

CHAP. III.

JAMES THE SIXTH.

1593—1594.

 CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Elizabeth.	Henry IV.	Rodolph II.	Philip II.	Philip II.	Clement VIII.

IN the late revolution James had exhibited unusual firmness; and this last compromise with Bothwell was almost a victory. Nor was he deceived in his expectations of still farther triumph over this insolent noble, whom he now justly regarded as the leader of the English party and of the Kirk. The resolution and courage which the King had exhibited, convinced his turbulent barons that he was no longer a minor, or a puppet, to be tossed about from faction to faction, and made the helpless and passive instrument of their ambition. Many of them, therefore, began to attach themselves to the royal faction, from self-interest rather than loyalty; and however fatal to the peace of the country, the deadly feuds which existed amongst the nobles, by preventing combination, formed the strength of the monarch at this moment. It was evident that Bothwell had either

deceived Elizabeth or himself, when he spoke to Carey and Mathews of his overwhelming strength, and the facility with which he could guide the government of Scotland according to the wishes of his renowned Empress. Already his ally, the Duke of Lennox, young, capricious, and a favourite of James, began to waver; and before the appointed Convention met at Stirling on the 9th of September, a powerful reaction had taken place, which no efforts of English intrigue could arrest. It was in vain that Elizabeth, Burghley, and Sir Robert Cecil his son, who now acted as a chief councillor in all "Scottish causes," exerted themselves to keep up a faction, and even entered into a secret communication with Huntly and the Popish party, in the vain hope of bringing about a coalition between them and Bothwell. The effort to join with the Roman Catholics, whom they had so often stigmatized as enemies to the truth, only served to show the fraud and falsehood of Elizabeth's and Cecil's constantly-repeated assertion, that they were guided solely by zeal for the glory of God and the interests of the true religion; and Bowes the Ambassador assured them, that if the plot for this unnatural combination went forward, the ministers of the Kirk, from whom it could not be concealed, would "greatly wonder and start thereat."¹ Besides, how was he to

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 6th Sept., 1593. As this fact is new, and shows the insincerity of Elizabeth and Burghley, and the sincerity and honesty of the Kirk, proving, also, that Bothwell's party was the party of the Kirk, I give the passage from Bowes' letter.

"The party employed to sound Chanus [Huntly] and his com-

reconcile the course now recommended with his instructions to prosecute the Papistical rebels? How could he allow Huntly's uncle, a priest and a Jesuit, to steal quietly out of Scotland, and yet satisfy the Kirk and the Protestant leaders, that he (Bowes) was an enemy to the idolaters? All this needed to be reconciled and explained; and he begged for speedy directions.¹

We have seen how completely Bothwell had been supported and encouraged in his late audacious and treasonable enterprises by the English Queen. He was now to feel the fickleness of her favour: and with that deep hypocrisy which so often marked her political conduct, she addressed a letter to the King of Scots,

partners, how they stand affected to proceed in and perform their offers made for America [England,] letteth me know that he hath spoken with Chanus, and with such as tendered this offer for him and the rest; and that they will go forwards agreeable to the motions offered. For the which this party thus travelling herein hath promised to go forwards in his course with diligence, as all things may be effected with best expedition and secrecy, likeas it will be made known, I trust, to your Lordship, very shortly. I understand perfectly that Chanus [Huntly] will both impart to Petrea [King of Scots,] and also communicate to his partners, whatsoever shall be concredited to his trust and secrecy; and I believe, verily, that his partners, binding up with Argomartes [Bothwell,] shall acquaint him therewith. Further, this cannot be kept from the ears of the vi m £86£6 [Kirk] here, who will greatly start and wonder hereat. Therefore I beseech your Lordship that this may be well considered." Bowes very naturally goes on to observe, that this course of friendship with the Catholics is inconsistent with his instructions, which commanded him to prosecute the "Papistical rebels."

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 6th Sept., 1593.

and instructions to Bowes, in which she stigmatized the Scottish earl as guilty of an abominable fact, which moved her utmost abhorrence; and expressed her unfeigned astonishment, that any subject who had acted thus insolently, had not only escaped without chastisement, but had received, as it appeared, a remission of such atrocious conduct. She alluded also, with scorn and indignation, to his refusal to prosecute those "notable traitors of the North"—Huntly, Errol, and Angus, "who had conspired among themselves, and agreed to admit great forces of strangers to enter into his realm, to the ruin of his estate and the subversion of religion;" and she warned him that such sudden changes as had been brought to her ears, such capriciousness and imbecility of judgment, would end not only in the loss of his liberty, but might endanger his life.¹ It did not suit James' policy or circumstances to tear the veil from these pretences at this moment; and, indeed, we are not certain that, however he may have suspected Elizabeth's double-dealing, he had detected it with anything of the certainty with which we can now unravel her complicated intrigues. At all events, he chose to fight her with her own crafty weapons, and pretended to Bowes that he was fully satisfied with her late assurances of friendship. When the appointed Convention assembled at Stirling, Bothwell was commanded to absent himself from Court until the meeting of Parliament, which was fixed for the 14th of Novem-

¹ MS. St. P. Off., Orig. Draft of Her Majesty's Letter to Mr Bowes, 23d August, 1593.

ber; at which time, the King intimated his intention of granting him a full pardon and restitution to his estates and honours, upon his submitting himself to the royal mercy.¹ He was then to leave the realm, but enjoy his revenues in his banishment; and his accomplices in his late treasons were to be pardoned.

Such terms, with which the rebel earl was compelled to be contented, exhibited a wonderful and rapid change in the power of the King; and all perceived where James' strength lay, when Lord Hume, with the Master of Glamis, and Sir George Hume of Primrose Know, entered Stirling during the Convention at the head of a large force. Everything was now changed, and the King spoke boldly out. He declared his resolution to cancel any promises extorted by force, when he was a captive; but promised mercy to all who repented and sued for pardon. He received Hume and his associates with open arms; sent for the Countess of Huntly to Court; permitted the Catholic earls, Angus and Errol, to visit their friends without molestation; and, it was strongly reported, had consented to have a secret interview with Huntly at Falkland.² This northern earl had recently received great promises from Spain; and for the last eight months had maintained a large force, with which he had repeatedly ravaged the territories of his enemy

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 10th September, 1593. Same to same, 15th September, 1593.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 15th September, 1593. Also, Ibid. BC., Mr John Carey to Burghley, 13th Sept., 1593.

Argyll, and kept the whole of that country in terror and subjection. This constant exercise in war upon a larger scale than was commonly practised in Highland raids, had made him an experienced soldier; and James felt that, with such leaders as Huntly and Hume, he need not dread Bothwell, Athol, or their allies. All this rendered the King formidable; and soon after his triumph became complete by the arrival of his old and experienced councillor, the Chancellor Thirlstane, who, having been reconciled to the Queen, the Master of Glamis, the Duke of Lennox, and his other enemies, rode to Court, accompanied by young Cessford and two hundred horse.¹

Measures now followed rapidly, of such a character as convinced the friends of England, the ministers of the Kirk, and the relics of Bothwell's party, that the King had not forgotten the late insults which had been offered him, and was preparing to take an ample revenge. Hume, a Roman Catholic, was made the Captain of the King's body-guard; and, in the King's presence, openly threw out his defiance against Bothwell and the whole race and name of the Stewarts; who, he said, dared not take one *sillie bee* out of the moss in his bounds without his will.² In these sallies he was not only unchecked by the King, but James, calling for the ministers, insisted that the process of excommunication, which was then preparing against this potent

¹ MS. St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 21st September, 1593. Moyse's Memoirs, Bannat. ed., p. 105.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 13th Sept., 1593.

baron, should be abandoned, alleging that he was in the progress of conversion. It was remarked, too, that the three Catholic earls, although still excluded from Court, carried themselves with unwonted bravery and confidence. Angus, visiting Morton at the Newhouse in Fife, assured him that he had better join them in time, as their increasing strength would soon compel a union; and George Ker, the victim of the Spanish Blanks, who had not been heard of since his escape from Edinburgh castle, suddenly showed himself at Melvil, near Dalkeith, with a troop of eighty horse, and warned the tenants of Lord Ross to cease from their labour, if they would not have their houses burnt above their heads. It will be remembered that Ross's men had assisted in the capture of Ker; and their master, as was usual in those days, had been rewarded by a grant of Melvil, and other lands round Newbottle belonging to the Kers. These were trifling events; but noted at the time in the pulpit, when the watchmen of the Kirk were keenly detecting how the current of Court favour was setting in towards Popery.¹

There is no good ground for suspecting, notwithstanding the strong asseverations of the ministers to the contrary, that the King of Scots had ever any serious intentions of becoming a convert to the Roman Catholic faith, or even of permitting its public profession by any one of his subjects; but he was well aware of the unprincipled policy of the English

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 5th Oct., 1593. See *supra*, p. 76.

Queen, which, from first to last, had been directed to weaken Scotland, by creating perpetual divisions amongst its nobles; and he had resolved, now that he was once more a free Prince, and at the head of a strong party, to extinguish the fires which she had kindled, and restore, if possible, aristocratic union and general peace to the country. That such was his present object is evident from a passage in a letter of Mr Carey the Governor of Berwick, son of Lord Hunsdon, to Lord Burghley; and the fervent hope expressed by this English baron, that the day may never arrive which shall see the Scottish nobles "linked together in peace," is full of meaning. "For the news in Scotland," says he, "I know not well what to say; but this I am sure,—the King doth too much *appose*¹ himself to the Papist faction for our good, I fear. Yet here [he means in the Border districts] is nothing but peace and seeking to link all the nobility together, which I hope will never be. The Papists do only bear sway; and the King hath none to put in trust with his own body but them. What will come of this your Lordship's wisdom can best discern; and thus much I know certain, that it were good your Lordship looked well whom you trust: for the King and the nobility of Scotland have too good intelligence out of our Court of England."²

In prosecution of this design of a general union

¹ "Appose," (*ad-pono*, or *appono*,) place himself beside; assimilate himself to the faction.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Mr John Carey to Burghley, 29th Sept., 1593.

amongst his divided nobility, James opposed himself to the violent and persecuting measures of the Kirk. He knew the truth of what Bothwell had lately stated to Elizabeth, that the Scottish Catholics were so strong that, in the event of any attempt to unite them with the Protestants, they would soon rule all.¹ Since then, Huntly and his friends had been daily gaining complete præminence in the North; and to render such a party furious or desperate by processes of treason and proscription,—to discharge against them, if they did not choose at once to renounce their religion and sign the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, the sharpest arrows of civil and ecclesiastical vengeance, would have been the extremity of intolerance and of folly. The King wisely declined this, and persevered in his course; although the Presbyterian pulpits immediately opened their fire, and the provincial Assembly of Fife was convened at St Andrews to consult on the imminent dangers which surrounded the Kirk.²

Of this religious convention Mr James Melvil, nephew of the well-known Andrew Melvil, was chosen Moderator; and Mr John Davison, the sternest and most zealous amongst his brethren, did not hesitate to arraign the pastors of the Kirk of coldness, self-seeking, and negligence. Let them repent, said he, and betake themselves to their ordinary armour—fasting and prayer. Let the whole Kirk concur in this needful

¹ MS. St. P. Off. B.C., Dean Toby Mathews to Lord Burghley, 2d August, 1593.

² MS. Calderwood, Sloan MSS., Brit. Mus., 4738, fol. 1140, 26th Sept.

humiliation. Above all, let the rebel earls, Huntly, Errol, Angus, Auchendown, and their accomplices, whom it were idle to assail with any lighter censures, be solemnly excommunicated; and let a grave message of pastors, barons, and burgesses, carry their resolution to the King, now so deeply alienated from the good cause: then they might look for better times. But now their sins called for humiliation: for they, the shepherds, seemed to have forgotten their flocks: they were idle and profane; nor would he be far from the truth, if he declared that a great part of their pastors were at this moment the merriest and the carelessst men in Scotland. After much debate, it was resolved that the Roman Catholic rebels should be excommunicated; and this upon the ground that many amongst them had been formerly students in the university of St Andrews, and must, therefore, have signed the Confession of Faith. The terms of this sentence, in which not the whole Presbyterian sect, as represented by the General Assembly of their Kirk, but an isolated provincial Synod took upon them to excommunicate certain members of the Catholic Church, were very awful. This little conclave declared that, in name and authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, they cut off the said persons from their Communion, and delivered them to Satan, to the destruction of their flesh, : it added,—that the Spirit might yet be safe, if it pleased God to reclaim them by repentance; but pronounced, if unrepentant, their just and everlasting condemnation.¹ This sentence was com-

¹ MS. Calderwood, Ayscough, 4738, fol. 1144.

manded to be intimated in every Kirk in the kingdom. All persons, of whatever rank or degree, were interdicted from concealing or holding communication with the delinquents thus delivered to the Devil, under the penalty of being visited by the same anathema; and the Synod concluded by exhorting the pastors to whom the charge of the flock had been intrusted, to prepare themselves by abstinence, prayer, and diligent study of the Word, for that general and solemn Fast which was judged most needful to be observed throughout the land. The causes for such universal humiliation and intercession were declared to be these:—¹

1. The impunity of Idolatry, and cruel murder committed by the Earl of Huntly and his complices.

2. The impunity of the monstrous, ungodly, and unnatural treasons of Huntly, Angus, Errol, the Laird Auchendown, Sir James Chisholm, and their accomplices.

3. The pride, boldness, malice, blasphemy, and going forward of these enemies in their most pernicious purpose, arising out of the said impunity, and their sufferance by the King; so that now they not only have nodoubt, as they speak plainly, to obtain liberty of conscience, but also brag to make the Kirk fain to come to their cursed Idolatry before they come to the truth.

4. The land defiled in divers places with the devilish and blasphemous Mass.

5. The wrath of God broken forth in fiery flame upon the north and south parts of the land with

¹ MS. Calderwood, Ayscough, 4738, fol. 1142.

horrible judgments, both of souls and bodies, threatening the mid part with the like or heavier, if repentance prevent not.

6. The King's slowness in repressing Papistry and planting of true religion.

7. The defection of so many noblemen, barons, gentlemen, merchants, and mariners, by the bait of Spanish gain; which emboldeneth the enemies: and on the other part the multitude of Atheists, ignorant, sacrilegious, blood-thirsty, and worldly-outward professors, with whom it is a strange matter that God should work any good turn; the consideration whereof upon the part of man may altogether discourage us.

8. The cruel slaughter of ministers.¹

9. The pitiful estate of the Kirk and brethren of France.

10. and Lastly. The hot persecution of discipline by the tyranny of bishops in our neighbour land.²

In addition to these bold proceedings, the leading ministers of the Kirk determined that Lord Hume the Captain of the King's Guard, should either satisfy the Kirk by his recantation, or be forthwith excommunicated. They publicly rebuked the Earl of Morton for keeping company with Errol and Angus, men branded by the Kirk as idolaters; and when he defended himself by quoting the example of Henry the Fourth, the French King recently turned Catholic,

¹ Mr James Blyth and Mr John Aikman, ministers, had been slain by the Mures.

² MS. Calderwood, Ayscough, 4738, fol. 1142.

they retorted that no Christian could, without error, associate with such delinquents.¹

Meanwhile, Bothwell, instead of accepting the King's offered pardon and retiring from the realm, entered into fresh intrigues with England and trifled with the royal mercy.² But James detected these new combinations; and marching suddenly in person with a strong force from Stirling to the Doune of Menteith, where Athol, Gowrie, and Montrose had assembled with five hundred horse, attacked their company, made Gowrie and Montrose prisoners, and had nearly taken or slain the northern earl, who fled at his utmost speed with a few attendants into Athol.³

The three Catholic earls, Huntly, Errol, and Angus, now earnestly supplicated the King, that they might be permitted to stand their trial for that conspiracy of the "Spanish Blanks," of which they solemnly protested their innocence. No opportunity, they said, had hitherto been given them of defending themselves before a jury. They had been excommunicated by the Kirk, banished from Court, and compelled to lead the life of fugitives and traitors, without any evidence except a confession extorted by torture, and the exhibition of some signatures asserted to be theirs, but which they would prove to be forgeries. Let them

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 15th Sept., 1593. Also, *Ibid.*, Bowes to Burghley, 26th Sept., 1593.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., James Sinclair and James Douglas of Spot to Bothwell, 1st Oct., 1593. *Ibid.*, Lord Ochiltree to Bothwell, 4th Oct., 1593.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 5th Oct., 1593.

only come to their trial. If found guilty, they were ready to suffer the penalty of their crimes; if acquitted, as they trusted to be, then they would either satisfy the Kirk on the subject of their religion and conform to the national faith, or would go into voluntary banishment.¹ Not satisfied with these remonstrances, they suddenly presented themselves to the King as he rode from Holyrood to Lauder, and, falling on their knees, implored him to submit their alleged offences to the judgment of an assize. But James dismissed them with real or affected wrath; threatening that they should be worse handled for such boldness.²

Had the Catholic earls been sincere in the anxiety they expressed to have an impartial trial, it would have been the height of injustice to have refused their request; but it was well known that they had secretly summoned all their friends to assemble in arms on "their day of law;" and such was their present strength, that neither judges, jury, nor witnesses, could have attended with safety.³ It is not surprising that the Kirk should have loudly remonstrated against such hurried and premature proceedings; and at an ecclesiastical convention of ministers, barons, and burghs, held at Edinburgh on the 17th October, for the purpose of considering the imminency of the threatened danger, they selected six commissioners to repair to the palace and present their advice, be-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 9th Oct., 1593.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 12th Oct., 1593.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 18th Oct., 1593.

seeing the King that the trial might be delayed till the "professors of the gospel should be ripely advised what was meetest for them to do, since they had resolved to be the principal accusers of these noblemen in their foul treasons." They craved, also, that these excommunicated and treasonable apostates should, "according to the loveable laws and customs of Scotland, be imprisoned till the Estates of Parliament had advised on the manner of their trial; that the jury should be nominated not by the accused but by the accusers; that as the foresaid traitors were excommunicated and cut off from the society of Christ's body, (to use the strong and revolting language of the original,) they should not be admitted to trial, or have any benefit of the law, till they were again joined unto Christ and reconciled to his Kirk." These, however, were not all the demands and proceedings of the Kirk. They resolved, that if their enemies attended in arms, they should meet them in the same fashion; desiring the King's permission that "the professors of religion may be his Majesty's guard, and be admitted in the most fensible and warlike manner to be about the royal person, to defend it from violence, and accuse their enemies to the uttermost: and this," they added, "we are minded to do, although it should be with the loss of all our lives in one day: for certainly we are determined that the country shall not bruik us and them baith, so long as they are God's professed enemies."¹ In futherance

¹ MS. St. P. Off. Certain Petitions and Conclusions considered

of these preparations, the Kirk directed the Moderator of every Presbytery to advertise each particular brother in the ministry within their bounds; to warn the noblemen, gentlemen, barons, and burgesses, to muster in warlike arms and array in Perth, on the 24th of the month, the expected day of trial; and appointed twelve ministers as commissioners, to be resident in the capital till the answer to their demand was returned by the King.¹ When the Commissioners of the Kirk presented their petitions to James at Jedburgh, he refused to acknowledge any convention which had been summoned without his order; and after an angry interview, passed in mutual complaint and accusation, peremptorily declined returning any written reply to the Assembly. The state of matters now became alarming; and Bowes the English Ambassador, who watched it from hour to hour, wrote thus to Burghley on the 18th October:—"Yesterday, at the meeting of the Commissioners of the Kirk, the barons, and burghs, convened here together. * * Great preparations are made for the advancement of the course thus resolved, and to stop the trial to be given at this time to these earls, whose friends (as it is told me) have mustered, and are in readiness to come to Perth at the day limited: they have already provided that the Water Gate or Water Street shall be reserved for the earls and their companies. But Athol, Gowrie, and many of the town, upon by the Commissioners for the Kirk, Barons, and Burgesses of Edinburgh, 17th Oct., 1593.

¹ Ibid.

are rather disposed to keep them out. The convocation and access of people to that place is looked upon to be so great that thereon bloody troubles shall arise."¹

A collision appeared now inevitable; and many causes promised to make it, when it did occur, one of a fearful description. The opposite factions, whose partisans were flocking from all parts towards Perth, the anticipated scene of the trial, were animated by the most bitter and revengeful feelings; their blood was boiling under the influence of family feuds, religious persecution, and fanatical hatred. The advocates for peace were browbeaten, and their voices drowned in the din of arms and proclamations of mutual defiance; and all this was exasperated and increased by the warlike denunciations of the Kirk, which, by its thousand trumpet-tongues, through the length and breadth of the land, summoned all who loved the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to gird on their weapons, and, if necessary, die for their faith. Had things been allowed to continue in this state, and the muster taken place at Perth, a few days more might have kindled the flames of civil war in the country, and deluged it with blood; but at this crisis James wisely interdicted the trial from being held at Perth, and resolved that a solemn inquiry into the conduct of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, should take place before commissioners to be selected from the nobility, the burghs, and the Kirk. To secure tranquillity, public proclamation was made that none

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 20th Oct., 1593.

except such as were especially called for should presume to attend the convention; that the three earls, dismissing their forces, should await the King's determination at Perth; and that, in the mean season, none should molest them during the trial or inquiry which was about to take place. At all this the Kirk stood aghast. They had insisted on the imprisonment of the three earls. They had argued that, till they signed the Confession of Faith and reconciled themselves to the Kirk, they could not be recognised or permitted to take their trial; that they ought to have no counsel to defend them; and that the Kirk, as their accuser, should nominate the jury. Its ministers now complained, threatened, and remonstrated;¹ but when the day appointed for the convention arrived, they found the King not only resolved to abide by his own judgment, but so strongly supported by the nobility whom he had summoned, that it would be vain to attempt resistance.

James, who had taken time to consider all coolly, on weighing the whole circumstances, found it necessary to steer a middle course. The trial was postponed; as it was believed that no jury could be found at that moment "so void of favour and partiality" as to condemn the earls; and, on the other hand, if acquitted, no terms or conditions could be imposed on them which their power would not enable them to despise and infringe.² As to the accused themselves: on the one hand, they

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 12th Nov., 1593. Also, same to same, 17th Nov., 1593.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 23d Nov., 1593.

persisted in asserting their innocence as to the "Spanish Blanks," which they were accused of having signed, or of any conspiracy to bring foreign forces into the realm; on the other, they confessed that they had received Jesuits, heard Mass, revolted from the Presbyterian faith against their public profession and subscription; refused to obey their summons for treason; and committed other acts against the laws; for which they were willing, they said, to put themselves in the King's mercy. All this was laid before a committee who represented the three Estates—nobles, barons, and burghs. The Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar appearing for the earls; the Lord Chancellor Thirlstane and Lord Livingston for the lords, with whom sat all the councillors of estate; the barons being represented by four of their number, the burghs by five burgesses, and the Kirk by six of the leading ministers; who, however, appeared only as petitioners, and did not sit or vote as commissioners. After mature deliberation with this committee, the King, adopting, as far as he was permitted, a wise mean between the extremity of persecution recommended by the Kirk, and that toleration which was rather implored and hoped for than claimed as a right by the Catholics, pronounced his sentence. He declared that he was firmly resolved that God's true religion, publicly preached, and by law established, during the first year of his reign, should alone be professed by the whole body of his subjects; and that all who had not embraced it, or who had made defection from it, should, before the 1st of February

next, obey the laws by professing it, and thus satisfy the Kirk; or, if they found this against their conscience, should depart the realm to such parts beyond seas as he should direct, there to remain till they embraced the true religion, and were reconciled to the Kirk; but he added, that during this banishment they should enjoy their lands and living. As to those persons who had been accused of a treasonable conspiracy with Spain for the overthrow of the true religion—William Earl of Angus, George Earl of Huntly, Francis Earl of Errol, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, and Sir James Chisholm of Cornileys—he pronounced them “free, and unaccusable in all time coming of any such crimes;” and annulled all legal proceedings which had been instituted against them, unless they showed themselves unworthy of pardon by directly renewing their intrigues, or threatening, either by word or deed, any repetition of their treason. If they chose to renounce their Idolatry, to embrace the Presbyterian opinions, satisfy the Kirk, and remain to enjoy their estates and honours within their own land, it was intimated to them and to all other Catholics, that this must be done on or before the 1st day of February next; and, on the contrary, if they preferred to retain their faith and enter into exile, then they were to give assurance that, during its continuance, they should refrain from all practices with Jesuits or seminary priests against their native country. It was lastly declared, that they should express to the King and the Kirk their acceptance

of one or other of these conditions before the 1st of January next.¹

To our modern and more Christian feelings this sentence must appear as unwise as unmerciful: for it disavowed the possibility of toleration, held out a premium to religious hypocrisy, and punished sincerity and honesty of opinion with perpetual banishment. James had hoped that it might pacify the country; but it experienced the common fate of middle courses, and gave satisfaction to no party. The Catholics, who had never intermitted their intrigues with Spain, had lately received assistance and encouragement from that country; they commanded almost the whole of the North; and were in no temper to resign their religion, or retain it at the expense of perpetual exile. They temporised, therefore; affected a submission which they did not feel; and continued to strengthen themselves both at home and abroad for a new struggle. But if the Catholics were discontented, the Kirk received the Act of Abolition with mingled wrath and lamentation. It actually seemed to them an insufficient security, and a trifling punishment, that no man was to be permitted to remain within the realm, and enjoy his estate and the protection of the law, unless he signed the Presbyterian Confession of Faith. The profanation was, that any man should be at liberty to retain his belief in the Roman Catholic faith, and his Scottish estates, if he consented to banish

¹ MS. St. P. Off. Act of the Convention at Holyrood House, 26th Nov., 1593; with Burghley's notes on the margin. It is printed by Spottiswood, p. 400.

himself from his native country. The feelings of the leaders of the Kirk upon this subject are thus described by Bowes, an eyewitness, in his letter to Burghley.

“This edict, and act of oblivion, is thought to be very injurious to the Church, and far against the laws of God and this realm; whereupon the ministers have not only openly protested to the King and Convention that they will not agree to the same, but also, in their sermons, inveigh greatly against it; alleging that, albeit it hath a pretence to establish one true religion in the realm, yet liberty is given to all men to profess what they list, so they depart out of the realm; and thereby they shall enjoy greater privileges and advantages than any other good subject can do. That this is very dangerous to the religion, and to all the professors thereof, that the crimes of these offenders shall be thus slightly passed over; and this notwithstanding their treasons and faults are so manifest and odious, as the King once confessed that he had not power to pardon them, and promised, as he was a Christian prince, to punish them with all rigour. And the parties thus offending have now been detected four times, and escaped punishment for like treasons and conspiracies.”¹

At this Convention the King, who now found himself strong enough to disclose his true feelings, exhibited the sustained intensity of his wrath against Bothwell. It was in vain that the Queen, and those nobles who had attached themselves to her service, interceded for the delinquent. He was commanded

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 2d Dec. 1593.

to leave the realm within fifteen days; and James refused to listen to any offers, or to hold out the slightest hopes of forgiveness till this order had been obeyed. The friends of the rebel earl were treated with equal severity. Lords Doune and Spiny, with Mr John Russell, an eminent advocate who had pleaded his cause, were imprisoned; and it was evident that all hope of reconciliation must be abandoned.¹

The act of oblivion proved as distasteful to Elizabeth as it was to either the Catholics or the Kirk. This great Princess had recently received intelligence of the continued intrigues carried on by Jesuits and seminary priests in Scotland. One of these busy emissaries, Thomas Mackquharry, a Scottish Jesuit, who had been employed by Lady Hume, and had carried on his secret practices in different parts of England, had been recently seized by Sir John Carey at Berwick. It was reported that another Scottish Jesuit, Mr James Gordon, with William Gordon of Strathdon, a brother of the Earl of Huntly, and four or five other Catholics, had passed over from Scotland to Dunkirk;² and Mr James Craig, a gentleman resident at Bourdeaux, wrote to his brother Mr Thomas Craig, the celebrated feudal lawyer, then an advocate at the Scottish bar,³ that an army and fleet

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 2d Dec., 1593.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 24th Nov., 1593. Ibid., same to same, 2d Dec., 1593.

³ MS. St. P. Off. The clause in the letter of James Craig at Bourdeaux, to his brother, Mr Thomas Craig, Advocate in Edinburgh.

were being equipt in Spain, which were suspected to be destined for Scotland. Ireland continued to be the theatre of perpetual intrigue and commotion; and the English Queen had taken the adoption of the Catholic faith by Henry the Fourth greatly to heart. She was, therefore, in a highly excited state when she received from Bowes, her Ambassador, the news from Scotland; and lost no time in despatching Lord Zouch with a violent open remonstrance, and a letter of secret rebuke, written wholly in her own hand.¹ This last was in these nervous and scornful terms:

“MY DEAR BROTHER.—To see so much, I rue my sight that views the evident spectacle of a seduced King, abusing council, and wry-guided kingdom. My love to your good and hate of your ruin, breeds my heedful regard of your surest safety. If I neglected you, I could wink at your worst, and yet withstand my enemies’ drifts. But be you persuaded by sisters. I will advise you, void of all guile, and will not stick to tell you, that if you tread the path you chuse,² I will pray for you, but leave you to your harms.

“I doubt whether shame or sorrow have had the upper hand when I read your last lines to me. Who, of judgment, that deemed me not simple, could suppose that any answers you have writ me should satisfy, nay, enter into the opinion of any one not void of four senses, leaving out the first.

“Those of whom you have had so evident proof by their actual rebellion in the field you preserve,

¹ Camden, Elizabeth in Kennet, vol. ii.

² In the copy in the St. P. Off., “the path you are in.”

whose offers you knew then so large to foreign Princes. And now, at last, when, plainest of all, was taken the carrier himself, confessing all before many commissioners and divers councillors; because you slacked the time till he was escaped, and now must seem deny it, (though all men knew it;) therefore, forsooth, no jury can be found for them. May this blind me that knows what a King's office were to do? Abuse not yourself so far. Indeed, when a weak bowing and a slack seat in government shall appear, then bold spirits will stir the stern, and guide the ship to greatest wreck, and will take heart to supply the failure.

“Assure yourself no greater peril can ever befall you, nor any King else, than to take for payment evil accounts; for they deride such, and make their prey of their neglect. There is no Prince alive, but if he show fear or yielding but he shall have tutors enough, though he be out of minority. And when I remember what sore punishment those so lewd traitors should have, then I read again, lest at first I mistook your mind; but when the reviewing granted my lecture true, Lord! what wonder grew in me that you should correct them with benefits who deserve much severer correction. Could you please them more than save their lives and make them shun the place they hate, where they are sure that their just deserved haters dwell, and yet as much enjoy their honours and livelihoods, as if for sporting travel they were licensed to visit other countries? Call you this a banishment—to be rid of whom they fear and go

to such they love? Now, when my eyes read more, then smiled I to see how childish, foolish, and witless an excuse the best of either three made you, turning their treasons' bills to artificers' reckonings with *items* for many expenses, and lacked but one billet which they best deserved, an *item* for so much for the cord whose office they best merited. Is it possible that you can swallow the taste of so bitter a drug, more meet to purge you of them, than worthy for your Kingly acceptance? I never heard a more deriding scorn; and vow that, if but this alone, were I you, they should learn a short lesson.

“The best that I commend in your letter is, that I see your judgment too good to affirm a truth of their speech, but that alone they so say. Howbeit, I muse how you can want a law to such, as whose denial, if it were ever, could serve to save their lives, whose treasons are so plain; as the messenger who would for his own sake not devise it, if for truth's cause he had it not in his charge: for who should ever be tried false, if his own denial might save his life? In Princes' causes many circumstances yield a sufficient plea for such a King as will have it known: and ministers they shall lack none, that will not themselves gainsay it. Leave off such cloaks, therefore, I pray you; they will be found too thin to save you from wetting. For your own sake play the King, and let your subjects see you respect yourself, and neither to hide or to suffer danger and dishonour. And that you may know my opinion, judgment, and advice, I have chosen this nobleman, whom I know wise, religious, and

honest; to whom I pray you give full credit, as if myself were with you; and bear with all my plainness, whose affection, if it were not more worthy than so oft not followed, I would not have gone so far. But blame my love if it exceed any limits. Beseeching God to bless you from the advices of them that more prize themselves than care for you, to whom I wish many years of reign.”¹

It was not to be expected that a letter like this, containing so much disagreeable advice and cutting sarcasm, and which in its involved, but often energetic and condensed periods, affords so good a specimen of Elizabeth's private epistolary style, should have been acceptable to James; but when Lord Zouch presented it at his audience on the 13th January,² the King dissembled his chagrin and received him with apparent courtesy. He professed his anxious desire to live on terms of amity with his good sister: observed, that as for the Act of Abolition to the Catholic earls which her Majesty disliked so much, it was now itself abolished by their not accepting it, and he was entirely free from any agreement. He knew, he said, in answer to Zouch's remonstrances on his supposed Spanish predilections, what it was to lose an old friend and to trust a new. As to the

¹ This interesting letter is now printed (for the first time) from the original, in the Queen's own hand, preserved in the collections of Sir George Warrender. There is a contemporary copy in the State Paper Office.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 15th January, 1593-4. Ibid., Lord Zouch to Burghley. Also, MS. Letter, Brit. Mus., Caligula, D II. 169.

councillors, of whom she complained, he must confide in his Council as she confided in hers; but he was the last who would suffer any ill affected to insinuate themselves amongst his ministers.¹

With these general assurances, Elizabeth's Ambassador would not be satisfied. He called on the King for deeds, not words; insisted that his royal mistress was entitled to have an express written declaration of the course which the King was determined to follow with the rebel earls and the Catholic party, still busy in their plots for the invasion of England and the destruction of their common faith;² and lamented, in his letter to Lord Burghley, that he was utterly unfit to cope with the difficulties which met him on every hand. The Lord Chancellor Maitland, whom he was taught to consider the wisest and most upright of the King's councillors, plotted, as he suspected, against him; and had received, it was said, great sums of money from the Catholic faction. He was surrounded by falsehood and suspicion; distracted by contrary reports; and so strictly watched, that none came near him but those whom the King permitted.

All this, however, did not prevent Zouch from fulfilling the more secret part of his instructions; nor, although he affected to be deeply shocked with the political profligacy and dissimulation of the Scot-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lord Zouch to Burghley, 15th Jan., 1593-4. Also, *Ibid.*, same to the same, 26th January, 1593-4.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 27th January, 1593-4. Also, *Ibid.* B.C., Mr John Carey to Burghley, 25th January, 1593-4.

tish nobles, was he himself by any means a novice in intrigue. Whilst assuring James of Elizabeth's unshaken friendship and zeal for his welfare, he opened a communication with his bitter foe, the fierce and reckless Bothwell; and arranged with this earl, John Colvil brother of the Laird of Wemyss, Henry Lock an agent of Sir Robert Cecil, and some of the most violent ministers of the Kirk, a new plot for the surprise of the King. It was resolved that Athol and Argyll, with the whole strength of the North, should advance to Edinburgh; form a junction with the forces of Bothwell, Montrose, Ochiltree, and the Laird of Johnston; and attacking the Chancellor Maitland, Lord Hume, and the friends of the King, at once destroy Huntly and the Roman Catholics, save James from evil counsellors, and take an ample revenge for the murder of the Earl of Murray.¹ These designs were the more unjustifiable at this moment, as the monarch had adopted strong measures against the Roman Catholic earls. He had declared them excluded from all benefits of the Act of Abolition; had summoned them, on the penalty of being outlawed, to deliver themselves up, and take their trials for treason; called a Parliament, which was to be held in April; appointed a new Council of more neutral and well affected nobles and barons; and had professed to Elizabeth, in a written answer to Zouch's instructions, his continued desire of friendship and good faith.

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lord Zouch to Burghley, 15th Jan., 1593-4. Also, MS. Brit. Mus., Caligula, D II., 151, Instructions for Lord Zouch for treating with certain Lords in Scotland,

In an interview, also, which Bowes the resident Ambassador had with James' great adviser the Chancellor Maitland, the Scottish lord assured him that his royal mistress need not distress herself with suspicions of his master. He was steadfast, he affirmed, in his religion, whatever Papists or the Kirk might affirm: nothing would induce him to embrace the Spanish courses; and for an invasion of England, he knew it would be madness.¹ Yet Zouch continued his plots; and Elizabeth undoubtedly gave them her secret encouragement; although, with her usual caution and parsimony, she abstained from any large advances either in money or troops.

In the midst of these intrigues and dangers a joyful event occurred. The Queen brought forth a son, her first child, in the castle of Stirling, on the 19th February; and the monarch immediately committed the charge and government of the infant heir to the throne, to the Earl of Mar, captain and keeper of the castle of Stirling; "whose uncle and goodsire, (it is stated in the Act of Appointment,) by three descents together, have had the custody and governance of the sovereign Princes of this realm."² By the nation this event was hailed with universal joy: an old chronicle declaring that "the people, in all parts,

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 8th Jan., 1593-4. Ibid., same to same, 15th Jan., 1593-4. Also, Ibid., same to same, 20th Jan., 1593-4. Also, MS. St. P. Off., "Councillors newly established by the King of Scots," 17th Jan., 1593-4; in Burghley's handwriting. Also, Ibid., Bowes to Burghley, 20th Jan., 1593-4. Also, Brit. Mus., Caligula, D II., 169, 182.

² MS. St. P. Off., 21st February, 1593, Lord of Mar anent the keeping of the young Prince.

appeared to be daft for mirth."¹ But scarcely was the child born ere he became a mark for treachery; the conspirators proposing to Lord Zouch, that when they advanced on Stirling, they should strengthen their hands by seizing the infant heir to the Crown, and thus extort better terms from the King. It was a game which had already been played in the days of James the Third. The English Ambassador, however, protested against such an outrage, and his associates did not dare to disobey.

All was now ripe for Bothwell's attempt; but the King proved too crafty and strong for his adversaries. He had received secret information of the plot; seized a gentleman of Zouch's suite, who had communicated with the traitors; commanded Lord Hume, Cessford, and Buccleugh, to concentrate their strength at Kelso, where it was expected the enemy would cross the Border; imprisoned some of the boldest and busiest ministers of the Kirk; and addressing the people in the High Church of Edinburgh after the sermon, informed them, in stirring terms, of the insolence of Bothwell, that audacious rebel, who was at that moment on his way to attack his lawful Prince; declared his resolution to lead his whole force in person against him; and, raising his hand to heaven, took a solemn vow to God, that if they, for their part, would instantly arm and advance with him into the field, he, for his, would never rest till, in return for such service, he had utterly suppressed and banished the Catholic lords

¹ Moyse's Memoirs, p. 113.

from his dominions.¹ Scarcely had James ended this appeal, when word was brought that Bothwell, who had out-manceuvred Hume and Buccleugh, was at hand, at Leith, with six hundred horse, awaiting the junction of Athol and Argyll, whom he expected to cross the Forth with their northern strength, and showing intentions of intrenching himself within the old fortifications on the Links. Without a moment's delay, the King assembled his troops, and marched against him. The advance consisted of a thousand pikemen and five hundred horse; the rear, of the infantry of the city of Edinburgh, in number about a thousand musketeers; and besides these, there were three guns covered by a body of two hundred horse. Despairing of being able to withstand such a force within the intrenchments, Bothwell retired deliberately, and in good order, in a south-easterly direction, round the roots of the hill of Arthur Seat, towards Niddry, where he halted on a neighbouring field, which offered him an excellent position. James, observing this movement, now dreaded an attack of his capital on the south side, where it was undefended; and ordering Hume, at the head of the cavalry, to advance to Niddry, countermarched through Edinburgh, and took up his ground with the remainder of the troops on the Borough Muir. Meanwhile Hume and Glamis had reached a hill beside Niddry, and were hesitating to make the onset, when Bothwell, Lord Ochiltree, and the gentlemen with them, "after prayers on their knees," assailed them with

¹ *Historie of James the Sext*, p. 304.

loud shouts of "God and the Kirk," drove them from their ground, slew twelve of their troopers, and chased them to within a short distance of the spot where the King stood. They then sounded their trumpets, and retired in good order by Craigmillar without losing a man. In this onset, Bothwell took Hume's cornet and trumpet, to whom he gave his liberty; and presenting him with two rose nobles, sent, by him, a challenge to his master.¹ This defeat took place on an eminence beside Niddry, called Edmeston Edge.² Bothwell now retreated to Kelso; and aware of the hopelessness of his enterprise, soon after dispersed his company, and became once more a refugee in England.

The King, delivered for the present from all apprehensions on this quarter, now determined to fulfil his promise, and deprive the Queen of England and the ministers of the Kirk of all pretence of opposition, by adopting the most vigorous proceedings against the Catholic earls, Huntly, Angus, and Errol. Proclamation was made, that these noble-

¹ We learn from Henry Lock's letter to Sir Robert, describing the "raid," and written from Berwick only two days after the action, that before they charged their adversaries, Bothwell and his companions exclaimed, that "that day her Majesty should see proof of their intentions and faith." MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Henry Lock to Sir R. Cecil, 5th April, 1594. By a letter from Bowes to Burghley of 13th April, 1594, St. P. Off., and another, of the same date, from Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, we learn, that the management of Scottish affairs, owing to the increasing infirmities of Lord Burghley, had been intrusted, by the Queen, to his son Sir Robert Cecil, one of the Privy Council.

² Moyse's Memoirs, p. 115.

men should appear and take their trial before the Parliament to be held in May. The whole force of his realm was summoned to meet him in arms, to be led against the rebels if they resisted; and Colvil of Easter Wemyss, one of the best military leaders then in Scotland, with Mr Edward Bruce, an influential minister of the Kirk, were despatched on an embassy to Elizabeth. The general object of their mission was to assure her of their master's resolute determination to reduce the Catholic earls, and for ever put an end to the Spanish intrigues; but before proceeding to any other point, they were enjoined to remonstrate, in the strongest terms, against the support lately given in England to the King's avowed rebel, the Earl of Bothwell. We have seen the bitter and sarcastic letter which Elizabeth, three months before, had sent to the King by the Lord Zouch. It was now his time to reply to it, and have his revenge; which he did by the following private epistle, intrusted to his Ambassadors, written wholly in his own hand, and certainly not inferior either in irony or vigour, to the production of his good sister.

“ So many unexpected wonders, Madam and dearest sister, have of late so overshadowed my eyes and mind, and dazzled so all my senses, as in truth I neither know what I should say, nor whereat first to begin; but thinking it best to take a pattern of yourself, since I deal with you, I must, repeating the first words of your last letter, (only the sex changed,) say I rue my sight that views the evident spectacle of a *seduced Queen*. For when I enter

betwixt two extremities in judging of you, I had far *rather* interpret it to the least dishonour on your part, which is ignorant error. Appardon me, Madam; for long approved friendship requires a round plainness. For when first I consider what strange effects have of late appeared in your country; how my avowed traitor hath not only been openly reset in your realm, but plainly made his residence in your proper houses, ever plainliest *kything*¹ himself where greatest confluence of people was; and, which is most of all, how he hath received English money in a reasonable quantity; waged both English and Scottish men therewith; proclaimed his pay at divers parish churches in England; convened his forces within England, in the sight of all that Border; and therefrom contemptuously marched, and camped within a mile of my principal city and present abode, all his trumpeters, and divers waged men, being English; and being by myself in person repulsed from that place, returned back in England with displayed banners; and since that time, with sound of trumpet, making his troops to muster within English ground: when first, I say, I consider these strange effects, and then again I call to mind, upon the one part, what number of solemn promises, not only by your Ambassadors but by many letters of your own hand, ye have both made and reiterated unto me, that he should have no harbour within your country, yea, rather stirring me farther up against him, than seeming to pity him yourself; and upon the other part,

¹ *Kything* himself—*showing himself*.

weighing my desires towards you,—how far being a friend to you I have ever been an enemy to all your enemies, and the only point I can be challenged in, that I take not such form of order, and at such time, with some particular men of my subjects as peradventure you would, if you were in my room; when thus I enter in consultation with myself, I cannot surely satisfy myself with wondering upon these above-mentioned effects: for to affirm that these things are by your direction or privity, it is so far against all princely honour, as I protest I abhor the least thought thereof. And again; that so wise and provident a Prince, having so long and happily governed, should be so fyled and contemned by a great number of her own subjects, it is hardly to be believed: if I knew it not to be a maxim in the state of Princes, that we see and hear all with the eyes and ears of others, and if these be deceivers, we cannot shun deceits.

“Now, Madam, I have refuge to you at this time, as my only pilot to guide me safely betwixt this *Charybdis and Scylla*. Solve these doubts, and let it be seen ye will not be abused by your own subjects, who prefer the satisfying of their base-minded affections to your princely honour. That I wrote not the answer of your last letters with your late Ambassador, (Lord Zouch,) and that I returned not a letter with him, blame only, I pray you, his own behaviour; who, although it pleased you to term him wise, religious, and honest, had been fitter, in my opinion, to carry the message of a herald, than any friendly commission betwixt two neighbour Princes: for as

no reason could satisfy him, so scarcely could he have patience even to hear it offered. But if you gave him a large commission, I dare answer for it, he took it as well upon him; and, therefore, have I rather chused to send you my answer by my own messengers. Suffer me not, I pray you, to be abused with your abusers; nor grant no oversight to oversee your own honour. Remember what you promised by your letter of thanks for the delivery of O'Rorick. I trust ye will not put me in balance with such a traitorous counterpoise, nor willingly reject me; constraining me to say with Virgil—

'Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.'

And to give you a proof of the continuance of my honest affection, I have directed these two gentlemen unto you, whom I will heartily pray you to credit as myself in all they have in charge; and because the principal of them goes to France, to return the other back with a good answer with all convenient speed."¹

This spirited remonstrance had the best effect upon Elizabeth, who, although she had encouraged Bothwell in his late audacious attempts, never felt much scruple in discarding an unsuccessful instrument. She was, accordingly, all smiles to the Ambassadors,

¹ Printed for the first time from the Warrender MSS. The letter is dated Edinburgh, 13th April, 1594. In an interesting volume, presented by Adam Anderson, Esq., Solicitor-general for Scotland, (an old and valued friend of the author,) to the Abbotsford Club, will be found, pp. 6, 7, James' letter of credential to his Ambassadors, Bruce and Wemyss, with a letter from the King to the Earl of Essex, bespeaking his good offices.

when, in their master's name, they invited her to stand godmother at the approaching baptism of the infant heir to the Scottish throne; and although her countenance changed when they spoke of money and the necessities of their master, yet, even on this point, Bruce, before his return, received a more favourable answer than he had expected. She assured him, that she would extend her liberality the moment the King set out on his expedition against the Catholic earls, and she saw that he was in earnest.¹ Colvil of Easter Wemyss, his brother Ambassador, now proceeded to the Court of France; whilst, about the same time, Sir William Keith was despatched to the United Provinces; and Mr Peter Young, the King's almoner, to the Court of Denmark. The object of all these missions was the same: to carry to the King's faithful and ancient allies the happy news of the birth of a Prince; to invite them to send their representatives to the baptism, which had been fixed for the 15th of July; and to hint delicately to the United States, but in perfectly intelligible terms, the necessity of presenting, at that solemn ceremony, something more substantial than congratulations.²

Important events now crowded rapidly on each other. On the 30th of May, the Estates assembled; and as James' avowed determination to concentrate

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Mr Edward Bruce to Lord Burghley, 16th May, 1594.

² Warrender MSS. Collect., vol. A. p. 109. MS. St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 13th April, 1594. Also, *Ibid.*, same to same, 21st April, 1594. Also, *Ibid.*, Orig. Draft, Sir R. Cecil to Sir R. Bowes, 17th May, 1594.

his whole strength against the Catholic earls, had conciliated the Kirk and the English faction, all proceeded amicably and firmly. Huntly, Angus, and Errol, the three mighty leaders, who were now in open rebellion, were forfeited, stript of their estates, declared traitors,¹ and a commission given to their avowed enemy, the young Earl of Argyll, to assemble the forces of the North, and pursue them with fire and sword. All persons detected in saying Mass, were ordered to be punished capitally, and their goods confiscated. It was resolved, for the preservation of the religion, and to confirm the amity between the two realms, that there should be a thorough reformation in the King's Council; and that Elizabeth's advice should be followed in such matters. The Catholic Countess of Huntly, whose intercourse with the King and Queen had been a constant thorn in the side of the Kirk, was dismissed from Court; Lord Hume recanted, and signed the Confession of Faith, either convinced in conscience, or terrified by impending severities; and the King declared, that immediately after the baptism, he would march in person, at the head of the whole strength of his dominions, against the Catholic insurgents.²

On the evening of the 27th August, the Earl of Sussex—a young nobleman of the highest rank, and connected, by blood, with his royal mistress—arrived at the Scottish Court. He came from Elizabeth, to

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 30th May, 1594. Ibid., same to same, 9th June, 1594.

² MS. St. P. Off., Act of Secret Council, 22d July, 1594.

stand her gossip, or representative, at the baptism of the young Prince. He was attended by a noble retinue, and brought some rich presents from the Queen of England, with this brief letter of congratulation and counsel:—

“I make a note of my happy destiny, my good brother, in beholding my luck so fortunate as to be the baptizer of both father and son, so dear unto me; and [this] makes me frame my humble *orisons* to Him that all may,¹ that he will please bless with all happiness the prosperous continuance of both, in such a sort as my benedictions bestowed on either may be perfected through His omnipotent graces; and do promise a grant to my devotions, springing from a fountain of such good will. And pray you believe, that I never counsel or advise you aught whose first end tends not to your most good; and do conjure you, that receiving so assured knowledge of what your lewd lords [she alludes here to the Catholic carls] mean, that you neglect not God’s good warning, to cause you timely shun the worst. All Kings have not had so true espiaers of their harm, but have felt it or they heard it; but I am best testimony of you to too many foretellers, in whom you never yet found guile.²

“Thus will I end to trouble you with ragged lines; saving to request you bear with the youth of this noble Earl, in whom, though his years may not

¹ To Him that can do all things.

² Obscure. Probably, “But I in whom you never yet found guile, am the best amongst many forewarners.”

promise him much, yet I hope his race, and his good nature, will afford your honourable regard, both for his parentage, and being of my blood, as coming from such a Prince, of whom you may make surest account, to be assured such as you could wish, as God can best witness,—to whom I pray you to grant you always victory of your evil subjects.”¹

When Sussex delivered his letter and presents, the King was in the highest bustle and good humour; engrossed not only with the many weighty concerns connected with his approaching “Rode,” or military expedition, but devising sports and pastimes for the entertainment of his foreign guests the Ambassadors, and planning, with the Lord of Lindores and Mr David Fowler his masters of the revels, a variety of princely pageants, with “deep moral meanings;” one of which, the Interlude of “Neptune,” was the fruitful product of his Majesty’s own private brain. The expense incurred in these triumphs and shows, in which there was an unusual allowance of chariots, mimic ships, Christian knights, rural deities, Moors, windmills, and amazons, must have been excessive, judging from the account of a contemporary pamphlet, written in the highest style of quaint and courtly composition.² The baptism itself took place on the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 27th August, 1594. Also, Royal Letters, St. P. Off., Copy of her Majesty’s Letter to the King of Scots.

² St. P. Off. A rare pamphlet, entitled, “A True Report of the most Triumphant and Royal Accomplishment of the Baptism of the most Excellent Right High and Mighty Prince Frederick Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Scotland, solemnized 30th

30th of August, in the royal chapel at Stirling castle. The infant Prince was carried by Sussex, Elizabeth's Ambassador. He was christened by Cunningham Bishop of Aberdeen, by the name of Frederick Henry, Henry Frederick; and when the solemn ceremony was concluded, and the King, the Ambassadors and nobles, with the Queen and her ladies of honour, retired from the chapel to the hall of State, "the cannons of the castle roared, so that therewith the earth trembled; and other smaller shot," says one of the city orators of the time, "made their harmony after their kind." The infant was then knighted by his royal father, "touched with the spur" by the Earl of Mar; and being crowned with a ducal coronet, richly set with diamonds, sapphires, and other precious stones, Lion King of Arms proclaimed his titles, as "The Right Excellent, High, and Magnanimous Frederick Henry, Henry Frederick, by the Grace of God, Knight and Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothesay, Prince and Great Steward of Scotland."¹ The pageants succeeded; but their details would only fatigue. It is amusing to find that the King himself did not disdain to take a part, apparelled at all points as a Christian Knight of Malta; whilst a worshipful baron, the Lord of Buccleugh, with Lord Lindores and the Abbot of Holyrood, in women's attire and gallantly mounted, enacted three amazons. The

August, 1594. Printed by Peter Short, for the Widow Butter. To be sold at her shop under St Austin's Church,

¹ Id. Ibid.

ceremony being concluded, and the voice of revelry hushed in the palace, the Earl of Sussex, after a few days, took leave, bearing with him this letter from the King to his royal mistress. It is wholly written in James' hand:—

“ I could not permit, Madam and dearest sister, now after the ending of this solemn time, the nobleman bearer hereof to depart without returning with him unto you my most hearty thanks for the honouring me with so noble a substitute *gossip* in your place. And where ye excuse his youth, surely he was the fitter for a young king and feasting days. But I cannot aneuch¹ commend unto you his extreme diligence in coming, and courteous and mild behaviour here; which moves me to request you to cherish so noble a youth, now after his first employment.

“ As for the other part of his commission and your letter, which concerns the Spanish lords here, ye can be no earnestest now in that matter than I am, who has now renounced any farther dealing with them but by extremity; and presently have I vowed myself only to that errand, and never to take rest until I put some end thereunto. And suppose ye may justly accuse (as ever ye do) my deferring so long to put order unto them; yet, according to an old proverb, *it is better late thrive than never*; and surely I will think my fault the more excuseable if the example thereof make you to eschew the falling in the like error, in making your assistance not to come as far behind the time as my prosecution does. But in this

¹ *Aneuch*, Scottish for enough.

I remit you to your own wisdom ; for you are not ignorant how occasion is painted. And now I cannot omit to lay before you some incident griefs of mine ; but least I weary you too much with my ragged handwrit, I remit the particulars hereof to the report of this nobleman, only touching thus far by the way. I think ye have not given commission to any of your Council to treat with Bothwell's ambassador, nor yet allow that his agent, and one guilty of all his treasons, should use his public devotion in the French Kirk, in presence of my Ambassador ; who, indeed, was better furnished with patience at the sight thereof than he is likely to get thanks for at my hands : yet now, Madam, none can brook me and Bothwell both. Examine secretly your counsellors, and suffer them not to behave themselves more to your dishonour than my discontentment. Only *honestum utile est, præcipue regibus* ; and if James Forret or any other *Bothwellist* be at present within your country, I crave, by these presents, delivery according to the treaties, your many hand-written promises, and my good deserts by O'Rorick. And thus not doubting, as it hath been your fortune to be god-mother both to me and my son, so ye will be a *good mother* to us both ; I commit you, Madam and dearest sister, to the protection of the Almighty."¹

For these suspicions of James there was too much ground ; as it is certain that Sir Robert Cecil, who, on account of the increasing infirmities of his father

¹ MS. St. P. Off., Royal Letters, James to Elizabeth, 11th September, 1594, Holyrood. Printed for the first time.

Lord Burghley, now managed the Scottish affairs, had secret intelligence with Bothwell. The Catholic earls were now alluring this audacious man, by Spanish gold, to make common cause with them against the Scottish King. Bothwell, on the other hand, with consummate baseness, had proposed to Cecil to accept the money and betray their secrets to the Queen of England, if she would still stand his friend in his present distress and misery. But he was no longer the proud and powerful partisan whom Elizabeth had once so highly favoured; and the moment she discovered that James had detected his intrigues, she threw him from her with as much indifference as she would a broken sword; commanded him to leave her dominions; and interdicted her subjects, under the severest penalties, from giving him harbour or assistance. He was no longer permitted, in the strong language which the King himself used in his remonstrance to Sussex, to “tak muster, display cornet or ensign, blaw trumpet, strike drum,” or even in any way live and breathe within England.¹

Having secured this expulsion of his mortal enemy, James assembled a Convention at Stirling,² and made the most active preparations for the attack of the Catholic earls. On both sides a violent and deter-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Mr John Colvil to Sir R. Cecil, whom he addresses as “his honorable Lord and Mæcenas,” 31st July, 1594. Also, *Ibid.*, Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 3d August, 1594. Also, *Ibid.*, Royal Letters, “The Effect of the King of Scots Speech to the Earl of Sussex,” 1594.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Earl of Sussex to Sir R. Cecil, 8th Sept., 1594.

mined struggle was anticipated; as there were many deep feelings and bitter passions which festered in the minds of the leaders and their hosts. With the Kirk, it was a war of religious persecution, or rather extermination. Their avowed object was to depose *Antichrist*, and to compel all Catholics to recant or at once give up their lands, their honours, and their country, for their privilege to adhere to that Church which they believed to be of divine origin and the only depository of the truth. But to these feelings were added, as may be easily imagined, many motives and passions of baser alloy: ambition; love of plunder; deep feudal hatred; long-delayed and fondly-cherished hopes of revenge; and all that catalogue of dark and merciless passions which spring from the right of private war and the prevalence of family feuds. These all raged in the bosoms of the opposed leaders and combatants; and the exacerbation they produced, was shown alike by the energy of their preparations and the cruelty with which they fought. Huntly, Angus, Errol, and Auchendown, since their refusal of the Act of Abolition, had been gathering their strength, and were now busily engaged in levying recruits, partly at their own charges, partly with Spanish gold, of which they had received repeated supplies. It had been now for many years the practice of Elizabeth, with the permission of James, to employ large bodies of Scottish auxiliaries in her wars in the Low Countries. Scottish troops, also, often served in Ireland; and the Highland chiefs had long driven a lucrative and warlike com-

merce with that country, selling their services to the highest bidder, and carrying over large bodies of pikemen, bowmen, and even of hagbutteers, to the assistance of Elizabeth or her enemies, as it best suited their interest. From these causes, there were now in Scotland many experienced officers and numerous bands of mercenaries, ready, like the Italian *Condottieri*, or the Swiss bands, to offer their service wherever they heard the tuck of drum or the clink of gold; and as Huntly had high reputation as a military leader, lived in almost regal splendour in his palace at Strathbogie, and was young, generous, and brave, the Catholic camp was in no want of recruits, and soon assumed a formidable appearance. He was now also joined by Bothwell,¹ who, driven to desperation by the mortal hatred of the Scottish King; his recent proscription by the Queen of England; his desertion by the Kirk, who had detected his dealings with the Catholics; and the hunting down, torturing, and execution of his poor vassals, had been unable to resist the bribes held out to him. The papers still exist which enable us to trace the last struggles and plots of this desperate man; but we can only give them a passing glance. It was arranged between him and his new associates, that when Huntly was engaged in the North, Bothwell should make a diversion in the South; thus distracting the King and dividing his forces. But this was not all. He entered into an agreement with his new friends, in which it was proposed, by a sudden *coup de main*, to attack the Court, imprison the King,

seize the infant Prince, murder Sir George Hume the King's favourite; and, as he himself expressed it in his letter to the ministers of the Kirk, "*put in practice the loveable custom of their progenitors at Lauder,*" by completely revolutionizing the Government.¹ It was asserted, and on good grounds, that the usual "Band," or feudal agreement in such conspiracies, was drawn up and signed by the *enterprisers*; but the time for its execution was not fixed; and the seizure of some of the inferior agents, with the course of events in the North, happily rendered the whole plot abortive.

These events were of a stirring and romantic kind; for, on the 21st September, Argyll having received the royal commission to pursue Huntly and his associates, set out on his expedition at the head of a force of six thousand men. Of this army, three thousand only were chosen men, bearing harquebuses, bows, and pikes; the rest being more slenderly equipt, both as to body-armour and weapons. Of cavalry, he had few or none; but he expected to be joined by Lord Forbes, with the Laird of Towey, the Dunbars, and other barons, who, it was hoped, would form a strong reinforcement, and be mostly mounted.² It had been the King's intention to postpone the attack upon the insurgent barons till he had assembled the whole force of his realm, and was ready to take the command in person. But the ministers of the Kirk

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bothwell to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 7th September, 1594.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 27th Sept., 1594.

urged the danger of delay : some of them even buckled on their broadswords and rode to the camp ; whilst Argyll himself, young, (he was only nineteen,) ardent, and acting under the stimulus of personal revenge, determined on instant action. He had already, he said, been twice on the eve of marching, and twice been countermanded ; but now the slaughter of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Murray, should be avenged on Huntly ; to whom he sent a message that, within three days, he meant to sleep at Strathbogie. To this taunting challenge Huntly replied, that Argyll should be welcome : he would himself be his porter, and open all the gates of his palace to his young friend ; but he must not take it amiss if he rubbed his cloak against Argyll's plaid ere they parted.¹

On advancing to Aberdeen, Argyll ordered Red Lion, the herald, to proclaim the royal commission by sound of trumpet in the market-place, and appointed Sir Lauchlan Maclean of Duart to the chief command under himself. He was joined by the Macintoshes, the Grants, the Clan Gregor, the Macgillivrays, with all their friends and dependants, and by the whole surname of the Campbells ; with many others, whom either greediness of prey or malice against the Gordons had thrust into that expedition. These, including the rabble of camp-followers, or, as Bowes terms them, "*rascals and poke-bearers*," formed a body of ten thousand strong. But of this number only six thousand were fighting

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 28th Sept., 1594. *Historie of James the Sext*, p. 339.

men; and out of these there were not above fifteen hundred disciplined hagbutteers, chiefly serving under Maclean; the rest being promiscuously armed with dirks, swords, dags, Lochaber axes, two-handed swords, and bows and arrows. He had neither cavalry nor artillery; and a large part of his force was totally regardless of discipline, disdainng command, composed of chieftains and people distracted by old feuds and suspicions, marching, as described by an eye-witness, "at raggle and in plumps, without order."

With this army Argyll proceeded into Badenoch, and besieged the castle of Ruthven, belonging to Huntly; but the place was bravely defended by the Macphersons. He had no means of battering the walls; and abandoning the siege, he led his troops through the hills to Strathbogie. It was his purpose to ravage this country, which belonged to Huntly, with fire and sword; and thence come down into the Lowlands to form a junction with Lord Forbes, who, with his own kin and the Frasers, Dunbars, Ogilvies, Leslies, and others, were at that moment on their way to meet him. With this object, he arrived on the 2d of October at Drimmin in Strathdown, where he encamped;¹ and soon after received news that Huntly and Errol were in the neighbourhood, and purposed to attack him, in spite of their great inferiority in force. The disparity was indeed great; for the Catholic earls could not muster above fifteen hundred, or, at most, two thousand men. But of these the greater part were resolute and gallant

¹ Warrender MSS., B., p. 9.

gentlemen, all well mounted and fully armed; and amongst them some officers of veteran experience, who had served in the Low Countries. They had, besides, six pieces of ordnance, which were placed under the charge of Captain Andrew Gray, who afterwards commanded the English and Scottish auxiliaries in Bohemia.¹

On the morning of the 3d of October, Huntly, who had marched from Strathbogie to Auchendown, the castle of Sir Patrick Gordon, having received word by his scouts that Argyll was at no great distance, sent Captain Thomas Ker, a veteran officer, at the head of a small body of cavalry, to view the enemy and report their strength. In executing this, he fell in with Argyll's "spials," and slew them all except one, who brought him to the vicinity of their encampment, which was near Glenlivat, in the mountainous district of Strathavon. On his return, Captain Ker concealed the number of their opponents, affirming that a few resolute men might easily have the advantage; and Huntly, following his advice, instantly marched forward. Errol led the advance, supported by Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, the Lairds of Gight, Bonniton Wood, and Captain Ker and three hundred gentlemen. Huntly commanded the rearward, having on his right the Laird of Clunie-Gordon, on his left Gordon of Abergeldie, and the six pieces of artillery so placed as to be completely masked, or covered by the cavalry, so that they were dragged forward unper-

¹ Warrender MSS., Vol. B., p. 9, d.; in which there is a minute contemporary account of the battle of Glenlivat.

ceived within range of the enemy's position. They then opened their fire; and on the first discharge, which was directed at the yellow standard of Argyll, struck down and slew Macneill, the Laird of Barra's third son, one of their bravest officers, and Campbell of Lochnell, who held the standard. This successful commencement occasioned extraordinary confusion amongst the Highlanders, to many of whom the terrible effects of artillery were even at this late day unknown; and a large body of them, yelling and brandishing their broadswords and axes, made some ineffectual attempts to reach the horsemen; but receiving another fire from the little ordnance-train of Captain Gray, they took to flight, and in an incredibly short time were out of sight and pursuit. Still, however, a large body remained; and Argyll had the advantage not only of the sun, then shining fiercely in the eyes of his opponents, glancing on their steel coats and making the plain appear on fire, but of the ground: for his army were arrayed on the top of a steep hill covered with high heather and stones, whilst the ground at the bottom was soft and mossy, full of holes,—called in that country peat-pots, and dangerous for cavalry. But all this did not deter Huntly's vanguard, under Errol and Auchendown, from advancing resolutely to the attack. Errol, however, dreading the marsh, made an oblique movement by some firmer ground which lay on one side, and hoped thus to turn the flank of the enemy; but Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, urged on by his fiery temper, spurred his horse directly towards the

hill, and getting entangled with his men in the mossy ground, was exposed to a murderous fire from the force under Maclean of Duart. This chieftain was conspicuous from his great stature and strength; he was covered with a shirt of mail, wielded a double-edged Danish battle-axe, and appears to have been a more experienced officer than the rest, as he placed his men, who were mostly hagbutteers, in a small copse-wood hard by, from which they could deliver their fire, and be screened from the attack of cavalry. Auchendown, nevertheless, although his ranks were dreadfully thinned by this fire of the enemy's infantry, managed to disengage them, and spurring up the hill, received a bullet in the body, and fell from his horse; whilst his companions shouted with grief and rage, and made desperate efforts to rescue him. The Highlanders, however, who knew him well, rushed in upon him, despatched him with their dirks, and cutting off his head displayed it in savage triumph,—a sight which so enraged the Gordons, that they fought with a fury which alike disregarded discipline and life. This gave an advantage to Maclean, who, enclosing the enemy's vanguard, and pressing it into narrow space between his own force and Argyll's, would have cut them to pieces had not Huntly come speedily to their support and renewed the battle; attacking both Argyll and Maclean with desperate energy, and calling loudly to his friends to revenge Auchendown. It was at this moment that some of the Gordons caught a sight of Fraser, the King's herald, who rode

beside Argyll, and was dressed in his tabard, with the Red Lion embroidered on it, within the double tressure. This ought to have been his protection; but it seemed rather to point him out as a victim: and the horsemen shouting out, "Have at the Lion," ran him through with their spears, and slew him on the spot. The battle was now at its height, and raged for two hours with the utmost cruelty. Errol was severely wounded with a bullet in the arm, and by one of the sharp-barbed arrows of the Highland bowmen which pierced deep into the thigh. He lost his pennon, or guidon, also; which was won by Maclean. Gordon of Gight was struck with three bullets through the body, and had two plaits of his steel coat carried into him; wounds which next day proved mortal. Huntly himself was in imminent danger of his life; for his horse was shot under him, and the Highlanders were about to attack him on the ground with their knives and axes, when he was extricated and horsed again by Innermarkie; after which he again charged the enemy under Argyll, whose troops wavered, and at last began to fly in such numbers that only twenty men were left round him. Upon this the young chief, overcome with grief and vexation at so disgraceful a desertion, shed tears of rage, and would have still renewed the fight, had not Murray of Tullibardin seized his bridle and forced him off the field. Seeing the day lost, Maclean, who had done most, and suffered least in this cruel fight, withdrew his men from the wood, and retired in good order; but seven hundred Highlanders were slain in the

chase, which was continued till the steepness of the mountains rendered further pursuit impossible. Such was the celebrated battle of Glenlivet. The loss on Huntly's side was mostly of gentlemen, of whom Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, his uncle, "a wise, valiant, and resolute knight," was chiefly lamented. Besides him, twenty other gentlemen were slain, and some forty or fifty wounded; but the victory was complete, and recalled to memory the bloody fight of Harlaw, in 1411, between the Earl of Mar and Donald Balloch; in which, under somewhat similar circumstances, the superior armour and discipline of the Lowland knights proved too strong for the ferocious but irregular efforts of a much larger force of Highlanders.¹

During these transactions, the King, unconscious of this reverse, had left his palace at Stirling, and advanced with his army to Dundee, where Argyll, in person, brought him the news of his own defeat. James, however, was more enraged than dismayed by this intelligence. He had left his capital so well defended² that he dreaded nothing from Bothwell. He knew that, from the exhausted state of the country, it would be impossible for Huntly to keep his forces together; and he swore that the death of a royal herald, who had been murdered with the King's coat on, should be avenged on these audacious rebels. Nor did he fail

¹ The above account of the battle of Glenlivet is taken chiefly from the original letters of Bowes, who was on the spot.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 3d October. Ibid., 8th October. Ibid., 12th October, 1594.

to keep his promise. In spite of the severity of the season, he advanced with his army to Aberdeen, attended by Andrew Melvil and a body of the ministers of the Kirk, who, with the feeling that this was a crusade against the infidels, had joined the camp, and loudly applauded the meditated vengeance of the monarch.¹ He thence pushed on to Strathbogie. This noble residence of Huntly,² which had been fourteen years in building, was blown up with gunpowder, and levelled in two days; nothing being left but the great old tower, whose massive masonry defied the efforts of the pioneers; whilst its master, deserted by his barons and dependants, fled into the mountainous parts of Caithness.³ James had been much incensed against him by the scornful contents of an intercepted letter written to Angus, in which Huntly spoke of the King's rumoured campaign as likely to turn out a "*gowk's storm*."⁴ Slanes in Buchan, the principal castle of Errol, who still lay languishing from his wounds; Culsamond in Garioch, the house of the laird of Newton-Gordon; Bagays and Craig in Angus, the castles of Sir Walter Lind-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 23d Oct., 1594.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Carey to Sir R. Cecil, 18th November, 1594. "The castle and palace of Strathbogy clean cast down and brent." Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Occurrents, 29th October, 1594.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 29th Oct., 1594. *Ibid.*, same to same, 29th Oct., 1594. MS. St. P. Off., Occurrents, 28th and 29th October.

⁴ "Gowk" is the Scottish word for the "Cuckoo." An April storm.

say and Sir John Ogilvy, successively shared the fate of Strathbogie. Indeed, there is little doubt that the royal severity, whetted by the exhortations of Andrew Melvil, who bore a pike and joined the soldiers in the destruction of Strathbogie, would have fallen still heavier on this devoted district, had not famine, and the remonstrances of Thirlstane and Glamis, compelled the King to fall back upon Aberdeen.¹ Here, after the execution of some of Huntly's men, he published a general pardon to all the Commons who had been in the field at the battle of Glenlivet, upon their payment of the fines imposed by the Council.² He then appointed the Duke of Lennox to be his lieutenant or representative in the North, assisted by a council of barons and ministers. Amongst the civilians were the Earl Marshal, Lord Forbes, Sir Robert Melvil, and Sir John Carmichael, with the Lairds of Dunipace, Findlater, and Balquhan; whilst of the ministry, were Mr David Lindsay, Mr James Nicolson, Mr Peter Blackburn, Mr Alexander Douglas, and Mr Duncan Davison. A charge was next given to the barons and gentlemen who resided north of the river Dee, to apprehend all the rebels within their boundaries; and although in the greatest possible distress for money to pay his troops, the King, who trusted to the solemn promises of Elizabeth, made an effort to keep them together; and left behind him a body of two hundred horse, and one hundred

¹ MS. St. P. Off., 3d November, 1594, Occurrents certified from Aberdeen.

² MS. St. P. Off., Occurrents, 3d November, 1594.

foot, under the command of Sir John Carmichael. These were ordered to assist the Duke of Lennox, whose residence was to be in Aberdeen, Elgin, or Inverness, until Argyll, who had been appointed by James to the permanent government of the North, should assemble his friends and relieve him of his charge. Meanwhile, the Duke was empowered to hold Justice Ayres, or courts for the punishment of offenders; and the barons and gentlemen of the North bound themselves, before the King's departure, in strict promises of support.¹ Having completed these judicious arrangements, the monarch disbanded his forces, and returned to Stirling on the 14th November.²

¹ MS. Books of the Privy Council of Scotland, 7th Nov., 1594. MS. St. P. Off., Occurrents sent from Aberdeen, 8th Nov., 1594.

² MS. St. P. Off., Abstract of letters from Edinburgh, 16th November, 1594.