropolitan church of St Andrewes, where he was priour, and manie mo churches there, wer ſent by him into Flanders and other places, by him, and his uncle the Count Marre, his ſtarte vp, oncowered the Abbie church of Cambuſkenneth and others, (as alſo all of ther faction did the like,) and that to mantaine ther treſonable attemptes by the monie they made theroff againſt ther laufull Queene. By this meanes, and this vn-

godlie ſacrilegious church robberie, manie Scottiſhe merchauntes wer brought to extreme miſerie and powertie, yea, manie loſte ther liwes by ſhipe wrake on the ſea, when as they wer trawellinge towardes diuers cuntries with ther weſſellis, wherin they caried it and the reſt of the merchandize.

But Elizabeth hearing of the ſudden death of her hired agent, all amazed for the loſſe of ſo neceſſarie and truſtie a Machiwell wherthrowe her enterpriſe coulde not come to ſuch effect ſhee expected, ſhee chaunges her minde in the ſendinge her preſoner home, thinkinge that by the diſpatche of Murraie, his uncle Marre ſhould not be ſuffered by the loiale ſubiectes, to deliwer the younge kinge in her handes, ſhee bethinkes her ſelff howe ſhee maie ridde boith her and ſonne out of the waie by poyſon: and for this purpoſe there was one ſent in Scotlande, firſt to diſpatche the ſonne, but by what meanes I knowe not, he chaunced to come to the caſtle of Dumbartan wher ſome that did holde that ſtronge fortreſſe for ther laufull Queene, and ſo he could newer come wher the younge kinge was keepte, and ſo this buſines, to the greate confort all the loiale ſubiectes tooke therby; for in the end, when as the Earle of Lenox, the younge kinge his graundefather, tooke by force of armes the ſaide caſtle, amongeſt otheris this deteſtable traitouroufe willane was founde and apprehended, and vpon examinatioun confeſſed he was ſent out [of] Englande to the effect foirſaide, and gaiwe him ſelff out to be a follower of the Duke of Norffolke, and ſo he was ſent home in England he beinge an Engliſhman borne, but we newer harde of his execution, belike becauſe the thinge he was ſent for was approwed weele by them who ſent him, and to whome he was ſent backe againe.

As for the Italian poſſett (as they call it) was prepared for the mother, it was diſcowered by her officers and attendantis, that ſerwed her in meate and drinke, and her taſters, which ſome of them bought full

deare, in that hardlie eſchapeinge with ther liff; the ſtrength of the poyſon was ſo forcible, that they liwed ewer after languiſhinge till the daie of ther death, which made boith her ſelff, and all that was about her after, ewer daie and nighte, to hawe a ſpeciall care to ſaiwe her from ſuch fearefull inconveniences. In this meane while, Elizabeth and her councellors, diſapointed of ther bolde deweliſhe attemptes, raiginge in a furie quicklie raiſeth an armie, and by the conducte of the Earle of Suſſex, ſhee ſendeth it vpon the frontiers to ſeeke out, (but this was but a cullour,) ſome Engliſhe rebelles that had ther refuge thither: the ſearch was made in Scotland, newer ſendinge woorde to Scotiſhe wardines, to ioine with them for this purpoſe, (as the cuſtome in ſuch caces vpon the frontiers is wont to be obſerwed,) and in ſteade theroff, ten thouſand men in hoſtile maner inwade in open warre, and range thorowe all the bordoures of Scotlande, (for no rebelles was ſoughte for come from Englande thither, for ther was none,) Hume Caſtle and the owner my Lord Hume, and the Lord Maxwell, Fearnieharſte and Bacleuch ar ſought for with fire and ſworde, ther fortreſſes and holdes fired and robbed, and all men that dwelt in ther landes chaſed from there owen, ther goodes, munition and armour taken and caried in Englande. Shorte while after, not ſatiſfied with this cruell dealinge and manifeſt iniurie, Druerie is ſent with an other armie to come with thoſe that ſtoode for Murraie in the hearte of the kingedome, where cruellie they burned the ſtronge palice and caſtle of Hamilton boith in one houer, it beinge helde for Q. Marie, and vpon agrement and conditiones randered by the keepers in ther handes; and ſo paſſed they fordwarde as they began cruellie, and burned all whatſoewer did belonge to anie of the name of Hammilton, houſinge and other, and robbed them ther goodes, not ſparinge to ſlaughter the brutiſh beaſte, leiwinge them aliwe in the flames of the fearce fire, thinkinge it a goode reaſon they mighte laufullie do all thoſe wronges to anie that was of the name of Hamilton, althought he

wer as innocent of aidinge anie of the contrarie factions as the childe yeet vnborne.

In the end they com to Lithquo, and the caſtle of Kinneile, which boith they burned, becauſe they wer the Duke of Chettleroe his enheritance. O Heawen, whie hides thou not lighte! O Earth, whie ſhakes thou not and trembles in beholdinge and ſeeinge ſuch merciles crueltie executed vpon innocentes, that newer deſerwed thus to be dealte with! No other reaſon had they, nor yeet coulde pretend anie excuſe to thoſe deſignes, but that one of that name had killed Murraie, Queene Elizabeth her pentioner and hired ſerwant, to ruinate his natiue cuntrie, and his laufull Queene and miſtres her loiale ſubjects; and that cheiffe and ſpeciall gentlemen of that name repentinge ther raſhnes in aſſiſtinge Murraie at the firſt, when he begane to inwade the roiale ſcepter of his miſtres, nowe at length they ſubiected themſelwes to the obeyſance of ther Soweraigne, and caried armes in the defence of her right againſt the traitour Murraie, who from the beginning of theſe trubles, vndir a ſhadowe, made a cloake of religion to wndo his miſtres, to baniſhe her loiale ſubiectes, and vndo them, that all that ſtoode for her beinge able to do no thinge, he might intrude himſelff in the gowernement of the whole kingdome.

Elizabethe thus hawinge weakned her preſoners faithfulleſt ſerwantes, ſhee beginnes to make a ſhewe of a newe accorde with her, ſo that ſhee wold aknoweledge her for her Superiour, and putt in her handes the greater parte of all the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes and caſtles of Scotlande, and deliwer in her handes her younge ſonne the kinge, and all the cheiffe of the nobilitie that wer for her, for pledges and hoſtages that ſhee ſhould not in anie ſorte ſturre or make anie commotion, or take greiwouſſie for entertainment in Englande, or anie thinge paſt befoire that time, nor yeet hawe anie recourſe to forren Princes to ſeeke wengeance for the iniuries ſhee had endured, and abowe all, that ſhee ſhould renunce the auncient league with Fraunce, and in place

theroff make a newe league with Englande. But the Queene ſeeinge ſuch ſtraunge and extravagant demaundes, and by often experience knowen weele whether ſuch extravagant poſitiounes tended, choſe to abide rather the preſent captiuitie then to yeilde her ſelff to her diſloiale rebelles at Elizabethes commaunde to be uſed at her pleaſour; and her ſonne and nobilitie in her hands to do with boith, what ſhee and her councelloures ſhould beſt like on: beſides that ſhee vnderſtoode the ſtronge holdes and caſtles of Scotlande, being at her commaunde, it wer a redie waie to make a fulle conqueſte of the whole kingdome, which ſhee and her foirfathers befor her wer newer able to attaine vnto, albeit with much bloode ſhed they had attempted it, they wer ſo curagiouſlie reſiſted by her aunceſtouris, and ther faithfull ſubiectes, in tyme paſt all memorie of man.

But Elizabeth, perceiwinge that ſhee ſhould hawe to do with a ladie that did weele ſee into all her ſubtile practiſes vndertaken by the councell of her deuile incarnate Leiceſter, and that ſhee had to do with one better adwiſed then her ſelff, betakes to another courſe, and negotiates with the Chriſtian Kinge Charles 9, for which Admirall Memorancie was ſent into Englande. Amongſt the heades of this league then made, it was ſpeciallie agreed and concluded, that Elizabeth ſhould not giwe anie aide or fawoure to the Scotiſhe rebelles againſt ther Soweraigne; but ſhee newer keepte a woorde of her promeſe, albeit ſhee wer ſworne to it, for immediatlie after ſhee ſent an armie to the rebelles to beſeige the Caſtle of Edinburghe, which then held for Queene Marie her cuſinge, vnder the commandement of Squier William Kirkcaldie of Grange. After longe beſeeginge two whole yeares, he did yeelde it by compoſition to the Engliſhe, beinge driwen therto be infection of the ſpringe that yeelded water to the fountane in the ſaide Caſtle, which at the fute of the hill and rocke was poiſoned by the Engliſh, wherby all his ſoioures wer poiſoned. [He] was in the end, contrarie to the lawe of armes, hanged

by Morton, then tyraunt of Scotland vnder the commandement of Elizabeth, whome Morton ſuffered boith by ſea and land. [Of] all the Scottiſhe ſhippes, that had not a paſporte from Morton, wheroff he made a greate gaine, in leſſe ſpace then 2 yeares, ther was, by iuſte accompt, 224 ſhips frauchte with merchandize pelled and robbed by the Engliſhe; which the poore merchandes complained on, and findinge no redreſſe, concluded to make out a fleete to repaire ther loſſe: but all in waine, for Morton boith certifeed Elizabeth of ther determinatioun, and likewiſe empreſoned ſome of them, others he fined in greate ſoummes of money, ſo that none durſte ſturre. In the end, the whole communitie of all the corporatioune tounes and cities of Scotland, concluded in a meetinge for this purpoſe to ſend one Mr Adam Fullerton, with ſome other of the wiſeſt of the companie of merchantis, to require and demaunde redreſſe of theſe harmes at Elizabethes handes. A greater miſcheiff did newer anie of the braiweſt and ſtouteſt of all her aunceſtoures woorke to the Scottiſhe in ſo ſhorte a time by open warre, then ſhee did nowe in time of peace.

But ſhee, feedinge them with faire woordes, holdinge ther beakes in the water for the ſpace of 2 whole yeares, makinge them ſpend a greate deale of monie in the iuſte perſuite of ther cauſe, ſendeth them from Caiphas to Pilate, giweth them leawe to departe, without anie other aunſwere from her and her councell, then they could not do with all. The Queene and her councell wer not bounde to aunſwere that which pirates did at the ſea: they might aunſwere them ſelwes if they wold; which, if they gone fordward in when they firſt intended it, they wer certanlie informed, that ſhee thought to hawe ſent foorth her admirall and a full armie to hawe made goode her pirates deedes; for ſume of them that wrought all this miſcheiffe to the merchantes of Scotland, wer her owen captaines and ſhipps, who had dailie paie of her. This aunſwere was giwen at Greinewich, where a riche Engliſh merchant, piteinge the diſtreſſed eſtate of certane Scottiſh merchant,

whome he had ſeene often beyonde ſea in ſilke and ſatine and welwet, richlie apparelled, and rode in a footeclothe of welwet, then poorelie clothed in cannues, caſte him ſelff doune before the Queene and her councell, and receiwinge no goode aunſwere to his contentment, he calles him and tolde him, that it was thoſe of the councell that lightlie reſpected them, who wer the werie theiwes and pirates them ſelwes, ſeinge they did authorize the doers, and they and the Queene her ſelff had a pairte in the bootie, as they had in all that was taken of the French ſhippes that wer robbed of Normandie and Flaunders, her owen confederates. So we maie ſee what it profeteth to be in league with her, who newer regardeth it more then it ſtandeth with her advantage: it [is] weele knowen, alſo, that ſome of her councell and nobles had ther ſhippes at ſea to robbe and pille, aſweele as ſhee.

But to come to our purpoſe, concerninge the intelligence which paſte betuine thoſe of Elizabethes councell, together with the theiwes and rebellis, I can not paſſe ower in ſilence the roberie of Monſure Dolu, Theſaurar Generall to the Q. of Scottes: he bringinge her ſome of her dourie moneye from Fraunce, with ſome ringes ſett richlie with precious ſtones, together with ſome jewelles of greate waleue, and a faire chaine of golde in walue 2000 French crounes, and a lookinge glaſſe of the like walewe, Walſhinghame, Secretarie of Eſtate, after he had giwen Monſure Dolu his paſporte, thinkinge that he had the ſaide Queenes whole yeeres rent of her dourie in charge about him, made him be attended by ſecrete ſpies by the waie, amongeſt whome was two yeomen of the Queene his miſtres guarde, notoriouſlie knowen, who at the firſt meetinge wounded the ſaid theſaurar and diwerſe of his companie, and tooke from them all they had about them: wheroff no redreſſe could be had, althought the robbers wer taken, (and thoſe wer the two yeomen of the guarde in ſpeciall,) by a iuſtice dwellinge neare where the robberie was done; but he had litle thanke for his lauboure.

The theiwes wer committed to the Toure for a while, till the peoples talke theroff ſtaied; but no reſtitution was made to this houer.

Queene Elizabeth and her councell hawinge ſuborned and ſeduced treacherouſlie the Counte Arran to forſake Fraunce, to laie and begunne the general complot of the rewolt of the Scottiſhe nobilitie, anno 1559, feedinge him with a waine hope of her mariage to owerthrowe him in the end uſed the proude ambitious ſpirite of the baſtarde brother of the Queene with faire promeſes of rewarde and gowernement, to arme him againſt her Maieſtie, to be defence and refuge for all her rebelles; helpinge them with monie and councell, inſtructinge them howe to diſſemble till ther peace wer obteined for them, to the end they might the more eaſelie effect that which they traiterouſlie intended to execut, that is, firſt to murder the Secretarie Dauid, and then the Kinge there maiſter, which they ſaide they newer knewe of his cruell murder till it was done, but contrarie wiſe made ſhewe they wer greatlie offended with it, and wold puniſhe the murder with all ſeweritie and rigour, albeit they knewe weele who they were, and them ſelwes wer the cheiffe actouris and the authouris, miniſters, conforters, and fordwarde ſetters theroff, wer at Berwicke, who haiſtned the execution theroff by direction from the councell at London, that gaiwe the watchwoorde, and ſhowe them the meanes and oportunitie, and putt fire to the ſtrawe, (as the prowerbe is,) to drawe into ther handes, ambaſſages and faire promeſes, the honeſt weele meaninge Queene of Scotland, wer ſent and made faithfullie promeſed to be obſerwed. In the end her ennemies, ſett a worke by Elizabeths vpſturringe, furniſhinge them with monie, bringes her cuſinge to manie inconveniences, and by force driwen by her diſloiale ſubiectes to forſake her kingdome and natiwe cuntrie, her true faithfull ſubiectes beinge owerthrowen and brought vnder, and ſhee her ſelff fleeinge ther furie, (thinkinge Elizabeth wold keepe promeſe, ſworne by her often meſſages, and writen by her owen hand to her,) fleeth

for ſuccour to her, which, at the firſt arriwale, ſhee promeſed conſtantlie to performe, ſayinge, ſhee in her owen perſon wold with a ſtronge armie accompanie her as farre as the frontiers, effect, and put her in former eſtate in her kingdome, ſo that all her ennemies ſhould newer be able to truble her.

But in place of ſuccour and aide, ſhee findeth harde empreſonment, vngentle dealinge in place of hoſpitalie, the lawe of natiounes broken; her ſerwitoures, that ſhould hawe beene, by reaſon of the greatnes of her perſon, ewer about her, for her honour and aſſurance, put from her, and ſhee left deſolate in reſpect of the ſmall companie about her: ſhee is forbidden that none ſhould ſpeake with her, or wrete to her; that ſhee ſhould neither ſend nor receiue anie newes, no not to her owen ſonne, nor heare from him; that ſhee ſhould hawe no comforte or releiffe ſent vnto her in ſilwer, golde, jewelles; ſhee ſhould receiue no houſhoulde ſtuffe, or whatſoewer elles. They ar accounted traitoures, and put cruellie to death, if they can be knowen, who afforde her anie of theſe in courteſies; yea, thoſe who ſpeake a goode woorde of her, pitie her eſtat, or looke pitiefullie vpon her, commend Godes goode graces in her, as her witte and wiſdome, her beautie, her wertue, or do defend her honour, or commend her bountie to the poore, or ſaie ſhee ſeemeth to be innocent of the hainous offences wherwith ſhee is charged, ſtraight he is accounted a falſe tratoure, and puniſhed ſharplie by fine in goodes, if he eſcape with his liffe. Should not the Biſhope of Roſſe, her ambaſſadour, hawe beene poiſoned by meanes of thoſe who then wer in hie place in the courte of England? Was he not committed to the Toure of London as a traitour againſt the lawe of natiounes? Was not Charles Balie moſt iniuſtlie threatned to be raked, becauſe he wold [not] confeſſe and witnes againſt the honour of [his] Soweraigne ladie and miſtres, thinges ſhee newer thought vpon? Was he not in the end putt to the rake, becauſe he, beinge her ſecretarie, wold hawe publiſhed a

litle booke, wretine by him in the defence of his miſtres honoure, in the ſclaunder [which] was ſprede abroade of her by her ennemies, that ſhee had lauboured that armies diwers times ſhould hawe beene lewied, and ſent in England to hawe owerthrowen the face of the publict ſtate of England, and to hawe beaten doune the Queenes caſtles and fortreſſes, and ranſaked her tounes and cities, and that ſhee ſhould hawe aſſiſted her rebelles and ennemies practiſinge againſt her, encouraginge them, by yearlie penſions and annuities in money, to attempt againſt the Queene and ſome ſpecialles of the nobilitie; and likewiſe to hawe carefullie gone about the like in Scotland.

Should this noble Queene and her faithfull ſerwantes, ſhowinge ther loialtie in defendinge ther miſtres innocencie in theſe thinges wherof ſhee [was] moſt iniuſtlie accuſed, be thus dealt with? God, beholde from abowe the wrongfull dealinge and doinges of wretched miſerable men heire belowe! On the contrarie, it is weele knowen, howe Elizabeth her ſelff hath in deede, by the adwiſe of her councellores, done all this and more in Scotland, Fraunce, and the Lawe cuntries, althought ſhee wer ſworne in league with them all. To paſſe by the iniuries ſhee dailie did offer her wronged preſoner, manie in number, it is weele knowen howe ſhee braiwed the Kinge of Fraunce, in facinge, outraginge his ambaſſadoures and officeres, and cauſſinge them be robbed by the waie, that by this meanes, (becauſe they laubored her to deale more courteſlie with her owen kinniſwoman), ſhee might werie them for the Kinge to deale anie longer to procure anie fawour at her handes for his ſiſter and allie. But Robert Dudlie, her deare cuſinge, could finde greater fawour at her handes in an honeſter buſines at noone, in the nighte, whoſe death ſhee ſo bewailed, that hearinge of it ſhee ſhutte her ſelff all alone faſte in a chamber, till Eſſex, (the leedes beinge vp from the rooffe,) came doune from abowe to confort her, whome ewer after ſhee liked the better: and Chriſtopher Chattam pleaſed her ſo weele, that

when he ſikned, ſhee neither ſpared coſte nor trawell to poſte to wiſite him, and miniſtred phyſike vnto him. The neareſt kinniſwoman ſhee had in the world, could newer, in all her afflictions, obteine of her anie of thoſe favouris; but in place theroff, all the euill ſhee could procure her and her younge ſonne, whome ſhee cauſſed, by his diſloial ſubiectes, made her time ſerwers by briberie, be deteined preſoner till he ſatiſfeed her and ther mindes, whoſe violent handes he had hardlie eſcaped, except God in his prowident mercie had preſerwed him.

After ſhee harde of the captivitie of her ſonne, when ſhee beganne to languiſhe of a ſore ſicknes, of the which the Engliſhe phyſitions reported to ther miſtres wold ſhortine her daies, which ſhee deſired and longed for nowe longe ago. The deſolate mother, fearinge the preſent eſtate of her deare childe, whom ſhee could not helpe, confort, nor ſuccour, hawinge no other meanes, turneth her ſelff to God by praier, recommending her ſelff and him to his divine protection, beſeechinge him in his mercie to mollifie her cuſinges heart towardes her and her poore childe; and laſte, putteth her hand to the pen and wreteth to her cuſinge, compleineth of her crueltie in the iniuſte detention of her and her childe in captiuitie, and harde entreatie and uſage of them boith, who newer deſerwed anie ſuch rigour at her handes.

Q. Marie to Q. Elizabeth.

Ladie, Touchinge the thinges that ar come to my ſure knowledge of the laſt conſpiracies done in Scotlande againſte my owen childe, hawinge all occaſion to fear the conſequence, by the experience I hawe in my owen perſon, I hawe thought it convenient for me to applie the litle time of liffe I hawe lefte me before my death, fullie to diſcharge my conſcience of my moſt iuſte and lamentable complaintes, of which I deſire this letter maie ſerwe you for a perpetuall teſtimonie, ſo longe as you ſhall liwe, and for a grudge to your conſcience, aſweele for my diſcharge to all poſterities, as for the ſhame and confuſion of all thoſe who, in your ſighte, hawe ſo cruellie and unworthelie hitherto handled

me, and broughte me to that extremitie which you weele ſee and underſtande: But inſomuch that ther deſignes, practiſes, and proceedinges, (howe odious and deteſtable ſoewer they be,) hawe in regairde of you prewailed, and had the vpper hand, againſt the moſt iuſte diſclames I hawe made, and my vpright behawioure, (as God knoweth boith mine and youres.) The force and power which you ewer hawe in your owen handes giweth you a dewe reſpect againſt me: I will take my refuge to the liwinge God, our onlie judge, which hath equallie and immediatlie placed us vnder him in gowernement of his people: I will intreat him onlie, in the extremitie of this moſt preſent affliction, to rewarde boith you and me, (as he will do righteouſlie in the daie of his laſt iudgment), ewen accordinge to our demerites or miſbehawioures, and mercies, one towardes the other. Remember your ſelff, goode Madame, howe we can diſguiſe no thing before him by our paintines and policies. Albeit my ennemies maie, vnder you, cullour it for a time before men, yea, peradventure, alſo maie hide ther ſubtile practiſes before you, in his name, as ſittinge iudge betuine you and me, I will diſcower to you, howe by your onlie agentes, ſpies, ſecrete meſſingers, ſent in your name into my kingdome of Scotland duringe the time I was ther, my ſubiectes wer corrupted and ſturred vp by you, to attempt and rebell againſt me in my owen perſon, and in one woorde to do, vndertake, and execute that which, induringe my ſaide trubles, hapned in the ſaide cuntrie, wheroff I will ſpecifie no other verificatioun at this preſent, then that which I hawe drawen out of the confeſſion, and confronted teſtimonies of one, which ſince was one of thoſe who is moſt adwanced in regairde of ſuch his goode ſerwice; to whome, if I then had done iuſtice, he had not ſince, by olde intelligences, rewiwed and renewed the ſame practiſes againſt my ſonne, and had not prowided meanes for all my traiterous ſubiectes takinge ther refuge vnto you, of the aide and ſupport ewer ſince my reſtraint till the ſame werie daie, for default

Morton.
Throgmorton.

wheroff, I thinke the ſame traitouris had prewailed nor ſtoode out ſince ſo longe as they hawe done. Duringe my reſtrainte at Lochleuine, Throgmorton, nowe deceaſed, councelled me in your behalfe to ſigne the dimiſſion and ſurrender of my croune, aſſuringe me that it could be of no force; which thinge your owen ſelff did promeſe to make goode by your owen hand wretinge to me; Denie it if you can: Moe, others then my ſelff hawe ſeene it, which thing no part of Chriſtendome did ewer approwe to be goode in lawe or conſcience, except heire by your authoritie, where your councell do aide and mantaine my traiterous ſubiectes againſt me, ther onlie laufull ſoweraigne ladie. In my conſcience to deſire you, goode madame, I deſire you vprightlie, in your ſoule and conſcience, to ſhowe me frielie and trulie, if you could weele approwe and like the libertie and power in your owen ſubiectes ower you, which you, againſt all conſcience, righte and reaſon, mantaine in my ſubiectes and your owen to bringe me and my libertie and eſtate to your ſubiection, which I truſte in God ſhall newer be.

By your onlie councell and perſuaſion, my authoritie was ſurrendered, (by meanes of my traiterous harted ſubiectes, whome you ſuborned ſubtillie for your advantage, and not mine,) to my deare ſonne, (whome you lowed no better than me, if you coulde compaſſe him in your claues), he beinge then incapable theroff; he beinge in regarde of his yong yeares vnable to exerciſe it: and ſince that time, when I wold hawe laufullie aſſured him theroff, it is, beſides boith right and reaſon, taken from him by your councell and helpe, and giwen to two or thrie traitoures mantained by your plaine force and wiolence, who, in werie deede, by your ſubtile dealinge againſt your conſcience and promeſe made to me, often ſeeke to depriwe him theroff, as they and you hawe alredie done me, boith of the name and title, becauſe I did contradicte them and you in that which was my iuſte proper righte, which I hope my ſaid ſonne after me will ſeeke to hawe as his owen

due righte when time ſhall ſerwe, and that the Lorde in his mercie will prowide for his and my preſervation boith heire belowe, and with him in the hie heavens when he ſhall call us to reſt with him.

So ſoone as I deliwered my ſelff, by Godes diwine providence, and the helpe of thoſe whome he mowed to pitie my harde bondage in preſonment, into the which I was broughte by the meanes of your ſubtile dealinge, by your ambaſſadouris in ſturringe vp my ſubiectes againſt me, I was able to bidde my ennemies batle, and to mantaine my righte that God in his mercie had preordinate me vnto, I ſent in a token to you a jewel, a diamonde, which before time I had receiwed of you, in a token and aſſurance of your ſincere lowe and affection, to be mantained and ſecured by you as my neareſt kinniſwoman, againſt all my ennemies whatſoewer, and in ſpeciall againſt my traiterous rebelles, if at anie time I ſhould ſtande in neede of your ſupporte and aide, as I, for my parte, ſhould do the like to you when occaſion ſerwed, to the uttermoſt of my power: and I call God to witnes that you, for your parte, then promeſed faithfullie, ſo farre to conforte and ſuccour me then, (beinge in my owen kingdome able to hawe defended my ſelff againſt you, and all my ennemies whatſoewer, retiringe me to my ſtronge caſtles till my loiale ſubiectes, neare kinniffolkes, friendes and allies had ower throwen all my aduerſaries,) if I wolde make my refuge to you, you wolde come ſo farre as the frontiers of the bordoures betuine our kingedomes to aſſiſt me, and this you made me beliewe, as diwerſe gentlemen and meſſingers did aſſure me of the ſame. This promeſe proceeded from your owen mouth, and often reiterated, (albeit by your ſerwantes I had founde my ſelff often abuſed,) made me take ſuch aſſurance and affiance in the effect theroff, that the troupes of my campe and gwarde which I reteined for my ſaiftie, beinge owerthroune by my ennemies, ſecretlie ſuborned beſides my knowledge by you, I came directlie to caſte my ſelff in your armes, if I could hawe approched you ſo neare. But

purpoſinge to come and finde you out, beholde I am in the midde waie arreiſted, inwironed with a guarde, (beſides your promeſe and my expectatioun), to watche me, and ſhutte vp in a ſtronge houſe, and in the end, without all ſhame and regarde had of my Soweraignitie, broughte into this captiuitie, which is more bitter then a thouſande deathes vnto me, in regarde it is impoſed vpon me by her who promeſed ſuch kinde dealinge on her parte. I knowe you will alledge againſt me, that which paſte betuine me and the late Duke of Norfolke, nowe deade. I mantaine it vpon my conſcience and honour, that there was no mater to your preiudice, nor againſt the commone goode of this realme; and that this treatie was founde goode, and approwed by the adwiſe and ſeales of the cheiffe and principall that wer for the time of your councell, with aſſurance to perſwade and make you finde it goode. Howe coulde ſuch perſonages, without your adwiſe, enterpriſe to make you conſent, which might hawe depriwed you of your liffe, honour and croune, as you make faire you ar certanlie perſwaded theroff to all ambaſſadoures, and others that ſpeake of me to you.

This notwithſtandinge my rebelles perceiwinge that ther headeſtronge courſe caried them forder then they thought it wold hawe done, and that the truth appearinge of the forgerie, that they had ewerie waie ſpred abroade of me, by conference I ſubmitted my ſelff vnto a full aſſemblie of your deputies and mine, to cleare my ſelff openlie in this cuntrie, but beholde the cheiffe of them retiringe him ſelff into the Caſtle of Edinburgh, to ſaiwe him ſelff from the rebelles, by your forces was beſeiged, and one of the principall poiſoned of your procurement, and an other moſt cruellie hanged, after that I, the ſeconde time, had commaunded them to laie awaie there vapons and armes at your requeſt in hope of peace, which God knoweth whether my ennemies ewer meant. I was willinge to make triale whether pacience coulde mend the rigour and euil entreate, begunne after they had thus fourtene yeares uſed me,

and accommodatinge my ſelff to the ordour which was preſcribed me for my captiuitie in this houſe, aſweele for the number and qualitie of ſerwantes, which I ſhould reteine, giwinge leawe to others to departe. As for my diet, and ordinarie exerciſe for my health, I hawe leiwed ewen to this preſent ſo quietlie and peaceablie as one inferiour to my ſelff, and as one more obliged then I am to you, for this intreatie of me could not hawe done ſo farre foorth as to take awaie all ſhaddowe of ſuſpition and diſtruſte. I depriwed my ſelff of all meanes to enquire to hawe anie intelligence of my ſonne and of my cuntrie, that which by no righte nor reaſon could be denied me; and cheiflie of my childe, who in ſteade heiroff was lauboured by all meanes to be made againſt me, to the end that by our diviſion we might be boith waikned.

It was graunted me, (ſaie you,) about thrie yeares ago, to ſend to viſite him in his captiuitie then at Sterlinge, vnder the tyrannie of Morton, was the cauſe, as his libertie after hath beene the cauſe that the like viſitatioun was denied me. The yeare laſt paſte, I did diwers times enter into diverſe owertures for the eſtabliſhinge of a goode amitie betuine us, and for certane intelligence betuine thoſe two realmes heirafter. It is about ten yeares ſince Commiſſioners wer ſent vnto me to Chattiſforde to that effect. Then was a treatie made with your ſelff by the French and my owen Ambaſſadouris: yea, my ſelff made the laſt winter all the moſt advantagous owertours with Beale that was poſſible for me to do. What hawe I gotte therbye? My good meaninge is ſcorned, the ſynceritie of my cariage lightlie reſpected and miſconſtrued, the eſtate of my afaires encombred with delaies, ſurmiſes and ſuch other cunninge; and to conclude, worſe dealinge uſed towardes me ewerie daie then other, notwithſtandinge anie thinge that I force my ſelff and laubour to the contrarie. My ower longe, vnprofitable and my damnagable patience hawinge broughte me to that eſtate, that my ennemies of a cuſtome they hawe to deale euil with me, they thinke nowe they hawe the right of pre-

ſcription to uiſe me not as a preſoner, ſuch one as by reaſon I can not be, but a ſlaiwe, whoſe liffe and death dependeth onlie vpon ther tyrannie, without anie reſpect to the lawe of God or natiounes. I can not ſuffer it, Madame, anie longer: I can not endure it, and muſt either at my death diſcouer the authouris of my death and cruell murder, or liwinge yeet ſtill make triale vnder your protection, to make theſe cruelties, theſe falſe accuſatiouns and traiterous deſignes of my ſaide ennemies ſurceaſe, to eſtabliſhe my ſelff in ſome more quiet, the remander of my liffe. For, to awoide your ſelff of all pretended occaſiounes, and all controuerſies betuix us, enquire and enforme your ſelff, if you pleaſe, of all that hath beene reported to you of my cariage, make the depoſitiouns of ſtrangers taken in Ireland be againe reweued ower: yea, let thoſe of the Jeſuites laſt executed be to you repreſented; giwe libertie to all that will publictlie vndertake to charge me, and permit me to come to my aunſwere publictlie, and if the mater go wronge with me, and my cauſe be bade, let me ſuffer for it. I ſhall endure patientlie ſo longe as I ſhall knowe the cauſe; but if it go weele on my ſide, do not miſtake it and miſunderſtand the mater. I ſhall permitt my ſelff to be badlie recompenſed before God and men, and that with your greate ſcandale and heavie burden one daie to aunſwere it before the righteous iudge.

The moſt baſe offenders in your preſons borne vnder your obeiſance, be admitted to ther purgatiouns and iuſtificatiouns, and ther accuſers be diſcowered vnto them, and confronted, and ther accuſatiounes be opened in ther preſence. Whye ſhall not therfore the ſame order be keepte with me, a Soweraigne Queene, your nexte of kinred and lawefull heire? I thinke that this laſt qualitie hath beene hitherto the principall cauſe in regarde of my ennemies, and ther falſe accuſations might make diviſion betuine us two, they mighte wexe me the more; but allace, they hawe nowe litle reaſon, and les neede to torment me yeet farther for that effect, for I proteſt to you vpon my conſcience and

honour, that I hawe not anie minde of anie kingdome, but of my God, the which I labour to gaine for the better ending of all my afflictiounes and aduerſities. The burden ſhall fall vpon you to diſcharge your conſcience towardes my childe, touchinge that which ſhall of righte pertene vnto him after my death in that reſpect, and not to permitt, in the meanetime, the continuall practiſes and deſignes and ſecrete cariages which our ennemies in this your realme dailie make for the adwancement of ther ſurmiſed pretences, labouringe on the other ſide with our traiterous ſubiectes in Scotland, by all the meanes they poſſiblie can, to haſten his ruine; wheroff I craiwe no other better teſtimonie then the charges giwen to your laſt deputies ſent into Scotland, and that which the ſaide deputies hawe there ſeditiouſlie practiſed without your priwitie, (as I beliwe,) but with earneſt and ſufficient procurement of my goode neighbours in the countie of Yorke, to his preiudice to prewale. And to this purpoſe, Madame, by what right can it be mantained, that I the mother of my childe ſhould be whollie interdicted, not onlie to reliwe his neceſſitie ſo urgent as it is, but alſo to hawe anie notice of his eſtate? who can be more carefull, regardfull, and ſinceire therin, then my ſelff? whome doith it more nearelie touch and concerne? At leaſt, if ſendinge vnto him to prowide for his ſaiftie and preſerwation, as the Counte of Shreuiſburie did, on your parte, let me underſtande it had pleaſed you to receiwe therin my adwice, you had interpoſed your ſelff boith with better occaſion, and greater obligatioun on my behalffe, as I ſuppoſe. Conſider weele with your ſelff, what you hawe lefte for me to imagine, when ſo ſuddenlie forgetting the offences, which you pretended to be committed againſt my ſonne at that time, when I requeſted you we might boith together ſend towardes him, you diſpatched meſſengers to him where he was preſoner, not onlie without giwinge me notice theroff, but reſtraininge me at the ſame time of all libertie, to the intent that by no meanes I might heare anie newes of him. If the content of

them, who managed in your regarde ſo redelie this viſitation, was for his preſerwatioun and ſetling of his peace, they ſhould not hawe beene ſo carefull to hawe keepte it from me, as a thing wherin I wold not hawe concurred with them, and to hawe made you looſe the thankes which I ſhould hawe beene indebted to you therfore. And to ſpeake plainelie therin to you, I praie you uſe no more ſuch meanes nor perſons, for albeit I holde my L. Carie ower much regardfull of the place, he cometh of for to engage his honour in anie willanous action, he hath yeet an aſſiſtant ſworne of the houſe and faction of Huntingtoun, by whoſe euil offices ſuch an euil action could not but iſſue to the like effect. It ſhall then onlie ſuffice me, that you ſuffer not my ſonne by this peace to receiwe anie damnage, which is all that I ewer heirtofore requeſted at your handes; yea, ewen then when an armie was ſent vpon the frontiers to hinder the proceidinge of iuſtice of that deteſtable traitour Morton, and that none of youres heirafter medle with the afaires of Scotlande, if it be not with my knowledge, to whome all the knowledge theroff of righte doeth belonge, or with the aſſiſtance of ſome one of the parte of the Chriſtian king of Fraunce, my goode brother, to whome, as our principall kinniſman, I deſire to imparte all thinges in this cauſe, for the litle credite he maie hawe with the traitours which deteine my ſonne for the preſent. This, notwithſtandinge, I do openlie declare vnto you, that I holde this laſt conſpiracie and innovatioun, for a mere treaſon againſt the liffe of my ſonne, the goode of his afaires, and the goode of peace; and that ſo longe he is in the ſtate he is in, (as it is giwen me to underſtande,) I will make no eſteeme of woorde, writinge, or anie other acte that commeth from him, or paſſeth vnder his name, as proceedinge from his frie and naturall diſpoſitioun, but onlie from the ſaide conſpiratouris, which, by takinge of his liffe into ther hand, uſe him as a maſke for them ſelwes and ther afaires.

But all this libertie of ſpeech, Madame, maie in ſome parte diſ-

pleaſe you; yeet it is the werie truth it ſelff: You will holde it, I aſſure me, werie ſtraunge that I proceede yeet to importune you with a requeſt of greate importance, and yeet werie eaſie for you to graunte and effectuate, that is, that not hawinge had hitherto anie power in accommodatinge my ſelff pacientlie ſo longe time to the rigorous entreatie of this longſome captiuitie, and bearing my ſelff ſyncearlie in all thinges, yea, ewen to the leaſte that concerned you litle, to gett me therbye ſome aſſurance of your fawour, and to ſhowe you therfore ſome parte of my entire affection, I praie and deſire you, for the honour and dolorous paſſion of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſte, to permitt me to retire ſome where without this realme to ſome place of repoſe, to ſeeke ſome releaſe and conforte for my poor languiſhinge bodie ſo wexed with continuall ſorrowe, and with libertie of conſcience to prepare my ſoule to God.

Beliwe me, Madame, the phyſitions, which you ſent to me this laſt ſomer, mighte weele enough enformed you, that I hawe beene broughte thorowe longe greiffe ſo lowe that I can not liwe longe, ſo that ther can be no fundatioun or jeloſie or miſtruſte on my parte, which, notwithſtandinge, take on my parte and behalff ſuch aſſurances, iuſte and reaſonable conditiounes, as you will. The greater force reſteth ſtill on your parte to make me keepe them, albeit I will not for anie thinge breake them. You hawe had ſufficient experience of the obſervatioun of my ſimple promeſes, and ſometime to my owen preiudice, as I hawe ſhowed you often: For two yeares ago, remember your ſelff in the ſame werie ſubiect, I wrete then vnto you howe, by no meanes ſo much as by ſweetnes and gentlenes, you coulde binde my hearte vnto you, albeit you impreſoned my poore feeble bodie within foure walles, theſe of my degrie and nature beinge not to be forced, or gained by force, conſtrainte and rigoure. Let the greate God judge all. Your preſon, againſt your promeſe ſo often made and renewed to me, hathe, without all right or iuſte fundatioun, deſtroied my bodie, of which ſhortlie you ſhall hawe an

end, if it continewe there yeet anie longer, and my ennemies ſhall not hawe much more time to ſatiffie ther crueltie vpon me. There reſteth nothinge but my ſoule, which is not in your power to captiuate. Giwe it, then, a litle more roome to take more frielie the breath of her ſaluatioun, which ſhee onlie ſeeketh after at this daie more then anie greatnes of the world.

It ſeemeth vnto me it ſhould be vnto you a greate and large ſatiſfaction, honour and adwantage, that my deadlie and ſpitefull ennemies treade my liffe vnder ther feete, ewen till they ſtifle me before you; in ſteade wheroff, if in this extremitie you nowe werie late leiwe me betuine ther handes, yeet, goode Madame, abridge ther crueltie and giwe ſome releaſe, boith to my ſoule and bodie, and ſo ſhall you greatlie oblige me vnto you, and all theſe which aperteine vnto me, but ſpeciallie my poore childe; touchinge whome by that meanes you maie perhappes aſſure your ſelff, I will not ceaſe to importune you inceſſantlie in this requeſt vntill you agrie vnto me, and therfore I deſire you to make me knowe your intention, hawing attended for to pleaſe theſe two yeares by paſt vntill this preſent, to renewe the inſtance of my requeſt, wherunto the miſerable eſtate of my health doeth preſſe me more then you can thinke or imagine. In the meane time, prowide, if it pleaſe you, that I maie be better entreated; for it lieth in my power, and remitt me not to anie others diſcretion whoſoewer more then your ſelff, of whome onlie, (as I laſt wrete vnto you,) I will holde all the goode or the euil which I ſhall in your cuntrie receiwe, becauſe if your promeſe. Do me this fawour that I maie underſtande your owen intention, by wretinge to the ambaſſadour of Fraunce for me. For to ſettle my ſelff vpon that which the Counte of Shreuiſburie or others ſhall ſaie or wrete on your behalffe, I hawe experience enoughe that it can not be ſufficient enoughe for me, the leaſt ſubiect they ſhall dewiſe or imagine, to innovate all from the daie paſt till the morrowe followinge.

Beſides this, the laſt time that I wrete to thoſe of your councell, you giwe me to underſtand that I ſhould not deale with them, but with you allone, and ſo farre foorthe to extend ther credit and authoritie to do me euil and miſchieffe, as it hapned, in this my laſt reſtraint, wer contrarie to your meaninge. I hawe beene werie unworthelie entreated, that giweth me occaſion to doubte, that ſome of my ennemies in your ſaid councell hawe procured expreſſlie, that others of your councell wer not partakers of my iuſte complaint, ſeeinge not, perhappes, ther companions cliewe to ther wicked attemptes againſt my liffe: either hawing knowledge theroff they wold, for your honour, hawe oppoſed them ſelwes againſt them.

Two thinges hawe I finallie and chieflie to requeſt: the one, that as I am neare to depairte out of this world, I maie hawe neare vnto me ſome honourable man of the church, to the end he maie dailie put me in remembrance of the iorneie I hawe, and to inſtruct me howe to do accordinge to the truth of Gods woorde, according to the direction wheroff, I am fullie reſolwed to liwe and die. This is the laſt duetie which to the moſt miſerable catiffe that breatheth can not be denied; and this a libertie which you giwe all ſtrange and forren ambaſſadoures, as all other Catholike princes giwe to yours exerciſe of ther religion. And I my ſelff hawe newer forced my ſubiectes to anie thinge contrarie to the profeſſion of ther religion, albeit I had all power and authoritie ower them. I beinge in this extremitie of the libertie you giwe others of meaner qualitie and degrie, I praie you, can you iuſtlie do it? did you ewer hawe anie care to cauſe me be inſtructed otherwiſe? What adwantage will you gett by denyinge me? I hope God him ſelff will excuſe me beinge oppreſſed in this ſorte by you. If I offend in woorſhipeinge him outwardlie as I wold, when as I hawe no libertie to do it ſo, if in ſecretlie I do it in my heart, as he hath apointed me, you ſhall giwe a moſt badde example to other Chriſtian princes, to uſe againſt ther owen

ſubiectes, the ſame rigour which you uiſe againſt me, a Soweraigne Queene, and the neareſt kinniſwoman you hawe in the earth, and ſhalbe while I liwe, in deſpite of all my ennemies whatſoewer they be.

I will not importune you nowe, for the adwancement of my houſe, for the ſhorte time I hawe nowe to liwe. I demaunde then onlie of you two chambermaides, to helpe me duringe my ſicknes, proteſtinge vnto you before God that I hawe werie greate neede of them. ' Albeit I wer a poore creature of the meaneſt ſorte, and not a Soweraigne Queene and neareſt kinniſwoman, nature, humane curteſie might make procure you to afforde me this much wnto me. Graunte me this for the honoure of God, for whome you and I as his anointed gowerne for him heire belowe. And lat it [be] ſeene that my ennemies hawe not ſo much credit with you againſt me, as to exerciſe ther wengeance and crueltie in a mater of ſo litle conſequence, and dependinge vpon a ſimple office of humanitie.

I will come nowe to that wherewith the Counte of Shreuiſburie hath charged me, if ſuch a one as he maie charge me, that contrarie to my promeſe made to Beale, and with out your privetie, I hawe negotiated with my ſonne, to yeelde to him the title of my croune of Scotland, hawinge bounde my ſelff not to proceede in it but by your adwiſe; and that when I ſhould thinke goode to do this, I ſhould ſend one of my ſerwantes with one from you, to be ruled and directed in this buſines by one of youre ſerwantes. Theſe be, (as I take it,) the Countes owen woordes. I hawe tolde you heire before, madame, that Beale had newer anie abſolute promeſe of me owertures, touchinge which I coulde not in anie ſorte be bounde, without the foiregoinge performance of the conditions which I had oppoſed; to the which he was ſo farre from beinge ſatiſfied, that I had, on the contrarie parte, not ſo much as anie aunſwere, nor of his pairte harde him mention anie thinge theranent. And in this regarde, I weele remember, that the Counte of Shreuiſburie, deſirous to

drawe from me newe confirmation of that which I had ſaide to Beale, I replied to him werie plainelie, that it was in cace the ſaide conditions had beene accorded on and performed vnto me. Boith the one and the other be yeet liwinge to teſtifie it vnto you, if thè will ſpeake the truth.

Since that time, perceiwinge no aunſwere giwen me theroff, but on the contrarie by the delaies and ſurmiſes of my ennemies, continewed more licentiouſlie then ewer, ther practiſes builded vpon the ſoiourninge of Beale ſo neare vnto me, to croſſe my iuſte intentiouns in Scotland, as the effectes hawe weele witneſſed, that by this meanes the gate laie open to the ruine of my ſonne, I tooke your ſilence as a refuſe, and diſcharged my ſelff by expreſſe letters, aſweele to you as to your councell, of all that which I had treated with the ſaid Beale. I made you priwie vnto that which the Kinge and the Queene wrete vnto me with ther owen handes, concerninge theſe afaires, and required theroff your adwiſe, which is yeet to come: with the which my intention, in werie truth, I was to proceede if you had giwen me your adwiſe in time, and if you had ſuffered me to ſend vnto my ſonne aſſiſtinge me in the owertures, which I had propoſed to you to eſtabliſh betuine theſe two realmes, a lowinge amitie and perfite intelligence for the time to come. But to binde my ſelff nakedlie to followe your adwiſe before I knewe what it mighte be, and to ſubmit for the woiage of our people, mine to the diſcretion of yours, and that in my owen cuntrie, I was newer ſo ſimple as to thinke it. Nowe I remitt to your conſideratioun, if you wer priwie to it, the falſe place which my ennemies heire hawe plaied in Scotland, to bring maters to the paſſe they be at, whether of us hawe more vprightlie and ſynceirlie proceeded, God be iudge betuine you and me and them. Beholde yeet againe the aduertiſementes which my traiterous ſubiectes of Scotland might hawe giwen you, you ſhall finde it, and I will mantaine it before all Chriſtian princes, that there is no paſſed on

my parte anie thinge to your preiudice, nor againſt the goode and quiet of this realme, which I affect no leſſe then anie councellour or ſubiect, knowinge that one daie it will either come to me or mine after me. It was ſpoken to gratifie my ſonne with the name and title of a kinge, and to aſſure him of the ſaide title, as alſo the rebelles of all impunitie of ther offences paſt, and to ſett all thinges in reſt and quiet heirafter, without innovatioun of anie thinge. Was this to take the croune from my ſonne? My ennemies, and you in ſpeciall, (as I thinke,) wold not hawe him ſure theroff; and therfore be werie weele content that he holde it, by unlaufull meanes of ſome traiterous ennemies, of all antiquitie of all our race to roote it out, or elles to conweie the croune from me and him to them, who neither by the lawe of God nor man hawe anie righte, whether they ſtrangers be by birth, or home borne traitouris. Was this to ſeeke iuſtice for the paſt offences of the ſaide traitouris, whome newer anie clemencie could gaine or winne? But an euil conſcience can newer be in quiete, bearinge ewer about with her her owen tormenter. Was this to alter the quiet of the cuntrie, or to procure it by defacinge all thinges paſte, and eſtabliſhing a generall reconciliatioun amongſt all ſubiectes?

Is it that which our ennemies heire feare ſo much, which they make ſhewe they deſire? what preiudice was there in this done vnto you? Marke it then, and make it be iuſtified, if you pleaſe, or can, in anie other thinge, I will aunſwere it publictlie vpon my honour: Allace, Madame, will you ſuffer your ſelff to be ſo much blinded by the cunninge of my ennemies, as to eſtabliſh after you, and perhappes againſt your ſelff lewinge and ſeeing them there iniuſt pretentions to this croune? Will you ſuffer it, beinge yeet aliwe, to ruinate and make ſo cruellie periſhe thoſe who touch you ſo neare in harte and bloode? This can newer [be] honourable nor goode vnto you, that by ther meanes, I and my childe ſhould be ſo longe ſeperated, and wee boith from you, and our crounes

from us all. Take againe the olde arles, earneſt of pledge of your lowe and kindnes, and bind yours to your ſelff, that ſeeinge all thinges is pardoned betuine us, as on my pairte I call the ſeare and ſearcher of all hearts to witnes, they be frielie forgiwen, giwe me this contented ioye, that I be no more trubled by my ennemies, or in my conſcience, that my ſoule deliwered from this bodie be not forced to ſend foorthe ſighes to God, for the iniuries you hawe [made] to be done to me here belowe, but on the contrarie, departinge in peace with you out of this captiuitie, I maie go out of this bondage chearfullie to my God, whome I praie to mowe your hearte to giwe eare to my moſt iuſte complaintes and greiwances. Sheiffelde, 18. November 1582.

Your moſt deſolate, neareſt and affectionat coſinge and ſiſter,

M. R.

Beholde goode declarations; beholde moſt apparent iuſtificatiounes; beholde offerres full of ſubmiſſion; beholde praiers and requeſtes that might mowe an hearte more harde then flinte, if not adamantine! But to what end and purpoſe! Elizabeth diſſembleth as ſhee was wont, and maketh as if ſhee knewe them not; and inſteade of mitigatinge her cruell afflictiounes, ſhee becommeth more auſtere and rigorous then before. Shee wold putt her to an diſhonourable death, but ſhee can not bringe it to paſſe as ſhee wold: ſhee ſent an Engliſhe cooke for her mouth to poiſon her, but it was diſcowered by her faithfull ſerwantes. It could not likewiſe be executed by Walſinghame his procurement, becauſe his copartners, who with him commaunded it, ſaide it was no thinge to kill the Queene preſoner, if the ſonne wer lefte aliwe, or if ther wer not ſome apparent pretexte and ſpecious ſhewe, to take awaie the title of the croune of Englande from the ſonne aſweele as from the mother. I ſhould be too tedious, if I ſhould recount the hundreth parte of the indignities that was done to this Ladie, duringe the time of her empriſonment. Did they

not cauſe, in ſpite of her, hange a papiſt ſtreight foirgainſt her ludginge windoes, therby giwinge her to underſtand that the ſame death did abide her; and they had indeede accompliſhed ther deſignes, if ſome of the wiſer ſoirte had not by manie forcible ſtronge reaſons withſtoode the diſhonourable purpoſe. Laſtlie, it is concluded to butcher her, and to ſhaddowe the ſame with ſome culloure of iuſte wengeance, and finde ſome crime to giwe a pretexte to ther tyrannicall proceedinges, and to perſwade idiottes, if anie wer ſo groſſe or ſenſles in the world, that they followed the courſe of iuſtice, all ſtomocke ſett aparte, and all former malice laide awaie, and all affections contrarie to right and reaſon being buried, they deſired no thinge ſo much as the ſaiftie of Gods true woorſhipe and religion and of ther Queene; and for this intent a Parliament was called 23 of November, and a ordinance made in it in 27 yeare of Elizabethes raigne, it ſittinge vntil the 29 of March nexte after. In the firſt ſittinge theroff, a queſtion was diſpatched with this title, "An Acte for proviſion to be made for the ſuretie of the Queenes Maieſties moſt roiale perſon, and the continouance of realmes peace."

To ſhowe the exquiſit and affected meanes they hawe to cullour ther deſignes to maſſacre cruellie this innocent ladie, heirafter folloueth ther maſke to effect the ſame, ther Acte of Parliament:—

"Becaus the conforte and greatè felicitie of the whole ſtate of this realme conſiſteth, nexte after God, in the preſeruation and ſaiftie of the moſt excellent maieſtie of the Queene; and it appearinge manifeſtlie vnto us, that manie complottes and cariages, not longe ſince, hawe beene prepared and enterpriſed, aſweele beyonde ſea in ſtrange and forren cuntries as within this realme, to the greate danger and preiudice of the moſt roiale perſon of her Heighnes, to extreame ruine of the comoune wealth, if in the mercie of God the thinge had not beene rewealed for this cauſe; and to prewent the greate perrile which by this meanes might otherwiſe encreaſe heireafter, by the meanes of ſuch deteſtable and

dewiliſhe practiſes, at the humble ſuite and ſervice, petition and requeſt, of our Lordis ſpirituall and temporal, and the thrie eſtates of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authoritie of the ſaide Parliament, let ther be made an Acte inregiſtred, that if it happen after this preſent Seſſion of Parliament ther be made anie open invaſion or rebellion, or prepared within anie of the realmes or dominiouns of her Maieſtie, or if anie thinge be attempted to the detriment of the moſt roiale perſon, by or in fawour of anie perſon that wold or coulde pretend anie righte or title to the croune of this kingdome after the deceaſe of her Maieſtie; if ther be made anie proiecte or dewiſe to the preiudice of her roiale perſon by anie pretendinge ſuch righte, or with his conſent or knouledge, or priwitie of the facte, that then by the commiſſion of her Maieſtie vnder her greate ſeale, the Lordis, and other of the priwie councell, and ſuch other Lordis as hawe woice in Parliament, as it ſhall pleaſe her Maieſtie to name, makinge together with them of the councell the number of 24 at the leaſt, aſſiſted with ſome of the iudges of the courte of record at Weſtminſter, ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe her Maieſtie to appoint and ordaine in that regairde; where the greater pairte of the ſaide councell, Lordis and iudges, ſhall hawe power and authoritie, be wertue of this ordinance, to examine all and ſingular ſuch offences foirſaide, and all the circumſtances theroff, and to giwe iudgement of them, and ſentence vpon them, as they ſhall ſee by goode prowes the cace required: and after ſuch ſentence and iudgement giwen, and declaratioun of it made and publiſhed, by letters of her Maieſtie vnder the greate ſeale of England, all ſuch perſons, againſt whome ſuch ſentence and iudgement hath beene given in maner foirſaid, ſhalbe excluded, be diſabled, and made incapable for ewer to hawe, demaunde, or pretend anie righte to the croune of this realme, or anie of the dominions of her Maieſtie, notwithſtandinge all precedent, lawes, or ſtatutes to the contrarie; and in wertue of this ordinance and commiſſion of her Maieſtie

therupon, all the ſubiectes maie iuſtlie, by all meanes poſſible, be it by waie of facte or otherwiſe, perſue to death ſuch perverſe and miſcheiwous perſons, by whome, or by whoſe meanes, conſent or priwitie, anie ſuch invaſion, attempt, or rebellion, in the forme afoirſaide, ſhalbe deamed to be done, or hath attempted, procured, or imagined anie ſuch acte againſt the ſaide perſon of her Maieſtie, in like ſoirte, all ther adwiſers, fawourers, adherentes, or complices: And if anie like acte come to be executed againſt her moſt roiale perſon, by the which the liffe of her Maieſtie ſhalbe taken awaie, (from the which God of his greate mercie preſerwe her,) then all perſons by or for whome ſuch an acte ſhalbe executed, and ther heires, participant in anie maner, conſentinge, or hawinge anie knowledge and intelligence of ſuch a foule facte, ſhall, by wertue of this ordinance, be excluded, and be made vnable to enioye, pretend to, or demaund, the croune of this realme, or anie other of the dominions of her Heighnes, notwithſtandinge all precedent, lawes and ſtatutes whatſoewer to the contrarie."

See heire the werie groundes and fundatiounes of ther proceedinges againſt the Queene of Scottes. Shee is noted to be the wicked perſon, by this ordinance of the ſtates of England, as if ſhee had been alredie guiltie of rebellion, and all, &c. It is againſt her liff dewiſed, and ſhee is noted to be the onlie inſtrument of all this miſcheiffe, to defraude her and her offſpringe and poſteritie of the croune they had a iuſt righte vnto. Doctour Wilſon wold reporte the newes, if he wer aliwe, to be confronted to Doctour Windem, whome they eſteemed not without cauſe the beſt lawer in England: he wold mantaine it to ther faces, that after the death of the Duke of Norfolke, this Wilſon, then ther Maiſter of Requeſtes, was ſent vnto him by thoſe of the councell to knowe of him, if there wer anie municipall lawe vpon which they might hawe anie grounde to putt to death the Queene of Scottes, and to make anie

formall proceſſe againſt her; who aunſwered them that ther was none; ſo that his aunſwere was directlie oppoſite and contrarie to ther diſloiale, perwerſe and tyrannous dewiliſhe intentiounes.

At this time, the L. of Cauaignes frenchman, ſince executed for heigh treaſon at Paris, was negotiatinge in England, I knowe not whie, if not for that amongeſt other buſines he folloued the death of the Quene of Scottes, as an agent for the French that wer her ennemies. His cauſſes and meanes wer the werie ſame, compriſed in the ſlanderous and infamous libell made and publiſhed priwelie, from hand to hand, and dedicated to Q. Elizabeth, vnder the title and inſcription of the Morninge Watche.

The Engliſhe, thus informed that the lawes and precepts of iuſtice did not yeelde ther protection and aſſent to them to effect ther cruell, and more then Scythian deſignes, without forder delaie, reſpectinge no forder formalitie of lawe, diſpatches a poſt with all poſſible ſpeede to the Earle of Shreuiſburie, Erle Marſhall of England, cheiffe iuſtice in criminall cauſſes, charginge and commaundinge him, all delaies ſett aſide, vpon the receipt of the letters, to cauſe the heade of the empreſoned Queene to be cutte off from her ſhoulders. This poſte beinge diſpatched with all diligence, Megara could not ſleepe, but ſeekinge out ane other Megara in ſoule, which ſtrangelie tormented, the cruell decrie is repented of. They knowe what ordour to take; the Queene ſendeth for Leiceſter, her greate minion, whoſe adwiſe muſt be had for a iuſte lawe in all this greate buſines, whome Sir Walter Mildmaie, one of his moſt familiars, muſt needes adwiſe; (for of him ſelff he was ſo addicted to Elizabeth, if ſhee wold go to hell, he muſt needes keepe her companie,) who declared to him the greate offence to God and man, the greate diſhonour ſhould be impute to ther miſtres, the ſhame ariſinge to the councell, the imminent danger of the Queenes perſon, the vndoinge of the whole realme, if the reſolution of the death

of the Queene of Scottes wer executed, without all pretence of lawe, righte or reaſon, or anie apparent ſhowe of iuſtice: that ſuch crueltie could not be excuſed by no ſhowe whatſoewer, and that all Chriſtian kinges and potentates ſhould be conſtrained vpon ther honoures to take rewenge theroff; that the example ſhould be of a moſt dangerous conſequent, that the like caſe might befall ther miſtres, if in the mutinie of her people ſhee ſhould flie into Scotland or Fraunce, or anie other cuntrie for refuge, as this ladie fled into England, and that vnder cullour of promeſes made to her, and aſſurances giwen on the part of the Queene, her nexte kinne, and hawinge laid her liffe as a thinge of truſte in her handes, and all her whole eſtate.

Leiceſter, vpon the examinatioun of theſe ſpeeches, perceiwinge his honour much more intereſted (in regarde of his familiaritie with his miſtres,) then anie mans elles, he beinge ſpeciall in her councell, roſe vp quicklie out of his bed, goeth redelie to his miſtres bed chamber, (whether often he was wont to go for les neceſſarie buſines,) in his nighte goune, all alone, he telleth her all the foirſaide inconweniences by ſuch a bloodie tragedie, if ſuch a cruell commandement and decrie wer executed. He had no ſooner opned his mouth to utter theſe thinges, but ſhee prayes him to giwe ordour to ſtaie the ordinance alredie giwen. Therfore, inſtantlie ther was an other gentleman, Mr George, to call bake the firſt poſte, diſpatched in all haiſte to giwe likewiſe a contrarie command to the Earle of Shreuiſburie to ſtaie the murder of the goode innocent Queene. There be ſome that reporte the whole mater otherwiſe, that the Ladie Stafforde, a ladie of honour of Elizabethes chamber, beinge in her bed, cried out in her dreame in a loude and fearfull noyes, that ſhee wakned her miſtres the Queene, who demaunded her the cauſe of fearfull ſhoutinge and outcrie; and after ſhee had wakned her out of her dreame with much ado, at length ſhee aunſwered, ſhee ſawe the Queene of Scottes heade cutte of, then

her miſtres heade alſo. The Queene then tolde here the like viſion in her ſleepe had trubled her ſelff, wherwith ſhee was much affrighted; and that that was the cauſe ſhee had ſo ſuddenlie [altered] this determinatioun of puttinge her cuſinge to death. But be it ſo, or howſoewer it was, I ſee no inconwenience, whie both thoſe mighte be the cauſſes of the ſudden alteratioun of the cruell decrie. The laſt poſte made ſuch haiſte that he arriwed almoſt at the ſame time with the firſt that went before him with the foirſaide decrie for execution to the Earle, as ſaide is. But the laſt caried better newes, ſtraitlie commandinge him to keepe his preſoner, and tellinge him by wrate from the Queene, that althought her cuſinge had deſerwinge for attemptinge to marie with the Duke of Norffolke without her knowledge, to the greate hinderance of the Goſpell, and furtherance of poperie, (which I my ſelff do more tolerate, ſhee mighte as trulie hawe ſaide, in that I ſuffer recuſancie in my dominions for a litle monie to be brought to my coffers): theſe thinges, I ſaie, conſidered arighte, I might iuſtlie ride her out the waie; yeet I pardon her with all my heart, and giwe her liffe, not dealinge with her as ſhee deſerwes, but accordinge to my clemencie.

To whoſe cruell and iniuſte accuſatiounes the Queene, (after ſhee had red Elizabethes letter to Shreuiſburie, aunſwered, and his declaration of the contentes of it,) fullie reported in Elizabethes proiectes ſhee intended, therby fullie vnderſtoode of her Maieſtie, ſhee replied, ſhee newer attempted anie thinge againſt the honour of a Queene, nor her cuſinge in ſpeciall, (as knoweth God,) ſhee newer had anie intelligence with ſtrangers or ennemies to conſpire with them againſt her and her kingdome, and that God one daie wold be a iuſte judge betuine them, and ſhowe whether ſhee wer guiltie of theſe thinges ſhee falſlie charged her, which wer in deede alledged, forged and dewiſed accuſatiounes to bereiwe her of her liffe, wherthrowe ſhee might the better execut her longe concealed proiect, which was to hinder her and her ſonne the

right of the kingdome, which ſhee had, againſt all right and reaſon, uſurped, and of the which her owen father diſabled her by the adwiſe of the whole parliament. Marke heire an Acte of Parliament made by her and her counceil, by the which they that deſigne or imagine in ther mindes anie thinge in the perſon or eſtate of the Queene of England, and they that giwe aide, confort, or fawoure to thoſe in fawoure of whome, as pretending right to the croune, ſuch thinges is attempted, deſigned or imagined, ar declared criminalles, vnable and vnwoorthie of ſuch rightes; and it is permitted to all the ſubiectis of England, to kill and purſue them to death, aſweele by waie of fact as by iuſtice. A few monethes after, they founde in ther heades and imaginatiounes, full of treaſon and crueltie, that it is the Queene of Scottes that had not onlie imagined and proiected, but alſo attempted againſt ther miſtres; and therupon, without anie forme of iuſtice, without gatheringe or confronting anie teſtimonies, (as is required in proceſſe againſt the baſeſt offendouris in the world), they caſt her doune from her roiale eſtate, and make her be aſſaſinated by the hand of cruell butcher. But to ſaie the truth, they know weele in ther mindes, repleniſhed with abominatioun and all iniquitie, that the onlie cauſe of her murder was, becauſe ſhee wold newer giwe ower the iuſte title God gawe her, and thoſe that were to come of her; wherin they followed the morninge watches reſolution, wherin the authour of that booke holdeth it a iuſte cauſe, and moſt neceſſarie to put the Queene of Scottes to death, becauſe ſhee was popiſhe, and gaiwe annuities and penſions to papiſtes. Whie did he not thinke it as neceſſarie to put Elizabeth alſo to death, who manie a time ſince ſhee uſurped the roiale authoritie, hard the idolatrous maſſe, and newer, to her dyinge daie, did remowe the ceremonies of the maſſe, (which the morninge watche doeth condemne as dewiliſhe), out of the church of England, yea, ſuffered openlie in publict place manie moſt abominable papiſticall opinions to be taught, held

and mantained, together with hereſies alſo ariſinge from thence to be broched abroade; it is needefull heire to ſett them doune, they be freſhe as yeet in mennes mindes. The other cauſſes why Elizabeth putt her cuſinge to death, alledged by her ennemies, ſpecified in ther falſe judgement giwen againſt her Maieſtie, haue onlie a culloure to ſhadow ther tyrannie to make other princes not to diſdaine them and their crueltie, nor to handle them and ther miſtres as they had done this noble Queene. When they made ther Act of Parliament, they knewe weele ſhe muſte needes conſpire with Antonie Babington, againſt the ſtate and liffe of Elizabeth; they had ſo goode agentes boith at home and abroade, that this conſpiracie could fall out no otherwiſe, but with ther goode likinge muſt needes endanger the Queene of Scottes liffe, and her iuſte title ſhee had to the croune of England, which thinge you maie ſee by the dewiliſh complot it ſelff. Ther was one Gifforde an Engliſhman borne, who from his werie infancie had beene trained up in the ſeminaries at Roome and Rhemes, and for the ſpace of two yeares was he delte with by Walſinghame his agentes, who was Elizabethes ſecretarie, a ſpitefull ennemie to her cuſinge. This goodlie companion Gifforde, leawing his profeſſion, maketh diwers iorneyes and woiages to Paris, and goeth ower in England, he not being at all in anie thinge moleſted, notwithſtanding the ſtrict ſearch and inquirie was made vpon all that came thither from beyond ſea, yea and albeit he ſhowe him ſelf outwardlie a profeſſed papiſt. This libertie this fellowe had, made boith papiſtes and proteſtantes thinke diwerſlie of him. But to take all ſuſpition of treacherous dealinge with the councell of England out of his brethrens harte, he paſt foorth batcheler of divinitie, and tooke holie orders vpon him, and was made preiſt at Rhemes. Since which time, men began to be werie ſuſpicious of him, ſeeinge him often to retire him ſelff into England at his pleſour, without anie moleſtatioun or truble. Papiſtes dubted the more of him, becauſe his onlie meanes to liwe on was by allowance he had

in his ordour. Nowe he did liwe in greate plentie of all thinges, hawinge of the Seminaries, wherupon heirtofore the greate pairte of all his meanes depended no thinge. But ſuch was the wickednes of the licentious liwer, he could not cower his wicked liffe, nor hidde anie longer in plotting his treacheries; for at length, they ſpying his cariage and ſcandalous liffe, committed him to preſon in the officialitie of Paris, where was found about him manie letters written with the ioice of an onion, and allonie with cyfers and diwerſe other papers, diwers memorandumes and inſtructiouns, by the which one parte of his negotiatioun was diſcowered, and amongeſt other thinges, howe he did certifie one Thomas Phillippes, Walſinghames agent, of all whatſoewer the catholiques did.

To the effect this their deſigne, and to do them an office woorthie of memorie, mighte the better be brought to paſſe, he drewe him ſelff to the companie of one Thomas Morgan, a gentleman much addicted to the Queene of Scottes, to whome he inſinuated his ardent zeale to do the ſaide Ladie ſerwice, and that he knewe a greate manie Catholiques in England to be dewoted to her Maieſtie, and that he had goode meanes to procure her deliwerie, and that ther was that negotiated in thoſe partes for her, and that he had him ſelff for his owen parte, if he coulde be furniſhed with monie, wold deale in this buſines, and direct Maiſter Morgan to hawe ſecrete intelligence with thoſe that had the doinge of this buſines in hand. He offered him ſelff two or thrie times to the Biſhope of Glaſcoue, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour, who returned him bake, not giwinge him anie countenance, or communicatinge anie thinge with him in a mater of weight or conſequence, from whome he retired him ſelff backe againe to Morgan, and by importune ſute made to him, he obteines letter, boith from him and others, to Antonie Babington, and ſome other gentlemen of his owen profeſſion, whome Leiceſter had borne no will to a longe time, and coulde hawe founde in his heart to hawe had longe

ago ride out of the waie for his owen particulars. So ſoone as he came in Englande, ſtreighte goeth he with the letters to Walſhinghame, and after ar deliwered accordinge to ther ſuperſcription. They laubour the mater ſo ſecretlie and craftelie, that they gett letters from the Queene that was preſoner, or from her ſecretarie, which wer taken and then copied out by Sir Amias Paulet, her graces gaoler, who ſendeth them ſtreight waie to Babington, and receiweth his aunſwere. Theſe thinges thus handled ar communicated to Walſhinghame, and by him be againe reported to the councell.

The watch woorde is giwen to Gifforde that he ſhould ſhifte for him ſelff, and to go into Fraunce to mantaine ther woonted and accuſtomed ſerwice, without anie feare of anie ſentence of preſcription or baniſhement to paſſe againſt him, or if it did hapen to be giwen, it was but for a cullour, it ſhould not turne to his preiudice, it ſhould ſerwe for a maſke to hid his deſignes, and the better to plaie his parte without all ſuſpition of miſtruſte heirafter.

This kinde of proceedinge is not to be thought ſtrange in Walſhinghame; theeſe be his ordinarie practiſes: He was ſo impudent to ſend a companion to Rome with falſe letters and ſeales, to take vpon him the perſon of the baſtarde brother to the kinge of Scottes, to diſcower the intelligences the mother might hawe with the Pope, or that which might further her deliwerie; but he was but a counterfeit, for the ſaide kinge had newer anie baſe brother, as it is weele knowen. So this cuſoninge mate was committed to preſon in the caſtle of St Angelo, and after put into the inquiſition, from whence he eſcaped, by what meanes I knowe not; but after beinge founde at Paris, and committed to preſon in the litle caſtle, he died poorlie and miſerablie ther, deliweringe him ſelff from the due puniſhment his treacherous attemptes did deſerwe, notwithſtandinge the faire promeſes of Elizabeth, and the often viſitatiounes of her ambaſſadoures. There was manie ſuch like agentes

for Elizabeth at Roome and Spaine diſcowered, and receiwed ther due puniſhment.

But to returne to Gifforde. After he had diſpatched his negotiation with Walſhinghames goode likinge, the letters of Morgan, Babington and others, wer wieud and conſidered by the councell, and Sir Amias Paulet was directed thus, that he ſhould leade his preſoner foorthe to diſporte her ſelff at the huntinge. But ſhee was no ſooner come into the feildes, then ther arriwed ther vpon a ſudden Mr George and Mr Wade, with a greate troupe of horſemen, who ſeaſed vpon the bodies of her two ſecretaries, Melvin the maiſter of her houſholde, her purſbearer, and other ſerwantes, ſequeſtringe them one from an other, not ſufferinge them to ſpeake betuine them ſelwes, nor with ther miſtres, threatninge them if they did, they wold ſtreight without delaie ſtabbe them: they diſpatch and dewide ther preſoners to diwers places and keepers. As for her Maieſtie, Paulet, by direction from the courte, as was foreſeene, cauſſed her to be led by a ſtronge garriſon to a gentlemans houſe near bye, where ſhee was keept without anie retinewe the ſpace of eight daies, duringe the which time he cauſſed her cloſett to be broken open: he tooke awaie all the keyes of her coffers and trunkes, and of all ſerwantes trunckes: he tooke all her coine in golde, ſilwer, her jewelles, ringes, and precious attire: her bookes, memorandumes, inſtructiouns, ciphers, and all her papers. After theſe indignities offered her, he cauſſed her to be broughte by a ſtronge garriſon of armed men to Chartlie; and from thence, leadinge her from houſe to houſe with manie reproches, without anie reſpect to the hienes of her perſon and honour, ſhee is brought to Foderinghaie, the intended butcherhous where they had apointed to aſſaſinate her roiale perſon: a ſlaughterhouſe it is to be named, rather then a palace fitte for the habitatioun of ſuch a Queene as ſhee was.

This rude, cruell willaine Paulet was apointed a Cerberus to keep

her, in regarde they could hardlie finde ſuch an other woide of all humanitie and mercie, except it wer traitour Walſhinghame. He was alſo commanded to empoyſen her, if he could effect it ſecretlie, and if he perceiwed anie noiſe or ſturre in her houſe, or about her ludgine, he was charged vpon his allegeance to kille her, not lookinge for anie forther authoritie; for ther Act of Parliament was a ſufficient warrant to him in that behalffe. And to this intent did this miſerable goutie catiwe, (ſeeinge the fire to hawe taken holde of the chimneie of her chamber, thinkinge it beene done of purpoſe and deliberatlie, as an token giwen,) apointed foure of his gwarde to hawe killed her in her owen chamber, if ſhee had made the leaſt ſigne to ſhunne the danger of the fire, which giweth a ſtronge ſuſpition that the fire was kindled by themſelwes.

They keepte her werie ſtreightlie at Foderingaie, where ſhee wanted all thinges needfull for the entertainment of her roiale perſon; and thither wer directed, according to ther Act of Parliament, Commiſſioners, ſent not to make her laufull proceſſe, which they could not, nor ought not, but onlie to terrifie her, which they newer wer able to do, ſuch was her confidence in her God, and her owen innocencie, and to giwe her a light audience in thoſe thinges ſhee did ſpeake, and ſpeciallie to culloure ther deſignes in purpoſinge to putt her to death. But the Commiſſioners, ioninge to the contentes of the letters of ther commiſſion, did impudentlie awouch, that ſhee had corrupted the ſubiectes of ther miſtres to deliwer her ſelff from captiuitie, and to hawe diſpoſſeſſed ther miſtres of the croune and kingdome of England, and that ſhee had practiſed againſt her ſtate and her liffe. The comfortles princes, doubtinge what ther intent might be, and that vpon neceſſitie it did ſeeme vnto her that ther deſignes, that had ſuch longe preparatiouns, muſt come to ſome dangerous ewent and iſſue, ſhee did long inſiſt in her delayes and refuſall to awoide ther proceedinges, but hawinge alledged to

them perfunctorelie, and maner of acquite her qualities, and ther incompetencie and inſufficiencie, denieth and excludeth vtterlie the conſpiracie by them alledged, and that her ſecretaries had written anie thinge to her knowledge or commaundement, that might turne to the preiudice of her cuſinges liffe, or hinderance of her eſtate, or anie wiſe corrupted her ſubiectes in ther due obedience; which ſhee ſolemnlie did ſweare and proteſt, continewinge therin ewen to her laſt breath. Weele, quod ſhee, if my ſecretaries hawe wretin or negotiated anie wiſe beſides my knowledge that waie, that ought not to be imputed vnto me for the ower perilous conſequences for the liffe, the honour, the goodes, the reputatioun and faculties of all Chriſtian princes and greate potentates, ſhould be expoſed to the greate hazarde, if the ſimple wretinge of ther ſecretaires might binde them in anie thinge: yeet for her ſelff, ſhee did not thinke they had wretin anie thinge, either to Babington, whome ſhee newer knewe nor did ſee with her eie, nor to anie other, for her libertie or deliwerie out of her iniuſte and tyrannicall captiuitie, which all the lawes of the world permitt her to ſeeke to attaine vnto by all meanes poſſible. But if for the procuringe of her libertie they had wretin, ſollicited, and procured anie thinge preiudiciall to her perſon, or the eſtate of the Queene her cuſinge, they had gone beyonde her commiſſion, commaundement and direction, and therfore ther follie and temeritie ſhould not turne to her blame or hinderance anie waies, who had newer agreed nor conſented, nor plotted or imagined anie ſuch thinge, aſſuringe her ſelff that neither her ſecretaries nor anie other wold mantaine the contrarie, if they wer brought to her preſence to face it. But all her ſpeech is needles; all her offeres ſerwe to no purpoſe, for the Lordes, the judges, the more parte of them wer her ſworne ennemies, and wer ignorant, vnlearned, not ſkilefull in the iudiciall afaires of a commounewealth: none ſuch wer admitted to come to her preſence; no ſuch man was ſuffered to heare her laufull iuſtificatiouns. For a faſſon to cullour

ther wiked deſignes, when ſentence is giwen againſt her, they ar ſend for and come, but ar not ſuffered to heare her laufull purgatiounes and aunſwers to that which was laide againſt: they will none of that, that ther cruell ſentence ſhould be rewoked, althought in the ſelff iniuſte: with a cloſſe mouth they be returned backe againe whence they came: the ſentence is pronounced without examinatioun or confrontinge of anie witnes by them ſelwes, or the iudges of lawe beſt acquainted with ſuch laufull proceedinges, the Secretaries, the wreteris of the plottes alledged, be newer brought to her preſence nor confronted. Shee is adiudged to die, without all ceremonies of iuſtice uſuallie obſerwed towardes the moſt abject perſon of all. They depart altogether as ignorant for takinge true notice of the mater, or enformed by anie witnes of the truth of the cauſe wherfore they came as the childe not yeet borne.

But to diſpatche the innocent ladie, and ridde her out of the waie, the ſentence is diwulged; the copie was ſhowen to a werie fewe, and werie fewe hawe ſeene it, leaſt the pronuncers ſhould be eſhamed theroff, it was ſo iniuſte, it was ſo full of hidden myſteries they wold not hawe it made too commone or publiſhed. The publicatioun of the ſentence, with the commiſſion to execut it, is ſett doune heire, but the ſentence can not be come bye, it was ſo honeſt.

"ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendrice of the faith, &c. It beinge giwen ws to underſtand, with great apparence of the truth, to our greate ſorrowe, that ſome litle while ago manie thinges hawe beene plotted, imagined and reſolutlie appointed, tending directlie to the offence and deſtruction of our roiale perſon, and ſubuerſion of the ſtate of this realme, by forren invaſions and domeſticke rebelliouns, aſweele by the Scottiſhe Queene abyding in our realme vnder our protection, as by manie other wiked perſons of her intelligence, which hawe frielie confeſſed it, and hawe therupon, after due informatioun, been judged and executed

by the lawes, as they hawe deſerwed. And albeit in truth, this hath beene to us a greate greiffe and deepe ſorrowe of minde, to thinke or imagine that ſuch vnnaturall and monſtrous actiouns hawe beene voluntarlie agreed and conſented vnto by her againſt us, that is a princes borne of our bloode, of our ſexe, and one that was manie times before ſaiwed and preſerwed in liffe and honour. This notwithſtandinge, we hawe beene ſo directlie drauen to beliwe that all is true, by wiewe and intelligence of ewident prowes, that hawe beene broughte before ws, of thinges coming and proceedinge from her, aſweele as from the conſpiratouris, which frielie and willinglie, without conſtrainte, confeſſed ther conſpiracies coniointlie with her, and prepared againſt our perſon and realme, which we hawe goode reaſon to thinke ſhould be a thinge werie dangerous to ſuffer to paſſe to ther full and inteir effect: for this cauſe we hawe beene by diwers of our lordes of our nobilitie and others, our lowinge and faithfull ſubiectes, ſeriouſlie mowed and councelled to giwe ordour without delaie, to enquire and examine all theſe conſpiracies awerred to be manie waies, to hawe beene made indirectlie againſt us and our realme by the ſaide Queene of Scottes, and to uiſe all meanes that be moſt readie and expedient to reſiſt, or rather to prewent them: And it greatlie diſpleaſeth us to proceede againſt her, (beinge a Queene and daughter of a Kinge,) by ordinarie courſe and waie of our lawes of our realme, as we mighte laufullie do, as by informatioun, decree inſcription, confronture of witneſſes, or other like meanes; in regarde of our honour and her perſon, We ar adwiſed by the ſage councellouris giwen to proceede in the examinatioun in ſuch a cauſe, after the moſt honourable waie that we can in this our realme dewiſe, accordinge to an Act of Parliament laſt made, the 23 of November, the 27 of our reigne: Accordinge to the which, by our commiſſions vnder the Greate Seale of Englande, giwen at the caſtle of Windſore, in the countie of Barkeſhire, the ſixte of

October laſt, We hawe, for this effect, aſſigned, named, and appointed, and alſo ordained, all my Lordes, and other of my priwie councell, and ſo manie courte Barons and Lordes of the Parliament of the firſt range, and of auncienteſt nobilitie of this realme, who, with my Lordes and others of my ſaide councell, make in number 42, ioninge with them ſome of the cheiffe and principall iudges of the courtes of recorde at Weſtminſter, making in all 47, to examine all thinges deſigned and imagined to the hurte of our roiale perſon, aſweele by the ſaide Queene, called Marie Queene of Scottes, Dourier of Fraunce, as by other of her intelligence, and all ther circumſtances, accordinge to the tenour of the ſaide [act of] Parliament, and to giwe ſentence and iudgement as they ſhall ſee goode prowes the caſe requireth, as doeth appeare by the ſaide commiſſion. And the greater pairte of the ſaide councellouris, my Lordes and iudges, named in our ſaide commiſſion, that is, the number of 36, hawe, in hearinge the ſaide Queene, at her aboade in the caſtle of Foderinghaie, at diwerſe ſittinges in publict place, moſt exactlie, iuſtlie, and with mature deliberation and adwiſe, examine all the maters and crimes wherwith ſhee was charged and accuſed, tendinge to the foirſade dangers mentioned in our commiſſion, and all ther circumſtances, and hawe alſo harde and underſtoode, in the moſt favourable maner that they coulde, that which the ſaide Queene could or woulde ſaie to excuſe her ſelff, and for her iuſtificatioun: Vpon the which, a litle time after, that is, the 20 of October laſte paſt, all the councell, my Lordes and iudges, hawinge heire conſidered, and vnderſtoode, and examined the ſaide cauſe in her preſence, as is afoirſaide, with one woice, aſſent and conſent, after mature deliberatioun, hawe giwen ſentence in maner and forme followinge: That after the firſt of June in the 27 yeare of our raigne, and before the date of our commiſſion, diwers thinges hawe beene plotted and imagined in this realme of England by Antonie Babington and others, with intelligence of the

ſaide Marie pretendinge righte to the croune of this realme, tendinge to the detriment, death and ruine of our roiale perſon: and likewiſe, that after the firſt daie of June afoirſaide, and before the date of our commiſſion, the ſaide Marie, pretendinge right to the croune, hath plotted and dewiſed within this ſaide realme diwers thinges to the detriment, ruine and death of our ſaide roiale perſon, againſt the forme of the ſaide ſtatute: The which ſentence and iudgement the ſaidis Lordes and Commiſſioners hawe with one accorde, cauſſed to be made in writinge, and duelie ingroſſed with the verball proceſſe of ther maner of proceedinge, which they hawe ſubſcribed with ther handes, as more amplie appeareth by the report which hath beene made to us; and after the ſaide ſentence and iudgement ſo giwen and reported, my Lordes and other eſtates in this Parliament aſſembled, hawe manie times in open Parliament harde and conſidered the principall ewidences of the facte, the proceſſes and circumſtances vpon the which the ſaide ſentence was grounded, and ther ſuffrages giwen in Parliament hawe affirmed it to be a iuſte, true and laufull ſentence, and approwed for ſuch by ther writinge to ws preſented, ſhowinge vnto us howe they ſawe doubtles the imminent and greate daunger to our perſon and realme, which might befall if this ſentence were not fullie executed. And therfore, by humble ſupplicatiouns, and werie ſerious demaundes, with one accorde made vnto us, after they had acceſſe vnto us by diwers requeſtes preſented vnto us, with manie reaſons of greate importance, force and wertue, preſſed and mowed ws to that which the ſaide ſentence, ſo iuſtlie giwen by them, approwed, as it was ſaide it was, by us vnder our Greate Seale, by proclamatioun, declared and publiſhed, and in the end executed, accordinge to the tenure of the ſaide Acte of Parliament.

But the ſaide Lordes and thrie eſtates, after ſo many requeſtes ſo ſeriouſlie by them in Parliament made, perceiwing by our woordes and aunſwers which we made, howe much it diſpleaſed ws to hawe ſo hor-

rible and vnnaturall attemptes of this Queene ſoundinge in our eares, and to heare them whoſe precedent offences, manifeſtlie and dangerouſlie committed againſt ws, our croune and realme, wer owerpaſſed in our clemencie, repugnant to the adwiſe and requeſt of our ſubiectes, made aſweele in Parliament as other where; and further, underſtandinge by ws how much we deſired that by them and ther concurrence in generall, and in ſpeciall or particular, ſome other meanes expedient might be found to reſiſt ſuch wickednes, attempted aſweele againſt us as the publict ſtate of this realme moſt quiet and peaceable, and the ſecuritie of our goode and loiale ſubiectes; other, I ſaie, then by execution of the ſaide ſentence, as it was meete and convenient. After manie conſultatiounes by them ſewerallie made, and conferences had by them altogether in the name of all the Lordes of the Parliament, by the particular ſuffrages of all the aſſemblie, and of the thrie eſtates, with one generall conſent repreſentinge the whole eſtate of our realme, ewerie time that they had acceſſe vnto us, they hawe alleged, declared, and proteſted, that by longe conſultatiounes and conferences, manie and diwers times by them made by our commaundement, and to content ws in that reſpect, they could finde no other meanes and remedie to prowide for the ſecuritie of our perſon, the preſervatioun of them and ther poſteritie, nor the continuatioun of the happie eſtate of our realme, without publicatioun and due execution of the ſaide ſentence. For this conſideratioun, not mowed onlie with our owen greiffe and offence, but owercome with the ſerious requeſtes, the declaratiouns and reaſons of our ſaide ſubiectes of greate weighte and importance, the nobilitie and eſtate of our realme, who, in iudgement, lowe and naturall care of ws and our realme, exceede all the reſt who hawe not ſo much intereſt, and ought not ſo much as they be eſteemed; and knowinge forder that the ſaide ſentence hath beene honourablie, laufullie and iuſtlie giwen, conformable to iuſtice and the lawes of our realme, we hawe ſuffered

our ſelwes to be broughte to ther deſires, and accordinge to the ſaide ſtatute, by this our proclamatioun vnder the Greate Seale of England, to declare, notifie and publiſhe to all our lowinge ſubiectes, and to all other perſons whatſoewer, that the ſaide ſentence and iudgement was giwen in forme afoirſaide, to the end that they, and ewerie of them, maie knowe it and fullie vnderſtand it by this our proclamatioun, which we will hawe broughte backe againe to our Court of Chancerie ſo ſoone as maie be, with the indorcement of the place and time it was done: Heirof faile you not. In teſtimonie heiroff we wold hawe the ſaide proclamation be made patent, and ſealed with our Greate Seale of Englande. At our houſe of Richmonde, 4. December, the 27 yeare of our raigne, 1586."

There be manie thinges heire to be conſidered; and in the firſt, the pride, ſelf conceit and crueltie of the hautie minded woman intituling her ſelff Queene of Fraunce, as if ſhee ſo were, whereas ſhee newer hath anie thinge there; whereas, with better reaſon, her cuſinge is more worthie, and hath that title, and yeet ſhee attributeth to her ſelff this qualitie in ſuch ſorte, that when ſhee ſpeaketh of the Chriſtian Kinge, ſhee doeth not name him Kinge of Fraunce, but the French Kinge, after a contemptuous and diſdainefull maner, as ſhee doeth the Kinge of Spaine, and all other Chriſtian Kinges, the Spaniſh Kinge &c, as namelie, the Queene of Scottes, the Scottiſh Queene, as if ſhee her ſelff wer the Queene of Scottes, and onlie ſo, but wer ſoweraigne Queene ower all the Kinges of Europe. Secundlie, ſhee ſaith, that the Scottiſh Queene was abidinge in her realme vnder her protection. If this woorde, protection, be taken for defence, you ſee weele what protection ſhee had from her, and the iſſue weele declareth it. This kinde of protection hath the ſelie lambe in the mouth of the wolfe when he ſucketh her bloode. But if it be taken for ſubiection or waſſalage, as they will ſeeme to hawe it to be underſtoode, it [is] amoſt falſe lie; for this Queene was newer, nor could

be, ſubiect, nor ewer walde aknowledge or confeſſe her ſelff to be a waſſale to her. There be ſome who alledge, that, by Acte of Parliament, ſhee hath made all thoſe to be declared ſubiect to her lawes which abide in her realme, of what eſtate, condition, qualitie or ſexe ſoewer they be: if it be ſo, it is a manifeſt token what ſhee meant, and that this is an affected and exquiſite lawe againſt the lawe of natiounes, to founde ther iurifdiction vpon the Queene of Scottes: But in this ſhee is fooliſhe, and her councell altogether ignorant and euil adwiſed, ſeeinge it is not in her power to make lawes repugnant to the lawe of nature, and the lawe of all natiounes of the world, that ſhould inwade her to awenge ſuch crueltie inwented by her, (not beinge a laufull Queene, but a baſtarde,) tendinge to the diſſolution and ruine of all humane ſocietie.

Some alledge that the Queene of Scottes did voluntarilie ſubmitt her ſelff to this lawe, and ſubſcribed, I knowe not to what aſſociation, with the ſubiectes of England, by which they be bounde to ſweare and proteſt to mantaine ther miſtres, and to rewenge to the laſt caſt all enterpriſes which ſhalbe made againſt her liffe and eſtate. If it be ſo that [the] Queene of Scottes hawe ſubſcribed to this aſſociation with the ſubiectes of England, it is an infallible argument of her goode will to her cuſinge, and the crime impoſed vpon her to be but forged and ſuborned at ther pleaſure, to ſerwe for a pretexte of iuſtice longe before prepared and deſigned for preambles to her deathe. But I thinke not that ſhee tooke Elizabeth ewer for her ſuperiour, nor that ſhee ſubmitted her ſelff to her ſcepter; for it is certanlie knowen vnto all the ambaſſadouris of forren Princes, that ſhee newer wold aknowledge that point, no, not althought it might hawe ſaiwed her liffe in ſo doinge. But put the caſe, ſhee had aſſociated her with Elizabethes ſubiectes, it doeth import that ſhee did it not to become her ſubiect, but that acte which ſhee did, (if anie ſhee did, as is alledged,) was to ſhowe her zeale and affection to Elizabeth; and therfore it ſhould not [be] wreſted beſides

her intention to become a ſnare, and ſo turne to her preiudice, and be abuſed againſt her thought being ſo interpreted to take from her her liffe, honour, and title and right from her and her iſſue of the croune of England. If ſuch farre fetched interpretatiounes of Elizabethes owen lawes might be allowed and receiwed againſt her intention, when ſhee paſt them as current, touchinge them with her ſcepter, I thinke manie of them might be made ſnares for her ſelff.

But to returne to our preſent mater we hawe in hande, about the Soveragnitie of a prince, wheroff ther is a greate queſtion amongeſt the greateſt lawers, and thus it is queſtioned, Whether a Kinge or Soveraigne prince maie abaſe him ſelff ſo farre foorthe, as to make his perſon or people ſubiect to the lawes of an other Kinge, and by this meanes to looſe and abdicat his iuriſdiction, which is the eſſential forme of Soweraignitie. The reſolution of the greateſt clarkes is, that he can not do it. And ſo it is to no purpoſe for the councell of England to hawe drawen by theſe cunninge ſleightes from this ladie, ſuch a ſubſcription of there league and confederation, ſince ſhee can not diſmiſſe her ſelff of her Soweraignitie: for prowe heiroff, let them aknowledge them ſelwes to be the popes waſſalles and ſubiectes, if this probleame of thers holde for current lawe. Did not Kinge John diſmiſſe him ſelff of the croune of England, reſigninge it ower in the popes handes, for him and his ſucceſſoures, to be held of the pope in fie farme for payinge him a thouſande merkes a year? I thinke the councell of Englande will not ſaie this acte was goode in lawe, albeit it was done by him with all ceremonies requiſite, yea, althought the barons had approwed it with ther handes and ſeales, as no doubte ſome of them did, and ſpeciallie thoſe that wer of his priwie councell for the time. So albeit this ladie could diſmiſſe her ſelff of her Soweraignitie, as ſhee can not in ther owen opinion, ſo it is, that this pretended ſubiection, ſo extorted from a preſoner by feare, or force and wiolence to ſaiwe her liffe and eſtate, think-

inge by theſe meanes to eſcape ther bloodie handes, ſhould take no place before anie iudge in the world.

But I am aſſured, and it [is] weele knowen, her Maieſtie was a ladie of ſuch a pregnant witte, and ſuch curagious ſpirite, that newer ſuch a thought came in her minde ſo to hazarde her roiale perſon, and to obſcure her honour, that ſhee wold ewer condiſcend to that which all her noble aunceſtoures did defend againſt Elizabethes progenitoures, which they could newer attaine vnto. Who is ſo rude and ignorant that hawe not harde it reported, that it was her Maieſties commoune ſpeach, when ewer they mowed her in anie ſuch motion, that ſhee wold newer ſo diſmiſſe her frie Soveraignitie, that ſhee wold preiudice her ſelff or ſonne either of her croune which ſhee had in poſſeſſion, or of the righte of an other which either ſhee had a righte vnto, althought ſhee ſhould [be] threatned therto by the loſſe of her liffe. Shee could newer abide anie that wolde make the leaſt motion of ſubmiſſion to Engliſhe, or to demitte her theroff to anie other but her ſonne. Shee ſaid ewer ſhee wold newer ſubiect a kingdome and ſtate, ſo auncient, noble and famous, to a broken ſcepter ſo often owerthroune, conquered, and reconquered by ſuch as had no title nor name of Soweraignitie, but ſubiectes to other Soweraigne Kinges. And ſo to conforme my ſelff in this opinion in all ther proceedinges made againſt her Maieſtie, lett the ſhamles liar now ſpeake, if he can or darre be ſo impudent, let him denie it if he can, whether did her Maieſtie ewer at anie time aknowledge Elizabethe to be her Soweraigne, or her ſelff to be in anie wiſe ſubiect to her? did ſhee not ewer denie, boith in woorde and wrete? did ſhee not alvaies denie to giwe vp her righte and title ſhee had, or mighte hawe, to the croune of England, boith by woorde and wrete? did not ſhee ewer denie, that Elizabeth or her councell had anie righte to iudge her? This maie be ſeene by her Maieſties owen letters heirafter. I can not, then, ſee howe ſhee can be vnder Elizabethes protection, and I thinke, in werie deede this aſſertion

and ſpeach to be flatte lies and manifeſt illuſions, as is all the foliſh narratioun of the conſpiracies imagined and plotted by the Queene of Scottes, as we ſhall ſee heirafter.

Nowe touchinge that which is ſaide, that by the ſage adwiſe of her councell, proceedinge is made againſt the Queene of Scottes in the moſt honourable maner that maie be dewiſed, I aunſwere, that if it be ſo, her councell is werie evil taughte, and knowe neither goode, nor honour and honeſtie; and I praie God ſuch honour maie befall them, as they hawe much better deſerwed it then ewer ſhee did. But in ſo much that the narratioun of ſuch indignities was offered this ladie, ar rather to be learned of her owen mouth, and ſo beleiwed for truth, then of anie man elles, I will ſett doune a letter writen by her to a greate Lord, that was one of her moſt faithfull and affectionat ſerwantes; which I thought goode to inſert, to lett you vnderſtand not onlie the forme of proceedinge uſed againſt her Maieſtie, but alſo to make you knowe the true hiſtorie and cauſſes of this tragedie deſcribed by her ſelff, without culloure or paſſion, ſhee hawinge no neede to diſguiſe anie thinge wretinge to him that did thoroulie knowe the eſtate of her afaires, her liffe paſte, her intention, and the greater parte of her ſecrecies.

"Monsieur, &c. After that I hawe longe deferred thorowe the danger of interceptinge, I hawe in the end condiſcended to the motion which hath beene ſo often made vnto me, to ſaiwe my ſelff, if poſſiblie I could. That which is befalne you ſhalbe my phyſition. There be werie fewe ſerwantes lefte vnto me, and I knowe not howe longe thoſe that ar with me ſhalbe ſuffered to be with me. I knowe not whether I ſhall hawe leaſure to make my laſt will, and whether they will giwe leawe to do it. I can not hawe anie to wrete for me: all my monie, jewelles, and papers be taken awaie from me. I hawe requeſt but for one ſerwant more, but can hawe no aunſwere. If this faele, you ar to be inſtant

with his Holines, as with the Chriſtian Kinge, and the Kinge of Spaine, the Duke of Lorran, and all other Chriſtian princes, my parentes and friendes, that my papers, monie, iewelles and other mowables be reſtored me againe; and that ſuch thinges as ſhall appeare alredie to be diſtributed amongeſt my ſerwantes, they maie enioye it, that my conſcience maie be diſcharged that waie. You will thinke thoſe newes ſtrange, if you hawe not as yeet harde of it, that by the mouth of my Lord of Bukhurſt, Amias Paulet, my cruell jealour, and one Drewe Drurie Knighte, and Beale, it was notified vnto me that the aſſemblie of ther [councell] had condemned me to die, which they ſaide they wer commanded to ſignifie vnto me on the parte of ther Queene, exhortinge me to confeſſe and aknoweledge mine offences againſt her, that I mighte die pacientlie and weele, to the diſcharginge of my conſcience. Shee ſent vnto me a Biſhope and a Deane, tellinge me the occaſion of this my death, was the inſtant requeſt of her people, alledging, while I her competitriſt liwed, (as it appeared that I had longe ago taken the name and armes of this croune, without willingnes to acquite it, onles I might ſtand as ſecond perſon,) ſhee could not liwe ſure in her eſtate, ſeeinge the Catholiques called me ther Soweraigne Queene, and her liff had beene often practiſed againſt to that end. Secondlie, and that wherunto ſhee had more regarde, was that whilleſt I liwed the eſtate of her religion could not be aſſured. I thanke God, then, and them for the honour they giwe me, to be ſo neceſſarie an inſtrument for the re-eſtabliſhinge of the religion within this whole Iſle, of which, (though vnwoorthie,) I wold take vpon me to be a moſt earneſt and zealous defendreſſe, in the teſtimonie wherof, as I had often proteſted, I wold willinglie ſhed my bloode; and further alſo I wold take vpon me, if for the publict goode and peace of this Iſle, the people thought that my bloode mighte ſtande them in ſteade, not to ſpare it, nor refuſe to be liberall theroff, till the laſt drope, in liewe and recompence of longe tuentie yeares empreſounment that I

hawe beene heire deteined, flatte contrarie to your Queenes promeſe by her owen hand wreete, and her ambaſſadoures, ſo often made vnto me. But nowe I weele perceiwed ſhee did all this and more to take me in her nettes, for I truſted her promeſes ſo much, that I refuſed the faithfull adwiſe of my owen ſubiectes and loiale cuntrie men, who wold never giwe me ther conſent to ſeeke for anie ſuccour of Englande, who had ſo often treacherouſlie drawen my honourable aunceſtoures by faire promeſes, which they newer keepte, into ther ſnares. As for my conſcience, I ſaide I coulde diſpoſe of it without them, and that wold willinglie receive the holie ſacrament departinge this liffe, if I might hawe one to giwe me that and other conforte accordinge to my minde.

They aunſwered me tauntinglie, I had enough to do, if I wer neither ſainte nor martyre, for I died for the murder of ther Queene, and becauſe I wold hawe diſpoſſeſſed her of her roiale ſcepter and croune. I tolde them I was newer ſo deſirous to aſpire to honoures, that I wold come to them by murder, and that I was newer ſo preſumptuous, as to thinke my ſelff woorthie of the name of a ſainte or martyre: Let ther Queene, in her pretenſed maner, take theſe titles to her, as ſhee preſumpteouſlie with her father uſurped the title, heade of the church, which is proper to Jeſus Chriſte alone, my onlie Sawiour and Redeemer. I ſaide forder, albeit by Godes permiſſion, for cauſſes knowen to his diwine Maieſtie, not by anie righte of lawe or iuſtice that had my bodie in ther handes, and had power (as ſaid is) ower it, yeet had they no power ower my ſoule to hinder me to hope that, by his mercie who ſent his ſonne to die for me, I maie enter into glorie: the power that they had of my bodie, I ſaide, was like the power of theiwes and robers ower an honeſt and true man travellinge by the hie waie. I ſaide I was newer ſo deſirous to rule anie realme, that to attaine therunto I minded to ſhed anie mannes bloode by murderinge them, takinge awaie ther liffe that wold looſe ewerlaſtinge liff my ſelff. God forbide that ewer

anie ſuch thought ſhould enter into my hearte. I proteſted and called God to witnes, before whome one daie ther Queene and I, and all my falſe accuſers ſhould be preſented, that I newer dewiſed, councelled, or commaunded her death, nor had anie minde to hurte her perſon for my particular, nor had anie intelligence with anie that intended or purpoſed anie harme to her. Hoo, ſaie they, you hawe ſuffered, permitted and councelled that the Engliſhe ſhould name you their Queene and ther Soweraigne, as appeareth by the letters of Allen and Lowis, and manie other more, and you newer contradicted it: To which I aunſwered, I had vndertaken no thinge, but to hinder the doctours and men of the church to name me ſo at ther pleaſour. Further, they alledged that the Pope did as yeet ſtill praie for me vnder the name of that title: I aunſwered, if he did ſo, I was not priwie to it. To be breiffe, I ſaide, I deſired to liwe in the church, as in the boſom of my mother, but not to murder anie in it to hawe ther place; for in this point, I ſawe the like in the perſuite that Saule made againſt Dauid, but I could not, as he did, eſcape through the windoe, but that ther might of my bloode, thought it wer longe to, ariſe ſome protectoures and awengeres of the innocencie of my cauſe, and I doubted, but my God [wold] ſee howe I was delte with on all handes.

But nowe not longe ſince the other daie, Paulet and Drewe Drurie, the more modeſt and much more courteous by oddes, came to adwertiſe me, that ſince I was admoniſhed to prepare confeſſion and repentance of my faultes againſt ther Queene, but neither ther Biſhope nor they requeſted me to remember my ſinnes againſt my God, whome I ewer beſeech to be mercifull vnto me throwe Jeſus Chriſte, for all my griewous ſinnes againſt his divine Maieſtie done and committed, and againſt all man and woman whatſoewer, and ſpeciallie againſt ther Queene, if in anie thinge I had offended her, but to craiwe her pardon that I had purpoſe or intelligence to murder her, I newer thought on ſuch a

mater, lett be to practiſe it, and therfore wold newer craiwe forgiwenes at her handes, or anie man elles in her name, for that mater. They ſaide, if I wold not aknoweledge my offence towardes ther miſtres, that ſhee had commaunded them to take from me my clothe of eſtate, ſignifeinge therby that I was but a deede woman, without honour or dignitie of a Queene. I aunſwered, ſince God by his grace had called me, thought they tooke awaie my cloth of eſtate from me, yeet they could not take from me the white clothe of innocencie in the maters they charged me with, nor the kingdome of my Sawiour, who had aſſured me of it in my conſcience, thorowe his merites who knoweth weele my innocencie in all thoſe other imputatiounes moſt iniuſtlie laide to my charge; and for the dignitie of a Queene, I had it of him in the ſame mercie, and was anointed therin by his prowidence, and did holde it onlie of him, and to him onlie wold I rander it with my ſoule. As for ther Queene, neither ſhee, her councell, nor her aſſemblie of her cruell hearted ſtates, they could not take my liffe from me, nor my roiale dignitie, except the diwine permiſſion had ſuffered the ſame. I muſt ſaie with my Sawiour, they could hawe no power ower me except it had beene giwen them from abowe. God my Creatour and my Redeemer gaiwe me liffe, honour and dignitie; to this God I giwe boith againe with all my hearte and my ſoule, truſtinge by his mercie to be ſaiwed. God is my onlie ſuperiour; as for your Queene I newer thought to aknoweledge her to be woorthie to be placed in the roume and place of my God. God is my onlie ſuperiour, and therfore will I newer thinke [her] woorthie to be ſo to me, nor her councell and aſſemblie of her ſtates to be my laufull judges: tell her from me, that I ſhall die a frie and roiale Queene, in that dignitie God hath giwen me, in deſpite of her and them; and that neither ſhee nor they hawe anie power or ſuperioritie ower me, except ſuch as theiwes hawe at the corner of a woode or hedge ower an innocent man and a true, goinge about his laufull buſines. God can

ſcourge with the rode, and then throwe the rod in the fire. The Lord ſhall after my death lett it be ſeene exemplifeed in them, that be the cauſſers theroff, that they and the moſt of them either before or on ther death, or after the ſame, ſhall hawe no honour, conforte or greate eſperance, but ſhame, confuſion and the worme of conſcience, eatinge them vp like a gangren without all hope of conforte. I ſhall, (by the aſſiſtance of Goddes holie ſprite guidinge me,) die chearfullie in my innocencie, when they, in the terrour of conſcience, fearfullie ſhall make an end of ther miſerable liffe, onwillinge to pairte from this earthlie paradice, fearinge throwe the guiltines of ther crueltie againſt me, they can not hawe acceſſe to the heawenlie paradice. Manie Kinges of England hawe been cruellie murdered, and therfore it ſeemeth no newe thinge to me to [be] accounted one in that role: But this is my conforte, I ſhalbe innocent of that which they pretend againſt me to cloake my murder. God forgiwe them, and I pardon them with all my hearte.

After, when my loiale, true and faithfull ſerwantes wolde not at ther commaund, althought they wer hardlie threatned, put ther handes to worke to take doune my clothe of ſtate, and did boldlie refuſe it, and hearinge younge children crie aloude a wengeance vpon him and his companie, the burriour calleth to him ſeawen or eight of the gwarde to pulle it doune, and cowered him ſelff in it: which beholdinge I ſaide, that cloth was newer ordained to hide thy treacherous and wicked deſignes againſt the dignitie roiale of a Prince. He aunſwered me, lookinge vpon my chaſſe table, that it was not nowe time for me to exerciſe my paſtime at the chaſſe, and therfore he wold take it with him. I ſaide, I thanke my God I newer recreated me at it, or anie other game, but I could forbeare it when I had anie earneſt buſines to go about, and ſince this laſt buſines came to my knowledge, I minded to recreate my ſelff onlie with ſpirituall recreatiounes, and the conforte which the Lord in mercie hath affoorded me, more then I,

poore wretch, could expect or deſire at his handes. Thankes be to him therfore.

I aſſembled yeſterdaie together my litle companie of attendantes, as yeet lefte me, whome I directed to be true witneſſes of my proteſtatiounes, aſweele in my religion, as to diſcharge my conſcience in that wherwith they falſlie urged me, that is, that I ſhould hawe diſtributed the eſtates of this realme, and other lies of the which I hawe cleared my ſelff, and which I newer knewe of, as knoweth God. I hawe charged them in the name of God, for the diſcharge of a goode conſcience, that I hawe done for the diſcharge of my owen conſcience that which becometh a true Chriſtian to do, and hawe lefte no thinge behinde vnperformed which might ſtaine the reputatioun of my honour and thers whome in anie waies I maie concerne. I am certanlie informed that they hawe bribed ſome to ſaie I hawe done the like to haiſten ther miſtres death. I ſaide it, and true it is, I neither knewe anie ſuch mater, nor yeet wold denie it, if ſo had beene, but aſke and craiwe mercie at Goddes handes, who hath mercie in ſtore for all penitent ſinners, amongeſt whome I count my ſelff the cheiffeſt, but not in that which is falſlie laide to my charge, as knowethGod.

I commend vnto you my poor ſerwantes, ſo often commended: I recommend them ower againe vnto you, and all my weele willinge freindes, and that in the name of God; they, goode people, hawe loſt ther time, and all in the loſſe of me: bid them adewe on my parte, and giwe them your beſt councell in charitie. Commende me to Lutine, and bid him remember howe I promeſed to die conſtant, and that I am quitte of my promeſe: Commende me to all of his minde, and tell him I am werie willinge, and ewer beene ſo minded, to ſacrifice my ſelff for the ſalvatioun of ſoules within this Iſle. Adewe nowe for the laſt time, and hawe in minde the honour of her who ſome time was your miſtres, and weele willinge goode freinde; and if by ſiniſter information or miſinterpretation of your ſerwices, I hawe beene offended,

I praie you and all my ſervantis to pardon me that which I maie hawe done in anger or miſunderſtandinge; for I proteſt, I thinke you not culpable in anie thinge towardes me, and I pardon you with all my hearte wherin ſoewer you hawe offended me: and I praie you thinke that I aknoweledge my ſelff moſt bounde to all my ſerwantes for all ther goode ſerwices; and that wold I hawe requited, if I had not beene prewented in the meanes, (as ſaide is,) and if it had pleaſed God to hawe giwen me longer liffe, which ſince it maie not be, I will heartilie praie vnto God at my laſt breth and end, that my ſoule maie be ſaiwe, and to rewarde them better than ewer I could do. God be with you and all my ſerwantes, whome I muſt leawe as aſmanie orphanes, to be prowided for of him who hath prepared for me his heavenlie kingdome, there to raigne with him world without [end]. To him, therfore, be all glorie and honour. Amen. Foderinghaie, this Thuriſdaie, 24 November 1586.

Your moſt lowinge and goode miſtres, &c.

M. R.

Under and belowe were theſe woordes wreten, thus—

"They falſlie mantaine that my cominge into this cuntrie was againſt my will, and that I could not hawe anie other place of refuge; and that I, for that cauſe, was in ther protection. I ſaide the contrarie, and it is true: and Lochinwar, Hereis the younger, and the heires of the Archbiſhope of St Andrewe, with Fleminge, that tooke all of them letters of diſcharge vnder my hand, in that againſt ther goode will and likinge I wolde needes come in to England, which they ſaide had ewer delte treacherouſlie with ſo manie of my aunceſtouris that came within the dominiouns therof, althought by faire promeſes they had beene notified and inwited to come. And therfore I ſaide, my father did wiſelie in returninge backe againe when as he was about to hawe commed to Yorke to meete Henrie 8, and that they wer his faithfulleſt ſubiectes

who gaiwe him councell ſo to do. But I commaunded my beſt freindes to permit me to hawe my will, hopinge that, accordinge to promeſe, I ſhould hawe founde freindſhipe where I hawe founden none; but in ſteade theroff, all kinde of wiolence and perſecution, on my parte vndeſerwed. I praie you gett me the wretes exemplified which I gaiwe them for ther diſcharge."

I hawe ſett doune this laſt clauſe as an appendice neceſſarle to convince Buchannans hiſtorie of impudencie, in reportinge the diſcourſe of the laſt trubles in Scotland, to hawe fallen out and come to paſſe by the rebellioune of thoſe that ſtoode for the righte of ther laufull Queene, accordinge to the goode likinge of Elizabeth, the pretended Engliſhe Queene, whoſe factioun he had ewer followed againſt his cuntrie, and againſt his true and laufull Queene and miſtres. I am of the opinion he was the ſonne of ſome commone ſtrumpett, he hath ſo defended in his wretis the dewiliſhe wicked dealinges of thrie baſtardis, Elizabeth, Murraie and Morton, againſt his ſaide miſtres.

But to returne to the honourable maner of proceedinge, which the Engliſhe is ſaide to hawe keept in the behalffe of the Queene of Scottes, you ſee by this letter which I hawe ſett doune to lett you knowe wheroff they hawe accuſed her and howe, and to ſhowe you the litle and ſmalle apparence of zeale in iuſtice was uſed in her triale; for ſo farre from it was ſhee that ſhee conſpired, attempted, or imagined anie thinge againſt Elizabeth, that, vpon the contrarie, ſhee deſired by all meanes to preſerwe her from the ambuſhes and euil intentiouns of thoſe, which her cuſinge, not weele adwiſed, thinketh ſtill, ſo longe as ſhee liwed, her beſt and truſtieſt ſerwantes, beinge no thinge leſſe then ſo but the greateſt traitouris that maie be imagined; and in the end, if they can, and be not prewented, had not failed to ride them ſelwes of her, as ſhee, by ther wicked perſuaſions, had made an end of her neareſt kinniſwoman, whome ſhee had cauſſed them to putt to death to ſatiſfie

ther ambitious humour, which, vnder the maſke of zeale, they faine to hawe to her ſerwice, prepare for her the loſſe of her liffe, the extreme ruine of her eſtate, to remowe her ſcepter to an other houſe and familie that is nearar to thers then hers; which you maie weele perceiwe by a letter writen to Elizabeth by her ſaide cuſinge a litle before her death. In it you maie [perceiwe] by manie ewident ſignes, the meaninge of this ladie towardes her cuſinge, the forged crimes laide to her charge, and the vnfeinzied lowe ſhee bare to her greateſt ennemies, and likewiſe the honourable maner of proceedinge, which they ſaie they obſerwed in her triale, in regarde of her perſoune, which ſhalbe followeth foorth fullie, after we hawe ſett down the letter, in the ſame woordes ſhee wrete in, as heirafter followeth.

Marie Q. of Scottes to Q. Elizabeth.

MADAME, hawinge obteined libertie and licence of them to whome I was committed, and to whome I hawe beene, as it wer, giwen by you, to ſhowe you that which is in my hearte, aſweele for the diſcharge of my conſcience of anie euil or enwious deſire to committ anie cruell or hoſtile acte againſt you, to whome I am ſo neare allied in bloode, as alſo charitablie to communicat vnto you, that which I thought might ſerwe alſo for your ſaiwegarde and preſerwation, as for entertaininge peace and quiet repoſe within this Ilande, a thinge which can not hurt, it beinge in your power to take or reiect my adwiſe, to beliwe or not to beliwe my diſcourſe as it ſeemeth beſt vnto you. I hawe reſolwed to fortifie my ſelff in Chriſte onlie, who will newer feill of iuſtice and conſolatioun to them that do invocate him in ſinceritie of hearte, and in ther tribulatiouns flie vnto him, who then is redieſt to do it when beinge deſtitute of all humane ſuccour they flie vnto him. To him be glorie therfore, for he hath not denied me my heartes deſire, nor fruſtrate me of my expectatioun, for he hath giwen me a goode hearte and curage pacientlie to ſuffer and endure theſe iniuſtices and calumnious accuſa-

tiouns, and the falſe condemnatiounes of thoſe who hawe no iuriſdiction ower me, and I hope, againſt hope, with a conſtant reſolution to die, not that I deſerwed ſo to do for anie thinge I hawe done againſt you; but for that I, your competitrice, could newer be perſwaded by the Engliſh to ſurrender my righte in your handes, of that which God, in his mercie, had preordinat me vnto: which if I ſhould hawe done, I could not hawe aunſwered him at the dreadfull daie of iudgment, giwinge from me that which he had put in my handes for the goode of my poſteritie, to whome one daie I truſte my Lord God ſhall graunte the grace to enioye it in peace and his feare. Since, therfore, it was on your parte giwen me to underſtand of the ſentence of the laſt aſſemblie of ſome of your eſtates, admoniſhinge me by my Lord Buckhurſte and Beale, to prepare my ſelff for my longe deſired iorneie, I praied them to thanke you on my parte for ſuch goode newes, and to entreate you to graunte me certane tyme, for the better diſcharge of my conſcience; wheroff Sir Amias Paulet gaiwe me after falſe notice, ſayinge, that you had therwith gratifeed me, permittinge me my Almoner, and my moneye and jewelles which was taken from me, and he aſſured me other thinges wold follow; for the which I wold willinglie hawe giwen you thankes: and further will begge this one laſt fawoure, which for manie cauſſes I thinke ought not to be communicated to anie but onlie to you, in that it is the laſt fawour, for which I deſire to be bounde to no other but your ſelff; becauſe I expect to finde no thinge but crueltie amongeſt the greateſt parte of thoſe who beare authoritie vnder you at this preſent, thè be ſo animate againſt me, as I hawe boith perceiwed my ſelff, and harde of others woorthie of credite. God knoweth for what cauſe, and in what reſpect. I pardon them with all my hearte: I will not condemne anie, nor accuſe them. I pardone them, I ſaie, and ewerie one, as I deſire that ewerie one ſhould pardon me, and that God ſhould do it firſt.

After which, I weele knowe, that the honour or diſhonour of your

bloode, ſpeciallie of a Queene, your neareſt kinniſwoman aliwe, and the daughter of a kinge, ſo honourablie deſcended lineallie of ſo manie kinges from kinge to kinge to me, that no Chriſtian kinge can reken the like pedegrie; this, I ſaie, I thinke ſhould touch your heart neareſt of anie other: and therfore, in the name and honour of Jeſus Chriſte, whoſe name and honour to all princes ought to be moſt deare, and to whome they ſhould rander all due obedience, I requeſt you, that after my ennemies ſhall hawe ſatiſfeed ther inſatiable deſire in ſheddinge my innocent bloode, which they hawe longe thirſted for, my poore companie of ſerwantes maie hawe leawe, cariage and bearinge awaie my bodie to be buried, where ſome of my honourable aunceſtoures be enterred, foorthe of England; for heire, in this cuntrie, I can hawe no place of buriall amongeſt your predeceſſoures, which be alſo mine, for that is denied me: but who knoweth but God one daie, (althought man on earth refuſe this charitable petition and laſt requeſt,) maie bringe it to paſſe, howſoewer nowe it ſeemeth to be almoſt impoſſible.

You knowe the patriarkes hawe beene werie deſirous of this, and hawe had the like libertie graunted them of thoſe who did make ſuch ſhowe of pietie as you do in no thinge; and becauſe it [is] tolde me you will in no thinge force or ſtraine my conſcience, and will permitt me to hawe accordinge to my minde of religion, I hope you will not denie me this laſt requeſt, that the heathen princes hawe graunted the patriarkes of the originall world, that is, to permitt frie buriall, accordinge to my minde, of my corpes, after my ſoule ſhalbe ſeparated from the bodie, and returne to God that gaiwe it, into whoſe handes I committ it to reſt with him; which, when they wer vnited heire, they coulde newer hawe libertie to liwe at repoſe, in that quiet I longe wiſhed, neither did you laubour or procure them to be winne vnto God and your ſelff: but yeet I hope to reſt with him world without end, althought you, in this pointe, hawe had litle care in performinge

this chriſtian dewetie towardes your diſtreſſed neareſt kinniſwoman in her lifetime. As for my death, I pardon you, as I deſired to be pardoned of God and you in all thinges: in which regarde, before God I do challenge you of no faulte, but God, after my death, maie make you ſie and ſaie the truth on my behalffe. And becauſe I weele perceiwe the ſecrete hidden tyrannie of ſome, I praie you that, without your knoweledge and priwitie, I maie not go to execution, not for feare of torment, which, (I thanke my God that he hath ſo ſtrengthned me with ſpirituall confort,) I do not feare to endure, ſeeinge his ſonne, my deare Sawiour, had ſuffered more guiltleſſie then I am able to endure. I praie you let me ſuffer openlie, and not be murdered in ſecrete, for the brute which ſhalbe made of my death without teſtimonie: for it hath beene ewer commone in this cuntrie to reporte otherwiſe then the truth of theſe the ſtate diſliked, yea ewen ther death malicious .... and hatred moſt ſpitefull hawe not died; which to awoide, at leaſt graunt that my owen ſerwantes that be lefte me, if you will ſuffer none other, may be eie witneſſes to teſtifie of my end made in the faith of my Sawiour, and obedience of the church, and that they together careinge my corpes ſo quietlie and ſecretlie, as it ſhall pleaſe you, thither where I hawe deſired it to be enterred, maie retire them ſelwes where it ſhall pleaſe God to guide them, without anie hinderance to carie with them the ſmalle thinge they hawe in ther poſſeſſion, which I thought to hawe augmented, if your officers had not before hand taken all that was mine from [me], which hindered the charitable meaninge I had to do theſe my poore orphaines, as ſo manie poore motherles children, the goode I intended; but the Lord, I truſte, will do that in his mercie for them, which I was willinge, but not able to do.

One jewell I hawe had from you, which I meane to ſend you againe with my laſt woordes; and I praie you againe, and require you in the name of God, and in regarde of our conſanguinitie, and for the lowe you beare to kinge Henrie 7. your grandfather and mine, and in hon-

our of the dignitie which we hawe held, and of our common ſexe, that theſe my laſt requeſtes be graunted me. Touchinge the reſt, I hope you ſhall knowe that my clothe of ſtate, longe before my death, was taken from me; which mighte weele hawe beene permitted me ſo longe as I liwed: what curteſie, what humanitie was there in this, to take it awaie ſo longe as I liwed, beinge borne a Soweraigne Queene? I might hawe enioyed this ſimple badge of the honour of a prince during my liffe. But what remedie? I looke for a cloth of ſtate in the hie heawens with my Saviour, ewen the merites of his death and paſſion, to cower my ſinnes. After I underſtoode that this was done onlie by the adwiſe of your councell, and not by your commaundement, I did giwe you thankes for it, and my God, that gawe me patience and curage to endur ther inhumane dealinge and crueltie, afflictinge me ewerie waie, hawinge reſolwed my ſelff to laie doune this liffe ſo trubleſome to me, that I maie attaine a better without all truble and miſerie. I feare that manie other thinges hawe had the like cariage, which, I ſuppoſe, was the cauſe they wold [not] ſuffer me to wrete vnto you, before they had ſo farre foorthe as thè could in ther pretended maner, for a cloake in outwarde ſhowe to the execution of ther malice, degraded me of all principalitie and nobilitie. God be praiſed for all. I wolde all my papers had beene preſented vnto you without all diſguiſinge, that therby you might hawe perceiwed that the onlie care of your ſaiftie mowed them in this action, that are ſo readie to perſecute me your neareſt kinniſwoman. If you will graunte me this laſt requeſt, commaunde that I maie ſee what you wrete theranent, for otherwiſe they will deale with me at ther pleaſure; for vnto this laſt requeſt, I deſire your laſt charitable aunſwere, that I maie ſee trulie as it is deliwered.

To conclude, I deſire the God of mercie, the righteous iudge, to enlighten you with his holie ſpirite, to deale with me vprightlie as the cauſe requireth, and that he will giwe me his grace to die in the faith of Chriſt, and in charitie with all men, as I diſpoſe my ſelff to do, pardon-

inge all who be intereſted in my death, and the copartners and cauſſers theroff: ſuch ſhall be my praier till my laſt breth, and the ſoule parte from the bodie. I beſeech you, take it not for preſumption if, abandoning this world, and preparinge my ſelff for a better, I trulie ſhowe you, that you ſhall hawe one daie a more vnquiet end then I am like to hawe, when your ſenſes and memorie ſhall not hawe ther power to utter, and ſhewe in what cace you leawe this world, nor mine, (I thanke God for it,) are like to hawe: for, by the bleſſinge of God, ſuch hath ewer beene his care ower me, they newer failed me yeet, nor yeet I hope ſhall do: To him be the praiſe therfore. Thinke before it come, you muſt aunſwere for your charge aſweele as theſe who be gone before you: heire you hawe no permanent place, and I deſire that all that be of my bloode, bethinke them ſelwes to dreame in time of theſe thinges that hawe hapned vnto me heire, duringe the time of iniuſte detention and captiuitie. The Lord for his mercie graunte vnto ws all, and to ewerie true Chriſtian, ſo to thinke of this, and all other earthlie afflictions and temporall, that in the meane time they forget not eternall. Amen. Foderinghaie, the xix of November 1586.

Your ſiſter and cuſinge preſoner, with iniurie.

M. R.

The indifferent iudge maie heire [ſee], in the werie entrie of the letter, the honourable proceedinges, and the conſcionable iuſtice done towardes the preſoner Queene. Shee is giwen for a praie to her ennemies: ſhee is giwen into ther handes to iuſe or abuſe at ther pleaſure; they gulle her: they diſdaine her; they reſtraine her ſo rigourouſlie, that ſhee hath not ſo much libertie as to complaine: Shee is not ſuffered to wrete vnto her kinniſwoman that ſhould do her iuſtice, no, not after they hawe moleſted her with infinite iniuries. The commone lawe and the politie of kingedomes weele gowerned, where lawes and iuſtice hawe place, giwe

not leawe to jealoures to handle preſoners after ther diſcretion, neither can they hinder them to iuſe meanes to the judge: they darre not paſſe the order preſcribed them: they darre not iniure nor brawe anie perſon committed to ther warde. But heire we maie ſee the intreatie this noble Princes, who can not iuſtlie be counted a preſoner, when as ſhee hath no other iudge but God: ſhee is committed from an iealour to an other, to be wexed and tormented ſo longe as liffe leſteth. It is laufull for anie offendant preſoner to ſerwe him ſelff, at his proper coſte and charges, with ſome attendant or ſerwant, one or mo, at ther pleaſour, where they be empreſoned, accordinge to ther degrie and qualitie of ther perſone; to hawe apparell, linninges and other thinges needfull; to cheriſe them with victualles and drinke, as ther abilitie will permitt: and that which is more, they hawe ther advocates and procurers to helpe them ſelwes by ther councell, and to ſolicite for them. But all theſe thinges be denied this Queene, yea, ewen when ſhee was diſeaſed in ſicknes, when ſhee was vnable to help her ſelff, they permitt not ſo much as two maides to helpe her: they allowe her onlie one maide to attend her, and a warlet for her chamber; and as for that which Paulet tolde her, that her Almoner ſhould be reſtored to her, it was not true; for her Maieſtie newer did ſee anie of her officers and principall ſerwantes but her phyſition and the apothecarie, without whoſe helpe ſhee had beene deade longe before they had concluded all ther treacherous deſignes againſt her, and prepared all the miſeries they thoughte meete to practiſe, before they deliwered her ower in the handes of the executioner.

Touchinge the earneſt, charitable petition for buriall and tranſportinge of her bodie, and other laſt requeſtes made ſo ſeriouſlie by her in this letter, it is plaine and manifeſt howe they hawe beene denied, and the ſmalle accompt [that] was made of them; and hence maie you iudge aſſuredlie of the goode will of this ladie towardes her cuſinge, her greateſt ennemie. Shee, in this letter, imputeth not to her the cauſe of her

death: ſhee attributeth to her neither the faulte nor the blame, albeit it was ſhee that procured her it, all the time of her longe empreſonment for the ſpace of tuintie yeares, for it was in her power to hawe preſerwed her from it, if ſhee wold: ſhee pardoneth from her hearte her death, ſhee praieth for her, who, in hypocriſie, to cower her malicious deſignes againſt her diſtreſſed kinniſwoman, did, with a ſhameles face, giwe it out to the world, ſhee hath ewer a ſpeciall regarde of her qualitie, and that her triale and the proceedinge therin is honourable, and that the ſentence pronunced againſt her is moſt true and iuſte. It is werie harde to be beliewed howe Paulet, her cruell jealour, abuſed her in his propoſitiouns full of contempt and diſdaine he made vnto her: and howe, when he had ſpued out his choler an other wold ſucceede him, beginninge where he had lefte, uſinge ſuch contumelies as no hearte was able to indure. Such indignities [and] iniuries did ſhee indure daielie, and that pacientlie, ewen to her dieinge daie, yea, in the werie hower ſhee gaiwe vp her ſoule in the handes of the Almightie, ſhee was not frie, nor ſaiwe from ſuch open, notorious afflictiounes, as yee ſhall perceiwe after I hawe ſett doune the commiſſion of the Engliſh Q., directed to her officers, to proceede to the reale and actuall execution of the ſentence of death. By it you maie perceiwe the true cauſſes of the pronuncinge of the ſentence in the behalfe of the pronuncers theroff, accordinge to the commiſſion directed to them, which they looke not ſo neare into as they wold needes beare the world in hand they do. But the true cauſe that mowed them was this. Ther owen aſſurance, who for the outrages they had offered and done to this ladie duringe her captiuitie, and ther plottes, treaſons and carriages they dewiſed at all times againſt her liffe and eſtate, fearinge her, and deſpairinge to finde grace and fawour at her handes in that regarde, if anie thinge befell vnfortunatelie ther miſtres, or, accordinge to comoune courſe of nature, the Queene preſoner did ſucceede her; which thinge maie be eaſilie coniectured by readinge and peruſing

the werie woordes of the commiſſion it ſelff: as it is in plaine woordes it followeth:

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendreſe of the faith, To our lowinge and faithfull cuſinges, George, Earle of Shreuiſburie, Greate Marſhall of England, Henrie, Earle of Kent, Henrie, Earle of Darbie, George, Earle of Cumberland, Henrie, Earle of Pembroke, &c. Conſidering the ſentence giwen by you and other of Our councell, nobilitie and judges, againſt the ſometime Scottiſhe Queene, Dowrier of Fraunce, by the name of Marie, the daughter and heire of James the fifte, Kinge of Scotland, which all the eſtates of our realme, aſſembled in Parliament, not onlie commaunded, but with mature deliberatioun ratifeed, to be iuſte and reaſonable: Seeinge likewiſe, the inſtant praiers and requeſtes of our ſubiectes ſollicitinge and preſſinge us to proceed to the publicatioun theroff, and to putt it in execution againſt her perſon, as they hawe iudged her to hawe iuſtlie deſerwed, all ioninge in this regarde, that the detention of her was, and ſhould be, a dailie and certane evident danger not onlie to our liffe, but alſo to them ſelwes and ther poſteritie, and the publicte ſtate of this realme, aſweele for the Goſpell and true religion of Chriſte, as for the peace and tranquilitie of the whole ſtate; upon which, albeit with time and delaie, we made the ſaide ſentence to be publiſhed by our proclamation, and albeit to this werie houre we hawe forborne to graunt this execution to be executed, yeet the ample ſatiſfaction of the ſaide requeſtes made by the eſtates of our Parliament, by which we daielie vnderſtande that all our lowinge and faithfull ſubiectes, aſweele of the nobilitie and councell, as alſo our moſt ſage, grawe and dewouted of the inferiour ſorte and condition, with all humbletie and affectioun for the care they hawe of our liffe, and conſequentlie for the feare they hawe of the decaie of the preſent religion profeſſed, and happie eſtate of this

realme, if we forbeare anie longer this execution; and albeit the generall requeſtes, and continuall praiers, councell and adwiſe wer in ſuch maters contrarie to our inclination, yeet beinge owercome with urgent weight of ther continuall interceſſions, tendinge not onlie to the ſecuritie of our perſon, but to the publict and particular goode of the whole eſtate of our realme, we hawe ſuffered and agreed that iuſtice ſhould take place, and for the execution theroff, for the ſingular truſte and confidence we hawe of your fidelitie and loialtie, as alſo for the particular lowe and affection which you hawe on your partes for the ſaiwegarde of our perſon and your natiwe cuntrie, of which you be all of you the moſt noble and principall members, we commaunde you, and for diſcharge theroff, we enioine you, that vpon the ſighte of theſe preſentes, you repaire to our caſtle of Foderinghaie, where the late Queene of Scottes is in the keepinge and warde of our lowinge and faithfull ſerwante and councellour, Sir Amias Paulett, and to take her into your charge, and cauſe by your commaundement execution be done vpon her perſon in the preſence of your ſelwes, the ſaide Sir Amias Paulet and all others, officers of iuſtice, that you ſhall commaund to attend you for that effect; and the ſaide execution done in ſuch maner and forme, and in ſuch time and place, and by ſuch perſons as you or anie foure, thrie or two of you, ſhall thinke expedient by your diſcretion, notwithſtandinge all lawes, ſtatutes and ordinances whatſoewer, to the contrarie to theſe preſentis ſealed with our greate ſeale of England, which ſhall ſerwe for you, and ewerie one of you, and for all thoſe that ſhalbe preſent, and ſhall do by your commaundement anie thinge perteininge to the ſaid execution, for a full and ſufficient diſcharge for ewer. Made and giwen at our houſe of Greinewich, the firſt daie of Februarie, and 29 yeare of our reigne.

This Commiſſion ſo giwen, the 7 daie followinge, which was the 17 of Februarie accordinge to the Gregorian callender, the Earle of Shreuiſ-

burie, the Earle of Kent, Mr Beall, and Elizabethes other Commiſſioners, arriwed at Foderinghaie about two or thrie houres before the middes of the daie, and cominge thither in the preſence of Paulet, the Commiſſion was red to the Queene, then preſoner, bearinge that in the next daie in the morninge, they wold proceede to the execution, admoniſhinge her to be in redines betuine ſeawen and eight of the cloke. Shee, newer a white aſtoniſhed, thanked them for ther goode newes, affirminge that they could bringe none that liked her better, becauſe nowe ſhee ſhould ſee an end of all her miſeries, and that it was longe ſince ſhee had made her ſelff redie to die, ewer ſuſpectinge, ſince her detention in England, that ſhee ſhould newer finde better at ther miſtres handes and thers; but ſhee was ſorie ſhee was not ſooner certifeed theroff, that ſhee might hawe made her will, and giwen order for all her afaires, and to hawe diſpoſed of ſuch litle meanes as they had lefte her, for the better diſcharginge of her conſcience towardes her poore ſerwantes, prayinge them to giwe her ſome time to do it, ſeeinge they had power to do it without anie checke of the commiſſion. To whome the Earle of Shreuiſburie aunſwered werie rudlie, "No, no, Madame, you muſt die; make you readie betuine ſeawen and eight of the cloke in the morninge. We will not prolonge one minute for your pleaſure." Wherwith ſhee was ſatiſfeed and reſted her ſelff, till they retired them ſelwes backe from her preſence; which beinge done, ſhee preſentlie ſett her ſelff to make her will, and to diſtribute the litle moneie they had lefte her amongeſt her poore ſerwantes, makinge each of them ſuch allowance ſo farre foorthe as the ſmall quantitie did reach. The night preceedinge her death ſhee ſpent in praiers, and readinge the paſſion of Chriſte, and other ſpirituall conſolatiounes. Betuine nine and ten of the night, ſhee ſent for her Almoner, whome they wold not ſuffer to come neare here: which ſhee perceiwinge that, contrarie to promeſe, it was denied her, ſhee ſhould hawe anie ſpirituall confort from him, ſhee wrete to him as followeth.

Q. Marie to her Almoner.

I HAWE beene ſtrangelie aſſaulted this daie anent my religion, and to receiwe conforte [and] conſolatioune of theſe of a contrarie minde, who wer newer ſo charitable, all the time of my tuentie yeares captiuitie, to mowe in anie ſuch mater. I hawe requeſted to hawe your furtherance for the better diſburdeninge of my conſcience, and in makinge of my laſt will; but it is cruellie denied me, as alſo all libertie to make a frie teſtament, againſt all ther former promeſes made to me of boith: yea, they hawe denied me that my bodie ſhall be tranſported at all, as I did craiwe the ſame of ther miſtres. They will not ſuffer that I ſhould wrete anie thinge, except it be by ther helpinge handes and direction, which boith I hawe had no neede of heirtofore, neither ſtande I ſo much neede nowe of it, but I maie weele do my owen turne without it. They tell me I muſt do no thinge but at the goode pleaſour of ther miſtres, and ther permiſſion. I praie you watche and praie this one nighte with me and for me. I confeſſe all my ſinnes in generall and in particular, wherin I hawe offended my mercifull God, beſeechinge him to looke doune from the heaven, and to pardon me them in the multitude of his vnſpeakable mercie, that I maie reſt with him at the partinge of my ſoule from the bodie. I thought to hawe had you with me as an eie witnes of this my laſt cariage in ſo neceſſarie a time. Giwe me your beſt adwiſe what maie be my beſt direction in my praiers this longe nighte, for I deſire to be diſſolwed and to be with Chriſte my Redeemer. I will yeet aſſaie to ſee you in ther preſence, as they hawe accorded to me in the hearinge of the maiſter of the houſe. The time is ſhorte: I hawe no more to ſaie, but adiewe. I will recommend [you] with all the reſt of my faithfull ſerwantes to the Kinge. I hawe no more leaſure. I praie you adwiſe me in all thinges you ſhall thinke neceſſarie for my ſalvatioun, and that in wrete. I hawe ſent you a ſmall token; and faire weele and adiewe againe and for ewer. Your lowinge miſtres,

M. R.

So the nighte beinge thus ſpent, and the daie come, about eight of the clocke in the morninge, there entered her Maieſties chamber a bolde malaperte companion, who, without all preface (ſo ſhameles faced was he), of honour or rewerence, abruptlie burſte foorthe with a ſhoute and outcrie, hawinge a white ſtaffe in his hande, in theſe woordes, "Beholde I am come, I am come." This fellowe, all the while her Maieſtie was yeet vpon her knies at her praiers, walked vp and doune harde bye, without makinge anie ſigne of goode maners and courteſie to anie there, ſo rude was he. But her Maieſtie hawinge ended her praiers, roſe vp, thinkinge he came to certifie and foirewarne her of her execution. Shee toke in her hand an ivorie croſſe; her ſerwantes, which nowe helde her vp by the armes, beinge amazed, ſhee conforted them, and becauſe they altogether refuſed to conweie her to her death, which ſo much greiwed them, or to be beholders of ſo terrible a tragedie, Sir Amias Paulet lent her two of his ſerwinge men to leade her to the place of execution; for thorowe longe lingeringe faintnes, and her dailie griewances, ſhe was brought ſo lowe and weake, that ſhee was not able to go by her ſelff; but yeet God gawe her a goode curage and ſpirite till the laſte gaſpe and brethe.

The place of execution was in a greate parlour, in the middes wherof a ſcaffolde was ſett vp, twelfe foote ſquare and two foote heigh, ſpred ower with blacke cotton; towardes the which her Maieſtie mounted ſo nimblie, that ſhee ſeemed to hawe no feare of death, neither ewer chainged ſhee her countenance; and now beinge come vp, ſhee reſted her ſelff a litle, and preſentlie beginneth to ſpeake to the officers of her cruell cuſinge Elizabeth, entreatinge them to permitt her to hawe her Almoner to come to her, to comforte her in her God, and to receiwe of him ſome confortable inſtruction, together with the holie ſacrament, before her departour out of this wale of miſery. The Earle of Kent aunſwered, that he was ſorie for her to ſee her ſo much giwen to the ſuperſtitiouns of the times paſt, and that it wer better for her to carie

the croſſe of Chriſte in hearte, not in her hande. To whome ſhee replied, that it was to litle purpoſe to carie ſuch a obiect in her hand, if the hearte wer not touched inwardlie with earneſt motion and remembrance of his bitter death and paſſion which he ſuffered vpon the croſſe for miſerable mannes ſinne, that died vpon the croſſe. I thinke it, (ſaieth ſhee,) a thinge moſt fitte for ewerie true Chriſtian, to hawe it to putt them in remembrance of ther redemption purchaſed by Chriſte, but ſpeciallie they at that time, when death threatneth. But ſeeinge by no meanes ſhee could hawe her Almoner, as was promeſed, ſhee made an other motion to them, that all her ſerwantes might be preſent to be eie witneſſes of her conſtancie in true pietie; which, after ſhee had inſtantlie deſired and promeſed that ſhee wold commaunde and enioine them ſilence, ſo that ther cryinges, weepinge and lamentatiouns ſhould be no hinderance or truble to her in her death, they graunted her that two of her maides of honour ſhould come; but one of them at her entrie in the place of execution, ſeeinge her deare miſtres ſo fordwardlie in preparatioun for the butchers handes, could not conteine her ſelff from weepinge and pitiefull mone, and fell doune as deade for a time, whome, when her miſtres perceiwed to hawe recowered her ſenſes, ſhee incontinent by a ſigne made to her by her finger vpon the mouth, enioined her ſilence; at the ſighte of which ſhee forced her ſelff to containe her lament. This done, the two maides together mount vp vpon the ſcaffolde to do ther miſtres the laſt charitable ſerwice, and that with watterie eyes and ſorrowefull heartes: they began to helpe her to take awaie her maſke, her coiffe, and other ornamentes: but the ſhameleſſe executioner could, by no entreatie her Maieſtie could make, nor yeet rewarde, be mowed to withholde his helpinge handes; neither did anie of Elizabethes officers forbid him: for after her Maieſties goune was ſtripte doune to the midle, he ſnatched her rudlie by the armes and pulled of her doublet, her ſtraite bodies, which wer lowe in the col-

lare, ſo that her neke beinge all naked, appeared to the ſpectatoures more white then ſnowe or alabaſter. This done, the cruell butcher kneelethe doune, aſkinge her forgiwenes. "Do thy office in the name of God, thou art but an inſtrument; I forgiwe the with all my heart, and all others that be the authoures of my death, ewen with as goode will as I deſire my owen ſinnes to be forgiwen me at Goddes handes." Shee proteſted, likewiſe, in all the beholders preſence, that ſhee newer had attempted anie thinge againſt the liffe or ſtate of her cuſinge, nor committed anie [thing] woorthie of blame, either for the owerthrowe of religion or the commone welthe. If they did impute her conſtancie in her religion as a faulte woorthie of deathe, lett them looke [to] it, who never had anie care to inſtruct and informe me otherwiſe, all the longe time of my tuentie yeares captiuitie. I hope ſhortlie to be in paradice with my deare Sauiour, Jeſus Chriſte, for whoſe obedience made for me I doubte not to ſhedde my bloode, ewen to the laſt drope. I counte my ſelff more happie nowe to die in a righte minde to end my miſerie, then to liwe longer induringe the daielie reproches of my ennemies, worſe then a bitter death, then to attend anie longer till nature, thus faintinge, did finiſhe the courſe of her liffe, when ſhee ſhould not be righte in her ſenſes, and perfite remembrance of her duetie towardes God and her neighbour. Shee ſaide, ſhee hoped in him, of whome that croſſe ſhee caried in her hand put her in remembrance, and before whoſe feete ſhee proſtrated her ſelff in ſoule and bodie, that he wold receiwe her into eternal glorie. This temporall ſhee reſigned vp hartelie to him that gaiwe. Shee proteſted, as before, in all the auditouris hearinge, that ſhee was innocentlie accuſed, charged and condemned of ſuch thinges ſhee newer thought on, and hoped the loſſe of this temporall liffe ſhould be the paſſage, beginninge and entraunce to liffe eternall, with the holie angelles and the ſoules of bleſſed, that ſhould recewe her ſoule and innocent bloode, and repreſent it before God, for a deduction of all her

ſinnes and offences. Shee beſought them all to praie for [her], that God wold hear her, and that ſhee mighte obteine grace and pardon.

Theſe wer her praiers, beinge vpon her knees vpon the ſcaffold, prayinge alſo for the Pope, the kinges of Fraunce, Spaine, the Queene of England, and the Kinge of Scotland, her deare ſonne, that God wold enlighten them all with his ſpirite, and direct them in the truth, and that he wold take pitie vpon his Church militant, and turne awaie his anger from the Iſle of Greate Britanne, which ſhee did perceiwe he threatned with ſcourges for the abominable, wilfull impietie committed by the inhabitantes. Shee thus likewiſe praied at her firſt entrie vpon the ſcaffolde, and after reiterated the ſame thrie ſewerall times: but the Deane of Peterborowe, Doctour Fletcher, did what he could to interrupt her, whome ſhee entreated not to truble her, for ſhee was fullie reſolwed howe to die, without anie councell from him or anie of his ſorte: he could giwe her no forder contentment for her ſoule then ſhee had alredie, for ſhee did anker her on Chriſte; and for the people, they could giwe her no forder conforte. This notwithſtandinge, the Deane continowed in his praiers, and ſhee proceeded likewiſe fordwarde, prayinge in Latine, liftinge vp her woice abowe his ſo loude, that all being preſent did clearlie heare her. Shee had a golden croſſe about her necke hawinge the image of our Sawiour, which, praier being ended, ſhee wold hawe giwen to one of her maides, but the butcher ſnatched at it, and wold not ſuffer her, albeit her Maieſtie did earneſtlie entreate, offeringe him that her maide ſhould giwe him thriſe the waloue of it, but no remedie: he wolde not lett her hawe it. All beinge redie, ſhee taketh her laſt fare weele of her maides, and kiſſed them courteſlie, thankinge them for ther faithfull ſerwices, biddinge them adiewe, and bidde them retire themſelwes quietlie, giwinge them her laſt bleſſinge, and makinge the ſigne of the croſſe ower them; but perceiwinge one of them could not holde, but burſte foorthe in teares, ſhee commaunded to holde her peace, and to keepe

ſilence, tellinge her ſhee had paſte her promeſe that ſhee and the other maide ſhould not be trubleſome to her in her death: ſhee bid them boith retire themſelwes ſoberlie, and to praie to God for her, now they could do her no more goode. This done, ſhee fell doune vpon her knees, without giwing the leaſt ſigne or demonſtratioun of diſcontent or feare of death: her conſtancie and boldnes of ſpirituall curage, her confidence and aſſurance of hope of recompence of eternall liffe, of God, in liewe and place of her momentanell afflictions, now to be enioyed of her, was ſuch, that all the aſſiſtantes, yea, her hardeſt hearted ennemies, was greatlie mowed; and it was crediblie reported of manie that wer preſent, that amongeſt all the whole companie there was onlie two or thrie perſons that coulde witholde weepinge, they eſteemed the ſpectacle ſo ſtraunge: condemning theſe in ther conſcience who wer the authouris of ſuch an crueltie, which, in former times, they newer harde nor red of the like. She commendes finallie her ſoule to the tuition of the Almightie, in theſe woordes of the pſalme, ſayinge often and reiteratinge the woordes, "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo ſpiritum meum,*" and that with a loude woice, farre ſurmountinge the Dean in the eares of the aſſiſtantes.

In the meane while, the butcher gaiwe her a greate blowe with the axe, wherbye he pearced the ſtringes within her heade, which he ſtroake not of but at the thirde blowe, to make her martyrdome the more noble, albeit it weele is knowen that not the paine, or the puniſhment, but the cauſe maketh the martyre. After he had done, he haſtelie ſnatcheth vp the heade in his hande, and ſhewinge it to the aſſiſtantes, ſaide, "God ſaiwe Queene Elizabeth, and ſo befall all the ennemies of the Goſpell;" althought ther wer no other that fawoured the Goſpell, and that liwed as the Goſpell directed but Elizabeth: but howeſoewer in outwarde ſhowe, ſhee made a cloake for her wicked liffe of the ſacred Goſpell, which therby ſhee prophaned, yeet if her liffe wer weighed in iuſte and ewen balance, it ſhould be founde (if all thinges wer clearlie knowen

and cenſured accordinglie,) ſhee ſhould become behinde and be poſtponed this holie martyre by manie degrees. After, in deriſion and contempt, he pulled of her coiffe and ſhewed her white haires, with contemptuous woordes onworthie to be ſpoken or harde by the mouth or eares of anie Chriſtian: He pointed alſo at the croune of her heade, to ſhewe it to the people, becauſe it was newelie ſhawen, which ſhee was conſtrained to do by reaſon of a greiwous rheume which trubled her often.

The tragedie ended, the poore maides, carefull of the honour of ther miſtres, humblie beſought and prayed Paulett the cruell jealour, that the butcher might hawe no more ado with ther Soweraigne ladies bodie, and that it mighte be permitted them to diſatire her bodie when all the people wer departed the place, that no forder indignitie might be offered her ſacred Maieſties corpes, ſeinge all malice, hatred, envie, and contempt of the deade ought to end after ther deceſſe; they promeſed him her apparell, and all that was about her, and whatſoewer beſides he wold demaunde in reaſon, ſo that he wold not anie more come neare or handle her ſacred bodie. But curſed Cerberus, Paulet I meane, commaundeth them werie rudlie to departe the chamber; lewinge his hellhounde with the corpes to do with what he wold: he preſentlie pulleth of her ſhoes and all the reſt of her apparell, which as yeet was leſte about her bodie, and after, when he had done what he wold, the corpes was caried into a chamber nexte adioninge, fearinge the ſaide maides ſhould come to do anie charitable goode office. It did encreaſe gretlie ther deſire ſo to do after they did ſee ther miſtres corps thorowe a litle hole of the chamber walle, which [was] cowered with cloath, but the wofull corpes was keepte a longe time in this chamber till it beganne to corrupte and ſmelle ſtronglie, ſo that in the end they wer conſtrained to ſalte it, and to embalme lightlie to ſaiwe charges, and after to wrapt it vp in a cacke of leade, keepinge it ſeawen monethes ther before it was enterred at Peterborowe, where alſo Cathrine of Spaine laie buried

before. Laſte of all there was a hearſte ſett ower her tombe, after a ſimple maner in regarde of her degrie, and it was cowered with blake welwott, which after Mr Deane of Peterborowe either ſtole, or cauſſed to be ſtollen, of in the nighte ſeaſon, to make him a caſſoke or vpper garment, as they call it, which after did him greate ſerwice, beinge elected Biſhope of London, when he went a wooinge to my ladie his miſtres, who after made him weare broade harnes, as ſhee had done her firſte huſbande before him. He was werie buſie at her Maieſties execution, that ſhee wold ſaiwe her ſoule, and be adwiſed by him howe ſhee might do it; but not longe after he committeth abominable ſacriledge in the hieſte degrie, ſhameleſſe thifte in robinge the deade, or at leaſte is acceſſorie to boith, and in the end fearfull periurie: for it [is] weele knowen howe when Elizabeth his miſtres, hawinge harde that he was about the mariage of his miſtres ladie, a famous woman for a comoune ſtrumpett, tolde him of it, and diſcharged him to come anie more in her companie: The honeſt man, to ſatiffie Elizabeth, made greate proteſtatiouns with an othe, that he wold newer come anie more at her enteringe at her dore, but the honeſt mannes inordinat motions did not permitt him to be ſo goode as his woorde, and therfore to cullour his promeſe and oth, he cauſſed a greate windoe of his houſe at Culham to be made a dore, and a hie ſtaire of ſtone to be builded vp harde to the windoe newlie changed into a dore, by the which he entered to his ladie miſtres, whome, for this purpoſe, he cauſſed ſecretlie to be brought thither, and after he had keepte companie with her a longe time, in the end he married her. Such a care had this conſcionable man of the ſalvation of others, that he altogether becommeth forgetfull of his owen.

But to returne to our hiſtorie: Ther be ſome Engliſhe that hawe, in ther owen language, ſett foorthe this execution, togither with the cauſſes which mowed ther miſtres to this crueltie, ſome ſo farre fetched and vnlike to be true and altogether falſe, that he muſt needes be werie ſimple

and ſenſles, if he can ſuffer him ſelff to be led awaie ſo farre aſtraie from commone ſenſe and reaſon as to beliwe them. But howeſoewer they painefullie laubour to go about to diſguiſe the mater; yeet onawarſe to diſcower trulie ſome parte of the mater, to wit, the deſire of revenge which Elizabeth ever bore Q. Marie in her hearte, for the armes and ſcutchion of England, which after her mariage with the Dolphin of Fraunce, ſhee cauſſed be quartered with her owen. This was the cheiffe cauſe of the cruell murder of her innocent cuſinge, howeſoewer ſhee go about to impoſe vpon her manie other deſignes which ſhould hawe mowed her to deale ſo vnkindlie with her; an other cauſe mowed her to this parricide was the ſmalle meanes ſhee had to fruſtrate the noble houſe of Scotland of the croune of England, ſo longe as boith this Queene and her ſonne liwed, and the opinion that ſhee had that, if the mother wer firſt made out of the waie, whome ſhee could newer by anie meanes [get] to reſigne her title in her handes, it might be a eſie mater for her to compaſſe the ſonne in her clawes by the meanes of her dewiliſhe angelles, who hawe power to woorke greate wonders in the Scottiſhe climate.

The foirſaid wretes, amongeſt other thinges, recorde, that the apparell of the deade Queene was taken from the butcher, and the waloue theroff was payed him in moneye; and that her roiale habites, her ornamentes, the welwott and the coweringe of the ſcaffolde was waſhed cleane, leaſt it ſhould be ſtained with her bloode, and after ſolde. By this we maie plainlie and manifeſtlie vnderſtande the honourable maner of proceedinge uſed againſt this goode Queene, boith whill ſhee was yeet aliwe in ther handes, and nowe deade. Except [they] had plaide the parte of the cruell canniballes, who feede vpon mennes fleſhe, they could do no more: we ſee what regarde they hawe to the honour of [a] ſacred anointed Queene. We hawe ſeene noblemen, gentlemen and others condemned to die for treaſon and rebellion againſt ther miſtres, that newer did ſee the butcher with ther eies before ther death; he was

newer ſuffered to touch them with his handes, but efter ther eyes wer cloſed and cowered, he mounted the ſcaffold and gaiwe them deathes blowe, and ſo departed: they wer in no waies to be compared with this renouned ladie. Ther miſtres made regarde be had of ther perſounes, albeit they wer condemned of treaſon, becauſe they wer gentlemen and men of marke. This ladie was not ſo: all proceedinges againſt her was flatte contrarie to the lawe of God and natiounes. Elizabeth was not ſuperiour to her: yeet her crueltie was ſuch againſt her, that, for the right of her croune after her, ſhee cauſſed moſt barbarouſlie be aſſaſinated and murdered by the handes of a moſt infamous butcherlie willaine; and which is more, after her death, wold not ſuffer that anie other beſides this abiect amongeſt men, no, not a man but a cruell ſawage beaſte, ſhould come neare her ſacred perſon; but he diſatired the corpes of the ornamentes, he ſtripped of her garmentes in preſence of the people, leawinge it all naked in contempt and diſdaine.

This monſter of men, hawinge no thinge of a man but onlie the outwarde ſhape, to make the renouned ladies martyrdome more honourable to all future ages to be recorded, moſt cruellie with manie blowes butchered the ſacred corpes: whoſe beutie, curage, vitte, vnderſtandinge, ſingular vertues and conſtancie wold hawe mowed the moſt ſawage amongeſt the canniballes, if ſhee had hapned to flie ſo farre as to them for ſuccoure and aide, beinge deſtitute and lefte deſolate. Yea, the onlie name of a Queene, and her manie rare princelie qualities wold hawe rawiſhed them, and ſo aſtoniſhed them that they could not hawe putt ther hand to wiolat her ſacred perſon, either beinge yeet aliwe or nowe deade. It is recorded that the canniballes eate mennes fleſh, and the Scythians drinke mennes bloode, but this was longe ſince in a rooder and a more ſawage and barbarous time and age, and nowe are become more humane and ciwile; but the Engliſhe ewen nowe, in the cleare beameſonne and ſonnebeame lighte of the holie goſpell, bringe foorthe

ſuch fruites, that they make the ſacred name of God and his truth to be blaſphemed and prophaned amongeſt the natiounes. They ſhowe themſelwes more ſawage and cruell towardes this ladie, then ewer we reade anie canniball or Scythian did exerciſe ther ſawage beaſtlie crueltie againſt anie that ewer had the ſhape and forme of a man; for the one doeth but eate mannes fleſhe, and other drinke ther bloode, neither do they anie more harme to ther bodie beinge deade, but the ſawage Engliſhe, more brutiſhe and ſawage then the moſt ſawage brutiſh beaſt we can reade, do all thoſe cruelties. Hearken, O Heawen, and heare O earth, if anie ſuch thinge hath beene done in our time, or in our fathers time before us! This curſed daughter of Lycaon, in violatinge all righte of hoſpitalitie, cannot be touched with anie humane affection towardes her neareſt kinniſwoman. Allace, what ſaide I? Shee was more cruell then ewer was Lycaona his daughter: he did eate his gueſtes the daie or the morowe after he had ludged them, he ſuffered them not to pine awaie and linger in preſon by him; he ſuffered not anie to abuſe them, he newer in crueltie abuſed his owen kinred, neither did he kille them to feede vpon, not in his greateſt diſtreſſe of famine: he newer murdered anie to whome he gawe his promeſe to the contrarie, nor thoſe to whome he had ſworne to keepe friendſhipe vnto, no, not thoſe whome he newer harde of nor ſawe before, when they did flie vnto him in ther aduerſitie. It is reported that the white mores, who eate mennes fleſhe, will newer kille anie they ewer knewe before for foode, no, althought they ſhould die and famiſhe: they onlie take ſtrangers whome they newer knewe before, and ſo longe as they keepe them aliwe, they wante no thinge that they deſire, but hawe all thinges that maie content them; but this they do to fatte them againſt the daie of ſlaughter. But this monſter of all womankinde by manie degries ſurpaſſeth all them whome before I hawe mentioned in crueltie. This tygreſſe, tranſported with rage and furie, after ſhee had made a league with her neareſt kinniſwo-

man, and ſworne amitie and freindſhipe with her, to indure ſo longe as they ſhould boith liwe, yea, after ſhee had invited her into her realme by her hand wrettin letters, by her ambaſſadoures, by guiftes, by preſentes, ſeeinge her in aduerſitie, and forced to flie her natiue cuntrie, ſeekinge for aide and ſuccour at her handes, againſt her faith and promeſe, deteines her preſoner, and putteth her in a cage for the ſpace of tuintie longe yeares: althought after ſhee had comed in realme by her hand wrete, ſhee promeſed faithfullie ſhee wold conweie her home againe as farre as the frontiers, and ſett her frie in her kingedome. I can not omitt howe ſhee ſent this ladie a diamonde in a token, which ſhould ewer after be a pledge of her promeſed faith to her, wiſhinge her to ſend it to her if anie harde diſtreſſe ſhould befall her, and ſhee ſhould be ſure to hawe her to do the beſt ſhee could for her as for her ſelff; which diamond the diſtreſſed ladie ſent her immediatlie before her death, but no promeſe was keepte, ſo faithfull was ſhee and conſcionable in keepinge of her oth. But this was uſuall with her; for the like ſhee did to Eſſex and others, whome all ſhee forſooke in ther aduerſitie. Did not this faithleſſe woman, by the adwiſe of her councell, immediatlie before they putt the mother to death, make a ſure league of freindſhipe and amitie with the ſonne, and all the freindſhipe he did finde by the newe league, that not longe after it was ſworne vpon boith the partes, they ſtroake of the mothers heade? O heawen, whie ſweates thou not? O earth, whie openes not thou thy mouth, and ſwalloweſt vp from the ſighte of the ſonne and lighte of the moone, ſuch ſhameleſſe, periured willanes? This cruell woman hath weele reſembled all the goode qualities of boith her parentes: ſhee hath comed behind them in no thinge, but rather hath farre ſurmounted them boith, all her liffe: this her impietie, ambition, crueltie, leacherie, hypocriſie, diſſimulatioun, treacherie, anger, hatred, malice irreconcileable, treacherie, ingratitude, her wengeance, implacabilitie, crafte, ſubtiltie to deceiwe, and other infinite qualities of

like ſorte, wherewithe ſhee was ſo richlie adorned, that ſhee hath plainlie ſhowen to the world that her talent was not hidden vnder the earth, but ſhee had putt it foorth to make ſome encreaſe and profite.

But to leawe this diſcourſe, which will not pleaſe her nor her factious ones, let us returne to the ordinances of her eſtates, and lett us ſee and conſider whether ſhee coulde ſubiect the Queene of Scottes, a prince as much, or more frie, then her ſelff. Shee newer helde anie thinge of her, or of anie belonginge to her. Did not this renouned ladie ewer exempt her ſelff from her, and all ſhee putt in authoritie vnder her, and ſo from her, to make anie leaſte motion of ſubiection? Shee made no account of ther iudgementes and opinions when ther was anie thinge intreated that concerned her ſelff in this point: Of this minde was Elizabeth in the reſolution ſhee tooke againſt the adwiſe of her eſtates, which ſhee had aſſembled in the moneth of October 1566, where it was accorded by comoune conſent of all, that they wolde not intreate of anie mater till ſhee had named a ſucceſſoure to the croune of England, to meete the trubles which beganne to ariſe within the realme by the carriages and plottes of them that aſpired therunto, and propoſed then ther titles. Shee commaunded them to paſſe on forder, telling them that ther reſolutiouns could take no effect contrarie to her will, which they wer forced to do after that ſhee had reproched them, tellinge them that they wold make her graiwe before her death. How much leſſe, then, could it be poſſible for her, or her ſubiectes, to giwe anie order or reſolution for the ſubiection of a Prince not inferiour, but rather ſuperiour to her and her ſubiectes, who had no thinge to do with her? We ſee, as Elizabeth could not abide to ſubiect her ſelff in anie thinge to her owen ſubiectes beſides her goode, no more could this goode ladie endure to abandon her ſelff to Elizabeth, or to anie reſolution accorded vpon by her and her eſtates, againſt the frie libertie of a frie Prince.

It is a mater without all controuerſie, that no perſuaſiouns nor threat-

ninges coulde ewer mowe this goode ladie to demitt anie waies her righte to anie other, or aknowledge anie other to hawe anie righte to controlle her in the leaſt thinge that might, in anie one pointe, hawe a cullour to her preiudice. Who can blame her for manteninge the ſoweraignitie and honour that God had preordinate her vnto? Shee mantained her righte by laufull meanes. But Elizabeth, and her father before her, whatſoewer they pleaſed to hawe done by her ſubiectes, ewen althought it wer vnlaufull, no man durſte be ſo bolde to contradicte them: ſo wiolent in all ther courſes were they, if anie goode man did contrare them, preſentlie he was ride out of the waie, as ſhee did this goode Queene, becauſe ſhee wold newer agrie to her and her councell that ſhee wold become her waſſale. By what meanes wold ſhee binde the Queene of Scottes to indure that of her, which ſhee could newer indure in her owen ſubiectes? By what reaſon will ſhee binde the Queene of Scottes to ſubiection, that was a frie Kinges daughter, and a frie Queene her ſelff? I knowe weele you will aunſwere me, that anie perſon, althought it be a frie Prince, that committeth a crime within the realme of an other, contracteth ſecretlie with that Prince of that realme where ſuch facte is done to be his ſubiect, to be ordoured by his lawes. To the which, firſt, it is aunſwered, that neither this lawe nor the Roman lawe, *Quæ in provincia*, nor anie other, the like coulde be vnderſtoode of Princes, who could not be ſubiect to ther lawes, nor anie other, beinge Soweraignes them ſelwes. Secondlie, I ſaie, this ladie was newer in Elizabethes realme vnder her protection, which is a impudent lie, mantained in the publication of [the] dewiliſhe ſentence giwen by her eſtates, but was tyrannicallie and moſt barbarouſlie deteined againſt her minde, againſt the lawe of God and all natiounes. I ſaie, then, that the Queene of Scottes could not by anie reſon be ſubiect to Elizabethes lawes, ſhee beinge a frie Queene, borne without her dominions, and cominge within her realme ſeekinge aide and ſuccour, and beinge in ſteade of ſupplie,

beinge, by force and violence, deteined againſt her goode likinge and minde; yea, althought ſhee had ſoiourned ther with goode contentment, and had committed a crime woorthie of death, yeet Elizabeth and her eſtates could take no knoweledge of her afaires, who had no other ſuperioure abowe her but the greate God of heawen and earth: ſhee could not, with the councell of her ſubiectes, uiſe anie iuriſdiction vpon her liffe and honour. I denie, likewiſe, that ſhee committed anie crime there; and ſaie, that that which they obiect againſt her is a cruell impoſture and a dewiſed accuſatioun, and farre fetched, to giwe a cullour and ſhewe to iuſtice, and to the tyrannie of this cruell wolffe; for howe could it be poſſible, and to conſpire with her ennemies to her preiudice, beinge ſo ſtreightlie deteined, that not ſo much as the faithfulleſt of her ſerwantes could hawe acceſſe to her? How could it be, that ſhee could hawe communicatioun with them who wer preſoners aſweele as ſhee? It wilbe ſaide, ſhee had intelligence with the Catholiques of England: howe could that be, ſhee neither beinge acquainted with them, nor yeet hawinge anie thinge to communicat with them? Shee muſt, of neceſſitie, hawe ſome interpretour, ſome negotiatour, ſome interceſſoure, or meanes to go betueene her and them: but where ar they, or who wer they? Her Secretaries letters written to Babington, wer diſcowered and ſhowen: but who did ſee them? wer they written or ſubſcriwed with her hand, and ſigned with her ſeale of armes? Tell me that, I praie you: You ſhall newer be able to prowe it; and althought yeet they be ſimple and poore meanes to effectuate the thinge you charge her with, and bringe to the full vpſhott ſuch a weightie enterpriſe, ſithence ther was no thinge but paper that could ſpeake. What was writen in theſe letters you alledge? the deliwerie of the Queene of Scottes out of preſon. I aſke you againe, wer they all writen and ſigned with her hand? No, no. But giwing and grauntinge they had beene, was this a goode and conſcionable cauſe to putt her [to] death, who had ſo often proteſted by her

letters to Elizabeth, that ſhee wold newer do anie thinge to the preiudice of her ſo longe as ſhee liwed? If the Catholiques of England did worke, plotte, or do anie other thinge in fawour of her then her deliwerance, what coulde ſhee do withall? Shee knewe no thinge of it, much leſſe conſented to ther deſignes. It will be ſaide in this, they wer her ennemies, and not her goode freindes: You will urge me, her complices, and ſuch as wer acceſſarie to the intended deſignes, wer putt to death, by whoſe conſciences ſhee was alſo charged. It is plainlie and manifeſtlie knowen the contrarie, there was newer that charged her thus: and we charge you, in the name of the ewerliuinge God, to make this evident by ther true depoſitiounes in the ſighte and hearinge of forren Princes, and they ſhall thinke them ſelwes much beholden to you, who wer her ſworne ennemies; but ther was newer anie ſuch thinge, neither ſhall you ewer be able to prowe it, for all your ſpite. There was newer anie ſo ſhamleſſe to awouch ſuch horrible inventiounes but you your ſelwes, who hawe ewer ſhowen your ſelwes her mortall ennemies: yea, I will ſaie forder, that ther was ſome of you her falſe accuſers, judges and condemners, whoſe conſciences can teſtifie the contrarie to your allegatiounes, whatſoewer you hawe counterfootlie for a cullour cauſſed to be written in theſe mennes depoſitiounes to cower your tyrannie; you ſhall newer be able to ſhowe anie paper hawinge ther true depoſitiounes ſubſcriwed with ther handes, conteininge anie ſuch mater as you alledge.

Althought your miſtres by your councell, ewer ſince ſhee bare the ſwaie in England, hath ewer lauboured to ſturre vp treaſouns, rebelliouns and what treacherie ſhee could worke, againſt this ladie when ſhee was in full authoritie in her kingedome, till the end ſhee and you, what by forſworne promeſes, what by ſubtiltie, peece and peece, you broughte her in your clawes, and nowe to her ſorrowfull end. What could Elizabeth alledge againſt this ladie, her neareſt kinniſwoman, whie ſhee ſhould thinke her woorthie of death? No thinge, but a falſe, infamous

libell full of lies, made by her wicked aſſociates, who hawe ewer beene this ladies ſpitefull ennemies, and hawe councelled to all treacherie, could be harde of or inwented. It is weele knowen who ſhee and they hawe rigged foorthe ther ſhippes to ſea in time of league ſworne by her to Scotland, and, vnder cullour of freindſhipe, hawe done more harme to Scotland in two years abroade, robbinge 224 ſhippes, as they could be compaſſed by ſlighte, and at odde corners, nor ewer ſhee and her aunceſtours wer able to do in open warre. Ther legendes of lies, ther chronicles weele teſtifieth, howe by lande one armie after an other was ſent in Scotland, vnder a pretence to aide this ladies younge ſonne againſt his ennemies, when, in werie deede, they did do no thinge elles but robe the ſouth parte of that kingedome, and throwe doune the caſtles and ſtronge holdes, ther to prepare a waie to a forder conqueſt of all, and did no thinge elles but aide and ſupporte this goode ladies ennemies and her ſonnes, who culloured ther cruell robberies vnder the name of authoritie of that younge Prince, who, I hope, one daie will awenge all the cruelties done by ſuch treacherous ſubiectes, done, I ſaie, againſt his deare mother and him, and depredatiouns and ſpoiles committed againſt his loiale, true hearted freindes; as its weele knowen the greate God partlie had awenged all theſe thinges, and partlie made this goode Prince his inſtrument to take wengeance and to puniſhe ſuch cruell tyrannie, in the moſt of them that wer either authoures, cauſſers, aſſiſtantes, or in anie waies acceſſaries therunto. Thirdlie, I ſaie flatlie, that all this proceedinge againſt this ladie, which they account ſo honourable, is not onlie againſt the lawe of God and natiounes, but alſo directlie againſt the true meaninge of the lawe of England municipall, which hath ewer vnto him beene generallie obſerwed: it appointeth that the proceſſe againſt criminalles be examined, tried and iudged by ther equalles of the like qualitie and degrie, beinge xii in number at the leaſt. Hawe you aſſembled together xii Queenes of ſewerall kingedomes, in

England, or xii ſoweraignes prizes to the Queene of Scottes and Dourier of Fraunce? It is an onharde and ſtrange priwiledge you hawe aſſumed and uſed in regarde of the renounned dignitie of ſuch a Queene as ſhe was.

Laſt of all, I ſaie, albeit this renounned Queene had conſpired againſt the liffe and ſtate of Elizabeth, becauſe ſhe had uſed her ſo hardlie for the ſpace of tuintie yeares, againſt her othe and fidelitie promeſed her, yeet hawinge in acte done no thinge, ſhee could not much be blamed in humane ſenſe and reaſon, ſhee hawinge ſo tyrannouſlie uſed her: the lawe of nature might excuſe her, which is not onlie approwed by the lawes grauntinge manie thinges, as ſaieth Seneca, which honeſtie, faith, pietie and religion do not permitte. The philoſophers ſaie, that all nature is a conſerwer of her ſelff, and in this reſpect forceth it ſelff not onlie to deſire and followe that which is profitable and awailable for it, but alſo to flie that which is hurtfull and noiſome, and to defend it ſelff by all meanes from it. The ordinances of the auncient Emperours and ciwile lawe founded vpon this maxime of nature, permitt to repulſe force by contrarie force, and to ſaiwe and defend the bodie from violence and iniurie, and redeeme bloode by what meanes ſoewer, for ewerie meanes is honeſt to procure our ſaiſtie. The comoune lawe permitteth to a priwat man to reſiſt the force and iniurie of a iudge, it beinge irrecowerable. Then by howe much greater reaſon may a ſoweraigne Prince repell by all poſſible meanes her tyrannicall dealinge, that by the lawe of God and nature hath nothing to do with her, and hath no authoritie or commande ower her. If ſhee had permitted her to depart her realme when, beinge invited, ſhee came to ſeeke refuge at her handes, ſuch thinges had newer come in controuerſie: ſhee newer craiwed anie thinge of Elizabeth but her libertie. The brutiſhe creatoures and birdes, thought you deale newer ſo mildlie with them, yeet, beinge keepte in a cage, they will ſtriwe to breke it, and to take the libertie of the aire abroade: how much more ought and ſhould

reaſonable man and woman ſeeke the ſame libertie, and ſo much more a frie borne ſoweraigne Prince!

Thought Pandions iſſue hawe no want in cawe,
Yeet ſtriwe they forreſtes freedome to hawe.

I maie perhappes be urged with the olde ſonge, that the lawe of nature permitteth not to addreſſe our ſelwes towardes our Prince or magiſtrate, for this cauſe, who ſhould not for anie cauſſe be violated, notwithſtandinge howe iuſte ſoewer it be. It is impudentlie alſo alledged, that the Kinges of Scotland be waſſalles and ſubiectes to the Kings of England, and they, with ther ſubiectes, hawe aknowledged the Kinges of England for ther laufull ſuperiours.

Baldus, the greate Romane lawer, ſaieth, that the people preſcribe ther libertie againſt the prince in a hundreth yeares. I am ſure it is thrie hundreth yeares ſince that the Engliſh pretended anie title of righte of Scotland, and that they newer could pretend anie righte by anie iuſte lawe or title. Me thinkes, nowe I hawe harde in this foirſaide alledgeance of this ſuperioritie, the hiſtorie of the tries of newe againe rewiwed, which was thus. The tries went about to chuſe them a kinge. The elme, the figge trie, and the wine refuſed, (and could not leawe to be fruitfull in yeeldinge and bringinge foorthe fruites, they wold not abandon ther licour, which did conforte boith God and man,) to commaunde other tries: but the brier, which is no true trie, but rather a baſtarde plante and ſhrube, became ſo ambitious that it accepted of the empire, and ſaide vnto them thus: If in goode meaninge, without fraude or deceite, you ſhall appoint me your kinge, and repoſe your ſelwes vnder my ſhaddowe, I wilbe your kinge; but if you refuſe to do it, let ther iſſue a fire out of the breire to burne all the tries of Libanus. I did not thinke, that thou Elizabeth wold hawe ſhowen thy ſelff ſo ſhameleſſe, (howeſoewer in all other thy actiouns thou had harden thy face to

become impudent before the world,) as to pretend anie right to the croune of Scotland: Did thou not alwaies deale with this ladie, that ſhee wold make thè ower her iuſte right and title theroff; which ſhee could newer abide to heare the leaſt motion of, either by thy wretes, or by thy ambaſſadoures whome thou and thy councell apointed to deale with her in this point, which, becauſe ſhee wold newer agrie vnto, thou forged other falſe accuſatiounes againſt her, to bringe her to her dolefull end. But this was the onlie and true cauſſe of her death, as all indifferent maie weele coniecture, and in ſo much as thou canſt not affixe vnto it accordinglie, beinge a brier and a ſhrube, newer hawinge brought foorth anie goode fruite, pleaſinge God or goode men, vncapable and unworthie of anie kingedome; not onlie by reaſon of thy barrenneſs, in bringinge foorthe of goode fruites in thy actiouns and deſertes, but alſo for thy baſtardie, in regarde wheroff thy owen naturall father Henrie 8. and all his eſtates aſſembled in open Parliament, diſabled thè to hawe anie croune or Soweraignitie in thy handes: but then reſembling too much him ambitiouſlie haſt aſpired againſt his minde, by helpe and aide of thoſe to whome ewer ſince thou haſte proſtitute thy ſelff, to be his laufull heire, as an vnfruitfull breire cauſſeſt a fire to iſſue out of the to conſume the tall cedars of Libanus. Thowe beinge a fruitles brier, not growinge in a fertile ſoile, but in a barren hedge, haſt kendled a fire of malicious treacherie, and forced cavillation, to burne and putt to deathe thy lawfull Soweraigne, princes of all the kingdomes and dominions which thou, againſt right and reaſon, haſt uſurped, beſides that ſhee is an heretrix of a croune more auncient, honourable and famouſlie renouned then ewer thy aunceſtoures could commaunde or peaceablie enioye: thou beinge a barren ſhrube nothinge regarded, moſt like vnto the brere, haſte ſtaied the confortable oile and wine, which did iſſue from that goodlie wine trie, oliwe tree, and fruite of the figge, to the greate conforte of manie a diſtreſſed ſoule.

Shee richlie was adorned with the ſweete fruite of the figge trie, with the confortable licour of the pleaſant oliwe and chearfull wine, which as a riwer did dewid them ſelwes as ſtreames to the releiwe of manie a true Chriſtian, whome thowe robbed and made harbourles. Beinge as thou arte a wilde brere without frute, and yeeldinge not anie thinge elles but drie or withered leawes, that is baſtardes and adulterous iſſue, which thou darre not be bolde to awouch to be thine for publict infamie and ſhame of the world, by what right will thou pretend to aſpire to the Soweragnitie of ſo famous and auncient a kingdome? Thou maie and will aunſwere me, thou maie ſo do, pretendinge ſome clame of righte from one as treacherous and ſubtile as thy ſelff, Edwarde Langeſhankes, or, as the French do name, Edwarde Longe Jambes; he beinge deſirous to rule the whole Iſlande, dewiſed manie plottes for this purpoſe, but thou art ſo ſhameles thou will newer bluſhe for anie of ther willanies that maie be laide in thy diſhe. But to come to the mater full of willanie done by this Edwarde: Kinge Alexander of Scotland deceſſinge by the fall of his horſe, without heires male of his bodie, ther did ariſe two competitouris of the croune of that realme, which wer Robert Bruce and John Baliole, who did ſtriwe for the right a long time; at laſt fearinge the greate diſordour was like to followe amongeſt the ſubiectes for this cauſſe, and the ruine of the comoune people who did partie boith, they wer aduiſed in the end to putt the mater to compromiſe, and tooke Edwarde Longeſhankes, ther neighboure kinge, to be equall arbitratour and compoſitour of the mater, thinkinge he wold deale indifferentlie; but he, beinge glade of the occaſion offered, lauboured by all meanes poſſible to make the mater more doubtefull then it was, and to ſeeke the meanes to gratifie him whoſe parte was the ſtronger of the two, he made the mater to be conſulted vpon boith in England and Fraunce, he propounded the mater diwerſlie to the councell, and he was by them diwerſlie adwiſed, ſo that the diwiſion did depend vpon his

good will to fawoure him whome he beſt pleaſed and liked ; and ſeeinge the title of Robert Bruce to [be] too manifeſt and ewident, as hawinge right from the iſſue male, and John Baliol had his clame onlie by the female, he earneſtlie deſired to winne the ſaide Robert to court, by that which he did deſire for preferringe himſelff to the Soweraignitie of that realme, and therfore he addreſſed him ſelff to him, and telleth him that he that wold be kinge muſt aknowledge him for his ſuperiour, and promeſe to holde his ſcepter of him ; and if he wold accept of this condition, he wolde make him kinge, and mantaine his righte againſt all whatſoewer. But Robert Bruce, beinge a man of a curagious and bolde ſpirite, aunſwered deliberatlie, that he wold not, nor could, ſell the right of his natiwe cuntrie, and corrupt the lawes of the croune, and that he could not be a kinge who wold aknowledge anie ſuperioure abowe him, except God alone.

The Engliſhe perceiwinge him ſelff fruſtrat of his attempt on this part, he changeth his courſe, propoſinge the ſame conditions to the other competitour John Baliole, which wer no ſooner propounded, but they wer accepted, and by this meanes was he declared kinge by Edward beſides conſcience, right and all reaſon, and he did homage to him, promeſinge to holde his croune of him as his ſuperiour. Wherupon followed ſharpe and hoate warre betuine the two kingedomes; and Baliole, beinge putt to the worſe, was driwen to forſake his newe kinglie title, he depriwed by the nobilitie of the croune, and Robert Bruce was placed in his owen righte, he beinge the neareſt laufull heir to the late deceaſed kinge Alexander.

So Edwarde, hawinge plaied the falſe, treacherous Judas, mantained the vnlaufull title ſo longe as he liwed, makinge him ſelff by force to be aknowledged for ſuperiour by the moſt of Baliolles freindes and factioun, and ſuch others as feared his tyrannie, and did what he could to bringe to a province, placinge his garriſons and liwetenantes throwe the moſt of the ſhires and regiounes theroff; he tranſported the fatall chaire of marble, the moſt auncient monument of Europe, wherin all the Kinges

before time wer crouned; he tooke awaie all the antiquities, defacinge the knowen notes and ſignes of honoure of that kingedome, not ſparinge the churches and auncient monumentes of the kinges and nobilitie of that kingedome. But this furious tyrannie continowed not longe; for Kinge Robert beinge placed in his righte, chaſed him quicklie out of Scotlande, and ſett the whole realme in the olde libertie of a frie kingedome, ſince which time neither ſhee, nor her aunceſtoures, could ewer enioye ſo much [as] one ſmalle province there one whole yeare together, althought they hawe often attempted the ſame to ther ſhame, beſides the loſſe of manie hundreth thouſande of ther ſubiectes. Wherbye we maie weele perceiwe that Queene Marie could in no reaſon be aſſubiected to Elizabeth, ſeinge all her aunceſtoures wer frie kinges, and ſhee her ſelff a frie ſoweraigne Prince, borne in the onlie heire of her father, Kinge James the fifte, a more renouned woorthie kinge than ewer was of anie her aunceſtoures, or rather predeceſſouris, ſo often conquered and chaunged, yea, altogether diſpoſſeſſed of ther kingedome. Shee was newer woorthie to be compared with this ladie, who, in wertue and guiftes of nature, was not onlie her ſuperiour, but alſo her miſtres in the ſoweragnitie of the kingedome of Englande, if iuſtice and righte might hawe had place. I wold willinglie learne by what lawe could they pretend to aſſubiect this ladie to Elizabethes ſubiectes and eſtates? What forme of proceſſe could thè leade againſt her to putt her to death? The like practiſe was newer harde, except they will ſaie, as the miſcreant Jewes ſaide againſt our Sauiour, We hawe a lawe, and by our lawe ſhee ſhall die. But let us come ſummarlie to the facte, and breiflie repeate it, that we maie ſee if we can finde anie cauſe which maie excuſe Elizabeth, and mollifie the cruell indignitie of the aſſaſſinatioun and murder, ſo barbarouſlie committed vpon the ſacred perſone of ſua woorthie a princeſſe.

Marie, Queene of Scottes, fleinge the tyrannie of her baſe brother,

that, by the meanes of Queene Elizabeth, had taken her roiale ſcepter, (by force of armes, ſupported by her ennemies,) out of her hands, and inwaded, (makinge a ſhewe for the defence of her younge ſonne, then a childe,) the whole realme, poſſeſſinge him ſelff theroff, ſhee is ſo cruellie followed and purſued of him, that ſhee is forced to forſake her croune and natiwe cuntrie, for a praie to this mannes crueltie to leawe it. But ſhee knewe not ſo perfitlie, as ſince ſhee did, of Elizabethes double dealinge. Shee, thinkinge that Elizabeth, her neareſt kinniſwoman, wolde keepe touches with her, as ſhee had promeſed, in her laſt diſtres fleeth for ſuccoure to her, bearinge with her a ſaiffe conduct, and throweth her ſelff in her armes, thinkinge ſhee might be ſaiweſt with her, they beinge ſo neare cuſinges: ſhee hopeth for aide and aſſiſtance from her, to help her in her righte againſt her ennemies, by reaſon of ther conſanguinitie, amitie and league of confederacie, which was confermed betuine them by ambaſſage, priwie and ſecrete letters, and manie other interchangable markes and enſignes ſent reciprocallie from ather to other, and ſpeciall promeſſe by obligatioun of woordes. This to be true, it is manifeſt by the diamonde in forme of a hearte, (wherof Buchannan, his miſtres ſpitefull ennemie, maketh mention in his Epigrammes,) which was often ſent betuine them. But yeet, notwithſtandinge, all this is quicklie forgotten, and albeit ewerie ſuppliant and hoſte be ſent from Juppiter, (as Homer alledgeth,) ſhee no ſooner arriweth in England but ſhee is arreſted, keepte as a preſoner, committed to the handes of her principall ennemies, the beleaged confederates of her owen rebellis, which ar foorthwith bribed, and richlie rewarded to accuſe her of her huſbandes death, beinge weele informed and inſtructed before of all they ſhould ſaie or do in the buſines by Elizabethes councell, with faire promeſes of greate recompence for ther paines. In the end, the accuſars malice beinge diſcowered, for that they had falſlie and calumniouſlie accuſed ther ladie and miſtres of that cruell facte and crime, wheroff them ſelwes wer the authoures, ſhee, notwith-

ſtandinge, was more ſharplie and rigorouſlie handled then before, yea, and thoſe that did ſpeake anie one woorde in her fawour, for the truth againſt her traiterouſe accuſars, wer wexed by all meanes poſſible, howe greate Lordes ſoewer they wer, yea, ewen to the loſſe of ther liwes and goodes. Nowe, Elizabeth and Leiceſters freindes, perceawinge ther intentioune litle ſett fordwarde or furthered by this ther pretence, vnder a vizare and cullour of ſeekinge iuſtice, they intruded them ſelwes to be buſie in the empreſoned Queenes kitchen, by ther agentes bringinge thither falſe counterfoote drogges and wares out of Circes ſhope, to hawe giwen her an Italian figge, or poſſet, as they call it, to hawe ride her out of the waie; which thinge had no goode ſucceſſe by Goddes divine providence. So boith the foirſaide enterpriſe fealinge them, they caſte about an other waie to compaſſe the ſonne, as they had alredie gotten the mother in ther clawes: they did omitt no thinge of that which they could, or wer able to do, to corrupte thoſe which had the childe in ther keepinge, who wer fordwarde enough in this buſines, if ſome malecontentes that fawoured the mother had not hindered ther treacherous deſignes, ſo that the Jovinian infant and golden iſſue of the mother, by the eſpeciall protection of God, eſcaped the handes of the ennemies of his lowinge mother; and this is the occaſion of ther furious and angrie rage, ſeekinge ewer to rewenge themſelwes of her whome they had catched in ther handes, and when they perceiwed that the younge kinge, nowe cominge to the yeares of knowledge and diſcretion, beganne to enquire who they wer that had murdered his father, and defamed his mother ſhameleſſlie of the cruell facte, wheroff they wer the dewiſers and executouris themſelwes, and that, after notice trulie taken by his Maieſtie, learninge that James Douglas, his protectour, was one of the principall, he, puttinge him to the triale of his peeres, was founde guiltie, and accordinglie executed to death for his treaſonable deſignes.

Elizabeth, I ſaie, ſeeinge her righte eie put out, ſhee addreſſes her ſelff

to awenge her ſelff of the captiue Queene; alledgine that ſhee ſhould be the ſollicitour and ſetter fordwarde of this buſines: Howe ſoone ſhee heares of Douglas captiuitie, ſhee ſendes an armie to the frontiers to threaten warre if he wer not ſett frie. But no threates could helpe: he is putt to death, as he iuſtlie deſerwed; which, when ſhee harde of, by the adwiſe of her councell ſhee diſſembleth the mater, partlie becauſe ſhee was in league with the younge kinge, which, to breke, wolde be thought moſt diſhonourable for her, in regarde he was conwict and adiudged to die for treaſon; and partlie, becauſe ſhee hawinge her in her handes whom ſhee thought to be the cauſſer of his death, ſhee mighte, when ſhee wold, awenge her malice vpon her, as in time ſhee did to the full. This purpoſe did like her weele; and ſo they proceede, for the ſpace of ſixe or ſeawen yeares, to laie trappes and ſtretch foorthe ther nettes to catche the innocent ladie. They betake them ſelwes all this while to putt papiſtes to death, ſome iuſtlie, and other ſome moſt innocentlie; and in the end, to make this diſtreſſed ladie the more odious, it is blaſed abroade by ther agentes that the Queene of Scottes had intelligence with them whome ſhee newer did ſpeake with, ſee, or harde of, her ſtraite keepinge was ſuch, that no not her owen ſerwantes could come to her preſence, nor anie other, but when ther agentes or them ſelwes, in whoſe cuſtodie ſhee was. Conſider, I praie you, howe this maie go for current, that this ladie could gett anie to deale for her in ſuch weightie maters as ſhee is charged with, ſhee beinge ſo diligentlie attended that ſhee could do no thinge but by ther goode likinge and ſufferance: howe, I praie you, can theſe two hange together? Yeet, ſhee muſte needes conſpire againſt Elizabeth and the ſtate: ſhee muſt needes hawe intelligence with the catholiques of England in all ther treacherous deſignes: Elizabeth can not be ſecured of her liffe, nor the eſtate preſerwed, ſo longe as this ladie is reſerwed aliwe; and therfore with toothe and naile, all delaie ſett aparte, they addreſſe themſelwes to put her to

death; and for the better bringinge of ther purpoſe about, there is a Parliament called, a lawe of ther owen is made, or rather, as it maie be better called, a particular priwiledge, againſt the Queene of Scottes, is ſuggeſted; it is ratifeed, and approwed as current by Elizabeth, by the ſuggeſtion of her greate nightlie freinde, Leiceſter. This priwiledge and ordinance, onworthie of the name of a lawe, is keepte ſecrete, without anie ſpeach of it for the ſpace of a whole yeare after it was made.

Then her freinde Leiceſter, (if ſo I maie name him, without offence done to Sir Chriſtophere Chattam, her houſkeeper, who after became as greate a freinde to her as he,) is ſent for to come home; for without him could ſhee do no thinge, neither durſte her eſtates be bolde to attempte anie thinge without his adwiſe, he was ſo cunninge and weele beſeene in poiſoninge: who, after he had managed his miſtres afaires to her and his owen ſhame, in the Lowe Countries, tranſported with rage and furie, returneth to his miſtres: he complaineth of his harde fortune, and alleageth to her that the Queene of Scottes was the cauſſe of the manifolde loſſes he had abroade in his warres, when as rather his feble, cowardiſhe ſpirite, that could not abide to ſtande before the face of the ennemie in oppen feelde in batle, was the ſole emergent cauſe of all his miſfortunes in warre, as his ſoioures can weele witnes: but the Earle of Darbie ſaide flatlie, he ſuffered him ſelff for feare to be bribed of the ennemie, and his ſoioures throates to be cutte. Then they beganne to awenge Leiceſters quarrell on her, amongeſt the reſt of ther forged, pretended accuſatiouns, which they had dewiſed to accuſe this poore, diſtreſſed ladie of; and thus they proceede, as afore hand they laide ther treacherous plottes, beginninge by the meanes of one Fournam and Thomas Philippes, the ſerwantes and agentes of Walſingham, Elizabethes ſecretarie: they deale, and, by faire promeſes and bribes, bringe the mater ſo to paſſe, that they corrupt one Gilbert Gifforde, one of the Engliſh ſeminarie in Rhemes in Fraunce, to finde out and practiſe, as he

had alredie been inſtructed, ſome crime againſt this ladie in captiuitie, that they might giwe ſome cullour to ther abominable intended deſignes. This leude willane addreſſeth him ſelff amongeſt others to one Mr Paget and Morgan, penſioners to this ladie in Fraunce, and ſo farre foorth prewaileth he with them, that he draweth letters from boith directed to ſome of the Popiſhe factioun in England, entreatinge them to make ſome meanes for the deliwerie of the Queene empreſoned: and they procure ſome other wretes for this purpoſe, (as ſome alledge,) from the Queenes Secretaries, yea, as others ſaie, from her ſelff; but this moſt falſe laſt aſſertion could newer by anie meanes be prowed.

Nowe you maie perceiwe the deſire of Elizabeth and her councell broughte about as they wiſhed. The letters and ther aunſwers ar giwen in Walſinghames handes, who was the cheiffe and principall agent in this buſines: Howe thoſe to whome the letters wer wretin wer apprehended, and the goode Queenes perſon and her ſerwantes all ſeaſen vpon; and howe her papers, goolde, jewelles, ringes, and other furniture, wer taken from her, we hawe heirtofore ſhowen you. Thus they proceede forder, after they hawe led her longe about from place to place, with all indignitie and rewilinge ſpeeches againſt her, without anie forder proceſſe ordourlie led, they bringe her before them, they charge her with ther foire conceiwed accuſatiounes which ſhee newer dreamed of. Shee denieth all, but in ſpeciall, that odious crime they impoſed againſt her, that ſhee had attempted and conſpired againſt the perſon of her cuſinge: ther ſhee called God and Angelles to witnes, that that was a moſt odious ſlaunder, and that ſhee newer plotted or imagined anie ſuch thinge, nor done anie other exploite, or giwen her adwiſe to her preiudice; ſhee ſaide ſhee did onlie that which God and nature did permitte her to do, which was to deliwer her ſelff, if ſhee could, of longe miſerie of a tyrannicall empreſonment.

The Secretaries ar examined ſecretlie, and outragiouſlie threatned to

ſpeake ſome thinge to the diſawantage of ther miſtres. Ther depoſitiounes wer newer ſhowen openlie, wherbye it appeareth they newer charged her with anie thinge; they wer newer broughte to her preſence, nor anie other witnes to her preiudice, yeet for all this, the deputie Commiſſioners from Elizabeth proceede to execute ther befoire concealed deſignes; althought ther conſciences tolde them, that theſe pretended, alledged accuſatiouns and crimes was forged and inwented to ther pleaſure, and at ther commaunde and warrant therto. And albeit they had beene true, yeet God had newer apointed them to be iudges of a Soweraigne princes, a Queene borne to one kingdome, the daughter and heire of a renouned and anointed kinge, and ſhee her ſelff by mariage the Queene of ane other realme more auncient both and more honourable then ewer Elizabeth, or anie her aunceſtoures or predeceſſoures wer, as is weele knowen to all princes throughout the whole Chriſtianitie. Shee newer wold aknoweledge them her lawefull iudges, nor Elizabeth, ther miſtres, her ſuperiour in anie thinge, as is prowed alredie in the allegatiounes and reaſons ſett doune alredie. Yeet her aunſwers ar enrolled, without anie forder ſolemnitie, the curſed conſpiratoures againſt the Lordes anointed, ſent foorthe from cruell Jezabell, giwe ſentence ſo falſe in werie deede, that beinge eſhamed of it, they wold newer ſuffer it to be publiſhed in particular, as is weele knowen. The crimes wheroff they accuſed this ladie, and the enſuinge cruell ſentence, is declared to be true by proclamatioun; ſhee ſtandeth conwict, attainted; they, in ther pretended maner, degrade her of all nobilitie, honour and renoune: ſhee is foirfeeted of the croune of England, and dominiouns theroff, for her and hers for ewer: Heire is ther honourable proceedinge that they bragge of. Ther newer anie witnes uſed in the mater. There is onlie one woorde ſpoken by the ladie accuſed, which was this, that ſhee ſoughte onlie her libertie from longeſome empreſonment, tyrannicallie uſed againſt her, which God and nature gaiwe her leiwe to do.

This is all that they can alledge againſt her, and yeet it concerneth no thinge the facte in queſtion; for all this they exclame againſt her, as the Jewes did againſt our Sawiour, You hawe harde his blaſphemie, what needeth anie witneſſes? Such a ſummarie proceedinge againſt a Soweraigne Queene was newer harde nor rede of, nor ſuch a ſhewe and forme of iuſtice hath newer beene practized, no, not againſt the moſt abiect, damnable criminall perſon in the world; for albeit the preſoner had confeſſed the crime urged againſt her, and awouched it with her owen mouth, yeet the lawe doeth not permitt to ſitte therupon in iudgment of condemnatioun, if the confeſſion of the accuſed criminall be not awerred, and leane vpon other notices, and be confermed by the ſayinges and depoſitiouns of witneſſes. The longeſome rigour of preſon, diſguſte, and litle regarde to liwe anie longer, and diſdaine of the preſent condition, maie force a perſon owerweeried to deſire death at the handes of ther ennemie, to finiſhe ther former trubles and aduerſe miſfortunes. Death is not terrible to all: Manie do haſten ther owen death, by giwinge evidence againſt them ſelwes, to ſee an end of ther former miſeries; manie wiſhe it, aſpiringe to a more happie liffe. All the auncient and late lawers, yea, reaſon it ſelff, do forbidde and prohibite to put anie perſon to death vpon a ſimple confeſſion of anie perſon; yeet beholde the honourable proceedinge of Elizabeth and her eſtates againſt her cuſinge preſoner: Jezabell and her damnable crewe of cruell murderars, all deedlie ennemies to this princes, be, in ſteade of accuſars, witneſſes and judges condemninge her to death, which ſhee longe had looked for and expected; to giwe, I ſaie, out the ſentence of death againſt her, awerred onlie by her ſimple confeſſion, not of the crime they accuſe her of, but of a thinge which God and the lawe of nature permitted her to do, which was this, that ſhee minded to ſeeke her owen libertie, and ſett her ſelff frie of the barbarous tyrannie of her longeſome empreſonment.

If ſhee had confeſſed that, to ſett her ſelff at libertie, ſhee had conſpired againſt Elizabethes liffe, or attempted anie mater preiudiciall to her eſtate, they had had ſome apparence of reaſon for ther proceedinges ſo ſummarlie. But ſhee hath ewer ſworne vpon her honour and conſcience the contrarie, yea, at werie point of death, yeeldinge her ſoule in the handes of her Sauioure, ſhee proteſted thus vpon her ſalvatioun, ſhee onlie ſought libertie, but not to ſhedde anie bloode for the attaininge therof. But yeet to giwe cullour to ther proceedinges, that they had werie honourablie dealte in this mater, they ſigne the cruell ſentence with ther handes, they ſend it to the Chriſtian kinge of Fraunce, to excuſe them and ther miſtres; they wrete vnto him thus, That the Queene of Scottes was ſo contrarie to her in all her actiouns, that ther liwes could not be compatible and ſubſiſt together, and that it was neceſſarie for one of them ſhould be aſſured of liffe and eſtate by the death of the other. It is woorthe the notinge to ſhowe the falſnes of the pretended accuſatiounes, that they alledge they could finde no other meanes to ſaiwe Elizabeth aliwe, but by the death of the neareſt kinniſwoman ſhee had in the world. Fie, ſhameles mouthes, ſpeake plainlie the truth! Had you not longe before premeditated and ſuborned, yea dewiſed a plotte to trape this ladie in? Your conſciences and your God knoweth you did it, and that you longe before imagined amongeſt your ſelwes to putt her to death, accuſinge her, and pronuncinge your ſentence ſo cruellie againſt her, moſt iniuſtlie condemninge her of theſe thinges which ſhee newer dreamed of. But ther is a righteous iudge who did beholde and ſie all your doinges, and her innocencie.

It is weele knowen to manie thouſandes in Fraunce, that manie of your faworites and factioune there had the copie of your cruell, dewiliſhe ſentence againſt the Queene of Scottes, not onlie before it was pronunced, but alſo before the Commiſſionars had taken anie notice of the cauſe, and before you beganne to proceede. The Chriſtian kinge, by

this meanes, came to knowe in what danger his ſiſter was like to be brought; and therfore, in all haſte, did diſpatche Mounſieur de Belliure, Councellour of Eſtate, towardes Elizabeth, to ſhowe her the noweltie and inſolence of this iudgement, and the iuſte occaſion he had to take notice theroff, if ſhee ſhould proceede in the execution theroff. The ennemies of the Queene of Scottes, to hinder the Lord of Belliure to hawe acceſſe to ther miſtres, made a falſe brute abroade, that he had broughte the plague from Paris, and that ſome of his followers were deade theroff by the waie, and ſome wer ſicke of it. When he demaunded ludginge at London fitte for ſuch a ambaſſadour as he was, it was denied him, ſo that he was conſtrained to take ſuch eaſe as he could hawe, to his greate coaſte and charges in an inne. The daie of his audience apointed, it was put to a newe daie, and then he was but halfe harde, and rudlie interrupted almoſt ewerie woorde he did ſpeake. The nexte time he came to hawe audience, Elizabeth ſett her ſelff doune to the cardes, as diſdaininge to heare him, when he propounded the reſt of the mater he came for; all the aunſwere ſhee made, beinge importuned of him, that within foure daies he ſhould heare and ſee forder. In this delaie, in ſpite of the Chriſtian kinges ambaſſadour, ſhee cauſſed to be publiſhed through the citie of Londone with ſounde of trumpett, and fixed vpon the poſtes in the ſtreetes and markett places of the citie, the cruell ſentence and iudgement, after ſhee had ſent it to be propounded to the Queene preſoner by my Lord of Buchurſt, whoſe grandfather did foirrune his cuntrie, leawinge Wales for ſtealinge of horſe, who him ſelff alſo beinge Heigh Treaſurer of England, hawinge ſtollen, by forgerie, a lordſhipe of lande oniuſtlie from a weele meaninge knighte, whome he conwented before the councell to iuſtifie his falſhoode and indirected proceedinge. The knighte deſiringe God to ſhowe the righte, Buchurſt aunſwered him, with an proteſtatioun to the councell, that he wold make it be ſeene howe he iuſtlie had that lordſhipe;

and whilles he is ſpeakinge theſe woordes, and pullinge out ſome writtes out of his pokett, he gaiwe vp the ghoſte. So honourable and iuſte wer his actiounes, as his fearfull end did declare.

By Buchurſt and Mr Beale, notarie apointed for the forminge of the proceſſe againſt the Queene, I ſaie, was it not food to her, which, while it was ſignified vnto her Maieſtie by woorde of mouth, and by pronuncinge by wrete in readinge it in her eares, ſhee newer mowed at it, nor chaunged her countenance; but beinge all red and ended, ſhee ſaide ſweetlie, ſhee thanked God for the honour he had apointed for her, to ſuffer for his name, and not for anie offence thought or committed by her againſt her cuſinge: God forgiwe her and them all, as I do with all my hearte.

The ſentence beinge notifeed to the Queene, is broughte backe to London, and, in ſigne of ioye, the belles be runge 24 houres, all the greate ordinance in the Toure is ſhotte, bonefires be made throughout the citie, and finallie, no thinge is lefte vndone to ſhowe ther ioye: but ſince all this ioye hath beene turned into heawines, and Elizabeth, at her owen death, had no ſuch quiett departure in the peace of conſcience, nor anie that was intereſted in the ſheddinge of this innocent bloode, as this goode ladie had. God forgiwe them all, and laie it not to ther charge.

But to returne to the mater in hande. As the French ambaſſadour had no goode aunſwere to his contentment in the buſines he came for, ewen ſo the ambaſſadour of the younge Kinge of Scottes, this ladies ſone, that made earneſt ſute for the ſaiftie of his mothers liffe, was no better delte with, but with brawadoes anewe boith wer faced out, and in the end they had this aunſwere, ſhee gaiwe them leawe to go, and that ſhee wold go about to diſpatche ſome of hers, within fixe or eighte weekes after, to ther maiſters, to make them aunſwere in that they came for.

This beinge done, they proceede to the execution of the cruell ſentence in forme before alledged, which I feare againe to reporte in regarde of the willanies in this ladies perſon, they hawe offered to all Soweraigne

kinges, princes and potentates, vnder the cope of heawen; for the outragious dealinges hath been uſed againſt her, boith before and after her death, wer ſo monſtrousand inhumane, that the uglie monſter that commaunded them to excuſe her ſelff of them, is conſtrained to flie to that commune and miſerable defence, that they proceeded without her priwitie, and againſt her meaning; and to giwe ſhewe to her ſpeech, to make it ſeeme to hawe truth when it hath none, ſhee hath cauſſed Secretarie Dauidſon to be committed to the Toure of London, where ſhee cauſſed him be better entertained, and liweth more at his owen eaſe, then if he wer at his owen houſe. If he did it beſides her knoweledge, which ſhee alledged, that is, gaiwe out the warrant for the execution of this ladie, whie is he not putt to death? and whie did ſhee ſett her hand to it, and committ to him to keepe? But all this is but iuglerie to dazell mennes eyes. Whie did ſhee not addreſſe her ſelff to her freindes Leiceſter, Cecile, and others that commaunded it, and not to ther ſlaiwe who could not do withall, nor durſte not diſobeie them, nor do anie thinge in this mater, beinge of greate conſequence, againſt her and ther goode likinge, had ſhee not ſigned it with her owen hand that which brought this ladie to her graiwe? Shee could do no more, onles ſhee wold hawe put her hand to execute her her ſelff, and be her burrive, which ſhee wold with all her hearte hawe done 20 yeares ago, if ſhee could hawe had the occaſion offered her: nowe ſhee findeth a fitter oportunitie, when ſhee ſeeth all Chriſtian princes compaſſed in ther afaires by plottes, ſubtilities and treaſouns ſturred vp [by] her againſt them, that none could take notice of her dewiliſhe tyrannie. Shee perceiwed weele, that the kinge of Spaine was ſo entangled in his warres of Flaunders and her theiwiſhe pyrates, that he could not hawe leaſure to awenge him ſelff of her: and ſhee treacherouſlie had ſturred vp a ſtronge armie of Reeſters to enter Fraunce to truble all there: and for this ladies ſonne, then beinge younge, ſhee by her bribes had corrupted

one of his ambaſſadouris, that before he came from Berwicke, he beinge a falſe hearted papiſte, betraide his maiſters legacie, ſendinge woorde by poſt to this Jeſabell to diſpatch his miſtres before he came, by this emprice and note, *Mortui non mordent*, the deade bite not. And the true hearted ambaſſadour that lauboured with tuith and naile for his leige lord his maiſters mothers liffe, ſhee brawed him and rewiled him with all her maine and ſpitte, ſo that the dewile him ſelff, Machiwell, nor no other Atheiſt, can be able to practize anie thinge which ſhee hath not lefte vndone for the diſquetinge of the æcumenike Chriſtian world.

Ther is one thinge which I can not omitt, which was dewiſed to culloure her crueltie to hawe a ſhewe of iuſte wengeance, and to perſuade the world, was certanlie reſolwed and concluded, if the conſpiratouris had taken place: Shee ſturred vp one Mr Stafforde, brother to her Ambaſſadour in Fraunce, to encounter Monſieur Ambaſſadour Chaſtieu for the French kinge, (as ſhee pleaſeth to tearme him,) and ſhee became ſo impudent that ſhee wold hawe confronted him to her, and giwen him Cecile and Walſinghame to be his iudges. Shee made alſo ſome to followe after Monſieur de Trapes, and bringe him backe preſoner to London, takinge from him his letter which he caried for the kinge his maiſter; but findinge not one woorde in them which mighte make anie ſhowe to the alledged conſpiracie, ſhee riddes her handes of him and diſmiſſes him.

It was a commendable cuſtome amongeſt the auncientes, that they wold firſt diſcharge ther gueſtes and freindes of ther companie, to giwe them notice that they did beare them no goode will, that if, perhappes, they ſhould ſtand in neede to ſaie vnto them, they wolde not giwe them anie entertainement, nor ludginge, or anie other encouragement to exſpect anie goode at ther handes; and ſo ſhould Elizabeth hawe done to her cuſinge. Shee ſhould diſcharged her when ſhee ſend her woorde that ſhee was to come within her kingdome: ſhee ſhould hawe ſent her backe againe the woued gages and pledges of the mutuall amitie

and freindſhipe promeſed: ſhee ſhould hawe ſend her woorde, before ſhee came in her cuntrie, that ſhee had a confederatioun with this ladies mortall ennemies and rebellis, and that ſhee preferred her league ſhee had with them before hers. But no ſuch mater tooke ſhee ewer in hand; for her purpoſe was ewer by cunninge to allure and entiſe this Queene, by faire promeſes in a ſhewe of amitie, to come to her, where ſhee mighte be ſure with her ſelff; or if this did not ſatiſfie her, ſhee wolde accompanie her, in her owen perſon, as farr foorthe as the frontiers of ther two kingedomes, and by force of armes ſett her in frie and peaceable poſſeſſion of her former authoritie. But howe weele this was performed, lett the world iudge: in ſteade all theſe her faire conditiouns, after ſhee came within her pawes, as a ſuppliant ſeekinge the promeſed woued ſuccoure, ſhee is ewerie waieabuſed, deſpiſed, reproched, and trappes laide for her liffe by poiſon, the ſworde, and all other meanes poſſible, till ſhee is brought to her utter ruine.

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