



# Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

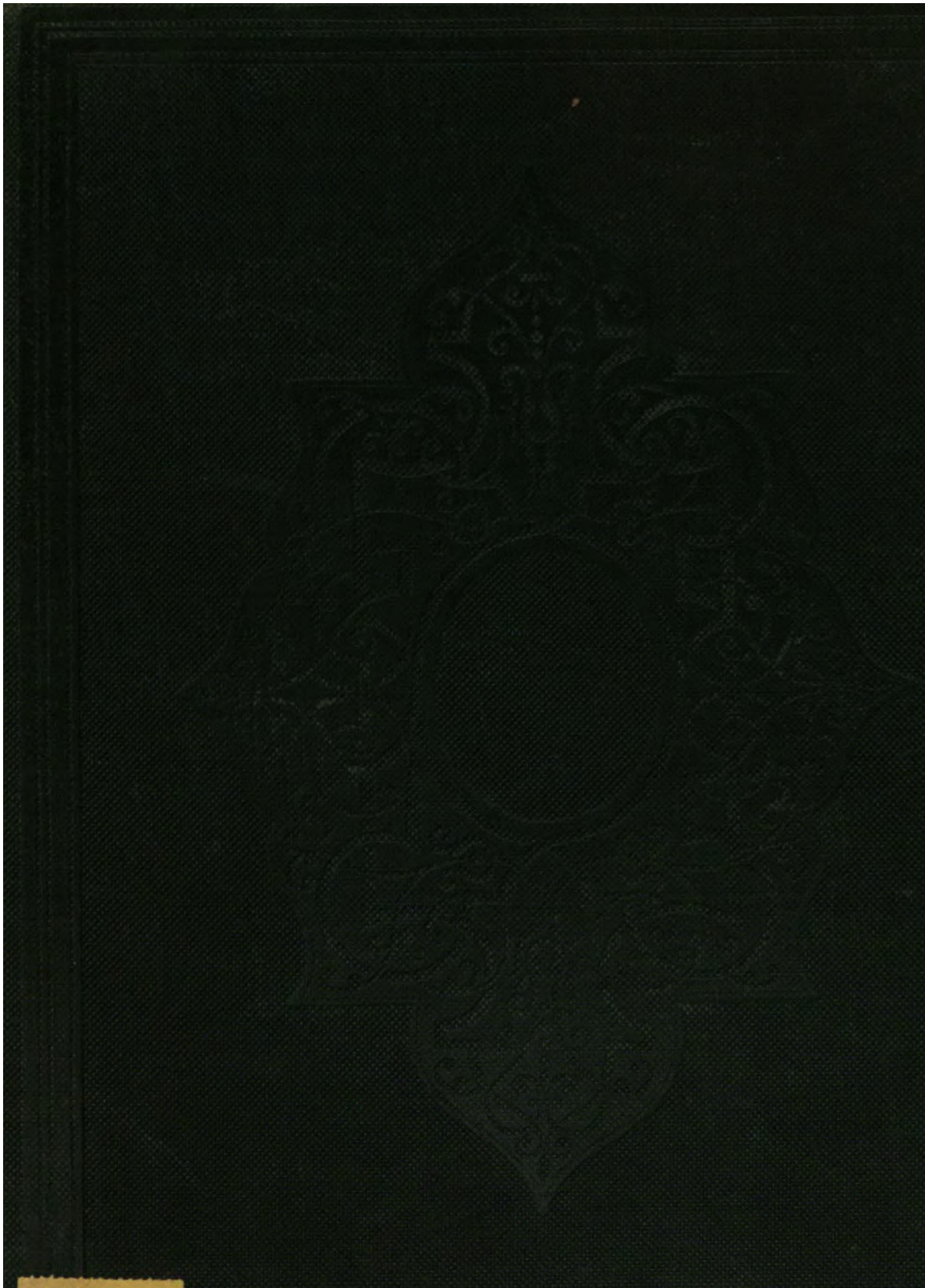
This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.



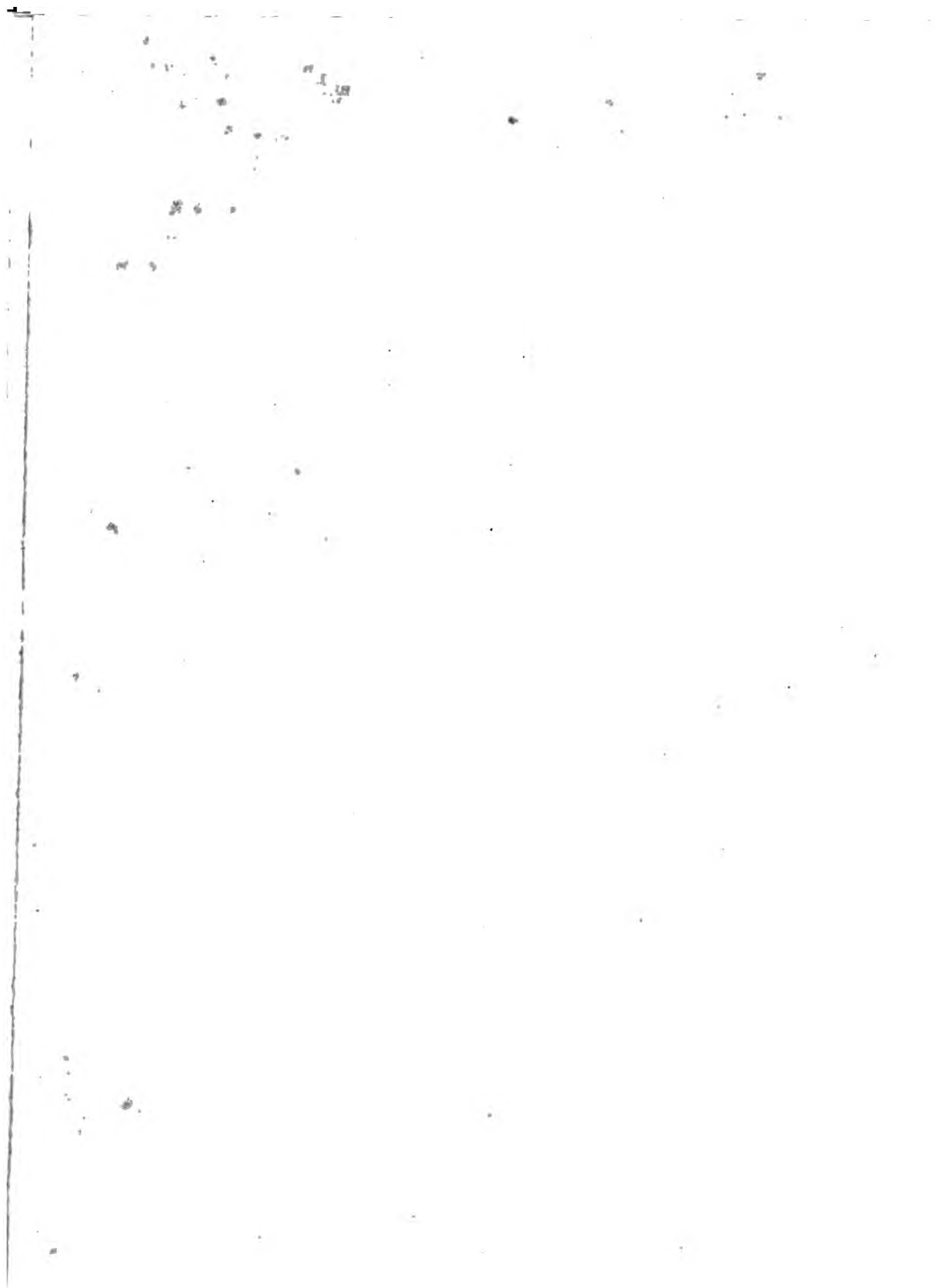
2233 a 54

4.2.112

= K. 6.1 / 73







# The Standard



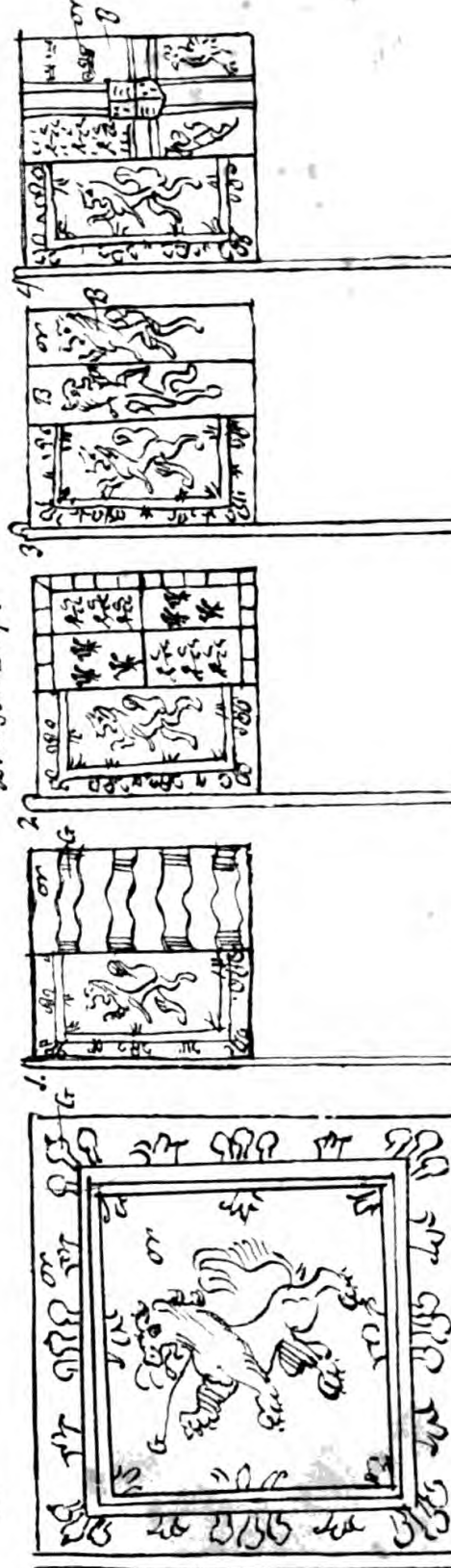
4. King James 3.  
and Denmark

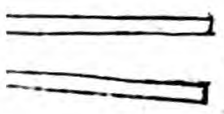
3. Guilders

2. King James  
the First  
Bau fort Imp.

1. King Robert  
and Drummond

The great Banner



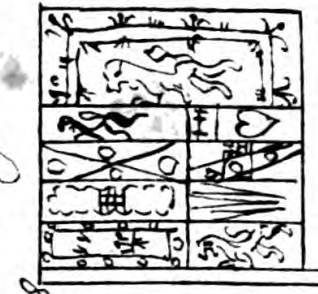
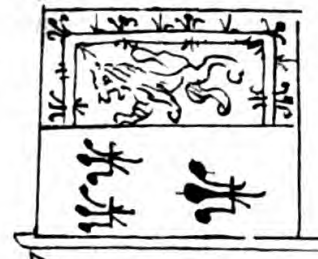
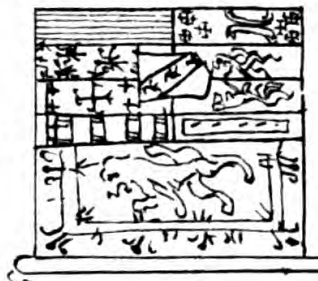
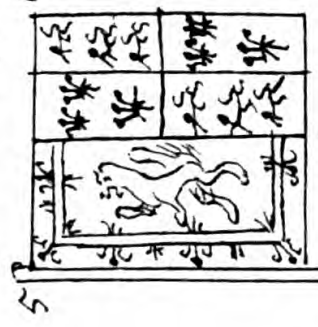
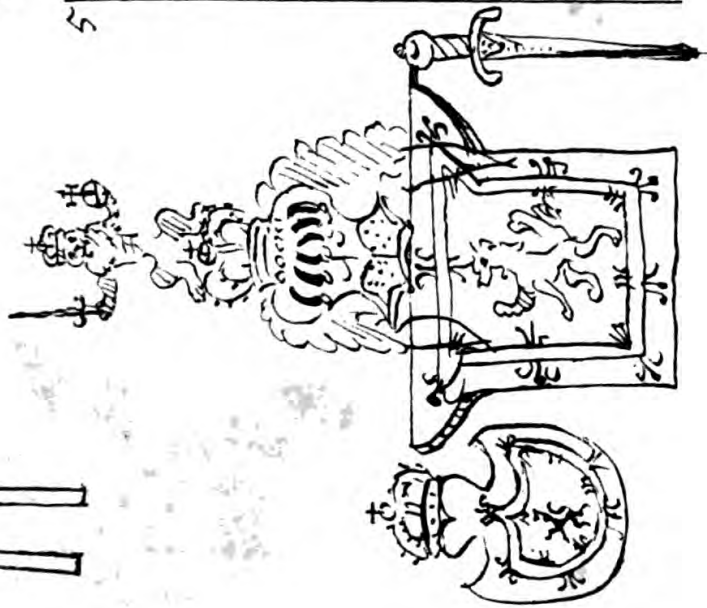


5 R. Jam. 4<sup>th</sup> and  
 da. of H. 7. of Engd

6 R. Jam. 5. 1  
 and Guy. 1. 1

8. of Jam. 13  
 7<sup>th</sup> and  
 Mary 2. of  
 Scotland.

8 H. 7. Lord Darnley  
 and Mary 2. Scotts.



The Standard, Great Banner, Helm and Crest Coat  
 of Arms, sword and Targe, and Banner Roll, at the  
 Funerall of Mary Queen of Scotts.





93

ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS  
RELATING TO  
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

EDITED BY  
ALLAN J. CROSBY, ESQ.,  
AND  
JOHN BRUCE, ESQ.



PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXVII.

WESTMINSTER:  
PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS,  
25. PARLIAMENT STREET.

[NO. XCIII.]

# COUNCIL OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1866-67.

---

*President,*

WILLIAM TITE, ESQ. M.P., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.  
ARTHUR ASHPITEL, ESQ. F.S.A.  
WILLIAM HENRY BLAAUW, ESQ. M.A., F.S.A.  
JOHN BRUCE, ESQ. F.S.A. *Director.*  
WILLIAM CHAPPELL, ESQ. F.S.A. *Treasurer.*  
WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, ESQ. F.S.A.  
JAMES CROSBY, ESQ. F.S.A.  
EDWARD FOSS, ESQ. F.S.A.  
SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, ESQ.  
THE REV. LAMBERT B. LARKING, M.A.  
JOHN MACLEAN, ESQ. F.S.A.  
FREDERIC OUVRY, ESQ. *Treas.S.A.*  
EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ. M.A., F.S.A.  
WILLIAM JOHN THOMS, ESQ. F.S.A. *Secretary.*  
HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR SYLVAIN VAN DE WEYER.  
SIR THOMAS E. WINNINGTON, BART. M.P.

The COUNCIL of the CAMDEN SOCIETY desire it to be understood that they are not answerable for any opinions or observations that may appear in the Society's publications; the Editors of the several Works being alone responsible for the same.

## PREFACE.

---

THE present volume consists of two distinct parts, united by a community of relation to the history and fate of Mary Queen of Scots, but derived from different sources, and seen through the press by different editors.

The first part of the volume consists of papers relating to the expenses of Queen Mary's maintenance in England, and to her funeral. These have been edited by Allan J. Crosby, esq. The remainder of the volume contains a Justification of Queen Elizabeth in relation to her treatment of Queen Mary. This has been edited by John Bruce, esq.

These gentlemen will introduce their several portions of the volume by such remarks as they may think necessary by way of preface.

---

### I.

Such of the following documents as relate to the expenses incurred in the maintenance of Mary Queen of Scots during the last two years of her captivity, and those connected with her funeral, are taken from the State papers preserved in the Public Record Office. They form part of an extremely interesting series,

entitled the "Wardrobe Miscellaneous Accounts," which consist of several large rolls of parchment stitched together, and, besides the accounts now published, contain also the charges for the obsequies of Charles IX. of France and Ferdinand II. of Germany, the funerals of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Henry, and the coronations and funerals of James I. and Anne of Denmark, his Queen. The narrative of Mary's funeral, which is now also published, is taken from a collection of papers more especially relating to her history, and is apparently a copy of a document compiled by William Dethicke, Garter King of Arms. The account of the expenses for the funeral feast is derived from the same source.

The charges for her diets commence on March 1, 1585, about which time Sir Amias Poulet was appointed to succeed Sir Ralph Sadler in taking charge of the custody of the Scottish Queen. They extend over the space of two years five months and eighteen days, and amount to the sum of 9,139*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

She was then at Tutbury, whither she had been removed for greater security from Wingfield Manor, in Derbyshire, on the 13th of January preceding. The Castle of Tutbury was so meanly furnished that Mary complained upon the subject to Elizabeth, who thereupon wrote to Sir Ralph Sadler, expressing her anger at the neglect. This letter was, however, accompanied by another from Sir Francis Walsingham, informing him that the Queen's letter was only written *pro formâ* to satisfy the Queen of Scots, and that Her Majesty had no fault to find with him.

Sir Ralph Sadler, whose moderate indulgence to the Queen had called down upon him the reproof of his mistress, finally gave up his charge to Poulet on the 19th of April, 1585; who, eight days afterwards, answers complaints of undue rigour towards the Queen

of Scots, and of removing her cloth of estate, by saying that Mr. Somers had told him that there was no good to be done with these people but by dealing roundly with them. He seems to have been so firmly convinced of the propriety of this mode of treatment, that scarcely a month passed without some complaint of his harshness.

The appointment of Sir Amias as her keeper gave great anxiety to Mary and her friends, on account of his well-known severity and strong Puritanical tendencies, coupled with the ill-will which he had shown against her during his embassy in France.

After the discovery of Babington's conspiracy in August 1586, this severity increased, and did not lack incentives from Queen Elizabeth, who in that month wrote to Sir Amias thanking him "for his most troublesome charge so well discharged," and bidding him "let the wicked murderess know how her vile deserts compel these orders."\* Walsingham also wrote to him, allowing his purpose of removing the Scottish Queen to Chartley, and directing that she should be treated as a prisoner. These instructions were carried out so strictly, that her guards had orders to shoot her if she should attempt to escape, or if there was any probability of her rescue.

Sir Amias most fully justified Mary's apprehension on his appointment. In his conduct towards her, he appears to have been actuated by a personal dislike, which scarcely ceased with her death, as on the 8th February, the day of her execution, he, in conjunction with Sir Drue Drury, writes, praising the conduct of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and hoping that God would make them all thankful for his late singular favours.

One curious proof of Sir Amias's harshness occurred shortly before leaving Chartley in August 1586, when the Queen, having

\* Queen Mary of Scots, R. O. vol. xix. Nos. 55, 56.



desired that an infant of Mr. Gilbert Curll, one of her servants, might be baptised and bear her name, he sternly refused; whereupon she baptised the child herself.\*

The charges for the diets of the Scottish Queen were presented by Anthony Poulett, son of Sir Amias Poulett, in 1589, subsequent to the decease of his father, which took place on September 26, 1588, and consist of a debtor and creditor account of all receipts and disbursements from March 1, 1585, to August 4, 1589. The debtor account consists of payments out of the Exchequer to the use of the Queen, amounting to 7,298*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*; the profits arising out of lands at Burton-on-Trent and certain iron works belonging to Thomas Lord Paget, then attainted, amounting to 2,289*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* together with the money received by Sir Amias for the sale of certain provisions and necessaries: the whole amounting to the sum of 9,669*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* [9,769*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*]

The creditor account amounting to 9,139*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* comprised the entire charge for the maintenance of the Scottish Queen's household during the aforesaid time of two years five months and eighteen days, and is divided under the following heads:—

1. The Pantry and Buttery; containing all payments for wheat of various sorts, averaging 48*s.* 1½*d.*, 21*s.* 11*d.*, and 20*s.* 10*d.* the quarter; manchets, viz. 1,424 dozen at 6*d.* per dozen, and 1,343 dozen at 8*d.* per dozen; cheate bread, 3,348 dozen at 10*d.* per dozen, 3507 and a half dozen at 12*d.* per dozen; malt; beer, 353 tuns 2 hogsheads and 1 tierce at 39*s.* 11½*d.* the tun; Gascoigne wine 28 tons 3 hogsheads 2 tierces at 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the tun; sack; ale; hops; casks, &c. with repairs incidental to the said offices.

2. The Acatry; containing the payments for 158 carcasses and

\* Mary Queen of Scots. R. O., vol. xix. No. 62.

3 quarters of beef at the average price of *4l. 8s. 2d.* the carcass; sheep, 1,441 at *6s. 8d.* each; veal; lambs; bacon; pigs, 712 at *13½d.* each; and poultry.

3. The Kitchen; containing the payments for different sorts of fish; butter, and eggs. Salt salmon cost *4l. 4s.* the barrel, or from *1s. to 2s. 6d.* the fish. No less a sum than *91l. 7s. 7d.* is paid for pikes, and *48l. 13s. 4d.* for barbel. 17,862 pounds of butter were purchased at from *2d. to 4d.* the pound. No less than 73,250 eggs were provided at from *1s. 8d. to 2s. 4d.* the hundred.

4. The Larder; containing the payments for salt, salad oil, vinegar, &c.

5. The Spicery; containing the payments for spices, prunes, raisins, torches, and wax lights, 1,119 pounds at *14½d.* the pound.

6. The Woodyard; for wood, coals, and rushes.

7. The Stable.

8. The carriage of furniture and provisions.

9. Wages of artificers and others, amongst which are two laundresses, paid respectively at the high rates of *6s.* and *10s.* per week.

10. Wages of officers and ministers of the household.

11. Wages and conduct money for soldiers, amounting to 30 men, raised to 45 on December 6, 1586. The garrison appears to have been changed once, but the officers no less than five times. The captain was paid *4s.* per day; and the men *8d.* or with rations *4d.* per day.

12. Posts.

13. Extraordinary expenses; soap, repairs, &c. *20l. 6s. 4d.* was given in reward to the servants of different noblemen and gentlemen who brought presents of venison and other viands from their masters.

The charges for the Funeral consist of the account of John Fortescue, the keeper of the Queen's Great Wardrobe; and comprise disbursements for cloth, silk, liveries for 540 mourners, the pall and hangings, and for carriages and riding charges for officers and others.

The black cloth for liveries for the mourners, amounting to 1,599 yards and costing 955*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*, was distributed amongst the 540 mourners according to their degrees, the Earls of Rutland and Lincoln receiving ten yards each; the Countess of Bedford who was chief mourner sixteen, and those of Rutland and Lincoln twelve yards each; the bishops and barons and their wives received eight yards a-piece; knights and their ladies six; esquires five; gentlemen three and a half; and yeomen one and a half.

Amongst the items there is a charge of 115*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* for head-dresses of different sorts for the female mourners. Those for the three countesses cost 4*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* a piece, and are termed Paris heads. There is likewise a charge for six large "bongraces" at 62*s.* each (Cotgrave defines these latter as "the uppermost flap of the down-hanging tail of a French hood, whence, belike, our Boongrace, also a muff or snufkin). Under this charge are also included whiteheads for the gentlewomen, a large attire of lawn with a barb for a Scottish gentlewoman, and five head attires for gentlemen. One hundred and twenty poor women had one ell of Holland a-piece allowed to them for kerchers to serve as head-dresses, together with one shilling as doole or alms money.

The duties paid to the Dean of Peterborough amounted to 40*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*; out of which the grave cost 10*l.*; the carriage of the corpse to the grave 20*s.*; perfumes 2*s.* 6*d.*; and 20*l.* was paid to him in consideration of the black baize that hung in the church, and 66*s.* 8*d.* for ringing the bells.

To this account is appended that of William Dethicke, Garter King of Arms, for the hearse and other causes of heraldry used at the funeral, amounting to 406*l*.

The hearse consisted of a frame of timber, twenty feet square and twenty-seven feet in height, covered over with black velvet, and richly set with escutcheons of the Queen's arms, and gold fringe, which was erected in the quire of Peterborough Cathedral, and surrounded with double rails covered with black cloth, the inner rails being lined with baize.

Within this hearse the "corps," or representation of Mary, was placed during the funeral ceremony. This account also contains a full description of the great banner of honour, the coat of arms, helmet, sword, &c., which are represented in the fac-simile as a frontispiece to the present volume. They are copied from a drawing taken from Dethicke's account of the funeral. In arranging the plate the articles represented have been obliged to be placed rather closer to each other than they stand in the original, but in size and all other respects they are exact representations of the original drawings.

The funeral took place in Peterborough Cathedral on the 1st of August, 1587, the Queen's body having been removed on the preceding night from Fotheringhay Castle and deposited in the quire in a vault on the south side, opposite to the tomb of Katharine of Aragon, the first wife of Henry VIII. It was not deemed expedient, on account of the great weight of the coffin and the heat of the weather (an accident having already happened at Fotheringhay from the latter circumstance), that the body should be removed during the ceremony, and therefore its place was taken by an effigy of Mary, which was borne in procession under a canopy

of black velvet, was laid in the hearse, and covered with a pall of black velvet, upon which, on a purple velvet cushion fringed with gold, was placed a crown.

After all the mourners were arranged in their places according to rank, a sermon was delivered by the Bishop of Lincoln, and certain anthems were sung; after which the Countess of Bedford, as chief mourner for the Queen of England, made the offering, which consisted of the coat, sword, targe, and helmet, together with the standard and great banner. They were received by the Bishop of Peterborough and Garter King of Arms, and after the close of the ceremony were hung up in the cathedral. This being accomplished, the Dean of Peterborough proceeded to the vault where the body was laid, and read the funeral service, after which all the officers broke their staves and threw the pieces into the vault.

The ceremony being thus completed, they all returned to the Bishop's palace to the funeral feast.

From these accounts it will be seen that, whatever charges may be brought against Queen Elizabeth in respect of her treatment of her unfortunate cousin, that of illiberality—at least during the latter period of her captivity—cannot be sustained. There was evidently a considerable train of household officers kept up, their entertainment was ample, and the whole establishment was probably better than any which Mary had had since leaving France.

The funeral was decently and solemnly conducted, though of course it could not compare in pomp with that of her rival, upon which no less a sum than 17,647*l.* 7*s.* 11½*d.* was expended.

The account of the funeral here published is somewhat scanty in detail. They who are anxious to learn what were the full cere-

monies performed at the burial of a Royal Princess may find in the Appendix to the Rev. Joseph Stevenson's second volume of "Calendars of the Elizabethan State Papers," an extremely interesting description of the burial of Queen Mary of England, the charges for whose interment in Westminster Abbey amounted to 7,662*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*

In conclusion, the following short account from Stowe's "Chronicle of the Removal of the Remains of Mary from Peterborough Cathedral to their Final Resting-Place" may not be considered inappropriate:—

"1612. At this time the corps of Queene Mary, late Queene of Scotland, was translated from Peterborough unto Saint Peter's Church in Westminster, beeing thither attended by the Lord Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. And upon Thursday, the eight of October, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancelor, the Lord Privy Seale, and the Earle of Worcester, and other noblemen, and the Bishop of Rochester and the Deane of Westminster, met the corps at Clearkenwell about sixe a clock in the evening, and from thence, with plenty of torchlights, brought the body of the sayd Queen unto the Chappell Royall at Westminster, and on the south side thereof it was there interred that night, where the King had builded a most royall Tombe for her, where she now resteth." (Stowe, ed. Howes, A.D. 1631, p. 1002.)

The churchwardens of St. Margaret's Westminster paid "to Michael Stockdale, for ringing when the Queen of Scots was buried in St. Peter's Church, 2*s.* 6*d.*"

## II.

THE second portion of the present volume consists of a paper brought under the notice of the Camden Council by Albert Way, Esq. Upon the recommendation of an authority so unquestionable, and in the hope that Mr. Way would have been able to take upon himself the editorship of the little volume, the Council did not hesitate to agree to its publication; but the state of Mr. Way's health having unfortunately prevented him from fulfilling these expectations, Mr. Bruce, as an officer of the Camden Society, has collated the proofs with the original manuscript, and also with two other manuscripts of the same paper, and has furnished the following remarks by way of Preface.

The JUSTIFICATION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, which is the paper now printed, belongs to a class of publications of which there were many examples in the reign of that sovereign; defences, that is, published by authority, of the course of action adopted by the government on the occurrence of some important political crisis.

In this class we would not reckon such publications as the True and Plain Declarations of the Treasons of Francis Throgmorton, of William Parry, of the Earl of Northumberland, of the Earl of Essex, and of several others. Those publications were printed by the Queen's printer, and were set forth with the allowance, probably by the direction, of the government; but they were substantially mere reports of the trials of those several persons, and were communicated to the public in the only way in which reports of State Trials were in those days allowed to be openly sold.

We allude rather, on the present occasion, to such publications as explain and vindicate the conduct of the Queen's government in its larger relations either to foreign countries or to its own people. For example, when Elizabeth determined to give military assistance to the United Provinces, there was published in various languages, a vindicatory "Declaration of the causes mooving the Queene of England " to give Aide to the defence of the People afflicted and oppressed " in the Lowe Countries." (Lond. 1585, 4to.); again, when the country seemed threatened to be overrun with Seminary Priests and Jesuits, and it was determined to enforce against them the penal laws, a Declaration was sent forth " of great Troubles pretended " against the Realme by a number of Seminarie Priests and Jesuits, " sent and very secretly dispersed in the same, to work greate " Treasons under a false Pretence of Religion; with a provision very " necessarye for remedie thereof." (Lond. 1591, 4to.) So again, when the expedition to Cadiz under the Earl of Essex was dispatched to destroy the second armada which Philip was preparing for the invasion of England, a Declaration was published " of the " causes mouing the Queene's Maiestie of England to prepare and " send a Nauy to the Seas, for the defence of her realmes against " the King of Spaines Forces." (Lond. 1596, 4to.) These are a few examples of the class of publications which we consider to be analogous in design to the treatise which we believe now sees the light for the first time.

The importance of such publications for historical purposes can hardly be over-estimated. Not that their statements are on any account to be taken for granted. Candour is seldom a virtue of any government, and rarely indeed of one which is put upon its defence. When sifted, the statements of these publications are too



often found to be rather plausible than true. But what was designed to instruct and guide public opinion, or to rouse under circumstances of peril the dormant patriotism of the people, is always entitled to careful consideration, and occasionally leads to the discovery of the truth which it was not intended to reveal.

That the Justification now presented to notice was a paper of this kind in relation to Mary Queen of Scots, and was written with the intention of being offered to the government of Queen Elizabeth for publication, may be inferred from its contents.

It opens with free comments on the peculiar "strangeness" of the case of Mary Queen of Scots, whose miserable career it pronounces to have been probably unparalleled in the history of the world. It avers that if the same had been "as strangely" proceeded in by Queen Elizabeth, the strangeness on her part consisted in her having used her unfortunate relative "so honourably and with so "strange a clemency." It allows, that there were people who did not entertain these views of Elizabeth's conduct to her sister Queen. The "clemency" of long imprisonment and ultimate decapitation was not universally admitted. Some persons who were opposed to Elizabeth's proceedings "in the cause of religion," and others who envied the great prosperity and glory of her reign, had charged her "in honour and conscience for many parts of her demeanour in this action"—they had even denounced her conduct "as nothing princely nor justifiable." Some there were who, being ignorant of the "great injuries and griefs" of her Majesty of England, had condemned her "of injustice, some of cruelty, or other unprincely behaviour." Finally, the writer sums up these objections, or cavils as he esteems them, in an emphatic expression of the astonishment of those who put forth such opinions, that "a Queen to a Queen, a

woman to a woman, should show so small favour;"—that Queen and woman being moreover "her Majesty's near neighbour and kins-woman, even then flying to her for succour," and that at a time when the fugitive was "so distressed and overwhelmed in calamities as might seem to deserve commiseration and be pitied as the most vile and miserable wretch in the world," and yet these circumstances excited no pity in the case of "a princess of so great name and honour of blood."

After such a statement of the condition of public opinion, which we may conclude to be pretty accurate, since it is nearly allied to what we find to be the state of things upon this subject even now among ourselves, the writer declares it to be his opinion that "these untrue reports" ought, "by the very weapons of truth," to be "notoriously disproved." Without the adoption of that course the writer believed that the results would be "to her Majesty's great ignominy," and to the detriment of "that good amity and reputation of Christian Princes, and others of the best and worthiest, which her Majesty hath holden very dear and precious above any worldly treasure."

Entertaining such opinions, the writer concluded that it behoved her Majesty's "honest subjects and well-willers" for her, and if no other person would "for her sake attempt it, even herself," was bound "by all reason, publicly to lament to the world her injuries," the object to be attained being the "due satisfaction of all such as be not utterly alienated from her Majesty in good will, and do yet retain an equitable opinion in the said causes." "And to the intent that no part of her Majesty's behaviour or doings therein should be covered or hidden," it is concluded that "her Majesty will not refuse of her own most gracious and voluntary disposition (being

otherwise not constrainable to yield any account of her doings only to God alone—the founder and protector of princes,) to have laid open and unfolded even the most secret parts of the said cause . . . . and what the world may conceive thereof to leave to all godly and indifferent judgments.”

The same thing is afterwards expressed thus: “ Yet her Majesty will not seem grieved that the same justification be, by her honest well-willers, dutifully and truly presented to the view and acknowledge of the kings and governors of the world, to whom is only incident the censure and arbiterment of all princely merit.” (p. 85.)

It would seem from these somewhat hazy words that the writer suggested the publication of one of two kinds of printed works; either something proceeding from the Queen herself, probably in the nature of a proclamation (a form of publication adopted on previous analagous occasions), in which her Majesty might herself “ lament to the world her injuries;” or a justification set forth by her Majesty’s “ well-willers,” in which she “ would not refuse,” or “ would not seem grieved ” that the whole truth should be revealed.

At the same time that the author made this double suggestion, he presented to her Majesty, or to the person whomsoever it might be for whom his paper was intended, an embodiment of the latter part of his own recommendation in the present treatise, which he evidently intended to be put forth as the “ justification by her Majesty’s well-willers ” to which he had alluded.

That he did not meditate any merely private publication, results almost necessarily from his intention and from the nature of his subject. In those days no one would have ventured to discuss so delicate “ a matter of State ” without the permission, tacit or acknow-

ledged, of the government; and the more especially as the contemplated justification involved the assertions of opinions, feelings, and statements of the Queen herself. The writer tells us, for example, on one occasion what "her Majesty had been heard oftentimes and most earnestly to protest" (p. 73); and again, that "she was not unwilling" that the fact of her having signed the warrant for Mary's execution "should be bruited and spread abroad," (p. 74) which by the way is quite contrary to what has always been asserted; and again, that "she hath been heard many times to say that she had resolved with herself" never to put Queen Mary to death, and that "many about her have been made acquainted" with that private determination of her own mind "by her own regal mouth" (p. 75); and again, that she does not "go about to excuse herself of error, but doth constantly affirm and protest that she hath done nothing in this affair, from the first day until the last, wherewith her conscience ought to be grieved." (p. 76.) The Council or the Court of Star Chamber would soon have brought to his senses any one who had ventured upon the publication of such statements as these, and many others which could be adduced, without the previous licence and approbation of the government. We may, therefore, conclude that this paper was written with the concurrence of the Council, or was submitted to them for their approbation.

Of the period at which this Justification was written we may speak pretty confidently. It fits in, as it were, to the year 1587 or the beginning of the following year, and that date agrees both with its contents and its purpose. It is also confirmed by two passages which contain allusions to the future James I. of England, then James VI. of Scotland. In the first of these passages that young king, who was born on the 19th June 1565,

is spoken of as just "come to man's estate," and able to perceive and acknowledge Queen Elizabeth's "motherly benignity and good mind towards him." In the second passage there is an obvious allusion to the disturbance in the friendly relations between the young King of Scots and Queen Elizabeth, occasioned by the execution of his mother. It is affirmed that as Elizabeth "hath alway hitherto done, so intended she still to do, the said young king all the good she can, and to be instead of a mother to him, and a mean to make him, if his merits correspond, capable for greater fortunes than any of his ancestors, Scottish kings, have been, so as he will be wise, and bear himself moderately in this discomfort of his, and not be wilful or ill-advised against her Majesty." (p. 125.)

Of the authorship nothing is known. It may be inferred from the style of composition, and the occasional use of words which were antiquated even at that period, that he was an old man. Many passages show that he was no lawyer. It is not quite so clear that he was not a divine.

The curiosity and value of the Justification will be mainly found in the circumstance of its having been written at the time when these transactions—momentous in their character, and which still excite the minds of all inquirers—actually took place. It is important to know what was the form assumed by the objections to the treatment of Queen Mary which were rife at the time. It is still more important to learn what were deemed the proper answers by those whom our author esteems to have been Queen Elizabeth's "well-willers." Much of the writer's argumentation will be found to be entirely obsolete; but that is a consequence of the period at which he wrote. Every generation has its own mode of conducting its inquiries, and is specially influenced by certain particular kinds of reasoning. In

Elizabeth's time, presumed ancient precedents, parallels derived from circumstances in Jewish history, and inferences deduced from scripture texts, formed a large part of the popular reasoning, even upon historical subjects. Our way of arriving at truth is so entirely different, that we deem the ancient precedents altogether valueless, the parallels with Saul and Samuel and other ancient heroes inapplicable to the present state of society, and the scripture texts too often misapplied. It is a puzzle and a mystery to conceive how our forefathers could have attached any value to such kinds of reasoning. But they did so; and in considering their argumentative writings we must take these peculiarities into account. We shall generally find that, after making whatever deductions we think necessary on these grounds, there is enough left of hard solid reasoning to maintain the positions which the writers were desirous to uphold.

One thing is very observable in the present treatise, that the author never touches the question of the guilt or innocence of Queen Mary in reference to the murder of her husband Darnley. Speaking in the character of the objector against Queen Elizabeth, he alludes in one place to Queen Mary's "rebels of Scotland," who "with all extremity persecuted her life" (p. 70); in another place he terms the same persons "the first authors of her disgrace and renunciation to the crown and regal administration of that realm of Scotland" (p. 77); and elsewhere they are designated as her "persecutors" (p. 92); but Darnley or Bothwell, the Kirk of Field or the pretended ravishment, is never mentioned or alluded to. In this silence the writer probably took the course which would be approved by Elizabeth herself, whose royal sympathies were stirred against all opposers or depreciators of sovereign powers.

Of the author's estimate of the true character of Mary we catch a few little glimpses here and there, glimpses all the more valuable as they are opened up to us without design. That "infortunate Queen" and that "most infortunate Queen" are the designations which the author ordinarily applies to her; in another place she is termed that "ill-deserving lady," and again the "unquiet-minded Queen." (p. 108.) Elsewhere the writer is still more explicit; speculating on what would have been the result of her having been set at liberty, he states that she was likely enough to have misused her freedom "either to her Majesty's harms, or perchance to her own confusion, by stirring up strife in all places where she should come, so restless was her courage, and naturally bent to all unquietness." (p. 99.)

The accusations against Elizabeth with which the author principally deals are the following: 1. That Mary was made a prisoner contrary to law and right. 2. That the continuance of her captivity for eighteen years was contrary to the law of arms, which allows ransom to every prisoner. 3. That Elizabeth enforced causes against her not truly criminal, to justify her first detention. 4. That the causes alleged, not being criminal by the universal law, her process was framed by authority of a private law of her Majesty's own making, under which she was unjustly tried, attainted, and made subject to the penalty of a most shameful death. 5. That Elizabeth, by this extraordinary action of cruelty under the coverture of justice, had blemished all sovereign Majesty and authority, and opened a passage to the manifest danger of all princes who upon confidence or misfortune chanced to set foot upon their neighbours' territory.

Before entering upon his reply to these specific charges, the

writer deals with several other points in this unhappy case. And first, he contends vehemently for the truth of Elizabeth's own version of the signature of the death-warrant and its delivery to Davison. He reiterates what she had herself stated, and what had been declared on her behalf in the proceedings against Davison in the Star Chamber, and stoutly contends that her Majesty's own solemn protestation, made in the fear of God, and in all truth, princely honour, and integrity, ought to satisfy every one of her intent. He secondly, in the introductory portion of his book, treats of the character of Mary's imprisonment. "I call it," he says, "her abode, " and no captivity, nor scarce a restraint, when in effect the greatest " part of this realm was her prison at large (having some eye to her " safe custody), and the fairest palaces of every shire the places of her " residence, where she might hunt and hawk and use all other princely " disports at her pleasure, and remove and change airs and lodgings " as oft as she listed, and be allowed honourable attendance and " company, great entertainments and costly diet, rich presents, free " access of her people to her, conference with whom she would, and " liberty to give and receive whatsoever intelligence from any part of " the world by her secretaries and messengers;" with more in the same strain. (p. 78.)

The author dwells upon many other acts of kindness shown by Elizabeth to the Scottish Queen; her constant refusal to concur in Mary's exclusion from the succession to the English throne; her care of the young King of Scots; her winking at Mary's concurrence in a variety of underhand practices, to her Majesty's great danger; her living in continual fear and peril of her own life, and yet always sparing the delinquent who was plotting against her. "What will you more? There could no greater regard of kindness



“be used by a Queen to a Queen, a sister to a sister, a mother to the child of her own body, than her Majesty used toward the said unfortunat and ill-deserving lady for the space of eighteen years, which was until her last conspiracy with Babington and the rest,” &c. (p. 81).

Proceeding now to answer the objections which have been before stated, the author contends, upon the authority of various precedents which reach back to the cases of Richard I. and Richard Duke of Normandy, that “the very print of a prince’s foot upon his neighbour’s soil,” without consent previously obtained, carries with it a claim of interest, and puts the invader at the mercy of the sovereign invaded. Mary’s ill-demeanour in her former claim of the sovereignty of England, and subsequently in her unlicensed entry into the realm, are contended to have justified Elizabeth in first staying her, and afterwards in holding her under restraint.

In answer to the second objection, as to the long continuance of Mary’s restraint, without allowing the ransom which is permitted by the law of arms, the writer contends that there is no such law as that of arms, but that a person taken prisoner holds life and every thing at the will of his vanquisher. But he asserts that from the first it was Elizabeth’s intention that the restraint of the Scottish Queen should last but for a brief period, an intention which was defeated by the conduct of Mary herself.

In dealing with the complaints made against Mary’s trial, the author seems to fall into a great mistake. His argument is this: By the law of England “the greatest princes and peers of the realm” have but one form of ordinary trial, which is by the verdict of twelve men sworn to inquire of the fact, and thereupon the culprit is judged by some able person appointed by royal commission. But

in Queen Mary's case the proceedings were far more dignified; the parliament, consisting of 450 persons, were her judges; thirty-six of the greatest princes and peers were appointed to take the evidence of her misdemeanour; and she was sentenced by the Majesty of the State. The whole of this is, of course, very inaccurate, but especially that part of it which asserts that princes and peers were tried by a jury and sentenced by a judge in the ordinary way.

The author meets the objection that, as a sovereign Queen, Mary was not subject to any human jurisdiction, by broadly contending, if we understand him rightly, that princes like other persons are subject to the justice of man's law; save that, within their own dominions, they are, for their own persons, and their persons only, privileged and exempt from punishment. The remarks on this subject occur at pp. 115—117.

The friends of Mary seem to have raised an argument that as a Queen she was exempt from all jurisdiction of Elizabeth, who was her equal, and that she was subject only to the judgment of the Emperor. The writer answers that the laws of the Empire are of no force in England, the Kings of which recognise no higher earthly power than their own, and that it is absurd to contend that the law of the Empire should bear sway save where it might be enforced by the Emperor's power, which in England it could not be.

The objection as to the partiality and improper selection of the commissioners for Mary's trial, all of them being her enemies, and some of them Elizabeth's sworn servants of her household, is answered by an allegation that no man of a thousand would be found so loose, false, and faithless, or so base-minded, as willingly to cast away a Queen, especially one whom they were bound to reverence next to her Majesty.

The last objection which the writer notices is that of the blemish to the sovereignty of other princes which resulted from the execution of Queen Mary. The answer is that Elizabeth had on the contrary given a precedent to all other sovereigns to deal honorably with their peers, and to use their jurisdiction with like justice in cases that may happen to themselves.

In conclusion, the writer essays to show that the condemnation and execution of the Scottish Queen could be defended by God's law, which was "the strongest argument and principal pillar of all her Majesty's defence." In proof of this branch of his Justification, he adduces various texts, which he construes in favour of his own views. "Thou shalt not kill;" "Whosoever spills blood, his blood shall be spilt;" "Thou shalt not touch mine anointed, nor lay any violent hands upon him;" these and others seem like two-edged swords, but our author presents only that edge which may be used against the Queen of Scots.

Finally, the author tells us the following very questionable anecdote of Marshal de Retz, who was sent Ambassador from France into England, "to inform her Majesty of the King's success in that bloody massacre done at Paris against the Admiral Chastillon and other the Protestants." Being asked the question, by the gravest councillors of this realm, how it could stand with his master's honour to consent to such a cruel act? "Quod he again, "I pray you tell me what the Queen your mistress would have done if she had been in the like case, being disobeyed, bearded,\* "and defaced, by her own subjects, as my master was? *Ad quod non fuit responsum*; for it seems an argument impossible to be "refuted, as of more force than the position † of any act or law, that

\* *sic.*

† provision?

“ any man should be reprehended for the fault which the reprehendor, “ being asked the question upon his conscience, could not deny that “ he would have done the same.” Whereupon the author concludes that “ whatsoever all men’s judgments approve ought to be deemed good;” and concludes by applying that doctrine to the purposes of his Justification.

It remains only to state that the original MS. of this publication exists in the valuable library of Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart. M.P. who has most freely permitted the Camden Society to have the use of it. Two other copies of it were pointed out by Mr. Way, one the Cotton MS. Caligula D. I. art.6, and the other the Harleian MS. 4647, art.44. Both these have been collated. Our text represents Sir Thomas Winnington’s MS.; the foot-notes indicate the substantial variations between it and the other MSS. The conclusion at which we have arrived on inspection of the MSS. and consideration of these variations is, that no one of them is the original. Sir Thomas Winnington’s MS. is probably contemporary, and the best of the three; the Cotton MS. dates a little later than Sir Thomas’s, and the Harleian MS. much later. They are all copies of some other MS. but no other has been found.

---

**ERRATUM.**

P. 105, l. 22, *for consciene read conscience.*



## Charges of the Diets of MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

---

Chardges of the Dyett  
of the Ladye Marye  
late Quene of Scottes,  
at Tutburye, Chartley,  
and Fotheringaye.

} The ACCOMPTE of ANTHONY POULETT,  
ESQUIER, sonne and heyre and sole  
executor to the righte honorable Sir  
Amyas Poulett knighte, deceased, late  
one of her Majesty's Privye Counsell,  
whoe, by the Queen's Majesty, was ap-

pyoynted to have the custodye and chardge of the safe kepinge of the sayde Scottish Quene, THAT IS TO SAY, Aswell for all such somes of money as the said Sir Amyas, or any other to his vse, have received, aswell out of the Receipte at Westminster, as also of the rentes and profittes of the late Lord Pagett his landes, or cominge of the sale of wyne, beare, beife, and other provycions solde by Marmaduke Darell gentleman, one of the clarkes of her Majesty's Aveye, whoe was likewise appoynted by the Lords of her Majesty's Privye Counsell to attende vppon the sayde Sir Amyas Poulett, and to have the defrayinge of all such somes of money as should concerne the dyett, chardges, and expences of the sayde Scottishe Quene and her trayne, and of others appoynted for that service, at Tutburye, Chartley, and Fotheringay, from the first day of Marche in the xxvijth yeare of the raigne of our moste dreade Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defendor of the Fayth, &c., vntill the iiijth day of Auguste in the xxixth yeare of her

Majesty's sayde raigne, beinge by the space of twoe whole yeares fyve monethes and xvij<sup>en</sup> dayes, As by a booke of the particularities thereof conteyninge the empcions and provycions, cariadges, wages, and other chardges subscribed with thande of the sayde Marmaduke Darell, and herevppon duelye perused, cast, tryed, and examyned, may appeare, which sayde booke was delivered to John Conyers, one of Thauditors of the Impreste, the xxvijth of November, 1587, which was longe before the death of the sayde Sir Amyas, who dyed the xxvith of September, 1588.

THAT IS TO SAY,

Readye money  
by him re-  
ceaved and  
hadd, viz. of—

The sayde accomptaunte is chardged with—

Arrerages:—None; for that this is the fyrste accompte taken by me of the sayde Anthonye Poulett.

The Treasurer  
and Chamber-  
lains of Thex-  
chequer, viz.—

But the sayde accomptaunte is chardged with money by him receaved out of her highnes' receipte at Westminster, by thandes of the Tellors there, by vertue of sondrye privye seales to the Threasurer and Chamberlaynes of Thexchequier, within the tyme of this accompte directed ;

viz. in—

The Tearme of St. Michaell Tharchaungell, Anno xxvi<sup>to</sup> regni Reginae Elizabethæ finiente et xxvii<sup>mo</sup> incipiente in preste to Amyas Poulett knighte, one of the Queen Majesty's Privy Counsell, by thandes of Richarde Stoneley, one of the Tellors of the Receipte aforesayde—D.CCC li.; and to Marmaduke Darell gentleman, by thandes of Roberte Freake, one other of the Tellors of the same Receipte—CC li., by vertue of a warraunte vnder the privie seale, dated the xixth daye of Februarye, anno xxvij<sup>mo</sup> dominæ Elizabethæ Regine, by them to be employed in victualles and other hous-

holde chardges of the Quene of Scottes; in all the  
some of . . . . . M li.

The Tearme of St. Michaell Tharchaungell, anno xxvij<sup>mo</sup>  
regni Regine Elizabethæ finiente, to the sayde Sir Amyas  
Poulett knighte, of Roberte Taylor, one other of the  
Tellors of the same Receipte, to be by order and direc-  
cion of the sayde Sir Amyas defrayed in expences of  
dyett and other domesticall chardges of the sayde Quene  
of Scottes, remayninge vnder his custodye by a war-  
raunte vnder the privy seale dated the seconde day of  
Februarye, anno xxvij<sup>vo</sup> Reginae Elizabethæ predicto,  
the some of . . . . . M li.

The Tearme of Easter, anno xxvij<sup>vo</sup> regni Regine Eliza-  
bethæ, to the sayde Sir Amyas Poulett knighte, by  
thandes of diverse persons, of Henrye Killegrewe, one  
other of the Tellors of the Receipte aforesayde in preste,  
aswell by him to be layde out in expences of dyett and  
other chardges of the sayde late Quene of Scottes, as of  
the sayde Quene's servauntes, and other persons attend-  
inge vppon her, by vertue of a warraunte vnder the  
privie signett dated the xxijth day of Aprill, anno  
xxvij<sup>vo</sup> Regine predicto, the some of . . . . MM.D li.

The Tearme of St. Michaell Tharchaungell, anno xxvij<sup>vo</sup>  
regni Regine Elizabethæ finiente et xxix<sup>mo</sup> incipiente,  
to the sayde Sir Amyas Poulett knighte, by thandes of  
Roberte Hackshawe, of thaforesaide Henrye Killegrewe,  
D li.; and of the beforenamed Roberte Taylor cccc li.,  
by him lykewise to be expended in thaforesayde causes,  
by vertue of the foresayde warraunte under the privye  
seale dated the xxijth daye of Aprill, anno xxvij<sup>vo</sup>  
regni Regine predicto; in all the some of . . . . D.CCCC li.



The Tearme of Easter, anno xxix<sup>mo</sup> Regine Elizabethæ, to the same Sir Amyas Poulett knighte, in preste of the beforesaid Roberte Freake, for the dyett and other chardges sustayned in the kepinge of the sayde late Quene of Scottes, vntill the day of the death of the same Quene, and of her housholde familye and others afterwarde, by vertue of a warraunte vnder the privie seale dated the xith daye of Julye in the sayde xxixth yeare of the Quene's Majesty's raygne . . . . M.CCC li.

The sayde accomptaunte is chardged with money payde forth of the same Receipte by thaforsayde Henrye Killegrewe vnto Richard Younge, of London, Marchaunte for certen Naperie shetes and other lynnens, provyded and boughte by the Queen's Majesty's commaundmente, and appoynted to serve for thuse of the sayde Scottish Quene, by a privie seale dated the xijth of June, 1585, the some of . . . . Ciiij<sup>xx</sup>xij li. v s. iij d.

And the sayde accomptaunte is likewise chardged with money imprested fourth of the same Receipte in Easter Terme, anno xxix<sup>mo</sup> Regine predicto, by the sayde Henrye Killegrewe vnto William Dethicke, alias Gartre Principall Kinge of Armes, by vertue of a privie seale dated the xith of Julye, 1587, for provycions to be made for the herse and other causes of herauldrye, againste the funeralles of the sayde Scottish Quene, the some of . . . . . CCCCvi li.

In all receaved out of her highnes' Receipte at Westminster aforesayde, within the tyme of this accompte, over and besides the some of M.C. li., payde to thandes of Bryan Cave gentleman, appoynted to defraye sondrye chardges, aswell in conductinge the sayde Quene of

Scottes to Tutburye Castle, as also for the expences of dyett and other necessarie chardges of the same Scottish Quene, by direccion from Sir Raphe Sadleyr knighte, one of her Grace's Privye Counsell (and over and besides the some of CCiiij<sup>xx</sup>xix li. ix s. iiij d., payde to Richard Cox, clarke to Gregorye Lovell esquier, Cofferer of her Majesty's housholde, for provycions of acates and other chardges growinge by the funeralles of the late Quene of Scottes, for both which somes of money the sayde Bryan Cave and Marmaduke Darell and Richard Cox have exhibited there particuler bookes to John Conyers, one of her Highnes' Auditors of the prestes, for the takinge of there sayde accomptes, as by a certificatte vnder thande of Roberte Petre esquier, herevpon examyned and remayninge, may appeare . . . . viiM.CCiiij<sup>xx</sup>.xviij li. v s. iiij d.

Also the same accomptaunte is lykewise chardged with money by him received out of the profittes cominge of the mannor of Burton vpon Trente, late the possessions of Thomas Lord Pagett attaynted, from Aprill 1585 vntill the xxijth of September 1586, beinge the whole tyme he had the custodye of the Quene of Scottes in the countye of Stafforde; viz., rentes and farmes duringe the sayde tyme—v<sup>c</sup>iiij<sup>xx</sup>viiij li. vij s. ij d., and for fynes of a tenemente in Burton, xiiij li. vi s. viij d., and a mylne called Shutborowe mylne, viij li. = xxj li. vjs. viij d. In all received within the tyme of this accompte, as by a bill of particulers sente from Richard Baggott esquier to the righte honorable the Lorde Threasurer of England, and herevpon examyned and remayninge, may appeare, the some of . . . . D.Cix li. xiiij s. x d.

The profittes of  
the Lorde  
Pagetts landes.

And the sayde accomptaunte is likewise chardged with

money by him receaved of thaforesayde Richarde Bag-gott esquier, growinge of y<sup>e</sup> profitts of certain yron-works late the Lord Pagetts, at diverse tymes within the tyme of this accompte, as by a certificatte thereof vnder thande of Alexander Kynge esquier, the Quene's Majesty's Auditor for the countye of Stafforde, here-vppon remayninge, may appeare, the some of . . . M.D.Ciiij<sup>xx</sup> li.

(Total) MM.CCiiij<sup>xxix</sup> li. xiiij s. x d.

Sale of provy-  
cions and other  
necessaries, viz.

Also the same accomptaunte is further chardged with money by him receaved of the sale of sondrye provycions and other neccessaries by him solde within the tyme of this accompte as hereafter is particulerly mencioned, viz. :—

Wheate, ij quarters, vij bushells, medium at lx s. the  
quarter . . . . . viij li. xvi s.  
Beare, iij ton, ij hogesheades, at xliij s. iij d. the  
tonne . . . . . vij li. xv s.  
Gascoigne wyne, iij hogesheades, at iij li. iij s. iij d. the  
hogesheade . . . . . xij li. x s.  
Beife, halfe a carkasse, and xij Newlande fishes . . . . . xxxvij s. iij d.  
Coddess, vj at xij d. the pece, vj s.; torches, ij dozen at  
xj s. the dozen, xxij s.; waxlights, liij lb. weight, at  
xiiij d. the pounce, lvij s. vj d.; and wood remaining  
at Tutburye, xij li. in all . . . . . xvj li. vj s. vj d.  
Tallowe, cccxij stone at ij s. vj d. the stone, xxxix li. vj d.;  
hydes, viz. lxiiij at xiiij s. the pece, xliij li. ij s.; and  
iij<sup>e</sup> at xvj s. the pece, xlviij s. = xlvj li. x s.; felles vi<sup>c</sup>xv,  
medium at xij d. the pece, xxix li. xvij s. vij d.; lamb-  
skinnes, viz. lxij at iij d., xx s. viij d.; and xxxiiij at  
x d. the pece, xxvij s. vj d. = xlviij s. ij d.; calveskinnes,  
clxxviij at vij d. the pece, ciij s. xj d.; wooll, iij stone

and a half at viij s. the stone, xxxvj s.; a olde brewinge vessell with casks and other small ymplementes, cvij s. vj d.; and for an olde clocke with sondrye other necessaries, iiij s. x d.; in all . . . . Cxxxiiij li. xiiij s. viij d.

In all received by the sale of thaforesayde provycions and other necessaries within the tyme of this accompte, as by the particuler booke of this accomptaunte may appeare . . . . ciiij<sup>xx</sup> li. xvij s. vj d.

Some totall of the chardges and }  
 receiptes aforesayde } ix<sup>m</sup>D. Clxix li. xvij s. vij d.

Whereof the sayde accomptaunte is allowed for—

Empeions  
 and provycions  
 of sondrye  
 kindes of vic-  
 tualls and other  
 necessaries for  
 and concern-  
 inge the dyett  
 of Ladye Marye  
 late Quene of  
 Scotts, with the  
 chardges of the  
 woodyeardeand  
 the stable, re-  
 duced into the  
 severall offices,  
 viz. of

Firste allowed to the sayde accomptaunte for money by him sayde to be payde and defrayed, aswell for empcions and provycions of sondrye kindes towchinge and concerninge the dyett of the sayde Lady Marye, late Quene of Scotts, at Tutburye, Chartley, and Fotheringay, within the tyme of this accompte, chardge of cariadges of sondry provycions from severall places for the service aforesayde, As also for the wages of artificers, woorkemen, and laborers necessariye employed in the sayde service, together with the wages and enterteynemente of sondrye officers of the housholde continually attendinge the same chardge, together with the rydinge and travellinge chardge of sondrye officers and other mynisters from tyme to tyme employed in the same service, And for diverse other necessarie chardges incidente to the same. The particularities of all which, with there rates, quantityes, and pryces, are particulerlye sett downe as followeth, viz. for—

Pantrye and  
 butterye, viz.

Flaxen wheate, cxviiij quarters, vij bushells, iij pecks, boughte at diuerse pryces which reduced per medium to xlviij s. jd. qu. the quarter, amounteth to cciiij<sup>xx</sup>vj li. vij s. xd. Pollarde wheate, viz. : xxj quarters at xxj s. xj d. the quarter;

xxiiij li. and xv quarters iiij bushells, at xxs. x d. ob. the quarter, xvj li. iij s., in all the some of . . . . xxxix li. iij s.

Manchettes, viz. M.iiij<sup>c</sup>xxiiij dozen at vj d. the dozen, xxv li. xij s.; and M.CCCxliij dozen at viij d. the dozen, xliij li. xv s. iiij d.; in all . . . . . iiij<sup>xx</sup> li. vij s. iiij d.

Cheate Breade, viz. MMM.CCCxlviij dozen at x d. the dozen, Cxxxix li. x s.; and MMM.v<sup>c</sup>vij dozen and a half at xij d. the dozen, Clxxv li. vij s. vj d.; in all CCCxiiij li. vij s. vj d.

Maulte, xliij quarters iiij bushells at xix s. ix d. ob. the quarter . . . . . xliij li. vi s. iiij d.

Beare, CCclij tons ij hogeshedes one terce, boughte at severall pryces, medium at xxxix s. xj d. ob. the tonne D.CCvj li. xiiij s. vd.

Gascoigne wyne, boughte at diverse pryces—xxviiij tons iiij hogeshedes ij terces, medium at xvj li. xiiij s. iiij d. the tonne . . . . . iiij<sup>c</sup>iiij<sup>xx</sup>vij li. xij s. v d.

Sacke, viz. one butt, xiiij li. vj s. viij d.; and lxvi gallons one quarter, medium at iij s. the gallon, ix li. xvij s. vj d.; in all . . . . . xxiiij li. v s. ij d.

Ale boughte at dyverse pryces, M.Cxlviij gallons and a half, medium at ix d. qu. the gallon . . . . . xliij li. xiiij s. ix d.

And for sondrye necessaries incidente to the same offices of the pantrye and butterye, viz. hoppes, ls.; emptye caske, viij li. xiiij s. viii d.; leather potts and jugges, lxx s.; course table-clothes, xxxj s. iij d.; a brewinge fatt, with the chardges of setting it vpp, iiij li. v s. viij d.; a buckett of tynne for the pantrye, xxx s.; cowperage of caske, lxj s. xj d.; a newe pompe for the brewhouse, xxviiij s. viij d.; mendinge pypes of leade, vj s.; sacks for corne, xiiij s. iiij d.; a braunched candlesticke and a tostinge yron, xxij s.; mendinge the fornace, xij s.; boulders and brakes, xxxj s.; a pype with a fonnell, vij s.; candlestickes, v s.; tubbes, xxiiij s.; a cheste for plate, vj s.; mendinge the copper in the brewhouse, xv s. viij d.; and for sondrye other necessaries incidente

to the same office, vij li. xvj s. viij d. In all the some  
of . . . . . xlj li. iiij s. x d.

(Total) MM. xxxvij li. ij s. vij d.

Accatrye, viz.

Beofe, clviij carkasses, iij<sup>c</sup> quarters of an oxe, boughte at  
diverse and severall rates, medium at iiij li. viij s. ij d.  
the carkasse . . . . . D. ciiij<sup>xx</sup> xvij li. xiiij s. viij d.  
Muttons, M. CCCcxlj carkasses and a halfe, boughte lyke-  
wise at severall pryces and rates, medium at vj s. viij d.  
the carkasse . . . . . iiij<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xxv</sup> li. viij s. vij d.  
Veales, CCCiiij<sup>xx</sup> xvij carkasses, boughte at diverse pryces,  
medium viij s. vj d. the pece, lesse in all xiiij d. CCxj li. v s. viij d.  
Lambes, CCCiiij<sup>xx</sup> xvij, boughte at severall pryces, me-  
dium at iij s. viij d. ob. qu. the pece . . . . lxxiiij li. — s. vi d.  
Porker, one greate . . . . . xx s.  
Porkes, clix and halfe, boughte at diverse pryces, me-  
dium at ix s. ix d. the pece . . . . . lxxvij li. xj s.  
Fliches of bacon, xij and a halfe, boughte at severall  
pryces, medium at viij s. iiij d. ob. the flitche . . . . Cxvij s.  
Pigges, D. CCxij, boughte at diverse pryces, medium at  
xiiij d. ob. the pece . . . . . xxxix li. xvij s. ij d.  
Paunches of oxen, xlij, at xij d. the pece . . . . . xlij s.  
Poultrye, of sondrye kindes, boughte and spente within  
the tyme of this accompte; with [viz. ?] CCCij li. xij d.  
for capons; x li. vj s. iij d. cockes; xvij li. xix s. x d.  
hennes; iiij<sup>xx</sup> vij li. iij s. viij d. checkings; xlvi li. iij s.  
iiij d. geese; xx li. vj s. xj d. ob. pigeons; lxvij li.  
rabbetts; and for sondrye kindes of foule and other  
poultrye ware, lxiiij li. vj s. x d. In all the some  
of . . . . . D. Cxvij li. vij s. x d. ob.  
Larde, M. D. CCCxxix lbs. weight di.—viz. M. xiiij lbs. di. at  
vj d. the pounce, xxv li. vij s. iij d.; and D. CCCxv lbs.  
weight at viij d. the pounce, xxvij li. iij s. iiij d. In all  
the some of . . . . . lij li. x s. vij d.

And for sondrye necessaries incidente and apperteyninge to the same office, viz. washinge and skaldinge of trypes and muggetts, lxix s. iiij d.; corne boughte for poultrye, xxix s. ij d.; hyer of storehouses for the slaughter and the poultrye, lij s.; neates tongues and paunches, with the inwardes of a porker, v s.; and for sondry other necessaries boughte within the tyme of this accompte, as in the Booke more particulerlye may appeare, cxj s. x d. In all the some of . . . . . xiiij li. vij s. iiij d.

(Total) M.M.Cclxxix li. ij s. iiij d. ob.

Kitchen, viz.— Lynges, cccc.iiij<sup>xxix</sup> boughte at seuerall rates and pryces, medium at xvj d. ob. qu. the fishe, maketh the some of . . . . . xxxiiij li.  
 Coddess, M.DCC.xxj boughte at diuerse pryces, medium at xij d. the fishe, more in the whole xv s. x d., the some of . . . . . iiij<sup>xxv</sup> li. v s. ij d.  
 alte salmon, viz. iij barrelles and a halfe, at iiij li. xij s. the barrell, xvj li. ij s. vj d.; xxxij at xij d. the pece, liij s. iiij d.; and x at ij s. vj d. the pece, xxv s.; in all the some of . . . . . xx li. x d.  
 Newlande fishe, one hundrethe, boughte by agremente . . . . . xxv s.  
 Stockfishe, C.xxxj boughte at seuerall rates and pryces, medium at vij d. the fishe more in the whole, ij s. vj d. the some of . . . . . lxxvj s. j d.  
 Salte eles, cx viz. xxx at xij d. the pece, xxx s.; and iiij<sup>xx</sup> boughte at viij d. the pece, liij s. iiij d.; in all the some of . . . . . iiij li. iij s. iiij d.  
 White herringes, xiiij barrelles and a halfe, boughte at diuerse pryces, medium at xxv s. viij d. the barrell . . . . . xviiij li. xj s. viij d.  
 Red herringes, v cades one quarter, boughte at diuerse pryces, medium at xj s. the cade . . . . . lvij s. x d.

Sprottes, one cade . . . . . ij s. iiij d.

Freshewater fishe of sondrye sorts and kindes, prouyded and spente within the tyme of this accompte, viz. pykes, iiij<sup>xx</sup>xj li. vij s. vij d.; barbles, xlvij li. xiiij s. iiij d.; chevins, xxxvij li. xijs. vd.; tenches, xiiij li. xixs. viij d.; trowtes, xvij li. xj s. iij d.; eles, lxii li. xvij s. xj d.; roches, xxxvij li. vjs. jd.; perches, xxiiij li. xixs. viij d.; and for sondrye other sorts of freshwater fishe, as in the Booke particulerly may appeare, iiij<sup>xx</sup>ix li. xixs. ix d.; in all the some of . . . . . iiij<sup>c</sup>xxix li. viij s. viij d.

Seafishe of diuerse and sondrye sorts and kindes, likewise boughte, provyded, and spente within the tyme of this accompte, viz. freshe salmons, xxxvij li. xvij s. vij d.; skates, xlj li. v s. vj d.; playce, xxxj li. xvij s. iiij d.; fresh coddess, xiiij li. ix s. iiij d.; thornebacks, x li. xs.; turbutts, xiiij li. vjs. ix d.; and sondrye other sorts of seafishe, particulerlye expressed in the Booke aforesaide, xlix li. ix d.; in all the some of . . . . . ciiij<sup>xx</sup>xvij li. vij s. iij d.

Butter, xvij<sup>m</sup> D.CCC.lxij lb. weight, boughte and provyded for the seruice aforesayde, at the seuerall rates of ij d., ij d. ob., iij d., iij d. ob. and iiij d. the ponde . . . . . ccliij li. ij s. x d. ob.

Egges, lxxiiij<sup>m</sup> ccl at xx d., ij s., and ij s. iiij d. the hundereth . . . . . lxvij li. xs. iiij d.

And for sondrye other necessaries incidente and apperteyninge to the sayde office, viz. iiij brassepannes, ls.; iij skelletts, vj s.; ij brasse kettles, vj s.; pewter, viij s.; pewter plates, ij dozen, xiiij s.; exchange of pewter and brasse, lxv s. iij d.; skowringe of vessell, iij s. vj d.; fishinge a ponde in Cankewood, called Hedsor poole, xxxix s. iiij d.; newe makinge the bottome of an oven, and mendinge of synks, xj s. vj d.; and sondrye other necessaries, viij li. xix s.; in all the some of . . . . . xix li. ij s. viij d.

(Total) M.C.xxxix li. v s. xj d. ob.



Larder, viz.— Salte, xviiij quarters, iiij bushells, j pecke, boughte at severall rates and pryces, medium at xvj s. viij d. the quarter . . . . . xix li. xiiij s. viij d.  
 Sallett oyle, xl gallons, one quarte, and one pynte, boughte at seuerall and distinncte pryces, medium at vij d. the gallon . . . . . xiiij li. — s. vj d.  
 Vinegar, ij ton, ij runlettes, boughte at diverse rates, medium at viij li. v s. the tonne . . . . . xvij li. xiiij s. x d.  
 Sundrye incidentes appertayninge to the sayde office of the larder, viz. verges, xj li. vij s. j d.; otemeale, ix li. xviiij d.; musterde, xv li. xiiij s. viij d.; flower for pastrye, xxij li. iij s. viij d.; creame and milke, xxiiij li. vij s. v d.; herbes and rootes, xxvj li. xix s. ij d.; and for ale, yeaste, sewett, and sondrye other necessaries, as in the Booke particulerlye dothe and may appeare, xxxv li. xix s. iiij d.; in all the some of . . . . . cliiij li. xij s. x d.  
 (Total) ccvj li. x d.

Spicerye, viz.— Spyces of sondrye sortes and kindes, provyded and spente in the seruice aforesayde, viz. pepper, xxxiiij li. vij d.; sugar, fyne and coarse, iiij<sup>xx</sup>xvj li. xvs. vij d.; almondes, xj li. vj s. viij d.; prunes, vij li. xvj s. ix d.; raysons of the sonne and other raysons, xiiij li. iiij d.; curraunts, c s. xj d.; capers, viij li. xiiij s. v d.; synamon, viij li. iiij s. ij d.; and for mace, nuttmegges, dates, and other spyces, xliiij li. xix s. xj d.; in all the some of cc.xxix li. v s. x d.  
 Torchcs, xxvij dozen and ix, boughte at diuerse and seuerall rates, medium at xiiij s. iiij d. the dozen . . . . . xviiij li. vij s. vj d.  
 Waxlightes, m.cxix lbs. boughte at diuerse pryces, medium at xiiij d. ob. the pounce . . . . . lxvij li. xiiij s. vj d.  
 Whitelights, dclx dozen, ij lbs. of lights, boughte at seuerall rates, medium at iij s. iij d. the dozen . . . . . cxxiiij li. x s.  
 And for diuerse necessaries incidente and apperteyninge

to the sayde office of the spicerye, as in the Booke particulerlye may appeare, the some of . . . vij li. xj s. ij d.

(Total) cccc.xlvj li. ix s.

Woodyearde,  
viz.—

Cordes of wood, M.ix<sup>c</sup>iiij<sup>xx</sup> xviiij cordes at vj d. ob. the corde, and iiij cordes makinge a lode . . . liij li. ij s. iij d.  
 Burninge and coalinge, cclxx lodes of coles, at ij d. the lode . . . . . xxvij li.  
 Fellingge, cleavinge, and dressinge of wood, at iiij d. the lode . . . . . xvij li. x s.  
 Makinge of kiddes, at ij d. the c<sup>th</sup> . . . . . x s. ij d.  
 To Richarde Baggott, esquier, for the chardges in gettinge of ciiij<sup>xx</sup>viiij rooks of seacole in Bewdeserte parke, with the chardges incidente to the same . . . xij li. xv s. vd.  
 Cariadge of wood and coles, with the chardges of the same, viz. at Tutburye, viz. from Reshay wood to the Castle, at vj d. the lode, vj li. xv s.; frome Castle Haye parke to Tutburye aforesayde, at ij d. the lode, viij li. xv s.; and to Arthur Mattheuwe and John Mason for cariadge of wood and coles at Tutburye, as appereth by a byll, xxiiij li. xvj s.; to William Grymes and John Lyon for the lyke cariadge of wood and coles at Chartley, from the Quene of Scottes cominge thether vnto the xxi<sup>th</sup> of September, beinge the tyme of the remoue from Chartley to Fotheringay, lxxiiij li. xvij s. vj d.; to Thomas Pountesse, gentleman, for the lyke chardges of wood and cole spente at Chartley aforesayde duringe the tyme of the Quenes beinge there, and taken out of Haywood parke as appereth by his byll, lvij li. xv s. x d.; and Mr. Tobyas Houghton for the chardges in fellingge, makinge, and cariadge of wood and coles from the tyme of the sayde Quenes cominge to the Castle of Fotheringay, vntill y<sup>e</sup> dissolvinge of the

householde, as appereth by his bill, clxx li. ij s. v d.; in  
 all the some of . . . . . CCCxlij li. ijs. ix d.  
 Rushes, DCCCC.iiij<sup>xv</sup>viiij bundells at ij d. the bundell viij li. xv s. x d.  
 And for sondrye neccessaries incidente and apperteyninge  
 to the sayde office of the Woodyearde, viz. makeinge the  
 bodyes of twoe colewaynes, mendinge of colewaynes,  
 and makeinge a newe payre of wheles, lxix s. xj d.; re-  
 movinge of coledustes, lxiiij s.; mendinge of barehydes,  
 iiij s. x d. To Thomas Awcocke and Edwarde Taylor,  
 for hurte done in there groundes throughe cariadge of  
 coles, xxix s.; and for sondrye other neccessaries be-  
 longinge to the same office, as in the same Booke more  
 particulerlye may appeare, lxxiiij s. iiij d. In all the  
 some of . . . . . xij li. xiiij d.

(Total) CCCCLxxiiij li. xvij s. vj d.

Stable, viz.— Hay, ccliiij<sup>or</sup> lode j quarter, boughte at severall pryces,  
 medium at ix s. x d. the lode . . . . . Cxxiiij li. — s. vj d.  
 Otes, D.xxix quarters one pecke, medium at viij s. iiij d.  
 the quarter . . . . . CCxxxj li. xj s. ix d.  
 Pease, iiij quarters ij bushells, at ix s. iiij d. the quarter xli s. viij d.  
 Horsebreaide, cciiij<sup>xx</sup>x dozen and viij, at xij d. the dozen,  
 xiiij li. x s. viij d.  
 Litter, cxj lode and a half, boughte at diuerse pryces, me-  
 dium at iij s. iiij d. the lode; the some of . . . . . xxj li. xv s. vj d.  
 Mowinge, makeinge, and cariadge of cciiij<sup>xv</sup>xviiij lodes of  
 hay, with xxiiij s. x d. for makeinge the ricks and  
 hedginge of them; the some of . . . . . xxxj li. iiij s.  
 Rente and hyer of sondrye pastures, viz. twoe pastures  
 adioyninge to Tutburye Castle, xxvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.; a  
 meadowe, called Hobholme, with the tyth of the same,  
 xxvij li. vj s. viij d.; a meadowe, called Hollyroode,  
 x li.; twoe pastures, called Scarsemore, and the Coppes

for the grasse horses, hyred for halfe a yeaere, xxiiij li.;  
 a fortnightes pasture for x horses, xx s., and for a  
 pasture at Fotheringay, lxxvij s. In all the some  
 of . . . . . iiij<sup>xx</sup>xij li. xvij s.

Horsemeate spente in the yorneye betweene Chartley and  
 Fotheringay, xj li. vij s. vij d.; hay and provynder at  
 Fotheringay for one monthe after the cominge thether,  
 ix li. iij s. x d.; and for horsemeate of iij<sup>e</sup> horses of Mr.  
 Stallendges standinge in the towne, xxix s. In all xxij li. v d.

And for other chardges incidente to the same office of the  
 stable, viz. showing and medecininge of horses duringe  
 the tyme of this accompte, xvij li. xij s. vij d.; hedginge  
 and raylinge of a pasture called Greminges, xj s.; and  
 for diuerse other chardges, as in the Booke particulerlye  
 may appeare, xlv s. iij d. In all . . . . . xxj li. viij s. xj d.

(Total) D.lx li. ix s. vd.

Money by him  
 yssued, payde,  
 and defrayed;  
 viz. for—

Chardges of } Lande, aswell of sondrye provycions and other  
 cariadges, } householde stuffe at the seuerall remoues of  
 viz. } the sayde Quene of Scottes, viz. from Tut-  
 bury to Chartley, vij li. xj s. viij d.; from Chartley to  
 Fotheringay, xxij li. xv s. vj d.; and from the Castle  
 of Fotheringaye, aswell at the discharge of the Gouvernor  
 as at the dissolvinge of the housholde, with xvj s. for  
 the hyer of laborers in that yorney, xix li. xiiij s. viij d.;  
 and for the cariadge of sondry the provycions of dyett  
 from London and places in the countrye to Tutburye,  
 Chartley, and Fotheringay, xxxv li. xiiij s. v d.; in all  
 the some of . . . . . iiij<sup>xxvj</sup> li. xvj s. iij d.  
 Water, viz. for the fraughte of iij<sup>or</sup> tonne of wyne from  
 Gaynsboroughe to Nottingham . . . . . xlv s. ij d.

(Total) iiij<sup>xxix</sup> li. — s. xvij d.

In all the chardges aforesayde for the seuerall offices of the pantrye and butterye, accatrye, kitchen, larder, spicerye, woodyearde, and stable, with the chardges of cariadges by lande and water, as by one Booke of particularities, subscribed with thande of Marmaduke Darell gentleman, herevpon cast, tryed, and examyned, may appeare . . . . . vijM.CCxxxij li. ix s. j d.

Wages of sondrye artificers, laborers, and others, necessarye imployed in this service; viz. of—

Also allowed to the sayde accomptaunte for money by him sayde to be payde and defrayed for the wages of sondrye artificers, workemen, and laborers, housholde officers and mynisters, soldiours, and postes necessarylye imployed in the sayde seruice from tyme to tyme, vntill the determynacion of this accompte. The names of all which men, with their seuerall rates and wages, are particulerlye sett donne, in maner and forme followinge; viz.:—

Raphe Bawdwyn, for his expences in provycion of corne and wyne, at xij d. per diem . . . . . lxxj s.  
 George Agarde, for his chardges at Tutburye in makinge readye the castle there by Mr. Chancellor's commaundemente, and layinge in of diuerse provycions againste the Quenes cominge thether, with vj s. viij d. for his chardges sente to Bretingham for provycion of wyne, the some of . . . . . vij li.  
 William Nicholson, aswell for brewinge of beare one monethe, as for goinge to Bretingham for provycions 1 s. vj d.  
 Edwarde Fitzharberte, for his chardges in diuerse yorneyes sent to Boston for provycion of sea-fishe . . . vij li. x s. vij d.  
 Margaret Chapman, laundresse to the Quene of Scottes for her bodye, for her wages at vj s. the weeke, the some of . . . . . xv li. xj s. iiij d.  
 Isabell Osborne, laundresse for the Quene's pantrye and ewrye, at x s. the weeke . . . . . xxj li. v s.  
 Bennett Maperlie, Elizabeth Brage, and Dorothye Blacke-

well, for washinge the shetes and naperie of y<sup>e</sup> house, at xvj s. per mensem, with ij s. ix d. for heminge course clothes . . . . . xxij li. ij s. v d.

Thomas Whitinge and William Lane, amners, and John Collyer and Roberte Phillippes succeedinge in there roumes, at iij s. a pece the weeke, weekely allowed to twoe of them . . . . . xxxvij li. xix s. ix d.

Roberte Hollinger, for his wages sente to the Constables of the hundreds of Offley and Seadson . . . . . iij s. vj d.

Thomas Harme, sente to Chester for provycion of wyne . . . . . v s.

John Phillippes, for careinge of provycion to Tycksall by the space of ix dayes, xvj s. x d., and for the expences of John Cade, sente aboute the receipte of moneye, vj s. vj d. In all . . . . . xxij s. iiij d.

Carpenter, mendinge the stable plankes, and makeinge a greate gate . . . . . xij s. iiij d.

Brickleyer, strengthinge y<sup>e</sup> kitchen chimney, and doinge sondrye other neccessaries there . . . . . xxvij s. j d.

Plasterer, newe makeinge parte of the wall in the brew-house, and mendinge the Garner floore . . . . . xij s. ij d.

Richarde Garrett and John Smyth, for mindinge and wateringe the garden . . . . . xij s. ij d.

Stephen Dolton, purveyor at xij d. per diem . . . . . vj li. xij s.

John Chaworthe, armorer at xij d. per diem . . . . . xxv s.

Laborers occupyed and imployed in sondrye offices and places at diuerse and seuerall rates, viz. servinge in the Backhouse at ij s. iiij d. the weeke, iiij li. xix s. ij d.; makeinge of hay into bottles, and careinge them into the stables, at vj d. per diem, xiiij li. ix s. ix d.; drawinge of water, at vj d. per diem, vij li. xvij s.; careinge of water, at xij d. per diem, xiiij li. xj s.; makeinge cleane the house, at iij s. the monethe, cxj s. iiij d.; cleavinge of wood, at vj d. per diem, x li. v s.; and doinge sondrye other neccessaries aboute the house, viz. careinge water

to the stable and brewhouse, makinge cleane the well, and skowringe of vessell, with sondrye other neccessarie woorks, vj li. xs. ij d.; and in all to the some of lxiiij li. vijs. xj d.

(Total) ciiij<sup>xx</sup>xiiij li. v s. ix d.

Wages and enterteynements of sondrye artificers, laborers, and other officers and mynisters of the housholde, soldiers, and postes diuerselye employed within the tyme of this accompte, viz.:	Wages of officers and mynisters of the housholde; viz.:	Marmaduke Darell gentleman, Master of the Housholde, for his enterteynement, at xxvj li. xiiij s. iiij d. per annum, duringe the whole tyme of this accompte	lxxj li.	
	Richarde Astle, purveyor of beofes and muttons, at xiiij li. vj s. viij d. per annum, for iiij <sup>e</sup> quarters of a yeare and a halfe	xj li. xiiij s. iiij d.		
	Rowlande Maperlie, purveyor of fresh acates for halfe a yeare and one weeke, at xiiij li. per annum, vj li. xij s. vjd.; to Hughe Brage, succeedinge for one yeare and a halfe and v weekes at the sayde rate, xx li. vij s. vj d.; and to Richarde Phillippes, in the roume of the sayde Brage, for halfe a yeare, cv s.; in all the some of	xxxij li. xv s.		
	Henrye Lorte, purveyor of y <sup>e</sup> stable, for his enterteynement for iiij <sup>e</sup> quarters of a yeare, at x li. per annum	vij li. xv s.		
	Raphe Bawdwyne, cheife baker, for iiij <sup>e</sup> quarters of a yeare, at c s. per annum, lxxv s., and Richarde Cope, succeedinge him for the lyke tyme, lx s.—in all	vj li. xv s.		
	Thomas Stilyearde, butler, for his wages for one quarter of a yeare	xiiij s. iiij d.		
	Michaell Thomson, lardener, for his wages for halfe a yeare within the tyme of this accompte	xxvij s. vj d.		
	Henrye Walker, skalder, for his wages for one quarter and a halfe of a yeare, c s. per annum	xxxvij s. vj d.		
	Richarde Smythweeke, yeoman of the spicerye, for his wages for halfe a yeare, at c s. per annum, l s.; and to John Burredge, his successor, for one yeare and a halfe			

and halfe a quarter, at iiij li. per annum, vj l. x s.—	
in all . . . . .	ix li.
Frauncys Gisburne, for his wages for halfe a yeare, 1 s. ;	
to Roberte Horne, his successor, for one yeare and a	
halfe, at iiij li. per annum, vj li.; and to Christofer	
Clynton, cooke, in Horne's rounge, for halfe a yeare, at	
the sayde rate, xl s.—in all . . . . .	x li. x s.
Roberte Somerye, grome of the skullerye, for his wages	
for twoe whole yeares, at xl s. per annum . . . . .	iiij li.
Three laundresses, for there wages, at iiij li. xiii s. iiij d.	
per annum, for one yeare iij <sup>e</sup> quarters, with xl s. for	
twoe lyveryes . . . . .	x li. iij s. iiij d.
Christofer Garrett, gardener, for his wages, for iij <sup>e</sup> quarters	
of a yeare, at xl s. per annum . . . . .	xxx s.
Turnbroches, viz.: Christofer Clynton, for twoe yeares, at	
xxxiiij s. iiij d. per annum, lxxvj s. viij d., and to Raphe	
Swifte, George Lyndopp, and John Warner, at xxvj s.	
viij d. per annum, cvi s. viij d.—in all . . . . .	viiij li. xiiij s. iiij d.
(Total) clxxvij li. viij s. iiij d.	

Wages of  
soldiors, viz.:

Conducte of xxx soldiors from there seuerall dwellinge	
places in Somersett shire, at iiij s. the man . . . . .	vii li.
To James Fenton, for the wages of xxx soldiors in	
garryson by the space of liij dayes begonne the first	
daye of March and endinge the xxjth day of Aprill, at	
viij d. the pece per diem, by vertue of a letter from the	
Lord Treasurer and Sir Fraunces Walsingham, dated	
the xjth of November, 1586 . . . . .	liij li.
To John Towte, for the wages of xxx soldiors, at the same	
rate, from the xxjth of Marche, anno xxvij <sup>mo</sup> dominae	
Elizabethæ nunc Regine, vntill the xvth of October,	
anno xxvij <sup>vo</sup> ejusdem domine Elizabethæ, beinge by	



the space of d.xliij dayes, makinge one yeare c.lxxvij dayes, at the sayde rate . . . . . d.xliij li.

To him more for the wages of the same number of soldiors from the xvth of October, predicto anno, vnto the xth of December, anno xxix<sup>mo</sup> predictæ Regine, beinge by the space of twoe monethes, xxvj of them havinge allowance of dyett and therefore in wages but iiij d. a daye, and thother iiij<sup>or</sup> at viij d. per diem . . . . . xxxij li. iij s. iiij d.

To Roberte Newcourte, for the wages of the sayde garryson for one moneth of xxvij dayes, ended the vijth of Januarye, eodem anno, beinge in paye as aforesayde . . . . . xv li. xvij s. iiij d.

To him more for the wages of the same garryson of soldiors and at thaforesaide rates, for xliij<sup>or</sup> dayes ended the xxjth of Februarye, anno xxix<sup>mo</sup>, xxiiij li. xvij s. viij d., and towardes the chardges of xxv of them in there retourne to there seuerall dwellinges, beinge now dischardged, viij li. vi s. viij d.—in all

xxxiiij li. v s. iiij d.

To John Oliver, capten of the seconde garryson of xl soldyors, for the wages of him selfe for lxxiiij dayes, begonne the vjth of December, anno xxix<sup>mo</sup> domine Elizabethæ Regine, and ended the xvijth of Februarye followinge, at iiij s. per diem, xiiij li. xvj s., and for the wages of xl soldiors servinge vnder him for lxvij dayes, begonne the xijth of December aforesayde and endinge at the same tyme, at viij d. per diem, the some of iiij<sup>xx</sup> li. xiiij s. iiij d. in all, by vertue of a letter from the Lords of the Counselle, dated the vijth of December, 1586, the some of . . . . . cv li. ix s. iiij d.

And to John Brage, for the wages of fyve soldiors of tholde garryson yet remayninge, for there wages at iiij d. per diem, havinge allowaunce of meate, by the space of c.lxiiij<sup>or</sup> dayes, begonne the xxjth of

Februarye, anno xxix<sup>no</sup> dominæ Elizabethæ Regine,  
and ended the iiijth of August, dicto anno, xiiij li.  
xiiij s. iiij d., and towardes there chardges, beinge dis-  
chardged, at vj s. viij d: the pece, xxxiiij s. iiij d.—  
in all . . . . . xv li. vi s. viij d.

(Total) . D.CCCij li. ij s.

Postes, viz. to— Henrye Melton, poste, lyinge at Loughborough, for his  
wages for lxxvj weekes, at iiij s. the weeke, the some  
of . . . . . xxxviiij li.  
Hugh Bryce, post lyinge at Tutburye, for his wages for  
xxxiiij<sup>or</sup> weekes, at v s. the weeke, the some of . . . viij li. x s.  
To him more, beinge remoued to Chartley, and another  
poste layde at Hilton, for there wages for xlii weekes a  
pece, at x s. the weeke—betwixte them both the some of . . . xxj li.  
And in rewarde to the three postes aforesayde, beinge dis-  
chardged of there seruice . . . . . xx s.

(Total) lxviiij li. x s.

Amountinge in all for the sayde wages of artificers and  
laborers, officers and mynisters of the housholde,  
soldiors, and postes, within the tyme of this accompte,  
as by the sayde Booke warraunted, and subscribed by  
thande of the sayde Marmaduke Darell, may ap-  
peare . . . . . M.CCxlj li. vj s. j d.

Also allowed to the sayde accomptaunte for sondrye extraorde-  
narye chardges and forren paymentes by him sayde to be payde and  
disbursed to diuerse and sondrye persons within the tyme of this  
accompte, as within is particulerlye mencioned; viz —

Forren and  
extraordenarye  
chardges and  
paymentes ;  
viz.—

Extraordenarye empcions and pro- vycions, with other neccessarie chardges; viz.—	} Sope spente by the laundresses, aswell of the bodye of the Quene of Scottes and of her pantrye and ewrye, as for the washinge of the shetes and fur- niture of the housholde . xxxv li. x s. vj d.
Provycions for the warderobe; viz. iij <sup>e</sup> fetherbed tyks, lvij s.; twoe couerlettes, x s. viij d.; and iij <sup>or</sup> blan- kettes, xxij s. vj d. In all . . . . . iij li. xij s. ij d.	
A beame of yron with skales, xj s.; and for a c <sup>th</sup> pounce weight of leade made into weightes, xij s. In all . . . . . xxij s.	
Apparaylinge of three boyes turnbroches, with viijs. vj d. for a pallett for them . . . . .	lxj s. ij d.
Canvas: lvij yardes for lyninge viij peces of tapistrye, with ix s. to the taylor for lyninge it, and viijs. for ccc <sup>th</sup> of tenter hookes for hanginge them vpp, cvj s. vj d.; and for ix yardes to make a pallett case, vij s. iiij d. In all . . . . .	Cxiiij s. x d.
Furnishinge and makinge cleane of armor . . . . .	xix s. vj d.
Yronwoorke of sondrye sortes, with mendinge of diuerse neccessaries, within the tyme of this accompte . . . . .	xxxvij s. iiij d.
Mendinge the dove house at Shapnoll . . . . .	vij s. iiij d.
Mendinge the well buckett at Tutburye, and makinge a newe buckett at Chartley . . . . .	xxj s. vj d.
Dryfte of oxen and lokinge to them . . . . .	v s.
Corde boughte for trussinge the stuffe at the Remoues lxxvij s. x	
Househyer in the yorneye from Chartley to Fotheringay, as in the Booke particulerlye may appeare . . . . .	ix li. xiiij s. iiij d.
Hyer of a bedd for the laundresses at Tutburye . . . . .	x s.
Makinge cleane of the house at Fotheringay, after the dischardge of the housholde . . . . .	xlvj s. viij d.
Dyett and lodginge of diuerse servauntes of the righte honorable Sir Raphe Sadleyr duringe his aboade at Tutburye . . . . .	cxix s. iiij d.
Exchaunge of M.D.l li. in silver into golde . . . . .	vij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Casementes, iiij <sup>or</sup> , boughte at seuerall pryces, xj s.; and for shelves sett vpp in the Quene's cabbonett, iij s. iiij d.	
In all . . . . .	xiiij s. iiij d.
Paper and paper bookes . . . . .	xxx s. iiij d.
Mattes for the seates in the chapple . . . . .	viiij s. viij d.
Lengthninge of twoe greate rackes of yron and mendinge of tables and chayres . . . . .	xj s. ij d.
Settinge a newe beame in the slaughter house, and sow- deringe and mendinge sondrye faultes in the coffin . . . . .	xv s.
Bedstede, one . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
Hyer of lxxviiij hackney horses at the remoue from Tut- bury to Chartley, lxxviiij s.; and for the lyke hyer of hackney horses in the yorney from Chartley to Fother- ingaye, xj li. xij d. In all the some of . . . . .	xv li. xij d.
Makinge of grates for chimineyes, with the cariadge of them to Chartley . . . . .	xxix s. ij d.
Chardges of the Scottish trayne appoynted to attende the funerall at Peterborough, xli s. iiij d. . . . .	xli s. iiij d.
Brickes, xxxiiij lode, spent at Chartley, in repayringe the house . . . . .	vj li.

---

(Total) ciiij li. vj s. iiij d.

Rewardes to diuerse and sondrye servauntes of noble men,  
gentlemen, and others, for sondrye presentes of venyson  
and other vyandes presented to the Gouvernor within  
the tyme of this accompte, with lx s. in rewarde to  
William Bonfeilde and his fellowe, the Quene's Majesty's  
servauntes, towards there chardges and expences,  
beinge sente with a lytter from the Courte to attende  
in the yorney from Chartley to Fotheringaye, the some  
of . . . . . xx li. vj s. iiij d.

Also allowed for money by the sayde Sir Amyas Poulett

disbursed and payde aswell for reparacions done at Chartley against the cominge of the Skottishe Quene thether, the particuler accompte whereof is remayninge written with thande of the sayde Sir Amyas Poulett, amounting to the some of ciiij li. xiiij s. v d., as also for money by him payde by order from the righte honorable Sir Frauncys Walsingham, knighte, principall secretar ye to her Majesty, as apperethe by the Booke of paymentes subscribed with thande of the sayde Marmaduke Darell, xiiij li. x s. In all . . . . cxix li. iij s. v d.

Also allowed for money payde to John Cade and John Brage, sente from Fotheringaye to Chartleye, for xvj<sup>en</sup> persons of the Skottishe trayne, lefte there at the remoue of the Quene there mistris from them, aswell for the chardges and expences of them selves, as also of hackney horses and cariadges taken vpp for them and there stuffe in this yorney, ix li. iij s. ij d.; and to the sayde Brage, for the dyettes and other housholde defrayments of the sayde xvj<sup>en</sup> persons of the Skottishe trayne at Chartley aforesayde, betwene the xxijth of September and the xxijth of Februarye followinge, beinge by the space of clij dayes, as appereth by a letter from Sir Frauncys Walsingham, dated the xxiiijth of October, 1586, clii li. iij s. x d. In all . . . . clxj li. vij s.

And allowed to the sayde accomptaunte for money by him payde to diuerse and sondrye persons for there rydinge and trauellinge chardges vppon specyall occasyons of this service; viz. to Marmaduke Darell, gentleman, for the chardges of him selfe, his twoe men, and iij<sup>e</sup> horses, rydinge at twoe seuerall tymes vpp to London; to the right honorable the Lord Treasurer of Englande, for cawses towchinge this service and there attendinge,

xj li.; for his lyke chardges and expences aboute sondrye occasions and businesse concerninge this service in one whole yeare, and also towards certen losses which he hath susteyned for imprestinge of sondry persons for provycions with money before hande, whereof he hath hadd noe allowaunce, x li.; and for the lyke chardges and expences of himselfe, his men, and horses, and twoe soldiars, beinge appoynted to attende the Skottish trayne from Fotheringaye to London, and to see them furnished with horses and other thinges nedefull, vij li. xv s. iiij d.; in all — xxvij li. xv s. iiij d. To John Cade for his rydinge chardges and expences, beinge sent vpp at seuerall tymes to London for the Receipte of money out of Thexchequier, towards this housholdes defraymentes, vij li. vij s. ij d. And to diuerse other persons for there rydinge chardges, beinge necessariye employed in rydinge to seuerall places vppon sondrye occasions towchinge the service aforesaide, xv li. xxj d. Amountinge in the whole to the some of . . . . . lj li. iiij s. iij d.

Amountinge in the whole for the extraordenarye chardge and payments aforesayde within the tyme of this accompte, as by thaforsayde Booke, signed with thande of the sayde Marmaduke Darell, herevppon sene and examyned, doth and may appeare, the some of . . . . . cccc.lv li. vij s. iiij d.

Money prested  
to Bryan Cave,  
gentleman.

And the sayde accomptaunte is allowed for money by him prested to Bryan Cave, gentleman, which was owinge to the countrye for provycions taken vpp for this service before the firste of Marche, 1585, with which he alreadye in his Booke of Accomptes, deliuered to John Conyers, one of her Majesty's auditors of the prestes,

chardged him selfe accordinglye, as in the same Booke  
 may appeare . . . . . ccix li.  
 Some totall of the allowaunces and } IX.<sup>m</sup>C.xxxix li. ij s. vj d.  
 payments aforesayde }

And so the sayde accomptauntes vppon the determy-  
 nacion of this accompte, resteth in debte the some  
 of . . . . . DC.xxx li. xv s. j d.

Whereof—

Vppon.

Richarde Younge, of London, marchaunte, for money  
 by him receaved for naperie, shetes, and other lynnens to  
 be provyded by the Quenes Majesty's comaundment,  
 for thuse of the late Quene of Scottes, and here depend-  
 inge vppon the same Richarde Younge vntill he make  
 a particuler accompte thereof . . . . . c.iiij<sup>xx</sup>xij li. v s. iij d.\*

William Dethicke, alias Garter Principall Kinge of Armes,  
 for money by him receaved for provycions to be made  
 for the herse and other causes of Heraldrye against the  
 funeralle of the sayde Skottishe Quene, for which he is  
 to make a particuler accompte, the some of . . . . . cccc.vj li.

This accomptaunte, vppon the determynacion of this his  
 accompte, the some of . . . . . xxxij li. ix s. x d.

Whereof—

Allowed to Marmaduke Darell, gentleman, for his chardges and  
 expences in London, aswell in perfectinge and makinge vpp of his  
 bookes, and attendinge vppon Mr. Secretary aboute diuerse causes  
 concerninge the Skottishe people, then beinge vppon there dis-  
 chardge, as also for his lyke chardges in attendinge the makinge  
 and declaringe of this accompte, the some of x li.; and allowed to  
 John Conyers, one of her Majesty's auditors, for the trauell,  
 chardges, and expences of him selfe and his clarkes for castinge,  
 tryinge, and exameninge the particulers of this Booke, reducinge

\* Recordata in magno Rotulo de anno vi<sup>to</sup> Regis Jacobi in— London.

it into an accompte, and for engrossinge the same accompte in parchemente, the some of viij li. ; and then he resteth in debte the some of xiiij li. ix s. x d.; whiche sayde some the sayde Anthonye Poulett esquier, this accomptaunte, hath payde into her Majesty's Receipte of Thexchequier, by a tallye levyed the xixth day of Auguste, in the xxxjth yeare of her Majesty's raygne, as by the sayde tallye, together with the certyficatte of Roberte Petre for the same vppon this accompte showed, examyned, and remayninge, may appeare. And then this accomptaunte, vppon the determy-nacion of this his accompte, restethe quyte.

W. BURGHELEY.

J. FORTESCUE.

xvj die Decembris, 1589.

Examined, per JOHN CONYERS, auditor.



## Charges of the Funeral of MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

---

The Funeralls of  
 y<sup>e</sup> Mightie Princes  
 Mary, late Quene  
 of Scottes. } The ACCOMPTE OF JOHN FORTESCUE,  
 ESQUIER, keaper of the Queenes Majesty's  
 great Warderobe, THAT IS TO SAY, Aswell  
 of all such somes of moneye as he hathe  
 receaved and had of the Queenes Majesty's threasure, out of her  
 Highnes receipte of Thexchequier for thuse aforesaide; as also of  
 the defrayinge, yssuinge, and expendinge the same in and aboute  
 the empcions and provycions of blacke clothe, Parys heades, white  
 heades, Hollande clothe, and other chardges and expences, together  
 with cariadges and rydinge chardges of officers and others, by him  
 defrayed in and aboute the funeralls of the late highe and mightye  
 Princesse Marye, late Quene of Scottes, solemnized in the cathed-  
 drall church of Peterboroughe, the firste daye of Auguste, in the  
 xxixth yeare of the raigne of our moste gracious Soveraigne Ladye  
 Elizabethe, by the grace of God, Quene of Englande, Fraunce,  
 and Irelande, Defendor of the Faythe, &c.

THAT IS TO SAYE,

The said accomptaunte is chardged withe—

Readye money  
 receaved and  
 had of

The Threasurer and Chamberleyne of Thexchequier by  
 vertue of a privie seale to them directed, bearinge date  
 the xvjth daye of Julye, anno xxix Domine Elizabethæ

nunc Regine, as by a certificatte under thande of Roberte Petre esquier, together with the confession of this accomptaunte, may appeare, the some of . . . . D.CCC li.

Money  
chardged vppon  
thaccompte,  
viz.—

The saide accomptaunte is further chardged with the valor or price of diverse sortes of silkes taken out of her Majesty's stoare of the greate warderobe, and spent in thaforesaide service, which are here so chardged for that allowaunce thereof is given to the same accomptaunte in diverse severall somes, hereafter particulerly sett downe in this accompte, viz. for xxvij yerdes, iij quarters, of velvett purple for the clothe of estate, at xxvj s. viij d. the yearde, xxxvij li. vj s. viij d.; vij yeardes of purple velvett to cover the chayre of estate, at xxvj s. viij d. the yearde, ix li. vj s. viij d.; one yearde di. of satten purple at xij s., xvij s.; one yearde one quarter of purple velvett for a quyshin for the same chayre at the said rate, xxxij s. iij d.; one yearde, iij quarters of satten purple to lyne the same, at xij s., xxj s.; and xx yeardes of blacke velvett for the pall remayninge over the grave, at xx s. the yearde, xx li.; amountinge in all to the some of . . . . lxxj li. v s. viij d.

Some totall of all the chardge and }  
receiptes aforesaide } D.CCClxxj li. v s. viij d.

Against the which the saide accomptaunte is allowed for—

Boughte and provided by the saide accomptaunte for the robes and liveryes of the mourners at thaforesaide funeralles, at severall rates and pryces as hereafter followethe; viz. at

xx s. the yearde	xxxvj yeardes	xlvi li.
xx s. the yearde	CCxxx yeardes, iij quarters	CCxxx li. xv s.
xvj s. viij d.	clxxiiij yeardes and a halfe	cxlv li. viij s. iij d.
xiiij s. iij d.	cciiij <sup>xx</sup> xj yeardes and a halfe	ciiij <sup>xx</sup> xiiij li. vj s. viij d.

x s.	clxiiij yeardes, iij quarters	iiij <sup>xx</sup> li. vij s. vj d.
viiij s.	ccclx yeardes and a halfe	cxliiij li. iiij s.
vj s. viij d.	cccxlj yeardes and a halfe	cxiiiij li. xvj s. viij d.

---

Yeardes, M.v<sup>c</sup>iiiij<sup>xx</sup>xix di.

Blacke clothe  
for liveryes for  
mourners, viz.

Robes and  
lyvereyes for  
v<sup>c</sup>xl mourners.

Amoūtinge in clothe to the number of M.D.iiiij<sup>xx</sup>xix yerdes and a halfe, distributed and delivered as followethe, viz. to the Erles of Rutlande and Lincolne, at x yeardes le pece, xx yerdes; Countesses, viz. of Bedforde, xvj yerdes, and Rutlande and Lincoln, xxiiiij yerdes—xl yerdes; Bysshoppes of Lincolne and Peterboroughe, eyther of them viij yerdes, xvj yerdes; Barrons, vj, viz. v at viij yerdes le pece, and one, vj yerdes, xlvj yerdes; Barronesses, viij, viz. vj at x yerdes the pece, and ij at vj yerdes, lxxij yerdes; Knightes, ix at vj yerdes the pece, liiij yerdes; Ladyes, iiij at vj yerdes the pece, xxiiiij yerdes; Deane of Peterboroughe, viij yerdes; Master of the greate Warderobe, vj yerdes; Kinges at armes, ij, at vj yerdes the pece, xij yerdes; Scottishe gentlewoemen, vij, viz. iiij at vj yerdes, and iiij at iiij yerdes, xxxiiiij yerdes; Scottish gentlemen, iiij, viz. j at vj yerdes, and ij at iiij yerdes the pece, xiiij yerdes; gentlemen that caryed the corpes, viij at iiij yerdes di. the pece, xxviiij yerdes; gentlemen vshers, ij at v yerdes, x yerdes; esquiers, xvj, at v yerdes the pece, iiij<sup>xx</sup> yerdes; chaplens, ij, at vj yerdes the pece, xij yerdes; chauncellor to the Byshoppe of Peterboroughe, v yerdes; heraldes at armes, v, at v yerdes the pece, xxv yerdes; sewers, iiij, at iiij yerdes the pece, xij yerdes; gentlewoemen attendants, xxvij, at iiij yerdes di. the pece, iiij<sup>xx</sup>xiiiij yerdes di.; gentlemen attendants in clokes, xliiij, at iiij yerdes di. the pece, cliiij yerdes; Mr. Roberte Petre, clarke of the receipte, v yerdes;

officers of Peterboroughe church, vj, at iij yerdes di. the pece, xxj yerdes; conductors in clokes, vj, viz. iij at iij yerdes, and ij at iij yerdes di. the pece, xxij yerdes; gromes of the beddes and chamber, vij, at iij yerdes di. the pece, xxiiij yerdes di.; officers of the wardrobe, xiiij, viz. iij at v yerdes, vj at iij yerdes, and iij at iij yerdes the pece, liij yerdes; yeomen and others attendaunte in coates, CCxxxj, at one yerde and a halfe the pece, CCCxlvi yerdes di.; poore woemen Cxx at iij yerdes the pece, CCCLx yerdes; in all as by one Booke of particularytyes conteyninge the severall names of the earles, countesses, barrons, barronesses, knightes, ladyes, and other persons to whom the saide clothe was distributed, signed by thande of the saide Mr. Fortescue, Master of her highnes greate wardrobe aforesaid, herevppon dulye examyned, tryed, and remayninge, dothe and maye appeare, viz. in money . . . . . ix<sup>e</sup>lv li. xviiij s. ij d.

Parys heades,  
whiteheades,  
and kerchers  
viz.—

Parys heades, with the furniture to them belonginge, boughte at diverse pryces, viz.: iij<sup>e</sup> for the Countesses of Bedforde, Rutlande, and Lincolne, at iijij lj. xiiij s. x d. the pece, xiiij li. xviiij s.; v at iijij li. viij s. x d. the pece, xxij li. iij s. ij d.; vi, with barbe and lyninge to eche of them, at lxx s. the pece, xxj li.; vj Parys heades, vj barbes, and vj lardge bongraces, at lxij s. the pece, xviiij li. xij s.—in all . . . . . lxxv li. xvij s. viij d.

Whiteheades for gentlewoemen attendaunte uppon the mourners—x, at xxiiij s. the pece . . . . . xj li. x s.

A lardge attyre of lawne, with a barbe, for a Scottish gentlewoeman . . . . . xxiiij s.

Heade attyres for gentlemen attendaunte—v, at xiiij s. vi d. lxxij s. vi d.

Kerchers, likewise boughte for gentlewoemen, of diverse sortes, viz.; v, at xxv s. the pece, vj li. v s.; vi, at

xvj s. the pece, iiij li. xvj s.; and one, xiiij s. vj d.—in  
 all the some of . . . . . xj li. xv d. vj d.  
 Hollande for kerchers for Cxx poore woemen, Cxx ells, at  
 ij s. the ell . . . . . xij li.

(Total) Cxv li. xvij s. viij d.

A clothe of  
 estate, chayre,  
 and quyshin  
 of purple  
 velvett, viz.—

Money by him yssued, payde, and defrayed, viz.: for—	} Purple velvett for the clothe of estate of the stoare of the greate warderobe, xxvij yerdes iij <sup>e</sup> quarters, at xxvj s. vij d. the yearde . . . . . xxxvij li. vj s. viij d.
Buckram to lyne the same, xvij yerdes, at xiiij d. le yerde . . . . . xxj s.	
Rounde Lyor, iiij li., at iij s. iiij d. the ponde . . . . .	xij s. iiij d.
Makinge of the same . . . . .	lxvj s. viij d.
Purple sylke frendge, j lb. x oz., at iij s. the oz. . . . .	lxxvij s.
Silke, ij oz., at ij s. vi d. the oz. . . . .	v s.

(Total) xlviij li. x s. viij d.

Tymberworke of a chayre for the same state . . . . .	xiiij s. iiij d.
Purple velvett to cover the chayre of the saide stoare, vij yerdes, at xxvi s. viij d. the yerde . . . . .	ix li. vj s. viij d.
Purple satten to lyne the backe of the same of thaforesaide store, j yerd di., at xij s. . . . .	xvij s.
Purple silke frendge, xij oz. qu., at iij s. the ounce . . . . .	xxxvj s. ix d.
Purple silke, j oz. di. qu. . . . .	ij s. ix d. ob. qu.
Narrowe silke rybben, ij oz., at iiij s. the ounce . . . . .	vij s.
Girthwebbe, sackclothe, buckrom, and blacke nayles . . . . .	iiij s. vj d.
Fustyon, iij yerdes, at xvij d. the yearde . . . . .	iiij s. vi d.
Downe, vi lb., at xvij d. the ponde . . . . .	ix s.
Blacke vernished nayles, MM. . . . .	vi s. viij d.
Greate chayre nayles, j doz. . . . .	ij s. vj d.
A scutchin and pomells . . . . .	ij s.

Canvas for the backe . . . . .	xviij d.
A staye of yron for the backe . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
Workemanshippe, with x s. for a case of cotton . . . . .	xxx s.

(Total) xvj li. vij s. viij d. ob. qu.

Purple velvett for a quyshin for y <sup>e</sup> same chayre, j yerde qu., at xxvj s. viij d. the yearde, taken out of the stoare of the warderobe . . . . .	xxxiiij s. iiij d.
Purple satten to lyne the same of the saide stoare, j yerde iiij <sup>e</sup> quarters, at xij s. the yearde . . . . .	xxi s.
Purple silke, iiij oz. di. qu., at iiij s. the ounce . . . . .	ix s. iiij d. ob.
Lardge buttons, caules, and tassells of purple silke, iiij oz., at v s. the pece . . . . .	xx s.
Fustyon for the pillowe, iiij <sup>e</sup> yerdess, at xvij d. le yearde . . . . .	iiij s. vi d.
Fine downe, viij lb., at ij s. the pounce . . . . .	xvj s.

(Total) ciij s. ij d. ob.

(Total) lxix li. ij s. vij d. qu.

A pall of blacke  
velvett remainy-  
nge over the  
grave at Peter-  
boroughe, viz.,

Blacke velvett for the same pall, beinge taken out of the said stoare of her Majesty's warderobe, xx yeardes, at xx s. the yearde, the some of . . . . .	xx li.
Black buckrom for lyninge the same, xij yerdess, at xiiij d. the yearde, the some of . . . . .	xiiij s.

(Total) xx li. xiiij s.

Hanginges and  
carpettes of  
blacke clothe  
and broade  
bayes, viz.—

Blacke clothe, aswell to hange in the chamber of presence and aboute the pulpitt, as also for two carpettes in the chamber of presence, cciiij <sup>xx</sup> viiij yeardes, at vj s. viij d. the yearde . . . . .	iiij <sup>xx</sup> xvi li.
Broade bayes to hange in the withdrawinge chamber, CAMD. SOC.	

the hall, and diverse other places as the mourners passed by, and for a sparver in the said chamber, vij<sup>c</sup>iiij<sup>xx</sup>xiiij yerdes qu., at iij s. iiij d. le yearde . . . . Cxxxij li. vij s. vj d.  
 And to William Albany, for the hyer of vij<sup>c</sup>iiij<sup>xx</sup>xix yerdes iiij<sup>e</sup> qus. of like bayes, which was hanged in the churche and the portes of the same, at iiij d. the yearde, the some of . . . . . xiiij li. vj s. vij d.

(Total) ccxlj li. xiiij s. j d.

Offeringes, viz.—	Also allowed to the saide accomptaunte for so much money by him saide to be payde to the mourners for there offeringes in the churche, the some of . . . . .	xl s.
Duetyes of the churche of Peterboroughe, viz.—	Also allowed to the Deane of Peterboroughe for sondrye duetyes of the churche, viz.: for the grave, x li.; rynginge, lxxvj s. viij d.; rushes and strawinges, ls.; demolicions and spoyles of thinges in the churche, lxxvj s. viij d.; careinge the corpes to the grave in the nighte, xx s.; for thuse of the vestrie for kepinge y <sup>e</sup> clothes, x s.; perfumes, ij s. vj d.; and to y <sup>e</sup> saide Deane, in consideracon of the blacke bayes y <sup>t</sup> hanged in the churche, xx li.— in all . . . . .	xl li. xv s. x d.
Doole moneye, viz.—	Payde by thandes of Mr. John Fortescue in almes delivered to Cxx poore woemen in money at the saide funeralles, the some of . . . . .	xij li.
Rydinge chardges of officers to Peter- boroughe, with a rewarde, viz.—	John Fortescue, deputie to the master of the warderobe, for the chardges of him selfe, his man, and horses, by the space of xv dayes, and for his service and attend- annce, the some of . . . . . Roberte Tyos, vnder clarke of the same warderobe, for his chardges, service, and attendance by the lyke tyme, and for ynke and paper . . . . . John Tute, portitor, and Roberte Welton, measurer of the clothes, for them selves and there horses, there services	x li. vij li.

and attendaunce for lyke tyme, at iiij li. to eyther of them . . . . .	viiij li.
Hughe Rogers, for the chardges of him selfe, his wyfe, and horses, to see to the orderinge of the Parys heades .	xl s.
Anthonye Walker, clarke of the greate warderobe, for his diligence, travell, and attendaunce, in tryinge, castinge, exameninge, and makinge of this accompte .	vj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

(Total) xxxiiij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Chardges of  
cariadges, viz.,  
to—

John Tute, portitor of the great warderobe, for the chardges of three cartes, to Peterboroughe, and twoe backe againe to the greate warderobe, in cariadge and recarriadge of the blacke clothes, Parys heades, bayes, and other the provicions aforesaide, for the same funeralles, the some of . . . . .	vj li.
--	--------

Wages of  
taylors, with  
other necces-  
saries, viz., of—

William Wallys, William Powell, Evan Price, James Rutter, Rowlande Rugger, John Allen, Edward Graveleye, and Edmonde Rowse, for there wages, travell, and attendances at London and at Peterboroughe, in sowinge and hanginge of all the bayes, and in deliverye of all the blackes, everye of them by the space of xv dayes, at xx d. the daye, amounting in all to the some of .	x li.
--	-------

To certen taylors hyred at Peterboroughe, xiiij s.; makinge of the gownes for the poore, vj li.; and for diverse other necessaries, viz.: greate hookes, boordes, and quarters to hange the clothe of estate, and for watchinge, v s. iiij d.; hookes, MM., at xiiij s. iiij d. le mille, xxvj s. viij d.; twoe hamers, v s.; and for curten ringes and tape for a sparver of bayes hanged in the withdrawinge chamber, ij s. iiij d.—xxxix s. iiij d.; in all the some of xviiij li. xij s. iiij d.



And allowed to John Fortescue, master of the greate warderobe, for the chardges of him selfe, his servanntes, and horses, in his yorneye to Peterboroughe and duringe his aboade there . . . . . xx li.

In all the chardges of the saide funeralles solemnysed in the Cathedrall Church of Peterboroughe aforesaide, as by one Booke of particularytyes thereof subscribed with thande of John Fortescue, esquier, master of the greate warderobe, herevppon beinge duelye caste, tryed, and examyned, may appeare, the some of . . . . . M.D.xxxvj li. ix s. qu.

(Some totall of all the paymente and allow-  
aunces aforesaide, with lxxj li. v s. viij d. for  
the valor and price of silkes expended out  
of the stoare of the great warderobe) . . . . . M.D.xxxvj li. ix s. qu.

Over and beside the some of ——— payd to  
the harraldes by agrement with my Lord  
Threasurer, and the some of ——— for the  
dyett in this accompte not accompted for.

And so he restethe in supplusage vppon the determy-  
nacion of this accompte the some of . . . . . D.Clxv li. iij s. iiij d. qu.  
Whereunto is to be added for the travell, paynes, and  
expences of John Conyers, auditor, and his clarkes, in  
tryinge, castinge, and exameninge the particuler Bookes  
of the said accomptaunte, and reducinge the same into  
an accompte, and for engrossinge the said accompte in  
parchemente, the some of xl s.; and then he remayneth  
in supplusage the some of . . . . . D.Clxvij li. iij s. iiij d. qu.

W. BURGHLEY,  
xiiij<sup>o</sup> Februarii, 1587. WA. MILDMAYE.

Examined per JO. CONYERS, Auditor.  
iiij<sup>xx</sup>xiiij li. x s. ix d. sol. in parte supplusage.

## CHARGES OF THE HEARSE.

Chardges of the hearse, and other causes of herauldrie, at the fune- rall of the Scottishe Quene. } The ACCOMPTE of WILLIAM DETHICKE, Garter principall Kinge of Armes to our Soveraigne Ladye Elizabeth the Quene's Maiestie that nowe ys, for the some of fower hundreth and sixe poundes by him receaved and hadd out of her highnes Receipte of the Exchequier by vertue of a privie seale dated xj<sup>mo</sup> July, 1587, for provicions to be made for the hearse and other causes of Herauldrie for the funeralles of the Scottishe Quene, primo die Augusti, 1587, in the xxxth yere of the Reigne of our gracious Soueraigne Ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of Englande, France, and Irelande, Defendor of the Faythe, &c., WHICH said some of fower [hundred] and sixe poundes dependeth vpon him in the accompte of Anthonie Pawlett esquier, heyre and executor to Sir Amyas Pawlett knighte, late gouvernor of the Quene of Scottes, for her dyet at Tutburie, Chartley, and Fotheringay, made for twoe whole yeares fyue monethes and xvijth dayes, endinge the iijth daye of Auguste, anno regni Regine predicte xxxix<sup>o</sup>, for whiche some the saide William Dethicke Garter Accomptaunte, dothe yelde and make this his presente accompte, as hereafter followeth, which accompte was taken and declared before the righte honorable (*sic*)

## THAT YS TO SAYE,

The Accomptant is chardged with—

Readie money  
by him received  
and hadd; viz.  
of—

The Threasurer and Chamberlaines of Theschequier; viz.— } In the Terme of Easter, anno xxxix<sup>no</sup> Regine predicte, by the handes of Sir Henrie Killigrew, knighte, one of the Tellors of the Receipte of the Eschequier, by vertue of a privie seale dated xj<sup>mo</sup> die Julii, 1578, for provicions to be made for the hearse and other causes of Herauldrie againste the Funeralles of the said Scottishe

Queene, as in the chardge of the accompte of the saide Anthonie Paulett, esquier, in the title of money receaved of the Threasurer and Chamberlaines of the Eschequier appeareth, whiche afterwardes in the foote of the same accompte was sett vpon the saide William Dethicke, Garter, nowe accomptaunte, to be by him accompted for, amountinge to the some of . . . ccccvj li.

Agaynst the which

The saide accomptaunte is allowed for—

Firste, the accomptaunte ys allowed aswell for sondrie kindes of emptions and provicions made and provided for the saide hearse, with velvetts, silkes, and other furnitures, and garnishinges of golde and silver, the Banner of Honor of the Armes of the said Scottishe Quene, escutchions, and other necessaries; as also for the fees, dyettes, attendaunce, ryding chardges, and other expences of the saide William Dethicke, alias Garter principall Kinge of Armes, Roberte Coke, alias Clarentiux, and William Flower, alias Norrey, twoe other Kinges of Armes, with other chardges of herauldes, pursuvauntes and others, as hereafter particulerly ensueth; viz. for—

A frame of timber, and makinge a hearse with doble railes, which was sett vp and erected in the quier of the Cathedrall Churche at Peterburgh, before the firste daye of Auguste, 1587, on which daye the funeralles were solemnized, the some of . . . . . xvj li.

A chariot or choache to convey the corpes, wrapped and soldred in leade, with representacion of y<sup>e</sup> saide Scottishe Quene, from Fotheringaie to Peterborough, and for paintinge and garnishinge the same chariott, xij li. vj s. viij d.; and for hier and chardges of iiij<sup>or</sup> choch horses from London to drawe y<sup>e</sup> same chariott, beinge trapped

with velved, and garnished with eschutchions and chafferons, C s. In all . . . xvij li. vj s. viij d.

A pyllowe of purple velvett, frindged and tasselles of golde, for the state of representacion . . . lxxvj s. viij d.

Emptions and provisions of sondrie kindes imployed aboute the hearse; viz. for—

Velvettes imployed for the furnishinge of the saide hearse and funeralles; viz. x yardes of blacke velvett to cover y<sup>e</sup> saide chariott, frindged with blacke silke and golde, and garnished with eschutchions; xxx yardes of velvett for a pall for the corpes, and ix yardes of velvett for a cannopie to be caried over the corpes, which was frindged with silke and golde, with iiij<sup>or</sup> blacke staves with knoppes of golde to beare the same cannopie; also velvettes aboute the same hearse for vallaunces and rochementes of xvij yardes compasse, conteyninge doble ij<sup>o</sup> breadthes of veluette—xxxvj yardes; velvett for the viij pillers of the hearse, for everie piller ij yardes di., conteyninge xx yardes; and for ij carpettes and iij<sup>e</sup> pillowers of blacke velvett within the hearse, and at the offeringe for the cheife morner, conteyninge xiiij yardes. In all cxix yardes, at xvij s. the yarde, amountinge to the some of . . . cvij li. ij s.

Lardge frendge of golde, of one quarter depe, conteyninge — yardes fastned to y<sup>e</sup> vallaunce of the hearse, and for xvij yardes of blacke silke frindge fastned to the ciell or majestie of the hearse, and frendge for the chariott or cannopie . . . xiiij li. vj s. viij d.

Blacke taffata: ij ells for y<sup>e</sup> ciell or majesty within the herse, buckrome to line yt, and for makinge iij li. xvj s. iiij d.

Blacke clothe: lxx yardes to couer the compasse of the

saide doble railes and hearse, for consideracion at viij s.  
 the yarde; and for lvij yardes of bayes for th'inner  
 parte of y<sup>e</sup> railes and for stole clothes. In all the some  
 of . . . . . xxxiiij li. xvj s.

(Total) ciiij<sup>xx</sup>xvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Money by him  
 yssued, payde,  
 and defrayed;  
 viz.—

Empcions and provisions  
 of banners. eschutchions,  
 and other garnishings for  
 royall solemnizinge of the  
 sayde funeralles; viz. of—

The greate Banner of Honor  
 of the armes of the saide  
 Scottishe Quene, wroughte  
 on taffata with fine golde in  
 oyle, frendged with silke,

and for a longe standarde of taffata wrought with the  
 supporters, creast, and badges, with oile in fine golde;  
 for xij bannerrolles of her royall dissentes and armes of  
 her antecessors, likewise on taffata, wrought wyth golde  
 in oyle, and frendged with silke; for a coate of her armes  
 vpon damaske, wrought with fyne golde in oile, and  
 lined with buckram; for a lardge helmett of steele, with  
 bales gilte in fine golde; the creaste or cognizance  
 carved, and gilte with fyne golde; the targett of her  
 armes, carved in woodd, gilte with fine golde; the sworde  
 and the pommell gylded; the sheathe of clothe of golde,  
 with a girdle, buckler, pendaunte; and the mantles of  
 clothe of golde, lined with clothe of silver, powdered  
 with ermynes, the knoppes burnished golde, with tasselles  
 of silke and golde, and a crowne with balles, doble gilte,  
 sett with a crowne. Amounting in all to . liij li. vj s. viij d.

xviij compartement eschutchions in paste paper or boordes,  
 xij scroules of her worde written and gilte, xviiij water  
 tables with armes and supporters, and xij shafférons of

armes in paste paper, and for creaste and cognizaunces of her badges and supportors . . . . .	ix li.
xij dozen of pencilles of severall coates of armes and badges or creastes wroughte vpon taffata and sarcenett in golde, for the garnishinge of the hearse or chariott; also vj eschutchions on taffata in fine golde, for the corpes sett vpon the pall . . . . .	vij li.
iiij dozen of eschutchions of her armes, single, and with her late husbände impaled, made vpon lardge bvckram; x dozen of eschutchions vpon paper in metall; and xij dozen on paper in coullors, for the garnishinge of the churche, and for one longe attachemente of armes, with helme, creaste, and supportors . . . . .	xxxvj li. xij s. iiij d.
xv braces of irons to be fastned in y <sup>e</sup> churche, to beare y <sup>e</sup> banners, bannerrolles, helmett, creaste, and such like; also for xiiij longe blacke staues for y <sup>e</sup> said banners; and xxiiij shorte blacke staues for the conductors, eighte white staves for the offycers royall, nailles, pynnes, &c., and for twoe longe trunckes, and carriadge of the saide banners and eschutchions, with the velvettes and other thinges, to Peterburghe . . . . .	vij li.

(Total) cv li.

Fees, dyetts,  
riding chardges,  
and other  
allowaunces  
of the Kinges  
of Armes, He-  
rauldes, and  
pursuvauntes;  
viz. for—

William Dethicke, alias Garter, principall Kinge of Armes, aswell for his transportacion and riding chardges from London to Peterborough, and from thence to Fotherin- gay, to prepare for the conducte and safe carriage of the corpes of the Scottishe Quene, as also for his fees, dyetts, and attendaunce duringe the saide funeralles, the some of . . . . .	xliv li.
---	----------

Roberte Cooke, alias Clarentiux, Kinge of Armes, for his like riding chardges, fees, dyettes, and allowaunces, dueringe all the saide tyme of the funeralls . . . . . xxv li.

William Flower, alias Norrey, Kinge of Armes, for his fees allowed to y<sup>e</sup> heraulde his deputie, as in like cases apperteyned . . . . . xvij li. vj s. viij d.

Two herauldes for their fees, riding charges, transportation, with dietts and other allowaunces dueringe the foresaide tyme . . . . . xvij li. vj s. viij d.

Two pursuvauntes of armes for their fees, riding chardges, transportation, dyetts, &c., for the same tyme . . . . . xij li. vj s. viij d.

Amountinge in all the chardges aforesaide, as by one rolle thereof in parchment subscribed with thande of this accomptaunte herevpon examined and remayninge, maye appere, to y<sup>e</sup> some of . . . . . cxx li.

And so the saide accomptant vpon y<sup>e</sup> determinacion of this his accompte is in supplusage the some of xv li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Which some, for that the same chardges was undertaken by agremente with the righte Honorable Lorde Burghley, late Lorde High Threasurer of Englande, and Sir John Fortescue, knighte, Chancellor of the Eschequier, for the saide some of cccvj li., ys here for that cause deducted from this accomptaunte.

AND SO HERE EVEN.

J. FORTESCUE.  
ROBERTE CLARKE.

xvj<sup>to</sup> die Februarii.  
Examined per Fra . . . . .  
W . . . . .

## A Remembrance of the Order and Manner of the Burial of MARY QUEEN OF SCOTTS.

---

ON Sunday, being the thirtieth of July, 1587, in the twenty-ninth year of the reigne of Elizabeth the Queen's Majestie of England, there went from Peterborough Mr. Dethick, alias Garter Principall King of Armes, and five heralds, accompanied with forty horse and men, to conduct the body of Mary late Queen of Scotts from Fotheringham Castle in Northamptonshire to Peterborough aforesaid, which Queen had remayned prisoner in England years; having for that purpose brought a royal coach drawn by four horses, and covered with black velvet, richly sett forth with escocheons of the arms of Scotland, and little penons round aboute it; the body being inclosed in lead, and the same coffined in wood, was brought down and reverently put into the coach, at which time the heralds put on their coats of arms, and bareheaded, with torches light, brought the same forth of the castle, about ten of the clock at night, and so conveyed it to Peterborough, miles distant from Fotheringham Castle; whither being come about two of the clock on the Monday morning, the body was received most reverently at the minster dore of Peterborough by the bishop, dean, and chapter, and Clarenceux King of Armes, and, in the presence of the Scotts which came with the same, it was layd in a vault prepared for the same in the quire of the saide church on the south side, opposyte to the tombe of Queen Catherine, Dowager of Spayne, the first wife to King Henry the Eighth. The occasion why the body



was forthwith layd into the vault, and not borne in the solemnity, was, because it was so extreame heavy by reason of the lead, that the gentlemen could never endure to have carryed it with leasure in the solemne proceeding, and besides was feared that the sowder might ripp, and being very hott weather might be found some anoyance.

On Tuesday, being the first of August, in the morning, being about eight of the clock, the chiefe mourner, being the Countess of Bedford, was attended upon by all the lords and ladyes, and brought into the presence chamber, within the bishop's pallace, which all over was hanged with black cloath, she was by the Queens Majesties gentlemen ushers placed somewhat under a cloath of estate of purple velvett, having given to the great officers their staves of office, viz. to the Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlaine, the Treasurer and Comptroller, she took her way into the great hall where the corps stood, and the heralds having marshalled the severall companyes, they made their proceedings as followeth:

Two conductors in black, with black staves.

Poor women mourners, to the number of one hundred, two and two.

Two yeomen harvengers.

The standard of Scotland borne by Sir George Savill, knight.

Gentlemen in clokes to the number of fifty, being attendance on the lords and ladys.

Six groomes of the chamber, viz. Mr. Eaton, Mr. Bykye, Mr. Ceacavall, Mr. Flynt, Mr. Charlton, Mr. Lylle.

Three gentlemen shewers to the Queen's Majestie, Mr. Horseman, Mr. Fynes, and Mr. Marten.

Gentlemen in gownes, Mr. Worme, Mr. Holland, Mr. Crewse, Mr. Watson, Mr. Allington, Mr. Darrell, and Mr. Foscue.

Scotts in clocks, seventeen in number.

A Scottish priest. The chaplains to the two bishops.

Mr. Fortescue, mr. of the wardrobe to the Queen's Majestie.

The Bishop of Peterborough.  
 The Bishop of Lincolne.  
 The great banner, borne by Sir Andrew Nowell, knight.  
 The comptroller, Mr. Melvin.  
 The treasurer, Sir Edward Montague.  
 The lord chamberlayne was Lord Dudley.  
 The lord steward was Lord St. John of Basing.  
 Two ushers.

Atchivements of Honor borne by Heralds.	}	Helme and crest borne by Portcullis. Targe borne by York. Sword borne by Rouge Dragon. Coat borne by Somersett.
---	---	--

Clarenceux King of Armes, with a gentleman usher, Mr. Con-  
 ningsbye.

The corps borne by esquires in cloks:

Mr. Francis Fortescue.  
 Mr. William Fortescue.  
 Mr. Thomas Stafford.  
 Mr. Nicholas Smith.  
 Mr. Nicholas Hyde.  
 Mr. Howland, the bishop's brother.

Eight bannerrolls borne by esquires:

Mr. William FitzWilliams.  
 Mr. Griffin of Dingley.  
 Mr. Robert Wingfeild.  
 Mr. Bevill.  
 Mr. Lynne.  
 Mr. John Wingfeild.  
 Mr. Spencer.  
 Mr. John Fortescue of Aywood.

The canopy, being of black velvett fringed with gold, borne by four Knights, viz.

Sir Thomas Manners.  
 Sir George Hastings.  
 Sir James Harrington.  
 Sir Richard Knightley.

Assistants to the body, four Barons, which bore up the corners of the pall of velvett:

The Lord Mordant.  
 The Lord Willoughby of Parham.  
 The Lord Compton.  
 Sir Thomas Cecill.

Mr. Garter, with the gentleman usher Mr. Brakenburye.  
 The Countess of Bedford, supported by the Earls of Rutland and Lincolne.  
 Her trayne borne up by the Lady St. John of Basing, and assisted by Mr. John Manners, vice-chamberlaine.  
 The Countess of Rutland, Countess of Lincolne.  
 The Lady Talbot, Lady Mary Savell.  
 The Lady Mordant.  
 The Lady St. John of Bletshoe.  
 The Lady Manners.  
 The Lady Cecill.  
 The Lady Montague.  
 The Lady Nowell.  
 Mrs. Alington.  
 Mrs. Curle.

Two ushers.

Eight Scottish gentlewomen.

The gentlewomen of Countesses and Baronesses, according to their degrees, all in black, with Paris heads.

## Servants in black coats:

The Countess of Bedford, ten  
 The Countess of Rutland, eight.  
 The Countess of Lincolne, eight.  
 The Lady St. John of Basing, five.  
 All lords and ladyes, five.  
 All knights and their wives, four.  
 All esquieres, one.

The body being thus brought into the quire was sett down within the royall herse, which was twenty foot square and twenty-seven foot in height, covered over with black velvett, and richly sett with escotcheons of armes and fringe of gold; upon the body, which was covered with a pall of black velvett, lay a purple velvett cushion, fringed and tasseled with gold, and upon the same a close crowne of gold sett with stones; after the body was thus placed, and every mourner according to their degree, the sermon was begun by the Bishop of Lincolne, after which certain anthems were sung by the quire, and the offering began very solemnly as followeth:—

## THE OFFERING.

First, the cheif mourner offered for the Queen, attended upon by all ladyes.

The coate, sword, targe, and helme was severally carried up by the two Earls of Rutland and Lincolne, one after another, and received by the Bishop of Peterborough, and Mr. Garter King at Armes.

The standard alone.

The great banner alone.

The Lady Cheife Mourner alone.

The trayne-bearer alone.

The two Earles together.

The Lord Steward.

The Lord Chamberlaine.

The Bishop of Lincolne alone.

The four Lords, assistants to the body.

The Treasurer, Comptroller, and Vice-Chamberlaine.

The four Knights that bore the canopye.

In which offering every course was led up by a herald for the more order; after which the two Byshops, and the Deane of Peterborough came to the vault, and over the body began to read the funerall service, which being said, every officer broke his staff over his head, and threw the same into the vault to the body; and so every one departed, as they came, after their degrees, to the Bishop's pallace, where was prepared a most royal feast, and a dole given unto the poore.

End of proceedings to the funerall of Mary Queen of Scotts,  
anno 1587.

## ANNO XXIX REGINÆ ELIZABETHÆ.

The Chardges of Diet for the Scottishe Queen's  
funeralls at Peterborowe, Mondaye supper the  
laste of Julie, and Tuisdaie dinner the firste of  
Auguste. Anno .

---

 THE BAKEHOUSE.

Raphe Bauldwin asketh allowance for ix quarters iii bushels  
wheate, provided at xlv s. iiij d., and made into ccii  
breaude of sondrye sortes, for thexpenseis of diet at  
Peterborough . . . . . xxj li. vj s. v d.

The saide Raphe asketh allowance for iiij<sup>or</sup> lodes of wood,  
for furnage, at iij s. iiij d. lode . . . . . xiiij s. iiij d.

The saide Raphe asketh allowance for twoe laborers hired  
in the bakehouse by the space of iiij daies at viij d. the  
daie either of them, v s. iiij d.; and for the hire of an  
oven in the towne to bake in, iiij s. In toto . . . ix s. iiij d.

The saide Raphe asketh allowance for the chardgies of  
himself, and a man taken with him from the Courte to  
Peterborowe, to helpe him in his service there, by the  
space of xvj<sup>ten</sup> daies at iiij s. by the daie . . . . . lxiiij s.

---

 (Sum) xxv li. xiiij s. j d.

## THE PANTRIE.

Richarde Mathewe, groome of the pantrie, asketh allowance for xxiiij <sup>ce</sup> wooden trenchers at ij d. ob. the c, v s ; for viij <sup>c</sup> white wooden trenchers at vj d. the c, iiij s. ; and for viij yardes cours canvas for portepaines, vj s. iiij d. In toto . . . . .	xv s. iiij d.
The saide Richarde asketh allowance for vj men hired to carrie breade and attende the Cubberdes Mondaie supper and Tuisdaie dyner . . . . .	vj s.
The saide Richarde asketh allowance for the chardgies of himself and his man, taken from the Courte to assiste him in his service at Peterborowe, by the space of xiiij daies at iiij s. by the daie . . . . .	lij s.
(Sum) lxxiiij s. iiij d.	

## THE CELLOR AND BUTTRIE.

Roberte Carr, merchaunte of L <sup>y</sup> n, for one ton Gascoigne wine provided of him . . . . .	xxij li.
John Domelawe asketh allowance for iiij sesters <sup>a</sup> sack, at xvj s. sester, lxiiij s. ; and for a runlet to put the same in, with carriage, iij s. vj d. Total . . . . .	lxvij s. vj d.
Richarde Goodman askethe allowance for ten ton j hogshede bere, provided by him at L <sup>y</sup> n and Peterborough, at xlvj s. iiij d. the tonn . . . . .	xxiiij li. xiiij s. xj d.
The saide Richarde asketh allowance for cariage of a ton of wine from L <sup>y</sup> n to y <sup>e</sup> water side, viij d. ; for cariage of the same by water from L <sup>y</sup> n to Peterborowe, iiij s. ; and for cariage of the same from the waterside there up to the cellor, viij d. ; for cariage of viij ton bere, as	

\* Sesters conteyninge iiij gallons a pece.

before, at iiij s. viij d. the ton, xxxvij s. iiij d.; for cariage of twoe tonn j hogsheade bere, and iij ton j pip ale, from Peterborowe up to the buttrie, iij s. x d.; for xj ton emptie caske provided at Lyn, at iiij s. ton, xliij s.; and for one ton j hogsheade caske provided at Stamford, with cariage, xj s.; for cariage of the xj ton cask from Lyn, &c. to Peterborowe, vj s. viij d.; for coperage of all the aforsaide caskes, xx s.; for iiij laborers, hired to remove woode and other neccessaries oute of the buttrie, and for makinge of the same cleane by the space of one daie and a half, iiij s.; and to them for the cariage of timber hither for the makinge of rangies and layinge up of drinks, v s. viij d.; for digginge and cariage thither of iij lodes sande, iij s.; for timber to make rangies there and in the celler, iij s. vj d.; for ij locks and kaies for the saide dores, ij s. iiij d.; for a newe dore and a bar made for the buttrie, ij s.; for vj<sup>ce</sup> stone jugs at iij s., CCxviiij s.; for xxv great pitchers and iiij bowles, vij s. vj d.; for iiij men hired to carie drinke to the severall placeis, iiij s. In toto . . . viij li. xvij s. ij d.

Richarde Goodman asketh allowance for the chardgies of himselfe and his man taken with him to assiste him in his service by y<sup>e</sup> space of xxxij daies, at iiij s. by the daye, vj li. viij s.; and for the chardgies of one other man brought from the courte to aide him in the makinge of provision by the space of xj daies at ij s. by the daie, xxij s. In toto . . . . . vij li. x s.

John Warner asketh allowance for ij<sup>ce</sup> glasses, iiij s.; and for xij drinking-pots, ij s. Total . . . . . vj s.

William Gaile, for CC white ashen cups . . . . . ix s.

Jeames Nevell, for vj men hired to carrie drinke to the cubberdes and to attende, vj s.; and for making the black pots, vj d. Total . . . . . vj s. vj d.

John Domelowe asketh allowance for carriage of one lode



of celler plate from London to Peterborowe, being lxiij miles, and back againe, at ij d. the mile, xxjs. iiij d.; for cariage of one lode plate from the Tower to Westminster, xij d.; for cariage of one lode from B-gate to the Tower, xij d.; and for watchinge the cariages at Huntington ij nights, iij s. Total . . . . .	xxvj s. iiij d.
The saide John asketh allowance for the chardgies of himself and his man taken with him to Peterborowe to assiste him in the service there, by the space of xiiij <sup>ten</sup> daies, at iij s. by the daie . . . . .	lij s.
Richarde Breame asketh allowance for his boate hire from London to Greenwich, and back againe, when he was commanded to take out plate, ij s. vj d.; for cariage of the plate from the Tower to Whitehaule, and for coming back to Greenwich, ij s. viij d.; for botehire at one other time, goinge from Greenwich to Whitehaule, to take oute cubberd clothes, ij s. x d.; and for his own chardgies, beinge about the same, by the space of iij daies, iij s. . . . .	xij s.
The saide Richarde asketh allowance for y <sup>e</sup> chardgies of himselfe and his man taken with him to helpe him in his service there, by the space of xiiij <sup>ten</sup> daies at iij s. the day . . . . .	lij s.
Jeams Nevell asketh allowance for iij black pots by him provided, vij s. vj d.; and for ij gispins, iij s. ij d. In toto . . . . .	x s. viij d.
The saide Jeams Nevell of y <sup>e</sup> pitcherhous asketh allowance for his chardgies to Peterborowe, by the space of xiiij <sup>ten</sup> daies, at iij d. the day . . . . .	xxxix s.
The saide Jeams asketh allowance for the chardgies of a man sent for y <sup>e</sup> CC cups . . . . .	ij s. vj d.

---

(Sum) iij<sup>xxv</sup> li. xvij s. j d.

## THE SPICERY.

- Andrew Smith, clarke of the spicerye, asketh allowance for xxij lb. waxe, delivered oute of Her Majestie's store, at xj d. lb. . . . . xxj s. j d.
- The saide Andrew asketh allowance for lynnens clothe delivered as before, viz. xxv ells holland for cubberd clothes, at ij s. iiij d. ell, lvij s. iiij d.; viij ells bruxells for cortiers at xxij d. ell, xiiij s. viij d.; and xxiiij ells canvas, xxiiij s. . . . . iiij li. xvij s.
- The saide Andrew asketh allowance for divers spices delivered as before; viz. peper, xij lb. at iij s. lb., xxxvj s.; saffron, iij oz., vj s.; cloves, j lb., iiij s.; mace, j lb., viij s.; sinamon, ij lb. di., xv s.; ginger, ij lbs. di., v s. x d.; nutmege, j lb., iiij s.; suger, lvj lb. at xij ob. lb., lvij s. iiij d.; dates, vj lb. at x d. lb., v s.; currans, xx lb. at iij d. lb., v s.; reson solis, x lb., iij d. lb., ij s. vj d.; resons gr., x lb. at j ob. lb., xv d.; promes, xx lb., iij s. iiij d. [stramins]<sup>a</sup> r. ij. ij. s. v d. [stramins]<sup>a</sup> co. iiij. xvij d.; paper past, iiij qr., vij d.; paper scr., ij qr., vj d. ob.; oringes, c at v s.; lemons, xij, vj s.; rice, vj lb., iij s.; oile, j gall., iij s. iiij d.; and rose water, j gall., vj s. viij d. In toto . . . . ix li. iij s. iij d.
- Richarde Fowke, grocer, for the wante of price in sondrie of the kindes of spics abovesaide, served by him for th'expenseis at Peterborowe . . . . . xliij s. x d.
- Anthonie Harston asketh allowance for v<sup>cc</sup> white lights per lx lb. at iij d. lb., xv s.; and for one pott sallat oile, iij s. ij d. In toto . . . . . xvij s. ij d.
- John Cutberte asketh allowance for spices provided by him at Peterborowe, viz. sugar, xlvj lbs. at xix d. lb., lxxij s. x d.; currans, xxvj lb. at iiij d. lb., viij s. viij d.;

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

- dates, ij lb., vs.; biskets, &c. v lb., x s.; nutmegs,  
 iiij oz. ij s. viij d.; str. r. ij vergs. iij s.; paper scr. ij qr.  
 x d.; paper past, iiij qr. xvj d.; cherries, xvj lb., ij s.  
 viij d. In toto . . . . . cvij s.
- John Page for the carriage of sondrie necessaries from  
 Fotheringay to Peterborowe . . . . . ij s.
- Edwarde Terrie, yeoman of thewrie, asketh allowance for  
 the cariage of one lode of ewrie and spicerie stuf from  
 London to Peterborowe, beinge lxiiij<sup>or</sup> myles, and back  
 againe, at ij d. mile, xxj s. iiij d.; for goinge by water  
 from Grenwich to the Tower for plate, and back againe,  
 at twoe severall times, iiij s.; for cariage of the naperie  
 from Grenwich to Whitehaule more, iiij s.; and for iij  
 men hired by him at Peterborowe to helpe him cover  
 and attende cubberdes, iij s. In toto . . . . . xxxij s. iiij d.
- The saide Edwarde asketh allowance for heminge the  
 naperie sent to Peterborowe; viz. x damask clothes at  
 iiij d. pece, iij s. iiij d.; ten damask towells, xx d.; and  
 cc damask napkins, x s.; xx plaine clothes, iij s. iiij d.;  
 x plaine towells at viij d. pece, vj s. viij d.; and twoe  
 lidgers iiij d. Toto . . . . . xxv s. iiij d.
- The saide Edwarde asketh allowance for the chardges of  
 himself and his man taken with him to Peterborowe  
 to assiste him in the service there by the space of xiiij  
 daies, at iiij s. by the daie, . . . . . lij s.
- Edmund Beck, yeoman of the spicerie, asketh allowance  
 for goinge by water from Grenwich to London at twoe  
 severall times to receave spices, iij s. iiij d.; and for  
 his owne chardgs, being about the same, ij daies, iij s.  
 iiij d. . . . . vj s. viij d.
- The saide Edmund Beck asketh allowance for the chardgies  
 of himself and his man taken with him to assiste him  
 in his service at Peterborowe, xiiij daies, at iiij s. day . . . . . lij s.
- Bartholmewe Knaresborowe, grome of the chaundrey,

asketh allowance for his chardgs to Peterborowe and back again, by the space of xiiij <sup>ten</sup> daies, at iij s. by the daie	xxxix s.
Raphe Sewardes asketh allowance for the chardgies of himself and his man taken with him to assiste him in this service to Peterborowe and back againe, by the space of xiiij <sup>ten</sup> daies, iij s. by the daie . . . . .	lij s.
The saide Raphe asketh allowance for the cariage of vj cartes from the Tower to Whitehaule, ij s.; for xij iron clowtes and nailes for the saide carts, iij s. iij d.; and for grese for the same, ij s. In toto . . . . .	vij s. iiij d.
William Lofeilde, for the cariage of warrants and precepts at sondrye times from Fotheringhay to Peterborowe . . . . .	ij s.
John Hampshire and his fellowe harbingers aske allow- ance for their chardgies to Peterborowe and back, by the space of xvj daies, at iij s. by the daie, either of them, . . . . .	vj li. viij s.
Anthony Colliar and xxix of his fellowes hired for waiters oute of Peterborowe, for giving their attendance Mon- daie supper and Tuisday dynner . . . . .	x s.
Marmaduke Darell for the chardgies of his twoe men and three horseis cominge from Fotheringhaye to Peter- borowe, at sondry times aboute the service there . . . . .	xv s.
Richarde Coxe asketh allowance for his chardgies goinge to Peterborowe and back againe, and for givinge his attendance there, by the space of xvj daies, at vj s. viij d. by the daie . . . . .	cvj s. viij d.
John Williams for the writinge herof . . . . .	xvj s. viij d.

(Sum) 1 li. xvij s. iiij d. ob.

THE KITCHEN.

Stephen Daulton asketh allowance for v great pikes at ij s. vj d. pece, xij s. vj d.; and for xv perches, ij s. vj d. . . . .	xv s.
Thomas Kayes, cheif cooke, asketh allowance for xxiiij	

laborers hired to turne broches and carie watter for the kitchens, vj d. pece everie of them, xij s.; for pricks, ij s. vj d.; packthred, vj d.; fire-staves and basters, viij d.; and for gosberies xvij d. In toto . . .	xvij s. j d.
The saide Thomas asketh allowance for the chardgies of himself and his man taken with him to helpe him at Peterborowe, by the space of xvj <sup>ten</sup> daies, at iiij s. by the daie . . . . .	lxiiij s.
Thomas Lovell and iij of his fellowes, children of the kitchen, for their chardges to Peterborowe and back again, by the space of xiiij daies, everie of them at iij s. by the daie . . . . .	vij li. xvj s.
John Bayley and fower of his fellowes of the kitchen, for their chardgies, by the space of xiiij <sup>ten</sup> daies, at ij s. by the daie every of them . . . . .	vj li. x s.
Stephen Clarke, boiler, appointed for the cariage of ij lodes kitchenstuf from Grenwich to London, and from thence to Peterborowe, being lxix myles, and back again, at ij d. y <sup>e</sup> myle . . . . .	lxvj s.
The saide Clarke asketh allowance for the chardgies of himself and a servant taken with him from the Court to assiste him in his service, by the space of xiiij daies, at iij s. by the daie . . . . .	xxxix s.
William Pricket, almoner, asketh allowance for his chardgies to Peterborowe and back again, by the space of xiiij <sup>ten</sup> daies, at iij s. by the daie . . . . .	xxxix s.
William Younge, lardner, asketh allowance for a laborer hired at Peterborowe to helpe him in the larder, by the space of vj daies, at viij d. by the daie . . . . .	iiij s.
The saide William askethe allowance for his chardgies to Peterborowe and back again, by the space of xvj <sup>ten</sup> daies, at iij s. by the daie . . . . .	xlviij s.
Robert Cole and iij of his fellowes, servants of the kitchen, for their chardgies, goinge to Peterborowe to helpe in	

the kitchens there, by the space of xiiij daies, at vj s.	
vij d. . . . .	xxvj s. viij d.
John Williams, for the cariage of ix bucks to Peterbo-	
rowe . . . . .	xviij s.
	<hr/>
	(Sum) xxx li. ij s. ix d.

THE CATRIE.

Bennet Anton asketh allowance for iiij oxen delivered at	
Peterborowe, at lx s. pece . . . . .	xij li.
The saide Bennet Anthon asketh allowance for xl multons	
delivered, at iiij s. viij d. pece . . . . .	ix li. vj s. viij d.
Thomas Browne for the fugacion of the saide beofes and	
multons to Peterborowe . . . . .	ij s. viij d.
Richarde Phillips, for xlj lbs. larde at x d. lb., xxxiv s.	
ij d.; and for cariage of the same to Peterborowe, ij s.	
vj d. In toto . . . . .	xxxvj s. viij d.
Thomas Dawson asketh allowance for x bushels gray	
saulte, at iij s. iiij d. bs., xxxiiij d.; ij bushels white	
saulte, iij s. iiij d.; and for cariage of the same oute of	
Peterborowe unto the larder, vj d. Toto . . . . .	xxxvij s. ij d.
Richarde Owen, purveior of veales, &c., for ix veales by	
him provided, at ix s. iiij d. pece . . . . .	iiij li. iiij s.
The saide Richarde asketh allowance for xiiij <sup>ten</sup> neats'	
tounges provided, at vj d. pece . . . . .	vij s.
The saide Richarde askethe allowance for the drifte of the	
said calves from severall placeis to Peterborowe, and for	
cariage of some of them by water, more . . . . .	vij s. vj d.
The saide Richarde asketh allowance for his chardgies from	
the Courte to Peterborowe, and back againe, by the	
space of xiiij daies, at iij s. by the daie . . . . .	xxxix s.
	<hr/>
	(Sum) xxxij li. viij d.

## THE POULTRIE.

- Jo. Raymonde, purveior of poultrie, for poultry delivered by him at Peterborowe, viz. iiij<sup>c</sup>iiij capons grod, at xx d. pece, iiij li. vj s. viij d.; iij capons K, iij s.; xviiij bitters, at iij s. pece, liiij s.; xij gulls, at ij s. iiij d. pece, xxviijs.; xviiij heronsh, at iij s. pece, liiij s.; xviiij pullets gr, at xiiij d. pece, xxj s.; iiij<sup>c</sup>iiij ducklings, at iiij d. pece, xiiij s.; xiiij<sup>c</sup>vij teales, at iij s. C, xl s. ix d.; xvj<sup>c</sup>iiij chickens, at iiij s. C, lxv s. iiij d.; xviiij brez, at ij s. vj d. pece, xlv s.; xvj<sup>c</sup>ij rabbets, at iiij s. C, lxiiij s. viij d.; vij<sup>c</sup>vj mallardes, at vj s. C, xlv s.; CCCxli lbs. butter, at iij ob., iiij li. xix s. v d. ob.; MM.vj<sup>c</sup> [ovorum?], at ij s. viij d. C, lxix s. iiij d.; xl onions, ij s. vj d.; and for the cariag of the same, by y<sup>e</sup> space of viij daies, at viij s. by the daie, lxiiij s.; in toto . . . xxxvij li. xv s. viij ob.
- Edmonde Clipsam asketh allowance for l lambes, delivered at Peterborowe, at xij d. pece . . . . . 1 s.
- Stephen Daulton asketh allowance for ij gall. gosberies, ij s.; vij<sup>c</sup> pears, iij s. vj d.; M. quodlings, v s.; lx lb. cherries, x s.; ij. gall. cream, xij d.; xiiij gall. creme, at iiij d. gall., iiij s. viij d.; and for curdes, xiiij d.; in toto . . . . . xxvij s. iiij d.
- The saide Stephen asketh allowance for his chardgies in providing of the same, by the space of twoe daies . . . . . iiij s.
- Daniell Cotten, grome of y<sup>e</sup> skalding hous, asketh allowance for ij laborers hired to helpe him worke iij daies, at x d. the day, v s.; for one workeman hired thereunto, iij s. iiij d.; and for the hire of a horse from Peterborowe and back againe, xvij d.; in toto . . . . . ix s. ix d.
- The saide Daniell asketh allowance for the chardgies of himself and a man taken with him from the Court to Peterborowe, to assiste him in his service there, by the space of xiiij<sup>ten</sup> daies, at iiij s. by the daie . . . . . liij s.

The saide Daniell for v ells canvas for butter clothes and  
wipers, iiij s.; and for a lock and kaye for the skalding  
hous dore, xij d.; in toto . . . . . v s.

(Sum) xlv li. iiij s. ix d. ob.

## THE SCULLARY.

Jo. Boulton, for xlv qrts. coles delivered at Peterborowe,  
at xj d. the qrtr . . . . . xlj s. iiij d.  
The saide John asketh allowance for the cariage of the  
saide coles to Peterborowe . . . . . iiij s. iiij d.  
William Pricket asketh allowance for vj greene baskets  
provided for thalmenery . . . . . iiij s.  
Thomas Roue asketh allowance for herbs by him provided  
at Peterborowe, per bill . . . . . lvij s. iiij d.  
Thomas Burgies, yeoman of the scullarye, asketh allow-  
ance for sondrie necessaries by him provided at Peter-  
borowe, viz. xj<sup>c</sup> bricks, at ij s. C, xxij s.; for cariage of  
the same, vj d.; for iiij bricklayers hired to make rangies,  
&c., twoe daies, at xij d. the daie, everie of them, viij s.;  
iiij laborers to helpe them, by the saide space, vj s. viij d.;  
iiij lode of lome, ij s.; ij bordes for the pastrie dore,  
iiij s.; hookes and hinges to the same, xvj d.; ij kayes  
and a lock, xiiij d.; a staple, ij d.; iiij bourdes for y<sup>e</sup>  
workehouse dore, iiij s. vj d.; hookes and hinges, xvj d.;  
hinges for the celler dore, viij d.; for bricks and a  
bricklaier to mende the oven, xij d.; xvj deale bourdes,  
to make formes, xx s.; xvij deale bourdes for tables,  
viij s.; vj C sixpeney nailes, iiij s.; C tenpeney nailes, x d.;  
smale nailes, j d.; for a lode of poles for tressells legs,  
iiij s.; iiij oken bourdes for cubberdes, ij s. vj d.; ij car-  
penters, hired ten daies, to make the saide tables, tressells,  
formes, &c., at x d. the daie either of them, xvj s. viij d.;



- vj carpenters for one daie, for making of cubberdes, &c.,  
 iiij s. iiij d.; iiij laborers, hired for iiij daies, at viij d.  
 the daie everie of them, v s. iiij d.; xl pots and pans for  
 the kitchens, vj s. viij d.; iiij [l]eather pots to carrie ale  
 and wine for the kitchens and pastrie, xij d.; for heating  
 and hameringe, iij<sup>v</sup> brochés, at ij d. pece, vij s.; for  
 new shotinge ij brochs, iiij d.; for cariage and recariage  
 of ij lodes planks, ij s.; viij laborers hired to carrie water  
 for the kitchens, &c., ij daies, v s. iiij d.; twoe men  
 hired to keape dores, xij d.; for the hire of iij ovens  
 in Peterborowe towne, vj s.; for cariage and recariage  
 of vij lode of tables, tressells, formes, &c., vij s.; for  
 iiij laborers, hired to gather the same together, and to  
 loade them, ij daies, iiij s.; iiij padlocks, for ij greate  
 hampers, ij s. viij d.; and for ij men hired to watch the  
 plate at Ware and Peterborowe, iiij nights, vj s. iiij d.;  
 toto . . . . . viij li. vj s. j d.
- The said Thomas asketh allowance for his boate hire from  
 Grenwich to London, at ij severall times, iiij s.; and for  
 his owne charges there aboute the takinge oute of plate  
 and other necessaries, iiij daies, iiij s.; toto . . . . . viij s.
- Thomas Burgies asketh allowance for the chardgies of  
 himself and his man taken with him to assiste him in  
 the service at Peterborowe, by the space of xvi<sup>ten</sup> daies,  
 at iiij s. day . . . . . lxiiij s.
- Thomas Roue, page of the skullarie, asketh allowance for  
 his chardgies to Peterborowe and back again, by the  
 space of xiiij daies, at iij s. by the daie . . . . . xxxix s.
- William Carter, childe of the skullarie, asketh allowance  
 for the cariage of twoe lodes of scullarie stuf from  
 London to Peterborowe, beinge lxiiij myles and back  
 againe, at ij d. the myle, lxij s. viij d.; for cariage of the  
 plate from the Tower to Whitehaule, ij s.; and for a  
 laborer hired from London to Peterborowe and back

again, to helpe him lode his plate and attende the same,  
 by the space of xiiij daies, at x d. by y<sup>e</sup> day, x s. x d. . lv s. vj d.  
 The saide William asketh allowance for his chardgies to  
 Peterborowe and back againe, by the space of xiiij daies,  
 at ij s. vj d. y<sup>e</sup> daie . . . . . xxxij s. vj d.

(Sum) xxiiij li. xij s.

THE PASTRIE AND SALTRIE.

Raphe Bauldwin asketh allowance for v quarters iiij  
 bushels meale by him provided, at xlv s. iiij d. the  
 quarter, being spent in the pastrie . . . . . xij li. ix s. iiij d.  
 The saide Raphe asketh allowance for iiij bushels iiij pecks  
 meale provided for the kitchens . . . . . xxj s. iiij d.  
 Arthur Harston asketh allowance for iiij gall. di. white  
 vineagar, at xvj d. gall., iiij s. iiij d.; for vij gall. red  
 vineger, ix s. iiij d.; iiij li. musterd, v s. iiij d.; and  
 xxiiij erthen pots, ij s. x d. . . . . xxiiij s. ij d.  
 Richarde Diar, cheif pastler, asketh allowance for iiij worke-  
 men hired from Camebridge to help him in the pastrie,  
 by the space of iiij daies, at ij s. vj d. everie of them by  
 the day, xxij s. vj d.; and for iiij laborers, hired by y<sup>e</sup>  
 saide space, at viij d. the daie every of them, iiij s.<sup>a</sup> xxvj s. vj d.  
 The saide Richarde asketh allowance for the wagies of a  
 workeman taken with him from the Courte to Peter-  
 borowe, to helpe him in his service by the space of xiiij  
 daies, at ij s. by the daie . . . . . xxvj s.  
 The saide Richarde asketh allowance for the chardgies of  
 himself and his man to helpe him at Peterborowe, by  
 the space of xiiij daies, at iiij s. by the daie . . . . . liij s.

(Sum) xix li. xviiij s. iiij d.

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

## THE WOODYARDE.

Thomas Bridges asketh allowance for iiij lodes of harde wood at iiij s. vj d. lode, xvij s.; and for vij lodes of baven with cariage at iiij s., xxvij s. In toto . . . . .	xlvj s.
The saide Thomas asketh allowance for ciij bundles russes at ij d. bundle, xvij s. ij d.; and for ij lodes of flags with cariage, xj d. Toto . . . . .	xxvij s. ij d.
	(Sum) lxxiiij s ij d.
The total of this credit . . . . .	cccxx li. xiiij s. vj d.

(Signed) Marmaduke Darell.  
Richard Cox.

## Whereof—

The bake house . . . . .	xxv li. xiiij s. j d.
The pantrie . . . . .	lxxiiij s. iiij d.
The buttrie and celler . . . . .	iiij <sup>xxv</sup> li. xvij s. j d.
The spicerie . . . . .	l li. xvij s. iiij d. ob.
The kitchen and larder . . . . .	xxx li. ij s. ix d.
The catric . . . . .	xxxij li. viij d.
The poultrie . . . . .	xlvi li. iiij s. ix d. ob.
The scullary . . . . .	xxij li. x s. viij d.
The pastrie, &c. . . . .	xix li. xvij s. iiij d.
The woodyarde . . . . .	lxxiiij s. ij d.

There is returned to her Majesty's use for victualls, &c. solde at Peterborowe at thende of the service there, viz.:

For iiij tonns bere . . . . .	viiij li.
For di. c beof . . . . .	xxx s.
For xiiij multon . . . . .	iiij li. ix s. v d.
For j <sup>c</sup> veale . . . . .	vij s.
For iiij oxhides . . . . .	xlviij s.

FUNERAL OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

63

For xxvij multon fells . . . . .	xs. ij d.
For ix calves skins . . . . .	ixs. ix d.
For xxiiij p. v lbs. tallowe . . . . .	lvij s. iiij d.
For ij bushels meale . . . . .	xij s. vj d.

(Total) xxj li. v s. ij d.

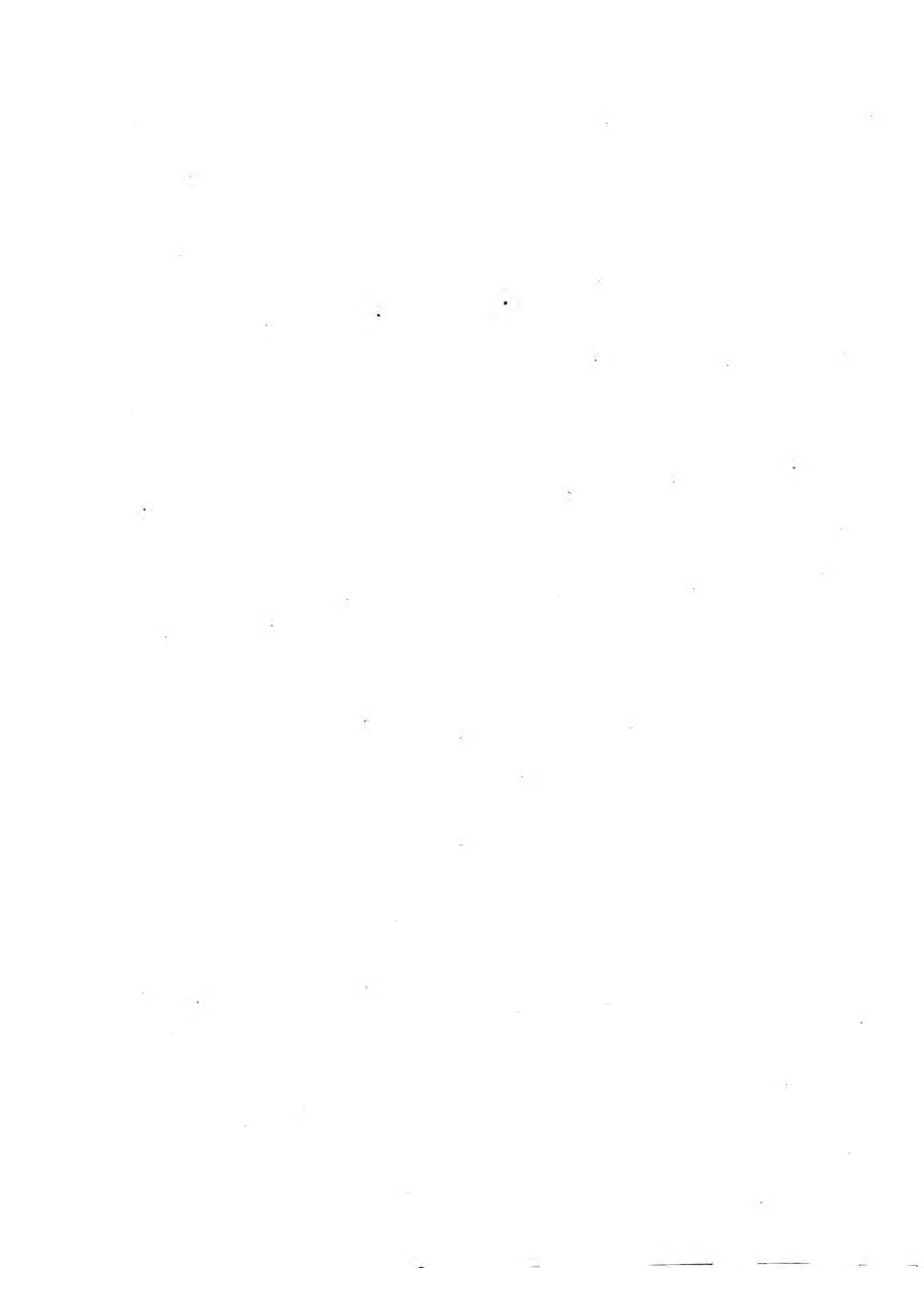
and soe

The cleere expenseis amounteth unto . . . . . cciiij<sup>x</sup>xix li. ix s. iiij d.  
towards the which

There hath ben alreadie receaved in parte oute of thex-  
chequir . . . . . ccvij li. xix s.

and soe

Remainethe yet owinge for the full answering of theis  
chardge the some of . . . . . iiij<sup>x</sup>xj li. x s. iiij d.



## INDEX.

- Agarde, George, 16  
 Albany, William, 34  
 Ale, prices of, 8  
 Allen, John, 35  
 Allington, Mr. 44  
     — Mrs. 46  
 Anton, Bennet, 57  
 Astle, Richard, 18  
 Awcock, Thomas, 14  
  
 Baggott, Richard, 5, 6, 13  
 Bawdwin, Raphe, 16, 18, 49, 61  
 Bayley, John, 56  
 Beck, Edmund, 54  
 Bedford, Countess of, 30, 31, 44, 46, 47  
 Beef, price of, 9  
 Beer, price of, 6, 8  
 Bevill, Mr. 45  
 Bewdesarte Park, 13  
 Blackwell, Dorothy, 16  
 Bonfield, William, 23  
 Bongraces, 31  
 Boulton, John, 59  
 Brackenburye, Mr. 46  
 Brage, Elizabeth, 16  
     — Hugh, 18  
     — John, 20, 24  
 Breame, Richard, 52  
 Bridges, Thomas, 62  
 Browne, Thomas, 57  
 Bryce, Hugh, 21  
 Burgies, Thomas, 59, 60  
 Burghley, William Cecil, Lord, 5, 19, 24, 27, 36, 42  
 Burredge, John, 18  
 Burton, Manor of, 5  
 Butter, price of, 11  
 Bykye, Mr. 44  
  
 Cade, John, 17, 24, 25  
 Cambridge, 61  
  
 Carr, Richard, 50  
 Carter, William, 60, 61  
 Castle Haye Park, 13  
 Cave, Bryan, 4, 5, 25  
 Ceacavall, Mr. 44  
 Cecil, Sir Thomas, 46  
     — Lady, 46  
 Chamberlain, see the Lord Dudley  
 Chapman, Margaret, 16  
 Charlton, Mr. 44  
 Chartley, 1-27  
 Chaworth, John, 17  
 Clarke, Stephen, 56  
 Clinton, Christopher, 19  
 Clipsam, Edmond, 58  
 Cole, Robert, 56  
 Colliar, Anthony, 55  
 Collyer, John, 17  
 Coke, Robert, Clarencieux King of Arms, 38, 42, 43, 45  
 Compton, Lady, 46  
 Coningsbye, Mr. 45  
 Conyers, John, 5, 25, 26, 27, 36  
 Cotten, Daniel, 58,  
 Cox, Richard, 5, 55, 62  
 Crewse, Mr. 44  
 Curl, Mrs. 46  
 Cutberte, John, 35  
  
 Dalton, Stephen, 17, 55, 58  
 Darell, Marmaduke, 2, 5, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26, 44, 55, 62  
 Dawson, Thomas, 57  
 Dethicke, William, Garter King of Arms, 4, 26, 37, 42, 45, 46, 47  
 Diar, Richard, 61  
 Dromelawe, John, 50, 51  
 Dudley, Lord, Lord Chamberlain, 44, 45, 48  
  
 Eaton, Mr. 44  
  
 Fenton, James, 19  
 Fish, price of, 10  
 FitzHerbert, Edward, 16  
 FitzWilliams, William, Mr. 45  
 Flower, William, Norroy King of Arms, 38, 42  
 Flynt, Mr. 44  
 Fortescue, Francis, Mr. 45  
     — Mr. John, 27, 28-36, 42, 44  
     — of Aywood, 45  
     — William, 45  
 Foscue, Mr. 44  
 Fotheringay, 1-27, 43  
 Fowke, Richard, 53  
 Freake, Robert, 2, 4  
 Fynes, 44  
  
 Gaile, William, 51  
 Garret, Christopher, 19  
     — Richard, 17  
 Gascoigne wine, price of, 6  
 Gisburne, Francis, 19  
 Goodman, Richard, 50, 51  
 Graveleye, Edward, 35  
 Greenwich, 52, 60  
 Griffin, Mr., of Dingley, 45  
 Grymes, William, 13  
  
 Hackshawe, Robert, 3  
 Hampshire, John, 55  
 Harme, Thomas, 17  
 Harrington, Sir James, 46  
 Harstone, Anthony, 53  
 Hartone, Arthur, 61  
 Hastings, Sir George, 46  
 Haywood Park, 13  
 Hedsor Pool, 11  
 Hilton, 21

- Holland, Mr. 44  
Hollinger, Robert, 17  
Horne, Robert, 19  
Horseman, Mr. 44  
Houghton, Tobias, 13  
Howland, Mr. 45  
Huntingdon, 52  
Hyde, Mr. 45
- Kayes, Thomas, 55, 56  
Killigrew, Henry, 3, 4, 37  
Knaresborowe, Bartholmewe, 54  
Knightley, Sir Richard, 46  
Kynge, Alexander, 6
- Lane, William, 17  
Lincoln, Bishop of, 30, 45  
——— Earl of, 30, 46  
——— Countess of, 30, 31, 46, 47  
Lofeilde, William, 55  
Lorte, Henry, 18  
Loughborough, 21  
Lovell, Gregory, 5  
——— Thomas, 56  
Lylle, Mr. 44  
Lyndopp, George, 19  
Lynn, King's, 50, 51  
Lynne, Mr. 45  
Lyon, John, 13
- Malt, price of, 8  
Manners, Mr. John, Vice-Chamberlain, 46  
——— Sir Thomas, 46  
——— Lady, 46  
Maperly, Bennet, 16  
——— Rowland, 18  
Marten, Mr. 44  
Mary Queen of Scots, her diets, 1-27  
——— Charges for her funeral, 28-42  
——— Remembrance of her burial, 43-48  
——— Charges for funeral feast, 49-62  
Mason, John, 13  
Matthews, Arthur, 13  
——— Richard, 50  
Melton, Henry, 21  
Melvin, Mr. 50  
Mildmay, Sir Walter, 36
- Montague, Sir Edward, 45  
——— Lady, 46  
Mordant, Lord, 46  
——— Lady, 46  
Mutton, price of, 9
- Nevell, James, 51, 52  
Newcourte, Robert, 20  
Nicholson, William, 16  
Nowell, Sir Andrew, 45  
——— Lady, 46
- Oliver, John, 20  
Osborn, Isabel, 16  
Owen, Richard, 57
- Page, John, 54  
Paget, Lord, 1, 5  
Paris heads, 31, 35, 37, 38, 46, 51,  
Peterborough, 23, 25, 43, 56-63  
——— Bishop of, 30, 41, 45, 48  
——— Church of, 41  
——— Dean of, 30, 34, 41, 48  
Petre, Robert, 5, 27, 30  
Philips, John, 17  
——— Richard, 18, 57  
——— Robert, 17  
Porteuillis Herald, 45  
Poulet, Sir Amias, 1-27, 37  
——— Anthony, 1-27, 37  
Pountess, Thomas, 13  
Powell, William, 35  
Price, Evan, 35  
Prickett, William, 56, 59
- Raymonde, John, 58  
Reshay Wood, 13  
Rogers, Hugh, 35  
Rouge Dragon Herald, 45  
Roue, Thomas, 59, 60  
"Rounde Lyor," 32  
Rouse, Edmund, 35  
Rugger, Rowland, 35  
Rutland, Earl of, 30, 46  
——— Countess of, 30, 31, 46  
Rutter, James, 35
- Sadler, Sir Ralph, 5, 22  
Savell, Sir George, 44
- Savell, Lady Mary, 45  
Sewardes, Raphe, 55  
Shutborough Mill, 5  
Smith, Andrew, 53  
——— Mr. 45  
Smyth, John, 17  
Smythweeke, Richard, 18  
Somerset Herald, 45  
Somerye, Robert, 19  
Spencer, Mr. 45  
Spices, prices of, 12, 53  
Stafford, Mr. 45  
Stamford, 57  
Stilyearde, Thomas, 18  
St. John of Basing, Lord, the Lord Steward, 45, 48  
——— Lady, 46, 47  
St. John of Bletsowe, Lady, 46  
Swifte, Ralphe, 19
- Talbot, Lady, 46  
Taylor, Edward, 14  
——— Robert, 3  
Terry, Edward, 54  
Thompson, Michael, 18  
Towte, John, 19  
Tutbury, 1-27  
Tute, John, 34, 35  
Tyos, Robert, 34
- Walker, Anthony, 35  
——— Henry, 18  
Wallys, William, 35  
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 19, 24, 26  
Warner, John, 19, 51  
Watson, Mr. 44  
Welton, Robert, 34  
Wheat, prices of, 6, 7  
Whitehall, 52, 54, 60  
Whitinge, Thomas, 17  
Williams, John, 55, 57  
Willoughby of Parham, Lord, 46  
Wingfeild, Mr. John, 45  
——— Mr. Robert, 45  
Worme, Mr. 44
- Young, Richard, 4, 26  
Younge, William, 56  
York Herald, 45

A JUSTIFICATION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH  
IN RELATION TO THE AFFAIR OF  
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.





# A JUSTIFICACION OF QUEENE ELIZABETH

IN RELACION TO THE AFFAIRE OF

## MARY QUEENE OF SCOTTES.

---

THERE hath not happened sithence the memorie of man, nor, peradventure,<sup>a</sup> in any age beyond, soo strange a case on everye behalfe to be considered, as this of that unfortunate Ladye the late Scottishe Quene: soo as if the same have bene by her Majestie as stranglie proceeded in, and to the marvale of many, yet ought it not in the iudgment of the wise and virtuous sort to be holden for anie wonder at alle, unles it be perchaunce in this onlie part, that her Majestie hath to the great admiracion of all the world used it so honorablye, and with so strange a clemencye, as could not have bene expected in the like case at anie<sup>b</sup> Christian princes handes besides her self, the causes everie way urging soe much to the contrarie. Yet manie discontented persons opposing themselves to her Majesties course and proceedinges in the cause of religion, others undeservedlie maligning her Highnes greate prosperities and glorie (such hath allways bene the nature of envie and reward of the greatest and most excellent vertue), have geven furth manie speches to the contrarie, and seekinge to abuse the populer simplicitie by sinister perswasions and reportes, spare not (soo farre furth as they dare) to charge her Majestie in honour and conscience for manie partes of her demeanour in this accion, nothinge princelie nor justifiable, as they would have<sup>c</sup> it appeare. And somme others who by ignorance of the case cannot comprehend the trouthe of her Majesties great iniuries and greifes, and how

<sup>a</sup> perhaps, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> any other, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> make, Harl. MS.

sorrowfull she hath alway bene to take anye such course, had she not extremlye bene inforced therunto by the continuall intercession and cryes of her people and realme, even more then for the respect of her owne safetie and lief wherupon their comforte and tranquillitie entirelie dependes, doo in like manner condempne her Majestie, somme of iniustice, somme of crueltie, or other unprincelie behaviour, in her Majesties usage and procedinges aganst the said Quene, duringe the tyme of her captivitie heare; which untrew reportes concurringe with sinister opinions, beinge sprede abrode to the blemishe of her Majesties good renowne, yf they should be suffered depelie to sinke and be imprinted (spetiallie in the ruder mindes) and should not be spedelie suppressed and by<sup>a</sup> the very wepons of trouthe notouriously disproved or rather vanquished, might be in somme sorte to her Majesties greate ignominie, and detriment towards the good amitie and reputacion of Christian Princes and others of the best and worthiest, which her Majestie hath holden very deare and precieuse above anie wordlie treasure.

It hath behoved therfore her Majesties honest subiectes and wellwillers for her, and yf no other person would vouchesafe for her sake to attempt it, even her self is bound by alle reason, publicuelie to lament to the world her sayd iniuries, for the due satisfaction of all such as be not utterlie alienated from her Majestie in good will, and doe yet retayne an equitable opinion in the sayd causes. And to the intent no part of her Majesties behaviour or doinges therin should be covered or hidden, as that which she would be lothe the world should knowe and see, or which might best searve the enemyes purpose to maintayne ther said evell brutes, and wherunto they maie easiliest tender obiection for ther most advantage, and in which pointes they may happelie weene to be able to prove her Majestie most evidentlie to have failed in the dutie of a noble prince, ether for iniustice or rigoure shewed to the sayd Scottishe Quene her enemye, or for no due regard used to the Majestie and good gree<sup>b</sup> of her best frendes neighbors and alyes, the

<sup>a</sup> with, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> degree, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

greate Princes and potentates of Christiandome, who had bene intercessors<sup>a</sup> for her, or for anie other part of her Majesties behaviour and usage towards the sayd infortunate Ladie duringe her abode here which could not be avouched by the rules of honor and right, even of the universall right of the world, wherin her Majestie hath alwayes shewed her self most affectionatelie desirous to be acknowen pertaker and concurraunt in everie honorable action with them all, soo farr furthe as reason would and the law of necessitie (surmountynge everye other law) alloweth any absolute prince of the world to consent unto, and espetiallie such as the law of Godes Justice doth permitt, beinge the first origen and source of all humaine justice and lawes, and onlie sufficient warrant of all our doinges in this world, be they ether private or princelie. In this respect her Majestie will not refuse, of her owne most graciouse and voluntarie disposition, beinge otherwise not constraynable to yeild anye accompte of her doinges but onlie to God alone, the founder and protectour of Princes, to have laied open and unfoulded even the most secreat partes of the sayd cause, which hath fallen out from the beginninge of this businesse betwene her Majestie and the sayd Scottishe Quene, and how her highnes hath intreated the sayd unfortunat Quene, and bene her self by the same Quene intreated, wherupon the occasions have bene geven on anie of<sup>b</sup> both sides to doo as hath bene done in the sayd cause, and what the world may conceive therof to leave to all godlie and indifferent iudgmentes. And trulie it may seame a verie strange accident, and wherof ther is not found anie president or example emonges the memories of Princes, that a Quene absolute and hereditarie, rulinge in soveraigntie, not comptrolled by the mariage of anie husband or other superior, should be by a law<sup>c</sup> condempned to die, or that so great a personage (by<sup>d</sup> common opinion exempt from all superiour iurisdiction) should be made iustlie culpable of such a crime as might deserve so sharpe a correction;

<sup>a</sup> interested, Cott. MS.

<sup>b</sup> on, Cott. MS., or, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> by law, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> by the, Cott. MS.

and that such an offenders captivitie might not seame a sufficient redresse and revenge of anie iniurie or wronge that could be by her offred; and at the intreatie of most great Princes for her deliverie, that she could not be sett at libertie,<sup>a</sup> ether upon ransome or other reasonable paction, and covenantes on their<sup>b</sup> partes offered: ffinally that a Quene to a Quene, a woīman to a woman, should shew soo smale favour, her Majesties nere neighbour and kinswoman, even then fliinge to her for succoure, and sekinge refuge at her hand, and everie other way so distressed and overwhelmed in calammityes as might seame to deserve commiseracion, and be pittied in<sup>c</sup> the most vile and miserable wreache in the world, and not in a Princes of soo greate name and honour of blood, and annoīnted and crowned as she was said to have bene. To which they alsoe add manie<sup>d</sup> pointes more, of no smale consideracion to be particulerlie examined, upon which they urge her Majesties ignominie<sup>e</sup> and blemishe to her good renowne, sainge that immediatlie upon the entrie of the sayd Scottishe Quene into this realme, made in the tyme of amitie and good peace betwene both princes and ther people, and cominge to crave her Majesties curtesie, or rather the benefite of her regall protection ageinst her owne rebels of Scotland, who with all extremitie persecuted her leif, she was made prisoneur contrarie to all law and right. Then that the continuance of her imprisonment for 18 yeres space was yet more iniurious and contrarie to the law of Armes, which alloweth ransome to anie captive prince, and so to her, yf she had bene her Majesties lawfull prisoner (as they saie she was not). Then at length perceavyng her sayd restraint not to bee warrantable by anie iustice, and her wronge to be pittied by<sup>f</sup> all Christian Princes, and others of anie degree, and no lawfull cause apperinge whie she should be

<sup>a</sup> and that the entreaty of the most considerable princes of Europ for her delivery could not procure her to be set at libertie, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> other, Cott. MS.; her and their, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> though, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> a great manie, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> ignomie, Cott. MS.

<sup>f</sup> of, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

deteigned; that her Majestie hath inforced<sup>a</sup> causes aganst her not trulie criminall by anie law, and growne sence the tyme of her imprisonment, to thend to warrant<sup>b</sup> her first wrongfull takinge and surprince.<sup>c</sup> And that the same causes not beyng sufficient to convince her of crime by the universall law of the world, her proces was framed by such a private law as diametrallie repugnes<sup>d</sup> the sayd universall law, and spetiallie the law of Armes, by which all absolute Princes for their life ought to be sentenced, and by none other humane law, and so by an unknowne provinciall constitucion or law, and of her Majesties owne makinge and at her owne appetite, hath uniustlie, as they alleadge, atteinted her, and by the iudgment of her most mortall enemyes, and for manie other causes her no competent judges, beyng her Majesties owne vassalls and subiectes, and manie of them her neare<sup>e</sup> kynsfolkes and domesticall or sworne servantes, who by no resonable intendment could be parties indifferent<sup>f</sup> for her triall, she being a stranger borne, and a pretendant<sup>g</sup> to the succession of that Crowne, wherunto by all possible meanes they sought her hinderance and disherizon; and so beinge uniustlie atteinted was made subiect to the penaltie of a most shamfull death, refusinge all such good appoinctment and meanes of accord as have bene offred her Majestie, and of all antiquitie<sup>h</sup> bene used and accepted in like cases, and in all honour and iustice ar<sup>i</sup> due betwene Princes, those spetiallie who accompt them selves fellowes and members of the Christian societie and congregation. Finallie that her Majestie by such extraordinarie accion<sup>k</sup> of crueltye under the coverture of iustice (as they seeme to inferr) not onlie sought to deface and blemishe all soveraigne majestie and authoritie, but also hath opened a passage

<sup>a</sup> has pretended, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> to the end she might justify, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> surprise, Cott. MS. surprise of that Queen, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> as is diametrically repugnant to, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> own for neare, and, or sworne omitted. Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> by no reasonable construction could be reckoned indifferent parties, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> and pretendant, Cott. MS. and pretending, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> which in all times out of mind have, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> ought to be, Harl. MS.

<sup>k</sup> actions, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

to the manefest danger of all princes who ether upon confidence or by misfortune shall enter into ther neighbors territorie, or without anie evell intent fall into ther handes, as manie ways it may come to passe. So as no prince, whether it be in time of peace or of warre, or more in amitie then enmitie, can assure them selves on of another to solace ther persons (as in tymes past hath bene accustomed) by conversacion, conference, or enterview, longer then they may thinke ther forces to prevale or serve for ther reskue,<sup>a</sup> yf neede should requier.

These ar in effect the substance of such matters, and the verye worst, that her Majesties no wellwillers<sup>b</sup> can alleadge, and would gladlie be able to verefye to her disgrace. And which beinge trew in deed, as by Godes grace it shall never be proved, yt were perchaunce somewhat (and as they beleive yenough) to envie upon<sup>c</sup> her Majesties credite in that behalf, wherof as her Majestie standes in no feare at all, as on possessinge a cleare conscience of her owne, and havinge the trouthe for her patron and protectour, not onlie able to defende it self against all malice, but also to subdew her mightiest enimies that shall seame to impugne the same, yet would her Majestie be verie glad<sup>d</sup> to satisfie all men that would willinglie be satisfied, and not be willfullie parciall in the case, so as yf the aforesaid hatefull imputacions may be well salved by some reasonable answer, to the contentment of the most noble and wise Princes who in trouthe have greatest interest of anie<sup>e</sup> in this case, then also<sup>f</sup> of all other good and vertuous personages, yt is verilie hoped<sup>g</sup> that yt shall sufficientlie prevaile with the rest, who thorow affection or by ignorance have bene miscaried or ledd into anie errour about these causes, and at least yf they will not be satisfied with reason, that ther untrew reportes shall be littell hable to annoie her Majestie hereafter.<sup>h</sup> Neverthelesse yt should be for her more comfort a great

<sup>a</sup> able to prevale . . . rescue and retreat, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> enemies, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> blemish, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> be glad, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>e</sup> any other, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> as also to the contentment, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> it's hoped, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> for ever after, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

deale to have all parties pleased, yf the verytye of anie dew proof or solempe protestacion of them that best knowe the truth may be anie wayes able to contrive<sup>a</sup> it.

But first, before anie other poinct be spoken unto of those which ought necessarilie to be remembred in this iustificacion. Though it be soe that the saide unfortunate Ladie be now dead, and hath passed the last and most terrible passage of mortalitye, and not without apparant warrant from<sup>b</sup> her Majestie sufficientlie avouching the facte by<sup>c</sup> suche persons as were nedefull to assist the execucion therof by ther presence, consent, or other kind of ministerie in such cases requisite, and that it be now to smale purpose for her Majestie to excuse it, much lesse to show anie repentance in the doinge of that, which by no manner of meanes can be undone or holpen: nor can seame<sup>d</sup> to stand with that regal wisdom and constancie which all men acknoledge to be in her Majestie. Yet may it be trulie saied and sworne, in her behalf, and ought to be beleived, that her Majestie never absolutelie determined her pleasure in it, more then by subsignacion<sup>e</sup> of the sayd warrant in generall tearmes, without limitacion of anie tyme in which the feate<sup>f</sup> should be accomplished, and more then<sup>g</sup> the deliverie of the same to her Secretarie to be kept in a redynes, and not to take place before her Majesties verball commandement geven for ratificacion and dispatche of the same. Nor in deed that her hart could ever be brought to like well of that course of iustice, nor by anie open speaches gave her consent to the dede, nor peradventure ever intended to have done, though for somme respectes the same warrant was suffered to passe from her, to thentent onlie (as her Majestie hath bene hard oftentimes and most earnestlie to protest) that the notice of it to her privie counsell should satisfye<sup>h</sup> them and her nobilitie, for<sup>i</sup> her stedfast perseverance<sup>k</sup> and determinacion which they

<sup>a</sup> procure, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> evident proof of, Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> by the presence of, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> it seem, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> signing, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> fate, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> never did more in it than by, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> suffice, Cott. MS.

<sup>i</sup> of, Harl. MS.

<sup>k</sup> the stedfast perseverance in that purpose, Cott. MS.



had with so great instance pressed her unto. And that the generall knoleage and publicacion of such warrant (which her Majestie was not unwilling should be bruted and spred abroad) might be an expedient meane to interrupt and repress all such <sup>a</sup> dangerouse attemptes which might be wrought aganst her Majestie by the favorers of the sayd Scottish Quene in hope of her longer leif and survivor,<sup>b</sup> thorow her Majesties over moch lenitye and pacience: savynge <sup>c</sup> a certayne irresolution of her mynd as manie would happelie <sup>d</sup> conceive, and not in trowth that the sayd warrant should be put in execucion, but by her Majesties further advise and prevetie, and perchance not without somme new causes of <sup>e</sup> danger enforcinge <sup>f</sup> to lett it be accomplished. And so her Majestie, yf the facte might have bene hardlie conceived of, is sufficientlie cleared from anie default therin. And yet no dout coude it not seame to deserve anie blame or inure <sup>g</sup> to the discredite of her Majesties privye counsell, who receavinge the sayd warrant from her <sup>h</sup> Secretarye without anie such notice or caution, did with all diligence cause the same to be put in execution for her Majesties finall securitye, wherin yf they should have used anie delay or detracted tyme,<sup>i</sup> and anie evell consequence had happened the meane while,<sup>k</sup> it might have called ther loialtye in question very depelie. Or yf the very worst construction should be made of ther Lordships doinges therin, yt could<sup>l</sup> be but a right wise and honorable consideracion used by ther Lordships in a case of so great moment, and by the whole realme so firmelie resolved upon, as it might not become anie man to think it revocable, nor meete or in <sup>m</sup> manner possible to be comptrolled. And lokinge <sup>n</sup> further into her Majesties dangers, then perchance her owne harte, alwayes replea-

<sup>a</sup> further, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> savouring, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> some other new causes or, Cott. MS.

<sup>g</sup> tend, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> and in the meanetyme if, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> the mean time, Cott. MS., the words omitted in Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> could not, Harl. MS.

<sup>n</sup> they looking, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> surviving, Ibid. and Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> readily, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> enforcing her, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> the, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> or meet in any manner, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

nished with princelie magnanimitye, could be afraied of, somewhat perchance more then needed to feare the mutabilitie of her Majesties minde (in thinges<sup>a</sup> that tende onlie to mercie and commiseracion) which yf it be a fault, maie verelie be reputed a princelie default, and such as her Majestie is supposed hardlie able to reforme in her selfe, or ever will be, during her leif. And as it might have proved verie dangerouse to her person to have had the sayd ladies execucion deferred, so in the ende, by the provident advise of her counsell, such perrill was spedelie prevented, and is now in ther lordships a great good<sup>b</sup> service and well allowable, and to her Majestie nothings inglorious.

And this that hath bene sayd of her Majesties intent maie very well be beleived, and seeme nothings unlikelie to such as knowe and be well acquainted with her gracious good<sup>c</sup> nature, soe well besydes inured<sup>d</sup> with the bitterrest partes of fortune,<sup>e</sup> and great ingratitude of the worlde, as beyng therbye now become obdurate and senceles, as it weare, to all adversities, and so littell ioyinge in the transitorie felicitye of this world, or glorie of her crowne, as she hath bene hard manie tymes to saye,<sup>f</sup> that she had resolved with her self rather to hazard her person and estate<sup>g</sup> to alle<sup>h</sup> uttermost danger that perverse fortune or the malice of the sayd ladie could worke her<sup>i</sup> the residew of her tyme, then to take away that poore leif of hers<sup>k</sup> which her Majestie had so manie yeares rescued<sup>l</sup> from other mens assaltes, and tooke it for her greate good merit,<sup>m</sup> and no smale glorie.

Nor this entent of her Majesties was so close or secrete, but that manie about her have bene made acquainted with it by<sup>n</sup> her owne regall mouthe. And yf it weare otherwise, and could not be wit-

<sup>a</sup> chiefly in things tending to, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> great and, Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> gracious and, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> incurred, Cott. MS.

<sup>e</sup> which she hath improved by the bitterest of misfortunes, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> many times say, Cott. and Harl. MSS. <sup>g</sup> state, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> the, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> that Queene could procure her during, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> that Queene, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> protected, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> which she thought was her great honour, Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> have been acquainted with it from her own royal mouth, Ibid.

nessed at all, (which might reasonable have happened in so weightie a case, nor can<sup>a</sup> worke her Majestie anie point of preiudice,<sup>b</sup> whether it be confessed or denied,) yt were sufficient to be<sup>c</sup> by her Majesties owne solempe protestacion made in the feare of God, and in all truthe, princelie honour and integritie averred, and ought right well to satisfie everie perticuler persone that remained<sup>d</sup> ignorant and unsatisfied of her Majesties such intende,<sup>e</sup> but spetiallie all noble, wise and honorable princes, who by the same prerogative would challenge credite to ther owne othes and protestacions in the like cases, and looke<sup>f</sup> to be beleved by them.

Nevertheles, her Majestie as on that feareth no mans indignacion, but Godes alone, nor passeth<sup>g</sup> of anie<sup>h</sup> puisance that would undeservedlie professe to be her enemye, nor is subiect to anie humane authoritie within her owne realme, nor accomptable or to be justified by anie<sup>i</sup> superior jurisdiction, soo longe as it pleaseth God to keepe her out of the handes of her enemyes, doth not whollie stand<sup>k</sup> upon that pointe, nor would have the world conceive<sup>l</sup> that yf her sayd intent had bene otherwise then hath bene remembred, the matter beyng now fallen out as yt is, and reduced into remedillesse tearmes, that she goeth about to excuse her self of errour, or the fact of iniquitie anie wayes iustlie apperinge, but continewallie following her owne noble nature doth, with that vertuouse remorse and greife, which becometh the most puisant princes<sup>m</sup> in all humanitye to use in cases<sup>n</sup> of so great commiseracion, constantlie affirme and protest, that she hath done nothings in this affayre from the first day untill the last, wherewith her conscience ought to be grived, or<sup>o</sup> wrought, ether upon<sup>p</sup> anie ambitious mind, or appetite of revenge,

<sup>a</sup> cannot, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> that this is vouched, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> that this was her purpose, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> valueth, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> nor accountable to, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> think, Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> puissant and humane princes in a case, Harl. MS.

<sup>o</sup> as, Cott. MS.

<sup>b</sup> any prejudice, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> remaining, Cott. MS.

<sup>f</sup> expect, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> any man's, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> insist, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> princess, Cott. MS.

<sup>p</sup> as that she had done it from, Harl. MS.

or<sup>a</sup> otherwise not warrantable by the rule of right and iustice, to be maintained by the equitie,<sup>b</sup> no<sup>c</sup> even by the expresse letter of anie law, and which may not also be avowched by curtesie and the honorable usage of princes in like cases urginge.<sup>d</sup> But, contrarie wise, affirmeth, that to her Majesties owne extreame perill, and hazard of her estate, she hath for the space of eighteen yeeres suffered the said unfortunate ladie, her iust and lawfull prisoner, to live, not in calamitie and want as prisoners were<sup>e</sup> wont, but in all princelie aboundance and securitie of leif, beinge pursued by<sup>f</sup> her owne naturall<sup>g</sup> subiectes in all extremitie,<sup>h</sup> not onlie of armes, but also of practize,<sup>i</sup> when armes<sup>k</sup> could not prevaile, sparinge no manner of intreatie, perswasion,<sup>l</sup> or offer of service or gratitude to her Majestie, to have her delivered up to the handes of such<sup>m</sup> as had bene first authors of her disgrace and renuntiacion to the crowne and regall administracion of that Realme of Scotland, which her Majestie not onlie with greate fidelitie refused to do, but also entertained<sup>n</sup> her with all the amiable interteynementes<sup>o</sup> that could be used towards her, (savinge onlie<sup>p</sup> the advantage<sup>q</sup> of her restraint, which<sup>r</sup> it behoved her Majestie in all reason and good pollicie to re-teigne, for the suretye of her owne person and estate, and tranquillitie of her whole realme, otherwise apparantlie endangered) nor never in all the space of that eighteen yeeres seemed to reioice in anie thinge so much as to be able to shew her curtesie, and to cherish her said unfortunate prisoner with all vertuous consolations and large beneficences,<sup>s</sup> not without extreame sorrow lamentinge both

<sup>a</sup> or from motives, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> to be maintained by the equitie *not in* Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> nor, in the same MS.

<sup>e</sup> are, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> unnatural, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> not only by arms, but also by practizes, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> force, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> delivered to such, Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> treatment, Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> disadvantage, Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> benefittes, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> in such pressing cases, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> of, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> in all extremitie *not in* Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> perswasion *omitted* Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> entertained, Ibid.

<sup>p</sup> except, Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> whom, Ibid.

ther fortunes, to eche other so adverse and uncomfortable, and that they should seame to<sup>a</sup> be borne to be authors of ther owne woo, being so nere a kin, so neer neighbors, soo equall in yeeres, sex and degree, as by anie naturall resemblance ther could not be a more lovelie equalitie betwene<sup>b</sup> sisters of on bellie then<sup>c</sup> them.

And for that verie respect, during all the tyme of the sayd unfortunate ladies abode within this realme, never used lesse amitie, honor and<sup>d</sup> regard to her then yf she had bene her owne naturall sister. I call it her abode, and no<sup>e</sup> captivitie, nor scarce a restraint, when<sup>f</sup> in effect the greatest part of this realme was her prison at large (havinge somme eie<sup>g</sup> to her safe custodie), and the fairest pallaces of everie shire<sup>h</sup> the places of her residence, wher she might hunt and hawke and use all other princelie disportes at her pleasure, and remove and change aiers and lodginges as oft as she listed, and be allowed honorable attendance and companie, great interteynmentes and costlie diett, riche presentes, free accesse of her people to her, conference with whom<sup>i</sup> she would, and libertie to give and receave what so ever intelligence from anie part of the world by her secretaries and messengers.<sup>k</sup> Finallie, for her greater<sup>l</sup> reputacion and comfort, an Ambassador Lidger<sup>m</sup> to negotiate her causes with her Majestie and intertayne ther mindes in all good almitie, sewertie and confidence, without mistrust: which continewed manie faire<sup>n</sup> yeres, untill the abuse of the Bushopp of Rosse, the sayd late Quenes Imbassador, gave just cause whie that frendlie course of negociacion should be discontinued and interrupted, her Majesties favours continewinge still

<sup>a</sup> seem to *omitted* Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> betwixt, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> not, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> small care of, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> to wait upon her and discourse with her when, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> couriers, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> was allowed her, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> among, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> or, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> where, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> county, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> great, Cott. MS.

<sup>n</sup> faire *omitted* Ibid.

towards the said unfortunate ladie, and in no point<sup>a</sup> impared or diminished.

And wher the sayd Ladie had longe before stood apparantlie with her Majestie competitour for the crowne of England, to the great disquiet and troble to<sup>b</sup> the whole state, till it was by her desisted and put in surcease, yet not leauinge to pretend to the succession, with littell lesse discontentment to the whole realme then before, her Majestie beinge urged in sondrie of her Parlamentes to consent to such an<sup>c</sup> establishment of the Crowne as must needes have proved to the utter disherizon of the said infortunate Ladie, and her lineall posteritie for ever, could not be brought to consent unto that which all her nobilitie and commons pressed her Majestie in with unspeakable lamentacion and teares:<sup>d</sup> but always held her self indifferent, and free from anie violacion of right restinge in the said Ladie or her children, by color and pretext of anie law or ordinance precedent, levinge the decision therof to the will of God, her owne good merites and acceptance of the people whose government her Majestie should leave when God pleased,<sup>e</sup> without workinge<sup>f</sup> anie interruption, anticipacion, or preference of anie right or titell by her consent.

To all these great favoures her Majestie yet added on greater then the rest, too weete,<sup>g</sup> the carefull protection and defence of the King her sonne, then very yonge, environned rounde about with enemies and manefest dangers, both from his owne people by faction and from strangers by an usurped force, and with that continuall care assisted his educacion and government untill his riper yeares, that now, thankes be to God, beinge come to mans state, he is able to perceave and doth acknoleadg her Majesties motherlie benignitie and good mind towards him. Ne never was

<sup>a</sup> way, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> an *omitted* Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> of the people after her death, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> allowing, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> of, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> by unspeakable tears, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> than all, viz., Ibid.

her Majestie weried with the excessive charge of the saide Ladies intertaynment, nor of no manner of bountye and magnificence<sup>a</sup> dailie and hourelie bestowed upon her, nor of anie good counsaile or comfort that could be yelded her, no,<sup>b</sup> nor neglected the head of<sup>c</sup> her health at such tymes as she had bene<sup>d</sup> sicke, but sent her at such tymes<sup>e</sup> her Majesties owne phisicians, and the most pretious and comfortable remedies, medicines<sup>f</sup> and preservatives that could be gotton for the recoverye<sup>g</sup> of her helthe and prolongation of her leif; albeit her Majestie was not ignorant that her death had bene a great deale more for her saftie, the present contentment of the people, and future tranquillitie of the realme. Yea, though her Majestie were not uninformed of manie undue meanes which the said Ladie being restrayned practized from tyme to tyme to her Majesties great danger, but winked at them, and for her princelie lenitie would not seeme to perceave or be acknowen therof to anie creature in the world, no, not her owne privie counsell, because she would not willinglie be discomforted by anie contrarie advise, nor be perswaded to alter her good meaning for<sup>h</sup> the said Ladies preservacion, and all her rightes; nor now, finallie, after manie haynouse crymes and<sup>i</sup> conspiracies worought by the said Quene prisoner, aganst her Majestie and the realme, hath her Highnes sought her safegard<sup>k</sup> (which reason requireth) by her coercion, but rather by the punishment of sondrie her<sup>l</sup> noble subiectes and kinsfolkes entangled in the said conspiracies: namelie the Duke of Norfolke, the two Earles of Northumberland, the Earles of Westmerland, Southhampton, and manie others of good accompt, somme by death which could not<sup>m</sup> be<sup>n</sup> avoyded, others by imprisonment or banish-

<sup>a</sup> munificence, Cott. MS. *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> *no omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> the head of *omitted* Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> her health when sick, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> at all such times, Cott. MS.; always then, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> drugs, Cott. MS.

<sup>g</sup> preserving, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> from, Cott. MS., to, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> crimes and *omitted* Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> safety, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> her Majesties, Cott. MS.

<sup>m</sup> not *omitted* Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> be well, Harl. MS.

ment, and otherwise by more milder<sup>a</sup> coertions a great deale then they desarved. And yet, for all that, her Majestie still spared the sayd Quene delinquent, and never would<sup>b</sup> exercise her lawful power over her, or<sup>c</sup> see her lacke one inche of<sup>d</sup> her libertie the more, nor anie ways to be discomforted, nor in manner discontented, more<sup>e</sup> then for the continuance of<sup>f</sup> her restraint, which it behoved her Majestie not to release without<sup>g</sup> order taken for her better securitie, which<sup>h</sup> manifestlie declare a most noble nature in her Majestie, and how great a desier she had to have her live and doo well, when<sup>i</sup> by her such<sup>k</sup> clemencie her self<sup>l</sup> lived the meane while<sup>m</sup> in continualle feares and danger of her owne<sup>n</sup> leif by the same occasion.<sup>o</sup> What will yow<sup>p</sup> more? Ther could no greater regard of kindnes<sup>q</sup> be used by a Quene to a Quene, a sister to a sister,<sup>r</sup> a mother to the childe<sup>s</sup> of her owne bodie, then her Majestie used toward the said unfortunate and ill<sup>t</sup> desarvyng Ladie for the space of eighteen yeres, which was untill her<sup>u</sup> last conspiracie with Babington and the rest, who had taken a solempne othe to murder her Majestie and stirre<sup>x</sup> tumultes in the realme, upon which forrein powers should have bene brought in, to have wrought further innovation in<sup>y</sup> the state, revenge upon the present magistrates, destruction of the people, and total desolacion of the land.

Wherupon her Majestie and previe counsell perceaving that her lenitie wrought none<sup>z</sup> amendment in the sayd infortunate Ladie, but

<sup>a</sup> mild, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> and, Cott. MS.

<sup>e</sup> nor anie . . . more *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS. <sup>f</sup> to continue, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> which she was obliged to till, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> whereby, Ibid.; notwithstanding, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> she her self, Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> own *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>p</sup> you have, Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> a sister to a sister *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> evil, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>x</sup> to stirr, Ibid.

<sup>z</sup> no, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> would never condescend to, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> One inch of *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> to continue, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> which may, Cott. MS.

<sup>k</sup> own, Harl. MS.

<sup>m</sup> time, Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> by the same occasion, Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> no greater kindness, Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> children, Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> the, Cott. MS.

<sup>y</sup> invasion of, Ibid.



rather that the disease beinge suffered to ronne out at large unlooked too, that the cure became <sup>a</sup> dalie more <sup>b</sup> desperate, yt was not thought by anie counsell or advise ther should be anie longer <sup>c</sup> delay used for a finall reformation of the said Ladies excesses, and prevention of the last and greatest evill. For it was in every man's opinion supposed <sup>d</sup> impossible her Majestie could live, and be anie smale tyme preserved from destruction, yf the sayd Scottishe Quene should be suffered to live, or yf her Majestie should have borne anie longer, and neglected the occasion last presented, which of all other attemptes and conspiracies that had passed <sup>e</sup> before was most evident, horrible and dangerous. Her Majestie at the earnest <sup>f</sup> pursute of her nobilitie and people in open Parliament was in manner enforced (or ells to have lost ther love and good opinion for ever, which had not behaved,) to acconsent <sup>g</sup> unto the redresse of the sayd Ladies enormities by such due and convenient meanes, and in such forme of iustice, as the lawes of the land do allow and requier; the same neverthelesse so slowlie proceeded in, <sup>h</sup> and with such inward greif to her Majestie, as hath bene alreadye remembred. And wherein it is feared that, whatsoever countenance yt please her for her regall constancie and magnanimitie to sett upon it, that she will hardlie be recomforted during her leif: thoughe her Majesties great good fortune and prosperitie in this affaire would perchance be reputed, by anie other vindicative or ambitious prince, a most gloriouse victorie and matter to triumphe at. But her Majestie taketh it not after that sort, but as a princes fearing God, charitable and of moch moderacion; for she sorrowethe it not a littell, and greatlie rebuked the popular reiocynges, by banquettes and bonefyres made thorow out her realme for that cause, and hartelie wisheth that the occasions <sup>i</sup> had never have bene geven (as on <sup>k</sup> her Majesties behalf they were not); and

<sup>a</sup> begann, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> more, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> conspiracies which passed, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> consent, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> occasion, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> more and more, Ibid. and Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> supposed to be, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> request and, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> in *omitted*, Cott. MS.

<sup>k</sup> in, Ibid.

that, in the eye and sence of man's understandinge, the regard of state and regall administracion were not<sup>a</sup> so great and obligatorie to all absolute princes as in trothe they be; but that Kinges and Quenes governance<sup>b</sup> might, without ther owne ignominie and detriment of ther people, use such tolleracion in cases of offence done unto them, as private persons might be allowed to doe, and in respect of ther government and chardge (which is but a function and ministrie of justice to the people assigned by God to ther direccion) is not allowable for them alwayes to use. This,<sup>c</sup> no smale porcion of infelicitie, her Majestie confesseth to be hers, common with every other absolute prince, that they may not in all cases use mercye, and forgive, when they could be best contented<sup>d</sup> so to doo, but when ther office and dutie of administracion permittes it best, and the case of the commonwelth requireth it, but not ther owne appetites.

To weete,<sup>e</sup> in the thinges that merelie belonge not to ther persons but to the<sup>f</sup> people, so deeplie as on may say it concerneth the totall adversitye and<sup>g</sup> prosperitie of them and ther posteritie for ever, as in this case by all the wiser iudgmentes of the Realme and the three estates assembled in full parlament yt hath bene upon great deliberacion resolved, which may satisfye all that be not unreasonable<sup>h</sup> men to thinke that it was not for anie scruple that ought to remaine in her Majesties conscience, nor that she doth or can acknowledge anye iniustice<sup>i</sup> in the facte, for therin she had before received full satisfaction by the greatest clarkes in Christiandome, both lawiers and devines, who had studiouslye consulted upon the case and delivered ther opinions therin. But the cause onlie was for the greif<sup>k</sup> that her Majestie hath conceived (wherin no man can<sup>l</sup> iustlie blame her) to thinke that she of all Christian Princes should be made the

<sup>a</sup> not omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> This is, Cott. MS.

<sup>e</sup> weete omitted, and a blank left for it, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> or, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> justice, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> can omitted, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> governments, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> would be most willing, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> their, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> all reasonable, Cott. MS.

<sup>k</sup> great grief, Ibid.

first author of so strange a president in justice, so farre discrepant and contrarie to her nature and <sup>a</sup> her sex, to the manner of her leif, who hath alway professed peace, amitie, mercye, and indulgence to all offenders, even her greatest enemyes. So as now to be driven, after the processe of so longe and gloriouse a raigne,<sup>b</sup> to embrew her handes in the bloud of a Quene, a kynswoman, a prisoner of so manie yeres preseruinge, and of which merite to lose all the thankes and glorie in a day, it must needes be verie grevous.

Then, besides, her Majestie sekinge all the dayes of her life to gett good renowne by clemencie and lenytie, to make her self in the end famous by an accion of such <sup>c</sup> apparant crueltie, and by so dolorous a sentence, as no hart that weere<sup>d</sup> not made of marbell or steele<sup>e</sup> or not sufficientlie enformed of the sayd <sup>f</sup> Ladyes ill<sup>g</sup> merites, but might worthelie seame to mourne and take to ruthe, which acte, though it be not seane how her Majestie could possiblie have avoyded, is neverthesse sorrowfull,<sup>h</sup> and with greif (without anye repentance) to be lamented.<sup>i</sup>

Thus muche, and more peradventure then neded, maie suffice for the knoleadg that manie great and grave personages nere about her Majestie have received and delivered with all fidelitye from her owne regall mouthe, of her secrete and sincere intent in the subscription, deliverie, and use, of the said warrant geven for the execution of the said infortunate Ladie. Also for<sup>k</sup> the manner of her Majesties first informacion of that <sup>l</sup> dolourous feate,<sup>m</sup> and of the great sorrow and hevinesse she conceived, that the same was at the beginninge occasioned, or that it now happened, in somme sorte unexpected, and without her Majesties participacion<sup>n</sup> in the cause, at the least wise for the manner and tyme of her deathe. Besides of<sup>o</sup> her

<sup>a</sup> to, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> so, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> flint, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> evil, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> repented, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> their, Cott. MS.; her, Harl. MS.

<sup>n</sup> further participation, Cott. MS.

<sup>b</sup> a long and glorious reign, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> was, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> sayd unfortunate, Cott. MS.

<sup>h</sup> sorrowfully, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> and of, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>m</sup> fate, Harl. MS.

<sup>o</sup> all, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

Majesties kind usage towardes the sayd Ladie soo manie yeares before, and of her constant determinacion to have saved, protected and done her good, yf for her infinite misdemeanors and ingraticudes she had not provoked the whole realme to that iust indignacion and greife which enforced her to consent to the sayd Ladies longer imprisonment then was at the first determined or ment, and now, finallie, to her lawfull conviction and atteyndor, and the rest that is, to her Majesties no littell greif, ensewed therupon.

Now, to the manner of her Majesties iustification and defence of all her meane<sup>a</sup> procedinges aganst the sayd infortunate Ladie, albeit she acknoledgeth no necessitie therin, more then of the rest, save onlie the due regard which her Majestie hath alwayes had to right and iustice, her owne good renowne, and to the honour of all princes, of which nomber she is, in fellowship of the Christian congregacion, wherof she professeth to be one no<sup>b</sup> meane or unworthie member. Yet her Majestie will not seame greved that the same iustification be, by her honest wellwillers, dutifullie and trulie presented to the vew and acknoleadg<sup>c</sup> of the Kinges and governors of the<sup>d</sup> world, to whom upon earthe is onlie incident the censure and arbiterment of all princie merite; that therby it may appere her Majestie is nether in dede nor in her owne conscience guiltie of anie wronge, iniustice, malice, rigour, or other unprincelie behaviour, in anie part of her procedynges aganst the said unfortunate Ladie, which her<sup>e</sup> no indifferent reporters maie perchance publish and denie;<sup>f</sup> to staie also the headie and rashe<sup>g</sup> reportes of the malicious sort, and to staunche the riotous<sup>h</sup> speaches of thè popular, full of intemperance; to satisfie beside<sup>i</sup> all persons, both princelie and private, who, by ignorance of the case, of<sup>k</sup> partiallitie of mindes shall happen to be

<sup>a</sup> meane omitted, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> to be no, and "member," omitted, Ibid.      <sup>c</sup> knowlege, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> kinges and governors of the omitted, Ibid., and the words interlined in Sir T. Winnington's MS.

<sup>f</sup> deeme, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> her enemies, Cotton. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> malicious, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> violent, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> beside omitted, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> or, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

irresolute and not well satisfied in the said causes.<sup>a</sup> It is thus delivered<sup>b</sup> by way of veritable assertion,<sup>c</sup> for all men to examine and iudge upon sencible and frelie without affection.

And first, yt is not to be<sup>d</sup> denied that the said infortunate Ladie, the Scottishe Quene, entringe into this realme of England upon the sodein with certaine tropes of horsemen, a matter<sup>e</sup> unusuall and directlie aganst the law of our borders, and generallie that of all Princes marchers, whether it be in tyme of peace or of warre, her<sup>f</sup> purpose and determinacion not before knowne, and beinge secreatlie harbored in places of those partes very suspitious or<sup>g</sup> nothings seamlie or convenient for so great a personage, the Warden of her Majesties borders<sup>h</sup> beinge informed therof resorted to her with all possible speed, and<sup>i</sup> as became him, in all courtious and dutifull manner, entreated the said Quene to be contented to chaunge her lodginge to somme more convenient and<sup>k</sup> commodious place at his appointment, and that it would please her ther to staie her self till the Quenes Majestie (our soveraigne Ladie) might be advertized of her arrivall, and her pleasure knowne backe againe what should be further done in the case, ether for the intelligence of her misfortunes; or provision of reliefe to her distresses, and shewed therein great dutie and discretion. For what stranger accident could have happened in a<sup>l</sup> world, then to see a Quene come in such<sup>m</sup> sort into the territorie<sup>n</sup> of another prince, unlooked for, uncompeled, and without anie<sup>o</sup> licence or safe conducte? Or what thinge could be<sup>p</sup> of greater importance, to bynd her Majesties Lievtenant and subiectes of those partes to use great care and circomspection, in an occasion so strangelie presented and manie ways suspitious, and of a

<sup>a</sup> cause, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> affection, Cott. MS.

<sup>e</sup> thing, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> and, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> and *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>l</sup> the, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>n</sup> territories, Ibid.

<sup>p</sup> have been, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> declared, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> to be *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> their, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> border, Harl. MS.

<sup>k</sup> convenient and *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>m</sup> such a, Harl. MS.

<sup>o</sup> anie *omitted*, Cott. MS.

Princes whose person booth to see and <sup>a</sup> conferre <sup>b</sup> with upon ther manie <sup>c</sup> great causes it might moch behove her Majestie, the oportunitie soo well servinge for that purpose, in such sort as to have lett her departe with out her Majesties privetie had not onlie bene a fowle omission of his dutie, and a <sup>d</sup> signe of great indiscretion, but also dangerous to her Majesties <sup>e</sup> saied Lord Warden of the same marches, <sup>f</sup> so as the staie of her retorne, whether it were by pretext of the law of the borders, or for anie other respect, till such tyme as her Majesties good pleasure might be knowne for the said Lord Warden's discharge, was done both wiselie and justifiablie by him, and her Majesties consent therunto afterwarde given no lesse lawfull and allowable; nether is it be doubted that anie Prince in the world would otherwise have used <sup>g</sup> the same occasion. And so do we fynd by manie examples of great antiquitie, which have <sup>h</sup> longe agone over ruled this case, and made it a president of verie good iustice and government, even when no necessitie of the state or perill of the Prince of that dominion enforced, as now it did.<sup>i</sup> For what tyme Phillipp Kynge of Castile, sonne to Maximilian the Emperour, about the yeres of K. Henrie the vij. her Majesties grandfather, <sup>k</sup> was by tempest of wether cast upon the Englishe cost, as he would have gone into Spaine, the Kynges Lieftenaunt of the West countrie intreated him to staie, and would not suffer him to depart, till the Kynges further pleasure might be knowen. Wherupon the Kinges Majestie commanded<sup>l</sup> that the said King of Castile should be honorable attended, and under safe convoye brought up to London, wher, and in all other places, during the rest of his abode within the realme, he was most magnificentlie enterteined, and with great honour conveyed to the port wher his passage most commodiouslie

<sup>a</sup> and to, Cott. MS.

<sup>b</sup> converse, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> manie omitted, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> a omitted, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> the, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> of the same marches omitted, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> would have otherwise done upon the like occasion, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> have omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> doth, Harl. MS.

<sup>k</sup> grandmother, and three lines further on be knowen, omitted, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> ordered, Ibid.

laie<sup>a</sup> for him to embarke<sup>b</sup> him self<sup>c</sup> toward Spaine, and for all the honours and good interteynmentes shewed unto<sup>d</sup> him by the Kinge was<sup>e</sup> never at hartes ease whiles he was in England,<sup>f</sup> knowinge him self to be in the Kinges power to use as his lawfull prisoneur, though necessitie drave him in, not his own voluntarie desier; and feared it so moch, as when the Kinge would have had him brought<sup>g</sup> into the Tower of London to see the antiquities therof, with the great store of the Kinges treasure and abilimentes of warre there remaininge, he praied the King not to desier it, for that he had made a vowe never to enter anie castell, prisone, or other stronge peice of<sup>h</sup> anie forreigne prince, unles he were therunto compelled aganst his will, and so acknoledged<sup>i</sup> to stand for his libertie at the Kinges curtesie, and not otherwise upon anie assuraunce of law, and<sup>k</sup> tooke his leave.

The like chaunced in the yere of the reigne of her Majesties most noble father K. Henrie the viij<sup>th</sup>, upon Charles the fift<sup>1</sup> Emperour cominge out of<sup>m</sup> Spaine into the Low Countries, and was in like frendlie<sup>n</sup> sort entreated by the Kinges Majestie; soo as it was not thought unlawfull to staie them from sodaine departure,<sup>o</sup> which ether of them<sup>p</sup> desired and might not be suffered to doo, though in verie trouthe they both came in nothings bouldie nor presumptuouslie, as did the said Scottish Quene, but compelled by force of wether<sup>q</sup> and rage of the sea, where humaine necessitie<sup>r</sup> did seame to merite pardon.

They weare also knowen to be the Kinges good frendes, and

<sup>a</sup> laye most convenient, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> pass, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> him self *omitted*, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> unto *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> he was, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> whiles . . . . England *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> would have brought him, Cott. and Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> place of strength belonging to, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> acknowledged himself, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> so he, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> the like chaunce . . . . happened upon Charles the First, Cott. MS.

<sup>m</sup> from, Harl. MS.

<sup>n</sup> frendlie *omitted*, Cott. MS.

<sup>o</sup> departing immediately, Harl. MS.

<sup>p</sup> both Philip and he, Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> bad weather, Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> storms, so that necessity might, Ibid.

in an<sup>a</sup> amitie with him by an auntient leaugue betwene England and the howse of Burgondie, and weare not knowen to be profest enemyes to the state of England, and much lesse competitors to the crowne, as was the said Scottishe Quene.

Manie yeares after that, the said Charles the fife<sup>b</sup> beinge animated to displeasure aganst his rebell subiectes<sup>c</sup> of Gaunt, whose tumoultes and revolt asked<sup>d</sup> spedie redresse and pacification, would not seame to enter the frontiers<sup>e</sup> of France, to come the shorter waie, before he had the Frenche Kinges placard of safe conducte to passe the Realme of Fraunce, albeit both the sayd Princes weare at that tyme<sup>f</sup> in great amitie,<sup>g</sup> and allied by the mariage of the Ladie Elioner, Quene daughter<sup>h</sup> of Portingale, the sayd Emperors<sup>i</sup> sister, to the said Francis the<sup>k</sup> Frenche Kinge, insomoch as beinge entred into the Realme by licence, he stood in great dout of him self, least the Frenche King would have repaied him with all<sup>l</sup> hard condicions as the Emperour had before offred him in<sup>m</sup> Madrill, when the Frenche King beinge taken prisoner at the battell of Pavia was enforced to renounce all his titell and right to the Kingdome of Naples and Duchie of Millan, with other territories wherunto the sayd<sup>n</sup> King pretended the lawfuller interest,<sup>o</sup> and was verie like to have comme to passe, yf the Emperour had not very polli-tiquelie and with great guiftes made the Duches of Estampes, the Kinges onlie favoured,<sup>p</sup> a meane to remove the Frenche Kinge from that determinacion.

Kinge Richard the first, called Cuerdelyon, retorninge from the seage of Jerusalem, and passinge thorow the countrie of Austria,

<sup>a</sup> an omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> first, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> provoked by his rebellious subjects, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> demanded, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> enter into the territories, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> present, Cott. MS.

<sup>g</sup> unity, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> dowager, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> Charles's, Harl. MS.

<sup>k</sup> the first, Cott. MS.

<sup>l</sup> as, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>m</sup> at, Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> the same, Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> the lawful interest, Cott. MS. ; a just right, Harl. MS.

<sup>p</sup> favouritt, Cotton. and Harl. MSS.



was by Duke Leopaldus taken prisoner in his inne, and in apparrell<sup>a</sup> disguised, and was not sett at libertie till he had paied an hundred thowsand markes<sup>b</sup> for his ransome.

And before him, Robert Duke of Normandie, brother to Kinge Henrie the first, called Beaueclark, pretendinge titell to the Crowne of England by prioritie of birthe, though that quarrell was thought to have bene before<sup>c</sup> appeased, cominge hether to visite the Kinge his brother, was taken prisoner, and intreated as the storie maketh mention;<sup>d</sup> which declareth that it is not lawfull by the law<sup>e</sup> of common right for absolute Princes (espetiallie Marchers) personallie to presume upon each others territorie and dominion, without licence and placard manifestinge before hand ther intent and the causes of ther entrye, and the one and the others consent, as to a common action. For yf it should be otherwise used betwene such manner of personages,<sup>f</sup> manie inconveniences might ensew, as well to the on as to the other of them. For by ignorance, or perchaunce malice, of the people wher such great Prince should happen sodeinlie to arrive, some violence or evell entreatie might be offred ther persons, which might touche the Lord in soveraigntie of the same countrie<sup>g</sup> in honour. Againe, upon such tollerable adventures on the other side, danger might be induced to the Prince and<sup>h</sup> countrie wher such arrivalls at large should be borne with and allowed as lawfull, the same beyng perchaunce used for coulourable pretextes of necessitie, or peradventure of amitie, when ther intentes might be nothings frendlie. Such entryes therfore of forreigne princes in ther proper persons unlicenced, yea though they be slenderlie accompanied, ar not allowed<sup>i</sup> by the law of Princelie regiment, but are accompted rather<sup>k</sup> slie invasions then

<sup>a</sup> in his . . . . apparrell *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> pounds, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> telleth, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> persons, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> of that, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> rather to be accompted, Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> before *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> way, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> soveraign of the said countrie, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> allowable, Ibid.

frendlie entryes, which otherwise ought to be bespoken <sup>a</sup> of every wise and noble prince desiringe to enterteine amitie, league, and aliance with ther good neighbors without suspition. And this law, yf it failed in anie other <sup>b</sup> countrie of the world, as it apperes not to doo, yet doth it not faile, but is preciselie observed, betwene the Realmes of England and Scottland, wher, in respect of the auncient deadlie foode <sup>c</sup> betwene both nations, yet yt is not permitted to the meanest persons of the same contries to passe into eache <sup>d</sup> others frontiers, without a pasport or bill of treague; <sup>e</sup> and yf they do, may be taken for iust and lawfull prisoners by such as shall happen to laie first handes upon them, though it be in London, or in the middest of the Realme. This hath chaunced by <sup>f</sup> manie persons, and dalie doth in the borders; and few <sup>g</sup> yeres past came to passe in the case of Thomas Earle of Northumberland, and <sup>h</sup> in the tyme of the late Northerne rebellion undertaken by him and the Earle of Westmerland for the said Scottishe Quenes cause, <sup>i</sup> who fliinge into that Realme, and beinge found without his licence of Pasport from the Warden of the Scottish borders, was taken prisoner, and as a lawfull prisoner to the taker sould to a subiect in <sup>k</sup> England for a smale somme of monie, and afterward executed at Yorke, as he <sup>l</sup> well desarved.

And yf this custome and law take place betwene <sup>m</sup> the meanest persons, as soldiers, marchauntes, travelers and such other, <sup>n</sup> whose errand into the Realme maie be for traffique or other beneficiall cause to the countrie, or perchaunce <sup>o</sup> for pleasure sake, as to hawke and hunt, to visite and conferre with ther acquaintance, or to do anie other office of humanitie and curtesie, and whose forces could

<sup>a</sup> spoken, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> feed, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> traffique, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> a few, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> causes, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> he had, Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> and the like, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> other *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> the, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> to many, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> and *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> of, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>m</sup> amongst, Harl. MS.

<sup>o</sup> marchantes, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

not be redoubted<sup>a</sup> or preiudicall to the same countries,<sup>b</sup> with how moch greater validitie ought it to inure aganst the soveraigne Princes of the said realmes, makinge such suddaine and unlicenced entryes as did the Scottish Quene, who, to the knoleadge of all the world, not manie yeres before she came into the Realme, had offred her Majestie great and notorious disgraces and iniuries, when in the tyme of Francis the second, French Kinge, her late husband, she laied clayme to her Majesties Crowne, attributyng to her self the right patrimoniall<sup>c</sup> therof, by two publique and famous evidences; on in bering quartered<sup>d</sup> in her coyne and otherwise the Armes of England and Fraunce without difference, and another in takinge upon her the titell and regall stiles<sup>e</sup> of her Majesties realmes of England and Ireland, matters of great malice and manefest hostilitie. And even now, when she entered the realme, stood<sup>f</sup> her Majesties competitor of the same Crownes, because the former quarrells had not bene extinguished before, nor cleared by anie good accord or capitulacion, but still remained in the sayd Scottishe Quene by pretence unrenowned, and for her owne<sup>g</sup> ease forborne for the<sup>h</sup> tyme, by a temporarie silence and abstinence onlie of open warr: so as, without some reasonable cause, other then to saie she was driven into the realme by the purseut of her enemies, and fledd for succoure to her Majestie, therupon coulloringe her enterie without licence, it could not be reputed lawfull, nether to proceede of anie ignorance or simplicitie, but might verie well be deamed a subtile pretence to enseason<sup>i</sup> her self of the state and Crowne, which she had so presumptuouslie challenged before, when she was in Fraunce. Allso by continuinge her abode heare,<sup>k</sup> upon the Quenes Majesties protection aganst her owne persecutors, it might be ment for a compendious way to sound the seacretes of the

<sup>a</sup> redoubtable, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> patrimonie, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>e</sup> stile, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> her Majesties owne, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> take seizin to, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> to the country, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> quarters, Cott. MS.; quarterly, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> she stood, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> a, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> heare omitted, Ibid.

Realme, and to serche out the<sup>a</sup> favourers which she might hope to sarve her tourne bie another daie, in anie attempt to be made by her for the same, which is to trulie fallen out, as all men may see.

And for that cause her entrie was at the first begininge unlawful and suspitious, and dangerous to her Majestie and the whole realme; and, without anie further triall or discussion of her entent, was of it self a manefest breache of ther ordinarie league and<sup>b</sup> the common peace; and without that, also a plaine infringment of all Princelie amitie by her irregular and undescrete manner of usage on<sup>c</sup> that behalf, which with no few<sup>d</sup> other great presumptions of evill ment<sup>e</sup> and intended by the said Scottishe Quene towards her Majestie and<sup>f</sup> realme in tyme to come, bewrayed as well by the reportes of some of her owne subiectes and neare servitoures, as also manie tymes unadvisedlie issuinge from her owne mouthe, gave no dout sufficient matter to her Majestie not onlie to hinder her spedie departure out of the realme, but also to constitute the sayd Quene her iust and lawfull prisoner, though she weare surprised<sup>g</sup> in peace, and not in the tyme of warre. And sithence as well the sayd Ladyes departure as her abode here, yf the same should have bene without restraint, might manie ways have bene used by the sayd Scottishe Quene to her Majesties grevaunce, therfore her stay and also her restrant [are]<sup>h</sup> convenient and iustificable; for in all ages it hath bene seene that practize and slight have proved more harmefull and dangerous to the state of Princes then open armes, and battell manie tymes lesse bloodie then a covenouse<sup>i</sup> and farded<sup>k</sup> peace.

Then yf the said Scottishe Quene[s] ill demesure<sup>l</sup> in those former claimes, and now in these unlicenced entringes and cominge<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> her, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> in, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> design, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> seized, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> an ensnaring, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> deceitful, Harl. MS.; forged, Cott. MS.

<sup>l</sup> evil demeanour, Cott. MS.

<sup>m</sup> runing, Cott. MS.; in this unlicensed entry and invading, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> of, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> many, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> and her, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> convenient *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

invasion<sup>a</sup> of the Realme, be by no pretext tollorable, nor warranted by anie law, the integritie of ther ordinarie league seming therbie to be violated, and ther amitie dissoulved, what cause can make her imprisonment uniuist ether by the law of Kinges and Kingdomes, that is the law of regiment purposedie ordeined for ther preservacion, or by the law of Armes (yf ther be anie such law) till the sayd prisoner<sup>b</sup> Quenes captivitie were redemed by ransome,<sup>c</sup> and all former iniuries remayning yet unredressed, by somme equitable sentence decided and compounded, as in her case it was not.

And how can it be imputed to her Majesties dishonour, or ells laied for<sup>d</sup> a burthen to her conscience, in anie poynt to have provedentlie seene to the saftie of her owne estate, even then standinge in so great hazard, and as it were tremblinge for feare of the said Quenes iniurious<sup>e</sup> attemptes and claymes? And yf she did gladlie embrace so commodious an occasion geven her (as it seemeth by the providence of God), as a singuler meane to pacifie all former unfrendlie quarrells betwixt them, and to avoyde manie evells which<sup>f</sup> might have enseeded to the people of both realmes, whensoever (the same pretences not extinguished) such claymes should happen<sup>g</sup> to be renewed by open hostilitie in tyme to come, the Scottishe [ Quenes ]<sup>h</sup> ambition and oportunitie of anie good hower therunto aptlie servynge, so as yf the same occasion had bene by her Majestie curiouslie sought for, and not offred, as it was by good fortune, and the mercifull favours<sup>i</sup> of God, for her Majesties comforte and the realmes, yet no dout it had bene expedient in all good pollicie to be no otherwise used then it was. And, on the other part, to have bene negligentlie omitted might have bene somme note of her Majesties good renowne, and staine to the glorie of her government, for muche improvidence shewed towardes her self and the<sup>k</sup> Realme, in so weightie a cause as the like never concerned her; sithence all great princes and governors are

<sup>a</sup> invading, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> ransomed, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> injuries, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> have happened, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> favour, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> prisoner omitted, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> for omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> that, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> her, Cott. MS.

then thought most <sup>a</sup> wisest, and most worthy of ther<sup>b</sup> administracion, when they be vigilant, and lett not slipp anie honest and good advantage offred them, and can charitable, discretelie, and with a vertuous moderacion use prosperitie and good fortune when it is presented; in so much as by anie convenient and not ungodlie meane to seeke the quiet of his Crowne,<sup>c</sup> and extinguishment of all such quarrells, by which manie millions of Christian people maye be destroyed, and whole cuntryes and kyngdomes brought to desolation, hath ever bene permitted, and demed in the most rightuous <sup>d</sup> iudgmentes, and by all lawes devine and humaine, iustificable, and ever wilbe whiles the world endures. So was the Scottishe Quene her Majesties lawfull prisoner, and not iniured by her first staye,<sup>e</sup> nor by anie longer restraint therupon ensewinge,<sup>f</sup> untill it might appere by some other law and <sup>g</sup> right, or <sup>h</sup> upon somme other reason, that such restraint ought to have bene within anie certayne tyme released, which as it <sup>i</sup> doth not appere, nor doth <sup>k</sup> altogether resemble the cases of Phillipp King of Castile and Charles the fift<sup>l</sup> Emperour, who came<sup>m</sup> into the Realme, one<sup>n</sup> of them driven by outrageous <sup>o</sup> tempest <sup>p</sup> of the sea, the other, as some say, with the Kynges consent and <sup>q</sup> participacion of his mynd at <sup>r</sup> his arrivall.<sup>s</sup> Allso,<sup>t</sup> in the first case, necessitie might seame to have deserved excuse and mitigacion of the law of the land, because his will consented not to his action; nether had ther bene anie former quarrells of enmitie <sup>u</sup> betwene the sayd Princes, to inferre anie danger towards <sup>v</sup> the state, or presumption <sup>w</sup>

<sup>a</sup> most omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> the, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> for a prince to seek the quietness of the Crown, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> hath ever been accounted in all just judgment, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> by being stopt at first, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> yssuing, Cott. MS.

<sup>g</sup> or, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> and, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> yet, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> neither doth this case, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> first, Cott. MS.

<sup>m</sup> incame, Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> thone, Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> the outrageous, Ibid.

<sup>p</sup> by storm, Harl. MS.

<sup>q</sup> for his coming, Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> for, Cott. MS.

<sup>s</sup> coming, Harl. MS.

<sup>t</sup> for, Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> of enmitie omitted, Ibid.

<sup>v</sup> to, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>w</sup> presumptions, Ibid.

of warres in tyme to come, nor anie likelihoode of practize, or apparance of controversie of lesse moment and interest then a Crowne, or anie league broken or amitie infringed by the manefest and vehement suspition of anie secrete pretence, to use such refuge and harbour to <sup>a</sup> purposes of hostilitie, that could anie manner of ways be imagined. So as the cases do differ very much.

But yf the like had happened by the Frenche King, at this day usurpinge her Majesties possession and right to the Crowne of Fraunce (which no man need to be affrayd to say, the same beyng warranted by the lawes of the Realme, and also by her Majesties continuall claymes <sup>b</sup> and pretence in Armorie); or yf it had fallen out by the Kinges of Denmark, auntient competitors and prendauntes <sup>c</sup> to this Crowne; yt had bene questionlesse in <sup>d</sup> her Majesties lawfull election <sup>e</sup> to have deteyned ether of them both prisoners <sup>f</sup> till they had made open renuntiacion of ther pretended titells, or payd theyr ransomes, or otherwise composed ther businesse to her Majesties contentment. Albeit to such as do yet <sup>g</sup> more presicelie ballaunce this case, it is douted whether the law of princes or of Armes (<sup>h</sup> yf yow will <sup>i</sup> make them but one) doe permitt anie absolute Prince, though not a Prince marcher, nor anie wise pretendant, <sup>k</sup> to presume personallie upon his Peeres territorie for anie cause or culler whatsoever. Seminge <sup>l</sup> that the verie print of a Princes fote upon his neighbors soile clameth an interest, wher the same is not warranted by ther common consentes, so great is the ielosie of estate, and so highlie favored by all equitie and lawes; so dangerous also is soveraigne puisance either to offend or be offended. And seames <sup>m</sup> very reasonable that it <sup>n</sup> be soe conceaved, <sup>o</sup> sence

<sup>a</sup> to the, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> pretenders, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> Majesties choice, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> do more, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> would *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> seeing, Harl. MS.

<sup>n</sup> it should, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> clayme, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> justly at, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> deteyned them prisoners, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> or if, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> a pretendant, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> 'tis, Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> conceaved *omitted*, Ibid.

in private possessions, the lawes adiudge it a trespas for me to marche upon my neighbors ground (unles it be in a pathe or highe way) without his leave, and provideth accion<sup>a</sup> for it, and reasonable amerciment<sup>b</sup> to the rate of the wronge. By the rule of which law it is thought that these two great Princes of the howse of Awstria, Phillipp and Charles, might by our Kinges have bene deteigned prisoners, till they had ransomed ther persons with such reasonable price as might seame to be dew for such an offence, and which they might incurre by ignorance or misfortune as well as by hostilitie and<sup>c</sup> usage<sup>d</sup> of armes, and wherof the advantage might with as good reason have bene taken by our Kynges<sup>e</sup> as<sup>f</sup> the Duke of Awstria ther auncestour, [who]<sup>g</sup> tooke prisoner Kinge Richard Cuerdelion retorninge from a travell of so greate merite and service to all Christiandome as the sayd Kinge Richard then did, and which greate favour of our sayd two noble Kynges shewed to those two princes of Awstria maie stand for a perpetuall record of all<sup>h</sup> regall curtesye, rather then of anie law or immunitie by honor or armes; who of their kinglie magnanimitie despisyng all unhonorable<sup>i</sup> advantages, and abhorringe both avarice and rigour, nor<sup>k</sup> mindfull of the great iniurie done by the same howse to their noble predecessor, did so favourablye intreate<sup>l</sup> the posteritie of that famelie in those two mightie Princes before remembred.<sup>m</sup>

Neither conformeth it with the case of common persons, who, for entertraffique sake, are allowed by common right<sup>n</sup> to haunt and negotiate in anie forreigne countrie for the weale and<sup>o</sup> societie of

<sup>a</sup> ane action, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> "Recompence" is inserted in the margin of Sir Thomas Winnington's MS. as an explanation of "amerciment;" and "according to" is the reading of the following words in the Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> as, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> the use, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> kyng, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> as by, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> ibid.

<sup>h</sup> all omitted, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> dishonorable, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> not, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>l</sup> entertain, Harl. MS.

<sup>m</sup> the posteritie of that Archduke, Ibid. <sup>n</sup> by the law of nations, Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> weale of the universal society, Cott. MS.



man,<sup>a</sup> unles it be after open intimacion of warres betwixt the same nations, or upon some ordinance, custome or prescription of those places makinge such entertraffique<sup>b</sup> unlawfull, and aswell thoffence as the penalties of such lawes and customes knowne notoriouslie to all resorters at ther perills; wheras the Scottishe Quene, beinge so great a princes, and for so manie enterprises of utter enmitie detected to her Majestie, beinge also her next neighbor marcher, and for the smale strengthe of her Majesties borders, and nerenes of the limite, most apt of all others to annoy her Majestie and the<sup>c</sup> realme by anie suddaine road or incursion, needynge not to passe ether seas or rivers, or marishes or mountaynes, or in effect anie other place of difficultie, to invade her Majesties countrie manie miles space<sup>d</sup> in on night; then also for the auntient enmitie betwene both peoples, and the law of the borders expressly inhibiting such unlicenced entryes, the same made not by a meane subiect of that Realme, whose cominge in could not have wrought anie dangerous effect, but made by the soveraigne her self, a known competitour to<sup>e</sup> the Crowne of England, a disturber of the common quiet, and terrour to the state, by trayninge in such forces and aydes as by pretext of her<sup>f</sup> attendantes and companie must needes follow her. It could not stand with [the] honorable wisdom of so greate a Quene and governour as her Majestie is, to suffer without her evident perill, dreade of her people, and danger of her owne disherizon; her Majestie therefore could do no lesse then first to stay the sayd Scottishe Quene, and afterward, upon deper advise, to hould her person in longer restraint and under safer guardes then before: such restraint neverthesse (as<sup>g</sup> yf the said unfortunate Ladie were now on live<sup>h</sup> to confesse the truthe) was none<sup>i</sup> impri-

<sup>a</sup> In the Harl. MS. the following words have been inserted in this place: "prove that sovereign princes have the same right, for private persons are never hindered this."

<sup>b</sup> mutual commerce, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> her, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> space omitted, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> of the Crowne, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> her omitted, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> as omitted, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> alive, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> no, Cott. MS.; not, inserted in a later hand in the Harl. MS., and "at all" omitted.

sonement at all (beynge dylie considered) but a most honorable and safe libertie<sup>a</sup> for her as her case then stode, her deathe beynge sought by her owne subiectes with all indignitie, and put in extreame hazard, had she not bene sheilded under the winges of her Majesties protection: and which libertie, yf she had bene suffered to use at large, at<sup>b</sup> her owne appetite, she was likelie enoughe to have misused of,<sup>c</sup> ether<sup>d</sup> to her Majesties harmes or perchaunce to her owne confusion, by sturringe up<sup>e</sup> striefes in all<sup>f</sup> places wher she should come; so restles was her courage and naturallie bent to all unquietnesse: in such wise, as for so manie yeares<sup>g</sup> she continewed her Majesties prisoner, so manie yeares she maie be sayd to have continewed her leif with all, and beinge now deade, it can not iustlie be imputed to her Majesties will, but to her owne malltallant, and to the rancour of her cheifest favourers, the papistes and others, whose follie and arrogancie by busie attemptes sett her forwardes to so doubtfull<sup>h</sup> an end, tumblinge her headlonge into those misfortunes and adversities which they desired most<sup>i</sup> maliciouslie to have sene fall<sup>k</sup> upon her Majestie.

But they on the other side will perchaunce saye, that the sayd Ladyes restraint continewed manie yeares longer then yt ought to have done, and that to winne<sup>l</sup> her libertie by anie possible meanes or devise, she ought to be houlden excused; for admittyng her entrie to be unlawfull, and her self her Majesties just prisoneur, as as well by her adverse fortune and oversight as yf she had bene her captive in armes, yet upon reasonable ransome that she should have bene<sup>m</sup> delivered, by the equitie of the same law of Armes: forasmuch as euerye captivitie is manteined by force, wherof armes is in

<sup>a</sup> retreat, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> of omitted, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> up omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> years as, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> most omitted, Ibid.; and the words preceding somewhat differently arranged.

<sup>k</sup> to have seene fallen, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> ought she to be, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> to, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> ether omitted, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> all the, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> to do so doleful, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> noy, Cott. MS.; enjoy, Harl. MS.

the hiest and most honorable degree.<sup>a</sup> For answere wherof I will aske them but these questions;—What it is they call the law of Armes, whose authoritie they so moch extoll, as a thinge in dignitie surmountynge all other lawes in the world? Then;—Wherupon is it grounded<sup>b</sup>? When it tooke his commencement? How large<sup>c</sup> it extendeth, and who shalbe iudges, triers, and executioners of the same law? I for my owne<sup>d</sup> parte knowe nothings of the matter more then of certayne customes and orders of millitarie discipline, prescribed by generalls and captaynes for the leadynge of ther armies, good order and obedience of ther soldiers, and wise conduct in the rest of ther busines, wherof<sup>e</sup> victorie is the principall marke, and consequentlie peace. For what Prince would have warre but to thend to purchase quietnes<sup>f</sup>? Therefore our wise forefathers have alwayes preferred the law of peace before the lawes of warre, and that of pleading before the other of armes: so as, yf ther be anie such custome or auncient usage to that purpose they speake of, it seameth to be grounded upon an other reason: as perchance to police the state,<sup>g</sup> and fortifye that part of iustice in mans behaviour, which is to be reteigned in dutie, and onlie remediable by force, when nether perswasion nor processe<sup>h</sup> can prevaile; and, in fyne, tend all but to one end, that<sup>i</sup> is, to stablishe and continew peace betwixt the great princes, dominators of the world, not otherwise subiect to anie terreyne<sup>k</sup> iurisdiction, coercion of law, or penaltie that can be imposed upon them. This standeth with great reason and iustice, for otherwise how should the iniuries of Princes be reformed, and ther irregular appetites be restreyned and bridled,

<sup>a</sup> whereof armes is the most honorable degree, Cott. MS. By force of armes in most honorable degree, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> In the Harl. MS. there are here some unimportant differences.

<sup>c</sup> largelie, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> owne *omitted*, and also, in the next line, more, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>e</sup> in all their attempts where a, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> tranquillity, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> as perhaps policy to stablishe and fortify, Cott. MS. <sup>h</sup> law, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> and that, Cott. MS.

<sup>k</sup> terror, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

sence it is not meate that anie mortall man coversant amonge men be utterlie dispunishable of his crime<sup>a</sup> which by the fraieltie of humaine nature he maie committ, so longe as anie convenient meane<sup>b</sup> devised by man can bringe it to passe.<sup>c</sup> Mans witt, therefore, by the suggestion of nature, hath ordeyned that the law of force shalbe lord and superior of all other lawes, so farre furthe perchance as reason and equitie will affirme: and therefore it maie be that such law of force was never<sup>d</sup> meete to be conteyned in written recordes, but rather to stande in strengthe, dependinge upon the will of the conquerour, or him that shall<sup>e</sup> happen to be superiour in puisaince. For it is absurd to saie that ther should be anye thinge able to bynd or vanquishe force yt self, which subdueth everye other thinge to his<sup>f</sup> subiection. This beinge admitted, it can not be said ther<sup>g</sup> is a certayne law of Armes, but rather customes,<sup>h</sup> and ordinances, in the usage of force and armes, alterable at the appetite of the superior puisaince, shewing ether mercie or rigour, as occasion and the equitie of ther owne brest shall allow and stirre them unto. One of the ordinances of this law sayeth, that the enemye beyng taken in battayle, or otherwise armed, yf he yeild him self prisoner, cast away his weapon, and praie leif, and be therupon spared, ought to be delivered upon competent ransomme. And great reason, for<sup>i</sup> leif is sweete and deare to everye man, and as it weare a common treasure, and in all men is subiect to casualtie and violence, and therefore of all men who be not utterlie barbarous and without humanitie greatlie to be favoured. Yet do we dalie see that, for respectes of more importance to the conqueror then the prisoners ransome or savinge of his leif,<sup>k</sup> they be often tymes all slaine, though they would willinglie paye ther ransome. For yf so manie prisoners

<sup>a</sup> any man should enjoy impunity of those crimes, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> meane may be, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> to bring it to pass, Cott. MS. ; to prevent it, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> thought meete, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> its, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> some customes, Harl. MS.

<sup>k</sup> their lives, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>e</sup> will, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> that there, Cott. MS.

<sup>i</sup> which is reasonable because, Ibid.

should be taken in a battell, or in a skirmishe, as could not be safelie garded, or would troble the conquerors campe to be kept in hould, or would spend upp his victualls in the <sup>a</sup> tyme of scarcitie, and for xx<sup>ti</sup> other causes wherin they might worke his danger and <sup>b</sup> annoiance, they be all upon a suddeine <sup>c</sup> put to the sworde, no reason servynge why such prisoners should be kept alive.<sup>d</sup> Soe it is in the dedicion and <sup>e</sup> yeldinge up of townes, castells and fortresses, and of Princes them selves, submittinge ther persons, estates and dignities to the mercie of the <sup>f</sup> more mightie <sup>g</sup>: in which respect we have seene somme saved, somme spoyled of ther lives, somme deposed, somme restored to ther dignities, and the promises of the more puisaint with no lesse equitie broken then performed: such the causes and respectes maie bee. And herein I could bringe in <sup>h</sup> infinite examples, so as it seameth the law of Armes (yf ther be anie such) is but the verie will of the vanquisher, and no certaine rule of the <sup>i</sup> unviolable iustice. Likewise to asesse the prisoners ransomme, I knowe no text of law otherwise then by the will <sup>k</sup> of him that can conquere his parson: for we have known prisoners of private, and also princelie degree, who not beinge able in all mens knoleadge<sup>l</sup> to pay the ransome demanded at ther handes, have bene enforced to borrow or begg it of ther frendes, or ells should still have remained<sup>m</sup> in prisone and ther starved.<sup>n</sup> We fynd others of them that could never be released for anie ransome, great or small, as the Duke of Orliance, who lay <sup>o</sup> xxij yeares prisoner here in England, and in that state dyed: so was Lodowick Sforza, Duke of Millaine, used by Francis the French Kinge, and died nether a prisoner nor at his full

<sup>a</sup> the *omitted*, Cott. MS. ; consume his provisions in time, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> or, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> are all immediately, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> all alive, Cott. MS.

<sup>e</sup> at the dedicion or, *Ibid.*; dedition or, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> their, Cott. MS.

<sup>g</sup> powerful, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> bringe in *omitted*, Cott. MS.

<sup>i</sup> the *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> law, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> in all mens knoleadge *omitted*, *Ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> remain, *Ibid.*

<sup>n</sup> have starved, *Ibid.*

<sup>o</sup> was, *Ibid.*

libertie, but with reasonable intertainment, restrayned at large within the limittes of Fraunce.

No more is it by the lawe of Armes for the cause of captivitie, for though it hath bene<sup>a</sup> seldom seene that anie Prince hath bene taken prisoner but with his weapon in his hand, declaringe in deed a mind of utter hostilitie: yet when they be enemies well knowne, or ells very doubtfull and suspected frendes, and happen to be surprised by practise or slight, or fallen<sup>b</sup> by mischaunce into the hand<sup>c</sup> of the more mightie, not bound to the contrarie by anie paction civill,<sup>d</sup> which ought to be a qualificacion of all extremities, and the measure of mans iustice and will, they<sup>e</sup> be accompted lawfull prisoners, though they weere taken in ther beddes naked, and not in anie battaile or foughten feild,<sup>f</sup> or at the seadge and sacke of anie towne, or otherwise where there maie be<sup>g</sup> apparance of<sup>h</sup> enmitie betwixt them: for it is not the sword in fist, but the malice of a mans courage and hostile mynd, that maketh him an enemy; and in the one and the other cases Princes have bene adiudged lawfull prisoners, as King John of Fraunce and Francis the first beyng taken in battaile and bright armes,<sup>i</sup> Kinge Richard of England being taken as a pilgrime in a beggers cloke; for that was<sup>k</sup> all the reason wherupon the Duke of Austria mainteined<sup>l</sup> his accion aganst the said Kynge, because he sayd he knewe the Kinge to be his enemy, for a quarrell of unkyndnes<sup>m</sup> happened betwene them at the seadge of Jerusalem. What, I praye yow? For soothe, because he pulled downe and trampled under his feete a paper of the Dukes armes, which he had sett upp upon a gate of<sup>n</sup> the cittie of Akers, wherof the Kinge challenged the whole conquest, and the Duke parte<sup>o</sup> with him: neverthelesse a sufficient

<sup>a</sup> be, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> hands, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>e</sup> are to, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> is any, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> armour, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> defended, Harl. MS.

<sup>n</sup> which he sett upp upon the city, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> fall, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> treaty or paction, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> committing hostility, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> apparant, Cott. MS.

<sup>k</sup> is, Cott. MS.

<sup>m</sup> which, Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> claimed a parte, Ibid.

pretext to deteigne him prisoner as he came home ward, and to make him paie an hundreth thowsand poundes for his ransome. Yf that be so, no doute ther can be no better iustificacion for her Majestie, ether by the law of Armes, yf anie such be, or by common reason and equitie (which ought to rule thaccions of Princes wher civill paction bindes not to the contrarie,) then that the Scottish Quene, for her<sup>a</sup> former pretence to the disinherizon of her Majestie, and anticipacion of her crowne, and now uppon<sup>b</sup> the same (not being purged by<sup>c</sup> anie later accord) should<sup>d</sup> be her Majesties iust prisoner, and the sayd Quenes peaceable entrie adjudged as lawfull a cause of captivitie, as yf she had entred the realme with an armie of men; and being surprinced a slepe in her bedd all one as yf she had bene taken in anie<sup>e</sup> bloddie battayle. Otherwise it maie be said<sup>f</sup> unlawfull to take anie Quene prisoner, though she invaded the Realme with sword and fier, because commonlie we men<sup>g</sup> goe unarmed, and fight with other folkes weapons, and not with ther owne.

But, I praie yow, speake indifferentlie.<sup>h</sup> Would anie Christian prince have used this case otherwise then did the Quene our Sovereigne Ladie? Let it be supposed of<sup>i</sup> Charles the Emperor, yf Francis the Frenche Kinge, clayminge the crownes of Naples and Cicilia, and also the Dukedome of Millane, or but secretlie pretendinge to the right of them, yf he had bene taken wanderinge alone<sup>k</sup> in Millain, or in Naples, or in anie other parte of the Emperors dominion, huntinge or<sup>l</sup> hawkinge, and not in armes wounded<sup>m</sup> in the face, as he was in the park of Pavia, doo yow thinke the Emperor would have lett him goo, and not seized upon his person, and, gevinge him a good interteynment accordinge to

<sup>a</sup> the, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> and upon, Cott. MS.; and whereupon, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> upon, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> she should, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> a, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> judged, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> women, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> indifferent, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> if, Harl. MS.

<sup>k</sup> alive, Cott. MS.; alone *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> and, Cott. MS.

<sup>m</sup> and wounded, Ibid.

the honorable usage of Princes, would not have deteigned him prisoner? No man need to dout therof, nor of anie other prynce beyng offered the like occasion, and havinge made so faire a profe of his neighbour Princes hart as her Majestie had done of the late Scottish Quenes, to be utter <sup>a</sup> hostile and adverse to all his doinges.

The longer continuance of the sayd Ladyes imprisonment was therfore iustificable by the lawes of Armes. Yf the heraultes will saie otherwise by ther art and profession, I woulde be gladd to heare how they wilbe <sup>b</sup> able to infirme my opinion. Yf they saie, by reason, that I denie; yf they say, by curtesie, that is no law; yf they saie by honour, necessitie surmounteth it; yf by conscience, what that <sup>c</sup> is I would fayne knowe (unles it be grounded upon the equitie of somme law), more then a peevishe remorse of mind<sup>d</sup> procedinge from our patience [passions?], suppose pittie, mansuetude, or feare, and being qualified by reason ar commendable partes in our affection, otherwise not onlie vayne, but also to our sound iudgmentes and accions<sup>e</sup> verie preiudicall, for wisdome can not worke wher affection reignes. It is therefore no conscience, but follie, to shew a littell pittie, wherbie (as the common sayinge <sup>f</sup> is) may be spilt a whole cittie, or to use compassion upon our most dangerous enemyes, rather then <sup>g</sup> provide for our owne reasonable saftie; and in her Majesties case, no consciene at all more to favour the Scottishe Quenes honour and ease, then the tranquilitie of her owne Realme and crowne dependinge upon the said Ladies quarrells, for ever restlesse and unquiet. And who, alive and at libertie, would not surcease them, beyng ether in prison or in her grave, were never able to stirre them up to anie great danger. For which respectes me thinkes yt reasonable to saie that, yf fortune of the warre can stablishe anie rule of right and iustice in Princes cases, that fortune in all peaceable eventes, such as may lead Princes into the danger of

<sup>a</sup> utterly, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> it, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> practises, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> then to, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> are, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> myner, Cott. MS.

<sup>f</sup> proverb, Ibid.



ther enemies more puissant then them selves, may erect and stablish a like law for them, of as great iustice. And by those examples that have bene remembred, of Princes taken prisoners, and ransomed or put to death, her Majesties iustice in this case hath presidentes yenoughe of good authoritie: soo have not Princes slie invasions, and haynouse conspiracies aganst the state under which they inioy saftie and protection, anie president of exempcion ether frone imprisonment or death; inasmuch as all such Princes are bound to use loyaltye to the soveraigne of the place wher ther captivitie lyeth, and yf not for ther residence and protection sake (beynge, they will saie, a forced benefite which is not worthe thankes), yet for ther inferioritie in puisance, and dishabilitie to resist and amend the case of ther calamitye, wherunto ther owne ill<sup>a</sup> fortune or indiscretion have ledd them to their enemyes advantage, as it befell to the sayd Scottish Quene.

Now, yf ther had bene no former quarrell betwene the two Princes, nor by no reasonable intendment could bee, nor that the said Quenes sinister practizes after she came into the Realme had not bene to be laied to her<sup>b</sup> charge, perchance the case weer somewhat altered. But the said Scottishe Quenes malice and treasons weare not hidden from the world, ether before she came into the realme or sence. Beynge, therefore, by the providence of God, fallen upon the person and place that have power over her leif, with lawfull authoritie to decide right and revenge ther owne iniuries,<sup>c</sup> as well by civil iudgment as by the sworde, and in which it is all but force and necessitie in them both, thone to doo and thother to suffer, her Majestie maie no dout use<sup>d</sup> ether of them, at her election and good pleasure, without iniustice. And, therefore, the prorogation of the said Ladies restraint might verie well seeme,<sup>e</sup> not an iniurie, but a favour much exceeding her merites, when her Majestie, havinge so good cause, and, by titell of superioritie in armes, power to

<sup>a</sup> evil, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> injurie, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> be thought, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> laid unto charge, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> not doubt to use, Ibid.

put her to the sworde without answere or allegacion, of her Majesties most mercifull nature forbare to doo it, contented onlie with a mild coertion, by way of restraint, for her owne safegard.

And yf equitie be dylie exacted at the conquerors handes, to quallifye both his force and appetite, much rather should it be<sup>a</sup> at the handes of the conquered, in his debilitie to render<sup>b</sup> obedience and trouthe for his protection; the self same reason seeminge to overrule and command them both, thone well and equitablie to use the<sup>c</sup> Empire, thother his subiection and thraldome; and by whom leif is preserved, that to him be due somme gratefull retribucion. But in a prisoner, loyaltie and obedience is it,<sup>d</sup> to him that happens to be superiour in armes, and is even so by the law of armes, wherof they talke so moch, yf not, I am sewer, by the law of nature and reason, wherupon all other lawes ar grounded. For yt is no reason at all that the vanquisher shalbe tyed to anie formalitie of iustice, suppose for his honors sake, or pittie, or charitie, to save his prisoners leif, and that his prisoner shall not<sup>e</sup> be bound to be unto him thankfull for the same, not onlie whilist he remaineth his prisonner, but ever<sup>f</sup> after, otherwise, wherfore should I spare his leife that would kill me yf he could, and be an instrument of his safegard who desireth my destruction? Verilie ther were littell equitie in such a law.

Therefore the Scottishe Quene, howsoever she cam to this adversitie (yf yet she came and that her fortune was such), and whether the causes of her first restraint were lawfull or unlawfull (as lawfull no doute they weare), yet since her case was that superioritie by custome<sup>g</sup> held her her Majesties prisoner, she ought not to have strived aganst the streame, or to conceive of her self what she was in degree, but in fortune; nor what she had bene in tymes past, but what she was now become; and to have measured her appetite

<sup>a</sup> be required, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> tender, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> his, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> it is, Cott. MS., *the words omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> not omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> for ever, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> puisance, Ibid.

by her present estate. And yf her leif lay in her Majesties handes, as her conqueror, to dispose at her pleasure, to have sought remission by her good behaviour duringe the tyme of such her captivitie, rather then by resistance and evill attemptes, which yf she had done, or<sup>a</sup> could have borne her adversitie patientlie, and quietlye have<sup>b</sup> expected her Majesties better favours; workinge the mittigation of her displeasure by all such humble meanes, earnestlie, and with all simplicitie and trew meaning attendinge to the businesse of her accord, wherunto her Majestie was never unwillinge to give eare, she, the most infortunate of Quenes, could not have remained so longe a prisoner as she did, by manie yeares. For her Majestie, at the begininge, ment not that she should have bene longer restrayned from her full libertie,<sup>c</sup> then that the tyme might convenientlie scarve for<sup>d</sup> them to talke together, and<sup>e</sup> to compound ther causes by them selves or by ther frendes, which at the first had bene none uneasie matter to have done.

But the sayd most<sup>f</sup> infortunate and unquiett minded Quene, entendinge nothings lesse then perfitt amitie, trifled of her accord, and even in the prime of her Majesties gentlest<sup>g</sup> and most honorable intreatye<sup>h</sup> of her person, caused some of her subiects, on Harvyce by name, a Scottish preist remaininge with the Busshopp of Rosse, her Ambassador Legier here in England, to preferre to the print a certaine seditious pamph[let]t declaring her titell to the crowne of England; a matter of so great danger to the state (though in apparence she seemed to shoote but at the next succession) that the bookes were spedilie suppressed,<sup>i</sup> the preist sent to prison, and the printer well punished for his labor. Moreover, in the same tyme of her Majesties greatest favours shewed to her, she caused her Ambassador Rosse, and others abrode, to sollicite maryage

<sup>a</sup> and, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> longer confined, Harl. MS.

<sup>o</sup> to have an interview, or, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> gentleness, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> surprised, Cott. MS., seized, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> she might have, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> for omitted, Cott. MS.

<sup>f</sup> most omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> entertaining, Harl. MS.

betwene her and other<sup>a</sup> forraine princes: namelie, Philipp, Kinge of Spayne, then latelie become a widower by the death of his third wife, the daughter of Fraunce, which Kinge, not soo well likinge to<sup>b</sup> mache for him self, neverthesse imbraced thoffer for Don John of Austria, his brother, Governor and Generall of his armies in the Low Countryes, wherof might have growne moch harme to this realme,<sup>c</sup> though it had bene but upon bare affiauncell,<sup>d</sup> and without anie solemnizacion at all, or consummacion, such as the orders of the churche requier. For by that onlie acte he was to have a sufficient interest in her person to have demanded her from her Majestie, aswell by the law as by armes.

Longe before this devise, by the unexpected death of Don John d'Austria, was overthrowne, the like practize was sett on foote, by her busie ministers, betwene her and the Duke of Norfolke, more (as it is thought) in hope of his aydes and favours within the realme to be used for her deliverie, then for anie good love<sup>e</sup> she bare him, as afterward by the event appered.

Yf these and manye like attemptes of hers had not bene, her Majestie had sett her at libertie within short tyme after she was taken, which may appeare very crediblie, for before her Majestie had made so manie<sup>f</sup> manifest proofes of the said Ladies evell affection towards her, by manie perilous assaies to have incombred her and the State, her highnes was so well mynded towards her, and so farre from all unfrendlie intention, as marvelously<sup>g</sup> desiringe to see her, and to conferre with her personallie, and to solace them selves together with all amiable conversacion. Her Majestie was determined that sommer to make her progresse to York, wher it was appointed the sayd Scottishe Quene should have mett her, attended with all the nobilitie of Scotland, with<sup>h</sup> great magnificence; which iorney anon after, uppon discoverie of some further devises

<sup>a</sup> sundry, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> the, Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> nation, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> affiaunce, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>e</sup> good *omitted*, Cott. MS.

<sup>f</sup> manie *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> marvellously much, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> and with, Harl. MS.

sett abroche by the sayd Busshop of Rosse her Ambassador, was sodenlie dashed, and the said Rosse<sup>a</sup> sent to the Tower; afterward, at the great instance of the<sup>b</sup> Ladie, delivered, and dispatched out of the realme quite. So as yf the sayd Ladyes imprisonment continewed longer, by manie yeres, then was first intended by her Majestie, the same was along of her self, and of her busie frendes, who by indirect meanes sought her enlargement, and not by such due order as became a prisoner by armes to use; beynge, in all wise mens opinion, a very ridiculous poynt for her to doo the thinges that might merite rigor, weninge<sup>c</sup> afterward to wyn favour by allegation; and wher force and armes are superior to civill lawes, and, as we often see, put them to silence, for the said Ladie to hope in her evell<sup>d</sup> behaviors to be shelded by the law of peace, which by profe of her present miserie she felt to be unto armes and force<sup>e</sup> verie moch inferior.

The constitucions, therefore, of this supposed law of Armes in plea or allegacion<sup>f</sup> (yf ther be anie such) should seame to be grounded upon a certayne equitie; that is, for the conqueror and more puisaint to use honor and mercye, the captive loyaltie and gratitude, recipricolly; so as the sayd Scottishe Quene could iustlie chalenge no more advantage by the law of Armes in plea or in proces,<sup>g</sup> then her Majestie might doo by the same law without proces or plea, havinge her sword unsheathed,<sup>h</sup> readie to take away her prisoner's leif for a dew revenge, yf her Majestie had so listed. And sence, in my humble conceit, they may be in both cases said<sup>i</sup> the law of Armes, thone in feat<sup>k</sup> thother in accion, it is a meare follie for anie prisoner abusynge thone to appeale for helpe to thother, and beynge<sup>b</sup> in

<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Rosse, her embassador, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> the said, Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> meaning, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> hope by evil, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> that she was under armes and in force, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> in a plea or obligation, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> in plea or in process *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> her sword in hand, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> and, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> feat, Cott. MS., fate, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> lying, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

dalie danger to be opprest by force, when nether practize nor resistance could prevaile, to seeke to shune it by litigious argument, and not by submission. Soo as when the sayd Ladie saw that her forces fayled, and could not serve her tourne, then did it in all wisdom become her to humble her self and stoope, which not doynge, but vaynlie affinge<sup>a</sup> her self still upon her frendes practizes, she well deserved the rigor of the law of Armes to be shewed her, without anie compassion or favor.

Now againe, yf the same law of Armes be generallie allowed (as they saye) to decyde the differences of Princes, such onlie as concerns ther lives, and be not grevous nor repined at by them, then ought the Scottishe Quene (standinge at the vanquishers mercye, to have bene put to the sworde at her Majesties will) be<sup>b</sup> much lesse greved to be by her kept in durance under honorable garde; wher unto, because by treacherous meanes she offredd rescous,<sup>c</sup> even by the same law she was worthy to lose her leif, for satisfaction of those and all her<sup>d</sup> former misdemeanors towards her Majestie. I, for my owne opinion, makinge noe difference at all betwene that force which a conquerour by armes at his owne appetite useth, and that which a peaceable Prince (as her Majestie) possessinge by good fortune the person of his enemy useth without weapon, clothed<sup>e</sup> in purple robes, and sittynge in a chaire of state, peace and civill iurisdiction, environed,<sup>f</sup> neverthelesse, with manie more thowsandes of naked men to be armed at commandment then anie two Emperors can bringe to the feild under ther ensignes. For yf force, by the dint of the sworde, shalbe sayd yt that<sup>g</sup> makes the law of Armes prevayle, and gives it also equitie, then, no dout, is necessitie anie other<sup>h</sup> way as stronge a law to man as yf it weare by weapon; but that necessitie laie also in this case of this infortunate Quene.

To which purpose it may be thus concluded that the same infor-

<sup>a</sup> valuing, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> Blank left for this word, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> being clothed, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> said to be that which, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> to be, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> other, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> injured, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> another, Ibid.

tunate Ladie beinge loathe<sup>a</sup> to feele the<sup>b</sup> uttermost extremitie of that<sup>c</sup> law of Armes, which were<sup>d</sup> to lose her leif peremtorilie, and without anie iudgment at all, yf her Majestie had so lusted,<sup>e</sup> she ought willinglie, and without anie<sup>f</sup> contradiccion, be<sup>g</sup> tryed by her Majesties law<sup>h</sup> of peace and civill iurisdiction, and not to thinke she had anie wronge. Right,<sup>i</sup> so her Majesties pleasure, was to passe upon her leif and death by her civill iurisdiction, that is, by the law of the land, and by<sup>k</sup> none other countrie law, because as well her cryme as her captivitie beyng local, could receive none<sup>l</sup> other manner of proces so fitt and indifferent. And so, by the lawes of England, in the heighest degree of honour and iustice, the said infortunate Quene was condemned to die, and suffered<sup>m</sup> upon the 8 day of Februarie, 1586,<sup>n</sup> at<sup>o</sup> Fothringhey Castell in the countye of Northampton, and<sup>p</sup> such solempe and honorable regardes beyng used, as weere in such a case dew and requisite.

Wherunto, neverthesse, because the said Ladies favourers fynd themselves no lesse greved then yf she had bene wickedlie murdered, contrarie to all iustice ether civill or martiall, alleadginge by waye of exception manie defaltes and imperfections in her said atteyndour, as partiallitie in her tryers, incompetencie of<sup>q</sup> her iudges, and iniquitie of the sentence, wherupon they would inferre an utter ignominie to her Majestie and invaliditie of<sup>r</sup> the whole accion; we will now breiflie answeere all those<sup>s</sup> poynctes, and, as we trust, with good satisfaction to all men of sound iudgment and equitable opinion.

Now to speake of her proces, and the manner of her atteyndour

<sup>a</sup> bothe, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> the, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> listed, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> to be, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> right *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> no, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>n</sup> anno, Cott. MS.

<sup>p</sup> all, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>r</sup> in, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> this, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> was, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> anie *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> laws. Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> by *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> suffer, Harl. MS.

<sup>o</sup> in, Harl. MS.

<sup>q</sup> in, Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> these, Ibid.

and deathe, wherunto the said Scottishe Quenes favourers impute no littell disorder and imperfeccion, urginge it greatlie to her Majesties dishonour. It is soo, that yf ever in all the tyme of her gracious reigne, or<sup>a</sup> in anie one act that ever she did, as she hath done manie and great, worthie of everlasting fame, that hath bene in this onlie above all others, and by the which she ought to reape the greatest glorie, and to be accompted worthie<sup>b</sup> the name and office of a Christian Prince and governour, that her Majestie would have it iuditiallie done, and not upon her iust<sup>c</sup> indignacion without iudgment, which not onlie infinite examples, both of forreine Princes and of her owne noble progenitors, might have warranted her to doo, but also is allowed by that law of Armes wherof they make such accompt, the said infortunate Ladie beyng fallen into her Majesties handes, and standinge everye way in her mercye to be disposed of. And right so her Majesties pleasure was she should be tryed by the law of the land, and by such onlie course of the same law wherin the greatest honour and equitie might appear in respect of her bloode, greatnesse of her person, and weight of the cause.

And wher by the formall constitucion of the lawes of England the greatest princes and peares of the realme<sup>d</sup> have but one forme of ordinarie triall, which is by the verdict of xij men sworne to enquier of the facte, and therupon by some one<sup>e</sup> or other able person, appoynted by her Majesties Commission, to be iudged,<sup>f</sup> her Majestie in this case nether likinge so base a kynd of triall, nor much lesse to be<sup>g</sup> her owne<sup>h</sup> selfe iudge of her owne iniurie<sup>i</sup> (allowed, nevertheles, in everye superior by armes, and as most Princes in<sup>k</sup> the world, without anie<sup>l</sup> solemnitie or circomstance, would have done yt,<sup>m</sup>) was content that the sayd Quenes cause should

<sup>a</sup> as, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> just omitted, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> one omitted, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> be omitted, Cott. MS.

<sup>i</sup> jury, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> anie omitted, Harl. MS.

CAMD. SOC.

<sup>b</sup> worthie of, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> land, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> judge, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> owne omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> of, Cott. MS.

<sup>m</sup> would have done yt omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.



be decided by all the myndes and voyces of<sup>a</sup> the Realme, that is, the three estates assembled in full parliament, to the number of 450 persons,<sup>b</sup> authorised to be her iudges, in all iustice, equitie, fredome of speache and opinion, and with all reasonable leysure and delay possible<sup>c</sup> to be allowed for such a businesse. Soo as for examinacion and profe of her guilt, she had not one or two meane persons appoynted to examine her, but 36 of the greatest princes and peares of the Realme, furnished with sufficient commission to chardge and appose her in all her misdemeanors. And for manefest profe of her offence,<sup>d</sup> had<sup>e</sup> not anie false or suborned witnesses produced against her, but the voluntarie confessions of her confederates latelie before condempned and executed; lettres of her owne hand writinge and her owne subsignacion<sup>f</sup> to her owne cryme; also the subscription of the same 36 commissioners, parties to the examinacion, consideration, and registringe of the sayd whole proces; and for 12 triers of the fact, 450; and for one substitute iudge, a person of<sup>g</sup> meane accompt, all the princes and people of the Realme; and the maiestie of the<sup>h</sup> state to sentence her. The same sentence with all solempne and universall publicacion pronounced. Soo as the favourers of that infortunate Ladie, more miserable then could be anie<sup>i</sup> Quene in the world, cannot trule saie that anie parte of her affayre was secreatlie demeaned, or handled in hugger mucker,<sup>k</sup> or rufflid up in hast, or that her cause was not indifferentlie hard, and plenti-fullie debated, and with all formalitie of iustice proceeded in, much lesse that it was done without anie iustice or iudgment at alle, by such secreat and ungodlie meanes and devises as<sup>l</sup> could not be warranted in anie honour or<sup>m</sup> conscience, or by the law of God or of man, as it hath many tymes happened to other most mightie

<sup>a</sup> in, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> possible, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> she had, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> of a, Cott. MS.

<sup>i</sup> any other, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> mugger, Cott. MS.; or handled in hugger mucker *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> as *omitted*, Cott. MS.

<sup>b</sup> persons *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> offences, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> subscription, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> the *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>m</sup> and, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

princes infortunate as her self. So as nothinge can be trulie obiected in <sup>a</sup> this parte of her Majesties proceedinges which in anie reason ought to inure <sup>b</sup> to her Majesties discredite or blame, or that maie perswade any indifferent person in the world to thinke that it might have bene with better iustice or more honorable performed.

If they will happellie say, that she, beinge an absolute Princes of her owne authoritie, and not subiect to anie superiour iurisdiction, but onlie Godes, ought not to have bene <sup>c</sup> iudged by her Majestie or anie of her deputies, that were very absurd; for soo should <sup>d</sup> the most haynous synnes and offences that could be committed, and the greatest evells of the world and mankynd, scape unpunished, and be remedillesse; which God would not. For who doubteth but that the <sup>e</sup> personages of the <sup>f</sup> greatest puisaince maie committ the greatest enormities, and oftner and also more harmefullie erre, then anie other. Soo as, albeit the devine Majestie hath reserved to his <sup>g</sup> secreat iudgmentes both the pennance and reward of manie mens merites in the future leif, yet will he that the greatest of all mortall men, whiles they be heere conversant amonge men, <sup>h</sup> should be no doubt somme manner of ways restrayned, and ther accions rectified, even by the power of man, otherwise it could not stand with his devine iustice, since in everye other regard then for <sup>i</sup> excellencie of degree and function, all men ar of equal estimacion to God by the qualitie <sup>k</sup> of ther desartes, providinge for us all on manner of redemption, one everlasting felicitie, wherin is none oddes nor <sup>l</sup> prioritie of person, place, or degree, but all alyke, and all as one. They that otherwise thinke, or affirme, be verie hardlie affected toward the inferiour sort of men, and doo lett the reynes a littell to lose to the leif of alle Princes, and more then anie good or <sup>m</sup> godlie Prince, beinge wise

<sup>a</sup> to, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> to be, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> the *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> his own, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> whiles they be heere conversant amonge men *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> but, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> or, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> incurr, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> would, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> the *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> equality, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> and, Cott, and Harl. MSS.

and vertuous, would challenge or like of. For why should they be otherwise obeyed and honored above the rest, but that they ar presumed to be more worthy of honour<sup>a</sup> and obedience for ther manie<sup>b</sup> good partes, and to be not onlie good and iust them selves, but also, by ther authoritie and example of leif, preservers of iustice, and distributors of the same to all others who be subiect to them; and<sup>c</sup> that therbie they do most resemble and represent the Majestie of God, and be not for anie other cause rayseed by him to that eminent degree above the rest. This consideracion dulie fallinge into ther myndes, how can the greatest Prince in<sup>d</sup> the world take it in ill<sup>e</sup> part to be made subiect to the iustice of mans law, in cases wherin for the fraieltie of mans nature he shall<sup>f</sup> seeme to passe the bondes<sup>g</sup> of right and iustice to others?

Yet we must all confesse that everye Prince such as the tradicion of man alloweth for absolute in his owne realme, usynge iurisdicion upon all others under him, ought to be subiect to none other persons sentence in the same place of his resiaunce, but is dispunishable of anye cryme<sup>h</sup> that can be by him committed, and<sup>i</sup> maie concerne his leif or other corporall penaltie, because ther is none other person able<sup>k</sup> (as the law intendes) to inflict anie corporall pennance uppon his parson, which he would patiently suffer and abide. For by nature no man would do it, nor the dew consideration of the law doth allow of it, because yt should rather impaire the vertue and good nature of such governors, and exasperate ther courages to crueltie and revenge, which might be much more hurtfull then ther<sup>l</sup> correction would avayle, and beside worke none or littell amendment in themselves, nor<sup>m</sup> in their subiectes by ther example.<sup>n</sup> This may perchaunce be the reason that alle absolute

<sup>a</sup> worthy of more honour, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> many omitted, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> of, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> should, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> of anye crime omitted, Harl. MS.

<sup>k</sup> presumable, Harl. MS.

<sup>m</sup> or, Cott. MS.; in them or, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> and omitted, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> evil, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> boundes, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> or, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>l</sup> the, Cott. and Harl. MS.

<sup>n</sup> examples, Cott. MS.

Princes within ther owne dominions ar, for ther persons onlie,<sup>a</sup> privileadged and exempt from the rigor of ther owne lawes (*soluti legibus*), and, in distributing both reward and payne<sup>b</sup> to ther<sup>c</sup> subiectes, maie them selves receive nether reward nor punishment<sup>d</sup> by compulsion, otherwise then onlie of ther owne good will, and by contract, and in cases<sup>e</sup> not concerninge ther persons.

This excellent prerogative beinge by manie men mistaken, and in steed of avauncement utterlie abased,<sup>f</sup> they doo unskillfullie applye to all princes in generallitie, in what place soever ther cryme shalbe committed, and spetiallie to the defence of this infortunate Ladies case, sayinge that she could not be lawfullie sentenced by her Majestie nor tryed by her lawes, as it were<sup>g</sup> by her self, and after her owne appetite, beinge the said Ladie, thoughte soo unhappie as to fall into so great an adversitie to be her Majesties prisoner, yet<sup>h</sup> a Quene, annoynted and crowned, absolute and hereditarie, and exempt of<sup>i</sup> all civill iurisdiction in cases towchinge her lief. And by that exception,<sup>k</sup> that<sup>l</sup> her proces and atteyndour was<sup>m</sup> not lawfull, as made by her no competent<sup>n</sup> iudges; and saie that of<sup>o</sup> anie civill iurisdiction, onlie<sup>p</sup> the imperiall ought<sup>q</sup> to bynd her, as the highest and superiour<sup>r</sup> on earthe, but not<sup>s</sup> her Majesties,<sup>t</sup> inferring by the same prerogative law, that because she was a Quene, her Majesties egall and peere (as they say), she could not be iudged by her Majestie as by her superiour, which were in justice requisite, and doo fortelye it by this text, *Par in parem non<sup>u</sup> habet jurisdictionem*, a peare over his peare<sup>v</sup> hath no iurisdiction.

<sup>a</sup> are solely for their own persons, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> rewards and punishments, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> reward nor punishment, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> abused, Cott. MS.

<sup>h</sup> yet is still, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> this exemption, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> were, Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> if, Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> law, Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> not in the least, Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> not, Sir T. Winnington's MS.; *non* omitted, Cott. MS.

<sup>v</sup> one equal over an equal, Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> the, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>e</sup> the cases, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> which is the same as, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> from, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> omitted, Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> incompetent, Ibid.

<sup>p</sup> or law, Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> superior law, Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> her Majesties laws, Ibid.

For clearing of which point, and satisfaction of manie irresolute myndes, we must needes saie somewhat, and for manner <sup>a</sup> sake more then for anie necessitie, because it were absurd to thinke that the effect of iustice should go <sup>b</sup> rather by the forme and letter of a law then by the equitie of it, or that a law hath anie vigor or vertue to worke but wher it hath authoritie, nor anie authoritie <sup>c</sup> but wher it hath <sup>d</sup> *potestatem armorum*, and <sup>e</sup> force redie at hand to uphold the same <sup>f</sup> and defend it from violacion; which hath our law of the land, but not the law imperiall.<sup>g</sup> Though they happlye concurre in one equitable sence, yet they mache not in authoritie <sup>h</sup> and puisaince; for the lawes of the Empire <sup>i</sup> never yet were received within this realme for discussion of temporall causes, nor now could be upholden within this realme by anie forraine puisance of greater force then her Majesties owne, nor never were <sup>k</sup> obeyed here, the Kynges of this realme not recognizing ther dignities to anie Emperour or higher power of the world, but unto God only. And soo <sup>l</sup> is her Majesties governement both regall and imperiall of yt self within her owne realmes. Neither could yt be but very absurd to thinke that the lawes of the Empire should beare swaie <sup>m</sup> but wheir their <sup>n</sup> puisaunce might prevaile, as in England yt cannot, though they would anie such rebuke unto the land.<sup>o</sup> Neither could it be but frivolous to saie that the said Scottish Quene, offending within this realme, and aganst the maiestie of the <sup>p</sup> state, should be tried by such a law as can be nether transferred into this realme, nor the appellant from the place of her captivitie. Neither is it

<sup>a</sup> manners, Cott. MS.

<sup>b</sup> grow, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> nor anie authoritie *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> and the, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> with, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> the same *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> this hath our law, but not the civil or imperial, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> yet their authority is not equal, Ibid. <sup>i</sup> Emperour, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> neither were they ever, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> thus, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> in any place, Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> the, Cott. MS.; the Emperour's, Harl. MS.

<sup>o</sup> luke, Cott. MS.; any such rebuke unto the land, Harl. MS. Perhaps "bring," or some such word, has been omitted before "anie."

<sup>p</sup> the *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

trulie sayd that her Majestie hath anie peare or egall within her owne realme, but such onlie as yt shall please her to allow, or God to make her superiour in armes, though he weare a forreine Kynge, or Emperour over <sup>a</sup> never so manie people and nations.

To which purpose we will explaine the matter better with this distinction, that this peardom, or equalitie, they speake of, and intended by the civill lawes, is no manner of impeachment to her Majesties iurisdiction over the Scottish Quene, but is also allowed by her owne lawes of England, and with no lesse equitie and favoure then the ymperiall lawes use it.<sup>b</sup> Because it is not the equalitie of bloode or of birthe, nor yet of sex or degree, or ells of riches, or anie other parte in the person, that hinders it, but onlie of puisaunce and eminent authoritie invested in the same person by vertue of somme law, or by common approbation of the world, or of the people and place wher that excellencye is allowed, with power to decide right. Otherwise it would come to passe that, for equalitie sake, of somme one sort or another, none or very few would fynd competent iudges, and <sup>c</sup> take exception to the iurisdiction, and so <sup>d</sup> should eskafe all punishment and correction. A free man in that respect having <sup>e</sup> no lawfull iurisdiction over an other free man, nor a riche over a riche, nor a poore or younge or unnoble over ther egalls<sup>f</sup> in welth, yeres, or birthe, and manie other waies; which notwithstanding we knowe to be untrew, and that reason and necessitie will have it otherwise. Therefore one<sup>g</sup> prince to punishe an other prince delinquent in the place of his resiaunce and dominion, ther is no manner of equalitie betwixt ther persons to impeache it, savige onlie equalitye of force and authoritie to decide right, and therefore it may<sup>h</sup> be thus conceived<sup>i</sup> that *Par parem cogere non potest*; and that is trew, for an egall in force cannot

<sup>a</sup> of, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> should, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> must have, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> no, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> expressed, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> used, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> thus, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> equall, Cott. MS.

<sup>h</sup> may omitted, Cott. MS.; should, Harl. MS.

overmach or compell his egall in force;<sup>a</sup> or thus, *Par in parem imperium non habet*, in an egall<sup>b</sup> over his egall ther is no lawfull superioritye to command; for in that on<sup>c</sup> commandes ther ought to be a right of superioritie, and such a right as the other may not encounter or controle with all his forces or authoritie, by vertue of anie other preheminance in his<sup>d</sup> person remaininge. In this sort who doubteth but that the sayd infortunate Ladie was much her Majesties inferior, and might lawfullie be iusted<sup>e</sup> by her, as by her<sup>f</sup> superior in armes and puisaunce and everye other way? Though the sayd Ladie was also a Quene in name and titell, yet was she not therin, nor in anie other respect, her Majesties equall. Yf ether yow<sup>g</sup> compare them both<sup>h</sup> by ther yeres, ther dignities, ther estates, ther forces, or ther fortunes; for her Majestie will alwaye, and in all opinions, remaine her superior, yf she were alive, for eldershipp, for emynencie of estate, being a Quene possessour<sup>i</sup> of manie realmes, the other onlie nominative,<sup>k</sup> or rather of none at all; a Quene annoynted, the other not annoynted, yf that shalbe accompted anie respect of preheminance; her Majestie a Quene of grete and good renoune, thother nothing lesse; superior for riches and welfare,<sup>l</sup> for subiectes, vassalls, dominion,<sup>m</sup> and empire; also in puisaunce of all sortes<sup>n</sup> to uphold the honour, authoritye, and dignitie of a prince; and, most of all, her superior in vertue and good fortunes, wherin happelie she surmounteth farre all other Christian princes now livinge, even those of her<sup>o</sup> most worthie progenitors that be dead. Therefore, that law takes no place, in anie other sence then so as hath bene remembred, no, not in anye parte of the imperiall iurisdiction and territorie, and taketh place in our law of

<sup>a</sup> in force omitted, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> unequall, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> in that in one, Cott. MS.; in him that commandes, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> her, Cott. MS.

<sup>e</sup> justified, Cott. MS.; judged, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> a, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> yee, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> both omitted, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> possessed, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> nominally, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> prosperity, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> dominions, Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> puisaunce able to uphold, Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> her own, Cott. MS.

the land by equitable construction, wherein our said lawes and the imperiall concurringe, we ar inforced to saie that the said infortunate Ladies triall and sentence was rightuous and iust, and not insufficient or wrongfull, as her favourers do parciallie affirme. So as yf they will take exception to her Majesties lawfull<sup>a</sup> iurisdiction, they shall not be able, yf perchaunce to<sup>b</sup> the competencie of the iudges, or cause of the cryme, they shalbe hard.<sup>c</sup>

And first, for what cause shall the iudges be sayd incompetent, that is, not<sup>d</sup> fitt to be admitted to deeme<sup>e</sup> of her fact, or to sitt upon her leif or death? Their authoritie was good, as derived from the highest power, that is, from her Majestie, who had receaved the same immediatlie from God, and which she might lawfullie assigne over,<sup>f</sup> because yt could not, in her owne case, become her to sownd<sup>g</sup> anie sentence that might concerne her self; soo had the three Estates of the realme, beside ther owne, her Majesties authoritie and warrant. Then is ther none allegation<sup>h</sup> of incompetencie to be alleadged<sup>i</sup> agenst them, but ether that they were ignorant, or parciallie affected. The first were hard to be beleived; for yf four hundred and fifty of the greatest, wisest, and most honorable sort of men should erre in discussing the veritie of a facte, I saie not of a poynt in law, or anie suche subtiltie as passed ther lerninges and understandinge, yt were a wonder. The other is unreverent<sup>k</sup> to think, for no man of a thowsand not obliged to such a necessitie as they, both for discharge of ther consciences and savinge ther credittes and honour to the world, would willinglie be found so loose, false, and faythles, or soo base mynded, as wilfullie<sup>l</sup> to cast away<sup>m</sup> a Quene, to whom for manie respectes they might thinke themselves redevable of right

<sup>a</sup> lawful *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> yet, yf perchaunce they shall be able to object against, Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> heard, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> and that they were not, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> judge, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> over to others, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> examine, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> no allegation, Cott. MS.; thus there is no allegation, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> laid, Harl. MS.

<sup>k</sup> disrespectful, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> willingly, Cott. and Harl. MSS; and so written at first in Sir T. Winnington's MS.

<sup>m</sup> destroy, Harl. MS.



and iustice, yea of reverence next unto her Majestie, ther naturall prince and governour, beinge her neirest kynswoman, and in her lief tyme greatlie<sup>a</sup> reverenced by<sup>b</sup> her Majestie. Therefore no dout the sayd Ladies iudges ought not to be disabled, though they weare her Majesties vassals, and domesticall sworne servantes, or, somme of them, her nere kynsfolkes. For it is presumed that everye man's owne conscience is and ought to be deerer unto him then his prince's favor, or anie other wordlie respect. And though these<sup>c</sup> partes of man's frailtye, I meane ignorance and affection, be in all common tryall<sup>d</sup> of right exceptions allowable yenoughe, and of great force, yet in this case it ought not to be soo, because necessitie enforceth to the contrarie, in that ther is no other manner of tryall admitted by the lawes of the realme, unlesse it were for the basest<sup>e</sup> sort of subiectes, which in so great a cause, and concerning such a person, had bene very reprochfull, and not decent for her Majestie to work by. And in so great an assemblie, and so honorable, as was this parliament, in which none were feedd or mercenarie men, as advocates or<sup>f</sup> counselors, but all as<sup>g</sup> iudges, speakinge in conscience and simplicitie, yt was not to be entended<sup>h</sup> that anie on<sup>i</sup> of them could be partiall, in a place wher the freedome of speache<sup>k</sup> and opinion was so<sup>l</sup> well allowed of, and so well warranted, as no man needed to feare<sup>m</sup> for speaking his mynd discretlie and reverentlie, as behoved him;<sup>n</sup> and, beside, wher he might looke to have his opinion reproved by manie wiser or as wise as him self. In which case of contradiction it is not almost to be suspected that anie man should<sup>o</sup> shew anie affection, or ignorance, yf he might chuse. And yf yow will take from man this parte of his credite in the highest causes, and

<sup>a</sup> greatlie omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> of, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> those, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> tryalls, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> baser, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> and, Cott. MS.

<sup>g</sup> as omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> imagined, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> on omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> of speech omitted, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> so omitted, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> warranted that no man needed not to feare, Cott. MS. ; that no man need to fear, Harl. MS.

<sup>n</sup> him omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>o</sup> would, Cott. MS.

in the highest courtes, then take awaye all ordinarie iustice from the earthe; for how should on person be trusted to sentence<sup>a</sup> a thowsand men's right, yf five hundred mindes accordinge with ther voyces shall not be allowed as indifferent<sup>b</sup> for the like purpose? What would yow more?<sup>c</sup> It could not be otherwise done then it was, unles yow would have had it left undon, which had bene the least reason, and iustice of both.<sup>d</sup> As for the causes, that is to saie, the right of the facte or cryme, alack, they were so apparant, both by profe and by her owne confession, as needed no tryall at all. And they were not, as before is alleadged, bare trespasses of armes, or breach of leauge, or anie like<sup>e</sup> matter of meane difference<sup>f</sup> betwixt princes, but conspiracies, actes, and attemptes of the highest treason and hostilitie that could be imagined; though I speake nothinge of her ingratitude toward her Majestie, soo beyng a protectour, the most haynous offence of anie other, and for which no sufficient and worthy retribucion could be made or invented. Justice, therefore, she had, to be atteynted and executed, as she was,<sup>g</sup> for soo the forme of the law of England beares, and not otherwise.

The premisses considered, how can yt be imputed to her Majesties dishonour (for that is one principall matter wherupon they seame to relye) that she hath refused all manner of reasonable<sup>h</sup> and good accord which had bene offred to her Majestie, wher, in troth, no reason was ever offred her, nor could be, to satisfie so great an iniustice to God, the world, the realme, and also her Majestie, who had more interest in the case then anie one earthlie creature<sup>i</sup> besides. Alsoo, yf her Majestie yelded not to the intreatyes of great princes, her neighbours, alies, or whatsoever they were, who<sup>k</sup> for not being touched with the greif, nor dulye<sup>l</sup> informed of the

<sup>a</sup> to sentence, Cott. MS. ; in the rights of, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> accounted impartial, Harl. MS.      <sup>c</sup> have, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> the least reasonable and least just of all the rest, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> like omitted, Cott. MS.

<sup>f</sup> different, Cott. MS. ; differences, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> as she was omitted, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> reasonable appointment, Cott. MS.

<sup>i</sup> creature omitted, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> for *has been subsequently inserted here*, in Sir T. Winnington's MS.

<sup>l</sup> daily, Ibid.

right, could not comprehend her Majesties danger <sup>a</sup> and iniurie, and therefore might, without anie offence, be denyed ther unreasonable requestes, and not without her Majesties extreme perill have bene graunted them, espetiallie yf anie of them, or of theirs, might lawfullie be suspected for anie sinister working or intelligence in the said affaire. Yf yt be soo, then <sup>b</sup> more is her Majestie to be excused, and the greater is her wronge.

But yf anie of that syde, not yet well satisfied with this, would haplie alleadge that no Christian prince in the worlde ought to be so immesurable <sup>c</sup> tender of <sup>d</sup> them selves as for savetie of theyr owne lives they should <sup>e</sup> neglect every other <sup>f</sup> bodyes, and to be so precise in ther covenantes as to refuse all such reasonable and ordinarie assurances as vertuous princes in all honour and integritie ought to be content <sup>g</sup> to accept for ther securitye, beyng offered in simplicitie and trouthe, sence to inioyne a man to more then his habilitie or mans witt by anie provision can possiblie compas, were utterlie unreasonable, and a matter of much extremitie. Those persons I answer in this sort, that two ways they mistake the matter, one <sup>h</sup> in not perceivinge that this case betwene her Majestie and the Scottish Quene touched not onlie her self but her people and realme, who had the greater interest, and over whose welfare she can not be said <sup>i</sup> too tender and carefull, thother way for that it is not trew (as before remembred) that the Scottish Quene, or anie of her frendes, ever offered such <sup>k</sup> assuraunce to her Majestic as might be thought reasonable, and much lesse that which might by mans witt have bene devised, for that nether they did offer, nor yf they had offered it her Majestic would <sup>l</sup> seme to have received it. For who doubteth but she might stand in more suertie of her person

<sup>a</sup> her danger, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> the, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> over, Cott. MS.

<sup>e</sup> For "they should," Harl. MS. reads "to."

<sup>f</sup> other *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> first, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> any such, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> immeasurably, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> willing, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> said *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> could, Harl. MS.

and state to have the said ladie imprisoned then at libertie, dead then imprisoned, and, besides her self, her cheifest favourers to be supprest with her for companie, because ther malice by survivour<sup>a</sup> might happelie supplie the others death. And, perchance, exact pollicie might yet be stretched somewhat further, and that her Majestie cannot be saied to live in perfect securitie, soo longe as the younge Kinge of Scottes, her sonne, remaines<sup>b</sup> alive, aspiringe to the same estates his mother did, and having ether power or desire to revenge her death, and soo to have him likewise made suer one waies or an other, which after anie ungodlie sort her Majestie would not sett her mynd upon for millions of gould. But, as a most Christian and vertuous Princes, utterlie detesteth all such manner of pollicie, and houldeth it in great horror and abhominacion, and all those that would presume to give her anie such advise. But, contrariwise, (as she hath alway done hetherto,) soo intendeth she still, to doo the sayd younge King all the good she can, and to be in stead of a mother to him, and a meane to make him (yf his merites correspond<sup>c</sup>) capeable for<sup>d</sup> greater fortunes then anie of all his auncestors, Scottish Kynges, have bene, soo as he will be wise, and beare him self moderatelie in this discomforte of his, and not be willfull or ill advised against her Majestie.

And yet, peradventure, such desire were well to be warranted by worldlie pollicye, and yow have good authoritie, and also examples therof; for Alexander the Great (as the historie reportes) never thought him self sewer of Asia so longe as Ocus,<sup>e</sup> younge sonne to<sup>f</sup> Daryus, lived; nor Octavian<sup>g</sup> the Emperour soo longe as Cesarius, his uncles sonne, lived; and manie other which it were pittie to remember, that have bene made away by that perswasion. And for autho-

<sup>a</sup> surviving, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> is, Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> correspondent, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> of, which was the original reading of Sir T. Winnington's MS. is that of the Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> Ocius, Cott. MS.; as the younge sonne, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> of, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> Octavius, Ibid.

ritie yow have the sayinge of Sophocles, which the Prince of Polinices<sup>a</sup> usurpeth,<sup>b</sup> *Stultus qui natos occiso patre reliquit*; thinking it necessarie that the childrens authoritie and reputacion<sup>c</sup> in a common welth should be abased, whose parentes had ether byn put to death or greatlie iniured by the state, namelie, a great follie to kill the parent first, and lett the child live for a revenge.<sup>d</sup> These prophaine and ungodlie advises be not meet for<sup>e</sup> good and godlie princes, nor be not here recited to that end that they should be followed,<sup>f</sup> but to answeere ther obiections who saie that her Majestie had offred her that assurance<sup>g</sup> which mans witt could possiblie by anie provision devise for her securitie, for they nether offred her Majestie the sayd Laydies younge sonne for an hostage, nor anie other thinge of suertie equivalent to her Majesties danger, as before hath bene debated at large.

For the rest of<sup>h</sup> that is objected against her Majestie, that she should seme to entend by this accion of hers anie foyle or blemishe to the sovereigntie of forreine princes, or the<sup>i</sup> defacing of principallitie, or that she hath opened anie gapp or passage to the contempt and preiudice therof in anie mans estimacion, or to the perill of ther<sup>k</sup> persons, no man maie be so bould so to thinke of her entent, or iudg of her acte, but rather that she hath ment and wrought the contrarie, as honour, estimacion, credite, and assurance of<sup>l</sup> all princelie maiestie, by reason she hath used her lawfull power and authoritie over one infortunate Princes, givinge a president to all others of the same degree, both to deale honorable and<sup>m</sup> iustly with their peeres

<sup>a</sup> In Sir T. Winnington's MS. this word was originally written "Policieus," and afterwards altered as indicated above. The Harl. MS. reads "Politicians."

<sup>b</sup> useth, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> "should be disgraced and defamed" is here inserted in Harl. MS. and the subsequent words "should be abased" are omitted. <sup>d</sup> to revenge it, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> for a, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> recited that they may be followed, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> offered to her all the assurance, Ibid. <sup>h</sup> of omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> the omitted, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> other, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> to, Cott. MS.

<sup>m</sup> "and exactly," not "justly," was the original reading of Sir T. Winnington's MS. and is that of the Cott. and Harl. MSS.

and honorable to use ther owne iurisdiction and soveraigntie, with like iustice, in cases that maie by fortune and the <sup>a</sup> consequences of tyme happen unto them selves; no man of anie meane discretion doubtyng, but that such majestie is more excellent, and more princelie and honorable, wher the soveraigntie is absolute, then that which maie be appealed from, and by anie higher or superiour will or puissaunce comptrolled. And soo it semeth that by Godes ordinance <sup>b</sup> the people should be punished by ther Princes, and one Prince delinquent by an other, the superiour in armes allwayes prevalinge against his inferiour by Godes permission, and to <sup>c</sup> which ende it may dutifullie be thought that God, when it pleaseth him, lendeth both armes and superioritie to manie,<sup>d</sup> and that the greatest falltes should be aswell punished as the smalest, and the greatest persons as well as the meanest, at one tyme or an <sup>e</sup> other, so as no cryme, for want of convenient meane, be dispunishable, and lacke chasticement, more in this life then in the leif to come.

Besides all this, yf her Majestie should have done otherwise then she hath,<sup>f</sup> she should have heighlie <sup>g</sup> offended God, and done an open wronge to her people and realme, soo as necessitie allso in that part <sup>h</sup> enforced her to take the present occasion lawfullie, and with good oportunitie to establishe, beside her owne suertie, Godes glorie, and the peace of her people, whom her Majestie had brought into so dangerous tearmes, as even now she saw before her eyes her owne death, alteracion of the trew <sup>i</sup> religion, which her Majestie had planted, and the totall subversion of this state, to the dissolution <sup>k</sup> of her realme <sup>l</sup> and all her <sup>m</sup> posteritie; right well knowinge of what disposicion the said Scottish Quene was toward her self, the religion, and the realme, and how much disproportioned <sup>n</sup> to the forme of the

<sup>a</sup> the *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> ordinances, Cott. MS.

<sup>c</sup> "unto" instead of "and to," Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> men, Cott. MS.; man, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> an *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> did, Harl. MS.

<sup>g</sup> mightily, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> in that part *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> the trew *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> desolation, *Ibid.*

<sup>l</sup> people, Harl. MS.

<sup>m</sup> their, *Ibid.*

<sup>n</sup> disaffected, *Ibid.*

state. Soo as yf ever she should<sup>a</sup> have taken her tourne in the succession, and come to the place wherunto she egerlie aspired, her Majestie might be well assured that she would have spared no advise,<sup>b</sup> or unmercifull feate, to have accomplished her will, in revenge of her imprisonment, persecucion of the Protestantes, transformacion of the lawes, rightes, and usages of the realme to the appetite of strangers, whose forces and advises she would have used, and alwayes hath done, to that intent; which matter could not but have bene a verye hevy burthen to her Majesties conscience to see and knowe, and not to be willinge to prevent it, when her powers well served therunto, and that she might so well avouche it by a iust and lawfull cause geven by the said Scottish Quene, and with a most mervelous occasion and good oportunitie put<sup>c</sup> it in execution;<sup>d</sup> soo as her sayd subjectes case was verye lamentable, beyng not ignorant that she her self had bene first author to leade her sayd people into all these dangers, whom,<sup>e</sup> by her ordinance and authoritie, she made<sup>f</sup> Protestantes, alteringe their<sup>g</sup> religion which she found them in, what tyme God cast upon her the regall right and administracion of this crowne; the same beyng at that tyme reduced to the obedience of the Roman Church, from whose usurped authoritie she would needes seeme to rescue them, gevinge them the exercise of the trew doctrine of the Gospell, and restoring them to the freedome of their consciences in that behalf; which<sup>h</sup> forme of religion, nevertheles, being repugnant to that of the greater parte of Cristiandome besides, they could not be but<sup>i</sup> assured of all the hatred and malltallent of their most mightie neighbours, and others not imbracing the same religion, soo as yf they persevered in it, they were sure of man's displeasure, and yf they fledd from it of Godes wrath and indignacion. For yf

<sup>a</sup> could, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> to put, Cott. MS.

<sup>e</sup> when, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>g</sup> the, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> but *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> devise, Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> put it in execution *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>f</sup> made them, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> this, Harl. MS.

her Majesties religion were the trew, and accordinge to Godes word (as we all believe), then should it be a great stinge to her Majesties conscience to let it be abandoned, and left to abolicion, by such a successour as the Scottish Quene, who with all extremitie of sword and fyer would seeke to exterminate it quite. On thother syde, yf the same religion were not the trew, nor warraunted by the word of God, no lesse burthen to her conscience to have induced and established yt. So as it may now be demanded by her Majesties subiects, whether it could stand with her<sup>a</sup> iustice to leave them in this plight, or how she could<sup>b</sup> acquite her self of her oathe to God and the realme, and of the dutie of a noble governour, to shew her self careles of their preservacion whom she alwaies had found so loyall subiectes, and havinge soo faithfullie honored and obeyed her in all respectes.

But when we have sayd all we can, and maintayned our cause by the rule of right and wordlie [*sic*] iustice, and by the honour of armes and curtesie,<sup>c</sup> and everye other way, what avayleth our iustificacion and defence, yf by Godes law yt be not<sup>d</sup> defended? For what can be well done by man that is not by the direccion of his commandement, or tollerable without his permission, or honorable that should anie waie redound to his dishonour? We will therefore cleave to that as unto our strongest argument and principall pillar of all her Majesties defence. He sayeth, "Thow shalt not kill," and that "Whosoever spills blood, his bloud shalbe spilt;" but the Scottish Quene hath sought to take awaye her Majesties lief, and bene cause to spill manie of her subiects bloudde, which cried upon him for ther revenge. Againe, "Thow shalt not touche myne annoynted, nor laye anie violent handes upon him;" but the Scottish Quene conspired with her Majesties subiectes to have her<sup>e</sup> murdered in the feild, in the chamber, in her bedd, with daggers, with pistolls, with poyson, or anie other waye. Againe, "Thow

<sup>a</sup> her Majesties, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> conscience, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> have had, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> could *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> cannot be, Cott. and Harl. MSS.



shalt obey the superior power as sent by God." The Quenes Majestie was not onlie an annoynted Prince, sent by God for the government of this<sup>a</sup> realme, but was also the said Ladyes superior in power, and soveraigne protectour whiles she remaned in this realme, whom the said infortunate Ladie not onlie disobeyed, but also by violence sought her supplantacion, and her<sup>b</sup> death; her Majestie hath repaied her<sup>c</sup> with death, and done her<sup>d</sup> no wronge. It is sayd agayne, "Such measure as yow meate, such<sup>e</sup> shalbe moten unto yow," either gevyng us warning to deale streightlie and uprightlie with our conversauntes, or after a manner dispencinge with some evell retribucion in this wourld to such as doo other wise; and yf at anie mans handes, at thers cheiflie who receive the wronge. The Scottish Quene, for her iniurious<sup>f</sup> and bloodie attemptes ageinst her Majestie, her owne blood is spilt ageine; she hath therefore her iust reward, even by the sentence of God. And yf she her self hath bene the cause of it, no reason to make [it<sup>g</sup>] her Majesties blame, nor scandall to the world, nor offence to God. It is said againe, "Doo to thy neighbour as thow wouldest be done unto;" her Majestie hath done right and iustice to the sayd Quene, and never refused to have right and iustice done to her self; she hath consented to her death; so would she have bene contented to receave death at her handes yf her Majestie had bene within the dominion of Scotland, and the said Ladie her protectour and soveraigne, yf her Majestie had offred ingratitude, iniurie, and murther to the sayd Scottish Quene. "How know yow this?" saie they. Forsooth because her Majestie never yet offered anie such wrong to the said Ladie, nor to anie other creature, otherwise then<sup>h</sup> death to such as deserved it by the iustice of her lawes, and not by violence or<sup>i</sup> practize, but by forme of iustice, and to fewer by manie

<sup>a</sup> the, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> it, Cott. and Harl. MSS.  
with it, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> and, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> her *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> her *omitted*, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> injuries, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>h</sup> then by, Ibid.

then deserved yt, whom she hath rescued by her princelie mercie and benignitie. Can ther be anie better profe of her Majesties will then abstinence from the fact which she might so manie tymes and so esilie have performed, yf she would? No, verilie; for wher power is, and will wantes not, ther is no impediment why the purpose should not take effect, beynge<sup>a</sup> a trew maxime in reason:— “*Quod possumus et vellimus<sup>b</sup> parum abest quin fiat;*” her Majestie had puisaunce to put her to death every hower, she had cause to move her, she did it not, because she had no will to do it. Yf she nether did it, nor for<sup>c</sup> her noble and most mercifull nature would<sup>d</sup> doo it<sup>d</sup> when she might, then hath her Majestie preciselie observed that law, and can iustifye her self verie well. For she hath not done otherwise to the said infortunate Quene, then her Majestie would have bene contented to have had the same Quene done<sup>e</sup> to her, in case she had bene superiour in puisaunce to her Majestie, and had so<sup>f</sup> sore abused and offended<sup>g</sup> her in the place of her greatest honour, soverigntie, and iurisdiction, and by so manie good tournes and gratitudes bene<sup>h</sup> obliged to the same.<sup>i</sup> But yf her Majestie have done the Scottissh Quene to die, and were<sup>k</sup> more then her Majestie would be contented she should have done to her (every mans owne leif is so deare to him, as all men might reasonablye be suspected of parciallitie in that behalf) yet hath her Majestie done to the Scottishe Quene as the Scottissh Quene would have done to her, and no more, nor no<sup>l</sup> otherwise, but a great deal lesse, since the said Ladie (yf her practizes might have<sup>m</sup> prevailed) would, without anie law or iudgment, have had her Majestie murdered, whereas her Majestie, having the power of the law civill, and also of

<sup>a</sup> for it is, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> *volumus*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> not for that, Cott. MS.

<sup>d</sup> if she neither did it, because her noble and most merciful nature would not do it, Harl. MS.

<sup>e</sup> do, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> so omitted, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> and offended omitted, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> was, Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> to the contrary, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> if her Majestie hath put the Scottissh Quene to death, and which were, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> no, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>m</sup> had, Harl. MS.

armes, in her owne handes, would not so doo, but rather have her die by the iustice of the lawes of the realme, then by extraordinarie violence. Soo as her Majestie hath not infringed nether Godes law nor the law of nature and reason, for she hath not otherwise done then that everye other prince of the worlde would have done in the same case, and have done infynite ages before, and will not refuse to doo whiles the world contineweth, <sup>a</sup> that is, rather to kill then to <sup>b</sup> be killed. Which universall consent and uniformitie of mans opinion and will, though yt be not properlie a justifyinge law, nor altogether not a law, for [yet?] that which <sup>c</sup> all men, or the wisest and most worthy, allow, is <sup>d</sup> to be taken for honest and good, and that which <sup>e</sup> all, or the wyser and the worthiest sort of men affirme, is taken for trew.

This generall concurrence of myndes in the thinges concerning mans conversacion, is a sure and infallible methode and rule of mens accions, because it hath bene observed in all ages, by all nations approved, in all places of the world exercised, and now<sup>f</sup> giveth sentence on <sup>g</sup> her Majesties syde by <sup>h</sup> example; for Davide, the holiest of Kynges, put Kynges to death; Solomon, the wisest of Kynges, did soo too; Alexander, the most gloriouse, and seekinge by all his accions honour and fame, did the like, and feared not<sup>i</sup> therby anie <sup>k</sup> infamy; Octavian<sup>l</sup> and Marcus, the most mercifull Emperours, did no lesse, and infinite others. So would anie Christian prince at this day have done, not exceptinge the Catholick Kinge, of all them that live most renowned for patience and moderacion, nor the French Kinge, a most benigne and honorable prince. For when his Imbassadour Marishall Deretes,<sup>m</sup> coming into this realme to informe her Majestie of the Kinges successe in that

<sup>a</sup> stands, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> which omitted, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> with, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> for, Cott. MS.; against, Harl. MS.

<sup>i</sup> not omitted, Harl. MS.

<sup>l</sup> Octavius, Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> to omitted, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>d</sup> it is, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> none, Harl. MS.

<sup>h</sup> for, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>k</sup> no, Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Decreet, Cott. MS.; D'Estree, Harl. MS.

blouddie massacre done at Paris against the admirall Chastillion and other the<sup>a</sup> protestantes, beyng asked the question by the gravest counsellors of this realme, how yt could stand with his Master his honour to consent to such a cruell acte, Quod he ageine, " I praye yow tell me what the Quene your Mistress would have done, yf she had bene<sup>b</sup> in the like case, beyng disobeyed, bearded and defaced, by her owne subiectes as my Master was? *Ad quod non fuit responsum*; for yt semes an argument impossible to be refuted, as of more force then<sup>c</sup> the posicion<sup>d</sup> of anie acte or law, that anie man should be reprehended for the fault which the reprehendour, beinge asked the question upon his conscience, could not denie but that he himself would have done the same, [yf the like occasion or cause had bene geven him. And so it apperes by good reason, that whatsoever we be generallie perswaded to be tollerable in our selves, and that we would doo, and that an other and an other infinitelie would doo and have done the same<sup>e</sup>], and those not of the meanest and most ignoraunt, but of the best and wisest sort of men, that such universall accord of mans appetite and opinions apperinge in the usage of our conversacion should in all respectes reteigne the force and equitie of a law, so farre furth as anie other ordinaunce or constitucion of man. And that such example growinge out of our owne willes,<sup>f</sup> and beyng bred in our fleshe and blood, used and tollerated by man, I<sup>g</sup> maie in no wise thinke it straunge or horrible; for whatsoever all mens iudgmentes approve<sup>h</sup> ought to be deemed good, and yf it should be reckoned a fault or fraieltie in<sup>i</sup> man, is yet inseperable from our nature whiles we live in this tempestuous world, and beareth soo<sup>k</sup> great a swaye over the accions of the children of men, as<sup>l</sup> yt is found that the law of God yt self doth

<sup>a</sup> the *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>c</sup> then all, Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> the passage between brackets *omitted*, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>f</sup> wittes, Cott. MS.

<sup>h</sup> allowe, Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> bear as, Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> "yf she had bene" *omitted*, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> positions, Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> we, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>i</sup> of, Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> but, Ibid.

often tymes, and in manie cases, dispence with such manner of fraielties as tend to the universall benefite of mankynd and mantei-  
 nauce of the civill societie, using a marvelous myld, and gentell  
 tolleracion of them, knowinge what<sup>a</sup> we be, where our lief and  
 conversacion is to continew at his appoinctment, what our wekenes  
 is, and the manifould impedimentes of our perfection, and for  
 spetiall regardes importynge the universall comfort of man. And, by  
 the same rule, to everye severall common wealth and worthy  
 corporacion, wher the greater good is preferred before the smaller,  
 the generall before the spetiall, and the cases of necessitie before  
 those that be not necessarie, the future good that lasteth longe before  
 the present of littell durabilitie, God him self suffringe some few  
 evelles to preferre manie goodes, accordinge to the saying of Jason  
 Thesalus, *Oportet nonnulla facere iniuste ut plurima faciamus iusta*;  
 as, thankes be to God, in her Majesties behalfe yt is not, but yf yt had  
 bene, were sufficientlie avouchable for the causes aforesaid.

Soo is not her Majesties conscience, nor yet her honour, anie  
 wayes to be ympeached for this<sup>b</sup> facte, but ar in all respectes en-  
 tyrelie<sup>c</sup> saved, and by the trouthe yt self defended.<sup>d</sup> And all that  
 hath bene recited of<sup>e</sup> the said infortunate Ladies behavioure, and of  
 her Majesties proceedinges in this affaيرة, is trew. What would  
 yow more? Ether yow must believe it, or give me leave to hould  
 my peace; for trouthe beyng the onlie iust<sup>f</sup> measure of all thinges,  
 with our opinion in the defencè of trouthe it self ther is a certayne  
 measure to be used.

<sup>a</sup> that, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>c</sup> entyrelie omitted, Ibid.

in, Cott. and Harl. MSS.

<sup>b</sup> in that, Harl. MS.

<sup>d</sup> sufficiently defended, Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> true and just, Harl. MS.

FINIS.

12





