

THE BORDER PAPERS

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CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO THE AFFAIRS OF THE

BORDERS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

PRESERVED IN

HER MAJESTY'S PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE LONDON

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## INTRODUCTION

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The papers contained in this second volume embrace the period from 1st January 1594-5 till 23rd February 1602-3, thus ending a few weeks before the death of Elizabeth on the 24th of the following month.

Since the work was first begun, the dispersed papers alluded to in the Introduction to Vol. I. have been collected by direction of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, and restored to the series, which now consists of 41 MS. volumes of nearly equal size, instead of the old number of 74. According to this new arrangement, Vol. I. of this Calendar contains the MS. volumes Nos. 20 to 30, and Vol. II. the remaining MS. volumes Nos. 31 to 41. As all the papers calendared are in strict chronological order, a reference to the running number in either volume is sufficient to identify the corresponding original when required for collation.

As in our first volume, while there are many allusions to foreign affairs and personages of historical note, the chief interest relates to the domestic affairs of the two countries. Though Philip of Spain still prosecuted his designs against England chiefly on the side of Ireland, where Tyrone by his aid obtained some successes, he had now no soldier-diplomatist like Parma to conduct his schemes; and on his own death in September 1598, a disappointed man, the Spanish power ere long ceased seriously to menace England. Yet the intrigues of the Scottish Catholic nobles, Huntly, Errol, and others at the Spanish Court, and the frequent reports of expeditions to be headed by the banished Bothwell, to descend at one time in Scotland, at another in Ireland, were sufficient to exercise all the vigilance

of Elizabeth's ministers till the close of her reign. The Spaniards gained a slight footing in Ireland, and Tyrone only made his final submission a few days before her death. It is not an improbable conjecture that the intermittent fashion in which the King of Scots dealt with the Catholic party among his subjects, now repressing, and at another time overlooking, their actions, was designed both to curb the unruly spirits of the Reformed Kirk (or the "Religion," to give its international name), and to show the Queen of England the urgent need of establishing him definitely as her successor and firm ally, a matter in which Elizabeth positively refused to commit herself till her last hour was at hand.

Another source of anxiety both to the English commanders in Ireland and to the Scottish Crown, existed in the turbulent and warlike races of the Western Highlands and the Hebrides. When these clans, the MacDonalds, MacLeans, and others, were not at deadly feud, or separately fighting with the Scoto-Irish MacConnells of Islay and the Glinns, they were ever ready to be "hounded out," in the language of the time, for a descent on Ulster, either in behalf of Tyrone or for their own hand. Such expeditions are more than once referred to in these papers, the latest being a proposal by Gordon of Gicht, on behalf of Huntly, that Donald Gorm, head of the northern MacDonalds, his "household man," should lead a strong body of Highlanders into Ireland to "trouble" Tyrone,<sup>1</sup>—a curious offer, if genuine, from the leading Catholic nobleman of Scotland to the Protestant Queen.

With these few preliminary remarks, we proceed to consider the wide field of domestic affairs contained in the present volume.

Changes soon took place in the officers of the Marches. Hunsdon died in London while warden of the East March,<sup>2</sup> and his son, Sir Robert Carey, then his deputy, was continued by Elizabeth as *locum tenens*, without the full authority of warden,

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<sup>1</sup> P. 775.

<sup>2</sup> 22nd or 23rd July 1596.

his elder brother John holding the government of Berwick on the like footing. These arrangements gave great dissatisfaction to both brothers, who made many complaints to the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecil. The pertinacity of Sir Robert Carey in demanding a patent of office, at last drew on him the sharp rebuke by the Queen,<sup>1</sup> peremptorily ordering him to cease writing and obey orders without further question, for she would act as and when she pleased, knowing best what was fit for him. The language is evidently her own. Both brothers were superseded by Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, who took office in April 1598, and held his troublesome post till his death.<sup>2</sup> Thereon the ambition of John (now Sir John) Carey was so far gratified by his receiving the patent of Wardenry, which he held till the Queen's death, though still without the emoluments, of which he repeatedly complained to Cecil.<sup>3</sup>

The Middle March next claims notice. The long wardenry of Sir John Forster ended in his dismissal with disgrace and marks of the Queen's displeasure, in the autumn of 1595,<sup>4</sup> Ralph, third Lord Eure, who does not seem to have been over desirous of the office,<sup>5</sup> being appointed successor. Events justified his fears, for after a troubled official career of rather more than two years, his efficiency crippled by the opposition of a powerful body of the principal gentlemen of his March, most of them allied to Forster, and the decay of able men into which Forster had allowed the country to fall, Eure, being accused of misappropriating the pay of the extra force allowed him by the Queen, besides other charges, which do not seem however to have been substantiated, found it his best course to resign office early in

<sup>1</sup> P. 337.

<sup>2</sup> 25th June 1601.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 788, 798. He was a man, like his brother Sir Robert, who kept a single eye on his own interest, which the Queen does not appear to have forwarded by reason of relationship. Seeing her end approaching, and having little more to expect from her, it is far from improbable that he was the anonymous Englishman who had, like others, made overtures to James VIth, and received from the King the letter of thanks (No. 1548).

<sup>4</sup> Forster, if ninety-four in September 1595, as mentioned by Sir R. Carey, must have been one hundred years old at his death, on 12th January 1601-2.

<sup>5</sup> P. 54.

1598. Sir Robert Carey was now transferred to the Middle March on the arrival of Willoughby at Berwick, and remained as warden till the close of the reign. Though constantly seeking leave of absence to prosecute his affairs about Court, and complaining of his banishment to the cold and sunless north, Carey proved himself an efficient officer, and performed much good service. Some of the exploits which he relates in his *Memoirs* will be found among the papers here.<sup>1</sup>

The West March continued under Lord Scrope's government till the end of the reign. His disagreement with the Grames of Esk and Leven noticed in Vol. I. was greatly aggravated by their alleged complicity in Buccleuch's daring enterprise against Carlisle Castle, which forms the subject of long inquiry in this volume,—and the hostility of the family of Carleton closely allied with them, supported more or less covertly by the Lowthers, who were related by marriage to the latter, and were constantly opposed to Scrope, though Richard Lowther their head was styled cousin by him. Their opposition to Scrope arose most probably from Richard Lowther having been warden for a short period on the death of Henry Lord Scrope, whom he expected to succeed. But the policy of Elizabeth was not to appoint local magnates as wardens, but men from a distance, with one notable exception, that of Forster, which appears not to have been a successful one.

The Scottish West March, as before, was so often committed to different men, that the English warden complained of the difficulties in redress thus caused. In 1595 we find Herries warden, succeeded, in August 1596, by Johnston, who in turn gave place to Andrew Lord Ochiltree in December 1597, and six months afterwards was degraded with the usual grotesque ceremonies, at the cross of Edinburgh, and banished, yet oddly with James's request for his good usage.<sup>2</sup> Angus then became lieutenant of the West Marches in December 1598, retaining office till the close of 1599, when Sir John Carmichael was

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 188-90, 763-4.

<sup>2</sup> P. 377.

appointed warden, who acted but for six months, being slain by the Armstrongs near Langholm on 16th June 1600.<sup>1</sup> Herries then took temporary charge, till on 27th August of that year the banished Johnston reappears as warden with commission from the King and Council, and so remained till these papers end.

A new officer now appears for the first time formally among the wardens—the keeper of Liddesdale, in the person of Buccleuch, who on the downfall of his stepfather Bothwell, had managed to secure this extensive part of the Hepburn possessions with the Castle of Hermitage. Though his recognition as a frontier officer was objected to by the English warden opposite, who argued that the keepers of Tynedale and Redesdale should be equally entitled to hold March meetings, his right, being supported by James as a hereditary one, was eventually allowed, and the keeper of Liddesdale met on equal terms with the opposite wardens of the West and Middle Marches.

Though his father William was nominally warden of the Middle March, and survived till 1600, Sir Robert Kerr younger of Cessford, was in effect the chief officer. He, like his brother-in-law Buccleuch, shared in the forfeited possessions of the banished Bothwell. Besides Liddesdale, originally included in this March, the Lairds of Buccleuch, Ferniehirst, and Hunthill were exempted from his jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup>

The East March as before remained under the wardenship of Lord Hume, and deputies of his own name.

The Scottish wardens were appointed on a different principle from those of England. Being local magnates, with a considerable following of their own surnames, it was expected they would preserve order among the “broken men,” or smaller clans without heads, who were especially numerous in the Middle March, Liddesdale, and east borders of the West Marches. The expectation, however, was not always fulfilled, for those banditti were a useful force in the hands of an unscrupulous warden, as

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<sup>1</sup> P. 662.

<sup>2</sup> P. 471.

tools to execute raids or reprisals in which his more regular followers did not appear, and could be disclaimed if expedient.

The chief domestic occurrences during the eight years contained in this volume, were the well-known exploit of Buccleuch at Carlisle for the rescue of Kinmont Will, which ended, after long negotiations and inquiries, in his own delivery at Berwick; the high-handed proceedings of his neighbour warden Cessford within the English March, for which he in turn was compelled to surrender himself to English custody; the dark tragedy of the death and forfeiture of the young Earl of Gowrie; and, lastly, the strange rebellion and violent death of Elizabeth's favourite, Essex.

Taking these in order of date, the affair at Carlisle, when considered in the light of the attendant circumstances revealed by the long inquiry into them, turns out to be rather different from the picturesque detail of the well-known ballad, and though a remarkable feat, was by no means the unaided deed of Buccleuch, whose own letters go to prove the contrary. Internal treachery, which is no unusual feature in similar cases, played some part in the affair, if the various pieces of evidence are impartially considered—and though chiefly from the English point of view, there must be a certain amount of truth in them.

Long before Buccleuch's enterprise, there were many causes of offence between Scrope and him. Both were fiery spirits in the vigour of life, Buccleuch about 30 years of age, Scrope a few years older. While he never held office as warden of the West Marches, so far as the present collections show, though stated in the latest Peerages, Buccleuch's new keepership of Liddesdale, which placed him on equality with the established wardens opposite, may possibly have made him somewhat tenacious of his dignity, as noticed in Scrope's report to Lord Burghley.<sup>1</sup> This paper contained an inclosure (no longer here) relating the reasons for Kinmont's taking and detention, one of them being for his breach of assurance at a March meeting.

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<sup>1</sup> 13th March 1595-6, p. 114.



Another ground was that Kinmont, though a follower of Buccleuch, lived within the jurisdiction of the warden of the West Marches, who was the proper officer to demand his restitution. This appears, from Eure's reply to Burghley's inquiry, to have been the chief ground taken by Scrope.<sup>1</sup> In Scrope's letters to the Council and Burghley, on 14th April and 10th August following,<sup>2</sup> the first relating the event of the night before, he refers to the missing inclosure, adding that Kinmont had given an assurance that he would not break away, thus making it unlikely that, as the ballad says, he was confined in fetters—which would have been a harsh proceeding to a prisoner on parole. This report of Scrope, written on the morning after Kinmont's rescue, contains a list of the principal assailants, and the statement that Buccleuch himself was the fifth man to enter the castle. This, however, was more probably inclosed in the anonymous letter to Scrope ten days later,<sup>3</sup> for such a list could hardly have been procured for him the morning after the assault. Scrope's suspicions at once pointed to the Lowthers and Thomas Carleton, his ex-constable; and the further disclosures of his informant, Richie's Will—a Grame against whom Buccleuch had some grudge—asserted the close complicity in the outrage of several headmen of the Grames, besides the Armstrongs of Langholm and Kinmont's own family. Scrope's urgency against the Grames and their accomplices on both sides of the March, is very apparent in the course of the long inquiry that followed, during which six of the chief Grames were sent up before the Privy Council and remained in London for many months. He felt so strongly in the matter, that he repeatedly demanded leave to resign office, unless they were condignly punished. But the Queen and Burghley, with calmer judgments, sensible of the dangerous result of driving to desperation so large a body of unruly subjects, took a more moderate view than the warden, and the delinquents were sent back to their country to make their submission and promise of future good

<sup>1</sup> P. 139.<sup>2</sup> Pp. 120-1, 171.<sup>3</sup> 24th April, p. 126.

conduct according to a carefully prepared form, which they did after considerable hesitation, at Carlisle, on 21st January 1596-7.<sup>1</sup> The elaborate pedigree of the Grames of Esk in the Appendix, showing their origin and intermarriages on both sides of the Border, was evidently drawn out for Lord Burghley at this time by one who was well acquainted with his subject. The matter thus ended so far as Buccleuch's assistants were concerned. But his letter to some great man in Scotland, with the inclosure, signed by him as admitting its truth,<sup>2</sup> frankly acknowledges the indispensable help of the Grames of Esk and Netherby in his exploit. Though Burghley appears to have doubted their genuineness, the plain assertion of Scrope that he had the originals would seem to settle the question.<sup>3</sup>

The chief offender still remained to be dealt with, and though a Commission of both countries had been appointed in November 1596 to settle a number of matters concerning the Borders, the offences of Buccleuch and Cessford, the two "fire-brands" of the March, as they were styled, were expressly reserved to Elizabeth's own arbitrement. The Commission, after many sittings at Berwick and Carlisle, concluded a treaty at the latter place on 5th May 1597,<sup>4</sup> containing among other provisions, a clause for mutual delivery of pledges on each side for the quiet of the Borders, a certain number of whom were to be provided by Buccleuch and Cessford, failing which, their own persons were to be entered into England. After much correspondence, farther outrages by Cessford and "his crew,"<sup>5</sup> and Buccleuch himself, even during their sittings at Carlisle,<sup>6</sup> which earned for the latter the epithet of *Flagellum Dei*, and procured for him a brief warding at St Andrews,<sup>7</sup> he and Scrope had a formal meeting for March justice at Canobie Holme on 20th August 1597,<sup>8</sup> brought about by the good offices of Sir John Carmichael. This, however, was apart

<sup>1</sup> P. 228.<sup>2</sup> 12th June 1597. pp. 367-8.<sup>3</sup> 5th September, p. 395.<sup>4</sup> P. 316.<sup>5</sup> P. 213.<sup>6</sup> Pp. 249-50, 299.<sup>7</sup> Pp. 318, 371.<sup>8</sup> P. 385.

from the main question of his own and Cessford's delivery. After an abortive meeting near Norham on 30th September between the Commissioners of both countries, for exchange of pledges, where the day was spent in idle discussion,<sup>1</sup> it was adjourned for eight days, when the long-protracted business was partly effected, Buccleuch surrendering himself, in default of his pledges, to Sir William Bowes, and being thereon escorted to Berwick by William Selby, the gentleman porter, in whose custody he remained. Cessford, however, whose turn came next to deliver his pledges or himself, was accused of getting up a tumult, which in the growing darkness nearly produced a serious collision, in the midst of which he and his followers, pledges and all, rode off the field. The accounts of this affair by Eure, John Carey, and Sir William Bowes, are very curious and show the risks incurred at such meetings.<sup>2</sup> One singular point is mentioned, viz., an English pledge being dead, his body was brought to the ground to satisfy the letter of Border law. Buccleuch being thus secured while his neighbour warden had for the time escaped, felt somewhat aggrieved, and hostile letters passed between him and Cessford,<sup>3</sup> which ended in a challenge from the latter carried by the Master of Orkney to Buccleuch.<sup>4</sup> Though the officers of Berwick remonstrated at so important a prisoner being kept there so near his own country, and various inland places were named for his custody, it is certain that he remained in Berwick for the whole time of his captivity, from 6th October 1597 till 21st March following, as his keeper's bill of charges exists to show.<sup>5</sup> The King having interceded for his relief,<sup>6</sup> and Buccleuch himself having written a straightforward letter to Sir William Bowes to be laid before Elizabeth,<sup>7</sup> offering full satisfaction if released on giving his son as a hostage, he was delivered to his own people at the west ford of Norham on 16th February, after executing an indent to re-enter on certain conditions, handing over his son, described as

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 409-12.<sup>2</sup> Pp. 409-18.<sup>3</sup> Pp. 462-3.<sup>4</sup> P. 491.<sup>5</sup> P. 526.<sup>6</sup> P. 437.<sup>7</sup> 20th Jan. 1597-8, p. 501.

“about 10 years old, a proper and toward child,” to the Governor of Berwick, and receiving a lecture from Sir William Bowes as to his future conduct, to which he made a suitable reply.<sup>1</sup> We do not learn how long the boy remained at Berwick, but these papers show that his father, whether profiting by Bowes’ advice or for some other reason, became a changed character and concurred in border justice, with Scrope and Sir Robert Carey, receiving due acknowledgment from both, especially the latter, for his demeanour. There is a tradition in the family that their renowned ancestor was presented to Elizabeth, who was much struck with his bold reply to her on the assault of her castle, with which the Queen had charged him. As we have seen, such interview could not have taken place during his stay at Berwick. But two years after, we find Sir Robert Carey writing to Sir Robert Cecil,<sup>2</sup> telling him that Buccleuch had left him at Alnwick on his way to London, was desirous to kiss the Queen’s hand, and that he well deserved this favour for his late good conduct. On this occasion the interview preserved by family tradition might well have taken place. Buccleuch was then probably on his way to the Low Countries to serve with Count Maurice, and such an object would recommend him to Elizabeth. This foreign journey is doubtless the reason why he appears little more in this volume. With the remark that he wrote a beautiful hand, evidenced by several holograph letters, we may leave this redoubtable borderer, and notice the doings of his brother-in-law Cessford.

He seems, from various unfavourable estimates given by the Careys and Sir William Bowes, to have been a man of much more scheming character than the keeper of Liddesdale, and shaped his course with a steady eye to his own interest. After his evasive proceedings at Norham ford above referred to, he thought it best to offer to come to terms, and next day sent Lord Hume to Berwick with proposals, himself remaining at the Bound road to hear the result. But the Commissioner,

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 516-17.

<sup>2</sup> 27 Nov. 1599, p. 631.

taking advice with Carey and Selby, resolved to hold no more meetings with one who had thrice disappointed his expectation, and to lay the matter before the Queen for her further commands.<sup>1</sup> These caused some further delay, but in the end a formal demand was made for his delivery, and his friend Lord Hume handed him over to Sir Robert Carey the warden, at Berwick on 14th February, two days before Buccleuch's release.<sup>2</sup> With the exception of a long report by Bowes to Cecil, a few days after his delivery, which contains a curious estimate of him, there is little about his stay in England, except a letter from Sir Robert Carey to Burghley regarding his transference to the keeping of the Archbishop of York.<sup>3</sup> That he was sent there is certain, for Strype (*Annals*) quotes two letters from the Archbishop to Burghley at this very time, as to the propriety of the captive warden hearing sermons and attending other public services, which might do him good.<sup>4</sup> He was apparently still at York on 2nd April,<sup>5</sup> but must have been released soon after, for on 3rd June he delivered his pledges to Lord Willoughby near Norham, being himself evidently a free man, as he writes from his house at Kelso.<sup>6</sup> These men, 13 in number, were forthwith sent to York Castle, joined three months later by three others for Buccleuch,<sup>7</sup> where all were kept for several years, in which time some died. The others, being nearly starved, made more than one desperate attempt to escape. On their first attempt they were recaptured, but the second was more successful, for two of Buccleuch's hostages, head men of the Armstrongs and Elliots, got away. The rest seem to have been gradually released in the course of the year 1602, not, however, till some of them had been transferred to Berwick, where several fell sick in Haddock's Hole, which must have been a truly "loathsome" place, as asserted by Sir John Carey and others; for the prison of those days was a very different lodging from the well-regulated houses which now detain even

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 419-20.<sup>2</sup> Pp. 513-14.<sup>3</sup> 27th Feb. 1597-8, p. 518.<sup>4</sup> These letters are doubtless in the Hatfield Collection now being calendared.<sup>5</sup> P. 528.<sup>6</sup> Pp. 534-37.<sup>7</sup> Pp. 541, 562.

the worst criminals. From several incidents mentioned in these papers, Cessford seems to have been a cruel and cold-blooded man.<sup>1</sup> Both before and after his elevation to the peerage as Lord Roxburgh, he made proposals to visit the English Court and kiss hands. But his object being suspected as merely a desire to promote James's interests as successor to the Crown, the Queen's advisers gave him little encouragement, and there is no evidence here that he was ever received by her. After James's accession, his honours and rank were increased, and he lived to a great age, but surviving both his sons, his house was only continued in the female line.

The Gowrie tragedy next claims attention. It was foreshadowed by the manner of the Earl's reception by the King, as related by Sir John Carey to Cecil,<sup>2</sup> where James's taunting inquiry, why the ministers did not meet him, implies that Gowrie was an adherent of the reformed religion. This was soon followed by the startling news from the same quarter, that the Earl and his next brother were both slain by the King and his page, in self-defence; and that there was a hot search made for the two younger Ruthvens, school-boys apparently, who with their tutor escaped in disguise to Berwick, where Sir John Carey allowed them to stay till he knew the Queen's pleasure.<sup>3</sup> On receiving this from Cecil, he dealt with their tutor for their safe disposal further inland, adding, that he had not seen them since they came, so closely had they kept themselves.<sup>4</sup> And shortly after, he reported that they had been sent off as secretly as they arrived, his servant seeing them as far as Durham, their ultimate destination being Cambridge, for study.<sup>5</sup> This was confirmed by his later report to Cecil, where he declared that none in Berwick had seen them but himself, and that but once at midnight.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the truth may be, the reports in the present collection place the worst construction

<sup>1</sup> Nicoll (*Diary*), noticing his death in February 1650, calls him "a bloodie man in his youth."

<sup>2</sup> 29th May 1600, p. 659.

<sup>3</sup> 7-16th Aug., pp. 676-78.

<sup>4</sup> 24th Aug., p. 682.

<sup>5</sup> 4th September, p. 684.

<sup>6</sup> 21st September, p. 688.

on James's accounts of the business, which were said to be contradictory, a belief which was shared by the clergy and common people, who were very outspoken on the subject; so much so, that severe measures were taken with five of the foremost ministers, including the well-known Mr Robert Bruce.<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Carey, writing to Cecil, gives a curious account of the Queen of Scots' favour to the Earl, her letter and bracelet being found on his person.<sup>2</sup> The inference suggested was that jealousy had something to do with his death. And if the story, told to Lord Willoughby by a Danish messenger to the Queen of Scots, was true, her brother the King of Denmark gave little credit to the account of Gowrie's death, which James had taken the trouble to draw up for him.<sup>3</sup> The relentless severity shown by James to the innocent members of the house, proscribing the very surname of Ruthven, seems to indicate some deeper cause than an ordinary conspiracy. It is difficult indeed to suppose young men such as Gowrie and his brother the sole devisers of a sudden conspiracy without apparent object. The Earl himself had been abroad for his education nearly six years, was a man of great promise, and but twenty-three years of age at his death. Logan of Restalrig, whose name is joined in history with the Gowries, and like them had the doom of treason pronounced over his bones, is only noticed in these papers in regard to other matters of little moment.<sup>4</sup>

The last domestic event of importance in the reign, the rebellion and fall of the Queen's brilliant favourite Essex, is noticed in several of our papers. Before it occurred, allusions are made to him on various occasions—his high offices, expedition to Ireland, disgrace in consequence, and prospect of restoration to favour. The news of his outbreak, dispatched by Cecil to Willoughby on the 9th of February 1600-1, were brought to Berwick by an Edinburgh merchant on the 13th, Cecil's letter only arriving there on the 14th.<sup>5</sup> Willoughby, though

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 678, 772.

<sup>2</sup> 21st October, p. 698.

<sup>3</sup> 18th November, p. 712.

<sup>4</sup> The editor has dealt with the Gowrie tragedy solely as it is presented here.

<sup>5</sup> P. 731.

no friend of Essex, who had thwarted him on several occasions, yet wrote to Cecil with a generous estimate of his great qualities, while bewailing his fall and the charges he had made against the Secretary.<sup>1</sup> It has been said that Elizabeth made little outward demonstration on her favourite's violent end, though it is generally supposed to have hastened her own. One reference to it occurs in her letter to Willoughby,<sup>2</sup> where she speaks (without naming Essex) of the example of one more bound than all [to her], and of the little faith found in Israel—thus rather a complaint of his ingratitude than regret at his loss.

So much then for the principal domestic incidents of the period. But there are a number of other matters closely connected with the Borders, to but a few of which the editor can do more than allude.

The town of Berwick, as the chief advanced post of England towards Scotland, is often noticed. Its state of disrepair was chronic, and constant demands were made on the Lord Treasurer for the means of correcting it. The pay of the garrison was, on the whole, made with a tolerable approach to regularity, but the victualling was a constant ground of complaint; and if any credit is to be given to the many letters from Sir John Carey and others, the town and garrison were often not far from the point of starvation—and always scantily provisioned for a place open to an enterprising enemy on the sea. Particular references are unnecessary, for these defects pervade the contents of this volume, and Berwick, until Willoughby was appointed lord governor, appears to have been managed in a haphazard fashion. When that distinguished nobleman took office, though in broken health, he made an attempt to rectify disorder, and place the town and garrison on a more efficient footing. His experience while serving in the Low Countries, had impressed him with a high opinion of the martial discipline observed by the Spanish commanders, but his efforts in this

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<sup>1</sup> 12th March, p. 735.

<sup>2</sup> 21st March, p. 737.



direction proved ineffectual to reform the *vis inertiae* of long-seated custom, and he died, not far beyond the prime of life, on 25th June 1601, his plans unfinished, at variance with most of his subordinate officers, too much satisfied with maintaining the old order to agree with his views. He effected something however, in causing a regular muster-roll to be made of the force under his command,<sup>1</sup> and soon after, having prepared a curious bird's-eye plan of the fortifications, gates, bridge over Tweed, &c., and improvements proposed, he sent copies to the Privy Council and Sir Robert Cecil,<sup>2</sup> though no result appears to have followed his appeal. This plan shows the six mounts and the four gates of Berwick, with an outline of the walls, ditches, &c., but nothing of the Castle, or the interior of the town, and makes evident the weakness of the sea-front. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the outline of the long bridge over Tweed, with its central tower and gateway. The tower may have been of stone, but the bridge was certainly of timber, and a frail structure to resist the winter floods of Tweed, for it seems to have been merely supported on upright timber props, with no bulwarks to break the force of the stream. The tower, probably of stone and founded solidly, no doubt helped to hold the structure together, but it seems wonderful that the whole affair was not swept into the sea. This bridge has interested the editor since he first studied the Scottish records. A bridge of some sort existed in the last years of Henry III., also in 1291, and probably for most part of the reign of Edward I., but during the whole of the 14th century, a ferry boat was the only means of crossing Tweed. Before 1306, the bridge must have disappeared, as the right of ferry was in dispute between one Hayward, grantee from Edward I., and Antony Bek bishop of Durham, against whom Hayward successfully claimed before Edward II. in 1311; and his heir, one Bernard, succeeded in keeping it under Edward III., till Richard bishop of Durham again disturbed his possession, whereon he

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<sup>1</sup> 10th June 1508, p. 540.

<sup>2</sup> 10th September, pp. 560-1.

petitioned the King, who on 20th April 1345, sustained his grandfather's grant, ordaining that Bernard should hold the ferry till a sufficient horse and foot bridge was built.<sup>1</sup> A new ferry boat is mentioned, in 1362, and the last notice is a grant by Richard II. on 30th August 1395, of the ferry of Berwick-on-Tweed to one John Sparowe, for life.<sup>2</sup> These records are silent from this date till 1509, and the earliest subsequent notice observed by the editor, is the breakdown of the bridge, by Norfolk's army invading Scotland, when many men were drowned and hurt.<sup>3</sup> There appears to be no information in the latest history of Berwick on the date when that bridge was constructed, or when it was replaced by one of stone, though it might have been expected there would be something in the town records on these points.

The parish church seems to have been a rickety structure, and inadequate to the population. It replaced one, said to be "as fair as any in England," taken down by Henry VIII. for the fortifications, and was probably a makeshift building. In 1584, the Mayor represented it to be very small, cracked, rent, and not able to hold the sixth of the people, whereby, during divine service, the alehouses were too much frequented, and petitioned the Queen for money to build a new one.<sup>4</sup> But though recommended by Hunsdon, nothing was done, and in January 1598, we find his son Sir John Carey reviving the question, and telling the Privy Council that the church was so old and weak, and surcharged with out-buildings of timber to eke out the accommodation, that on any little blast of wind, both preacher and congregation ran out of the place "even at sermon time," to save themselves from its expected fall.<sup>5</sup> In spite of this renewed appeal nothing was done; and two years later, under Willoughby's government, when he proposed to apply the goods of Harding the customer, who had

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<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Documents* (Scotland), Vol. III., Nos. 1422, 1443.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Vol. IV., Nos. 68, 467.

<sup>3</sup> 22nd October 1542, *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. I. p. 279.

<sup>4</sup> *Border Papers*, Vol. I. p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> P. 505.

died intestate without heirs, towards building a new church, the proposition was violently opposed by Sir John Carey, who had laid hands on the money (nearly 1900*l.*) ostensibly in his official capacity on the Queen's behalf, but evidently in the hope that he would get a gift from the Crown of the balance (which he represented to be small) after paying the debts of the deceased.<sup>1</sup> The contest was violent, and the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, no friend to Willoughby, intervened, siding with Carey.<sup>2</sup> How it ended is not clear; but if Willoughby's account is credited, Carey used rather sharp practice, bringing forward his wife and a stranger as pretended next of kin, scoffing at Willoughby's plan to build a church as a mere wish to thwart him, and evidently meaning to apply the money for himself, telling Cecil, in his first application, it would buy his daughter Anne two or three gowns, as she was in the Queen's service, and "very chargeable" to him.<sup>3</sup>

The casual notice of the Berwick bell, evidently a racing trophy in Willoughby's hands, is interesting.<sup>4</sup>

Passing westwards along the Border, we find the castles of Norham and Harbottle were in almost total ruin; the former, in much the same condition as now, and the necessary rebuilding estimated at nearly 1800*l.*, though the reporters reduced the cost of the most needful repairs to less than one half.<sup>5</sup> This was by no means agreeable to the Queen, who on Sir Robert Carey pressing for a decision,<sup>6</sup> told him roundly that she would give nothing, and that his father should build up the house, seeing the great commodity he had of it.<sup>7</sup> To this Carey demurred, and, his father dying within a fortnight, nothing more came of it. Nor was anything done for Harbottle. The house at Hexham, which Forster occasionally occupied while warden, though he most commonly lived at Alnwick Abbey, was partly blown up during Eure's wardenry.<sup>8</sup> The Editor is not aware whether or not it was the picturesque building that still stands

<sup>1</sup> May 1600, pp. 656-9.

<sup>2</sup> July—August, pp. 668-70, 674-5.

<sup>3</sup> P. 657.

<sup>4</sup> 22nd April 1600, p. 645.

<sup>5</sup> December 1595, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> 29th March 1596, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> 9th July, p. 154.

<sup>8</sup> 15th March 1596-7, p. 285.

near the market-place, called the Moot Hall. If so, the square massive tower a little to the east may have been the gaol of which Eure so often complained. Both are conspicuous objects in this old border town.

Carlisle Castle, as formerly, does not appear to have cost the Crown anything for repair. The lesser fortresses, Rockcliffe, Bewcastle, and others on that march, were probably seen to by their keepers.

Another minor occurrence may be noticed—a second hunting on Cheviot, though unlike the more celebrated affray between Douglas and Percy, it has found no minstrel to chronicle it. Some Teviotdale gentlemen, Rutherfords, Kers, and Douglasses, not exceeding 60 in all, unarmed as they asserted, though the English warden said there were 200 armed, having hunted for two days from the head of Kale water along the March, were attacked by a superior body of 400 men, under Fenwick of Wallington and Henry Woodrington, two of Sir Robert Carey's deputies, and chased four miles into Scotland with some loss in killed and prisoners.<sup>1</sup> The business caused much bad feeling, Cessford himself held a formal inquiry at Jedburgh,<sup>2</sup> and the result was the imprisonment of the two English leaders for a considerable period.

The aversion of Elizabeth, especially in her latter years, to any of her subjects holding unauthorised intercourse with the King of Scots, or in any way treating him as her possible successor, is shown on many occasions; and her wardens, in addition to their constant search for seminary priests and other emissaries of Rome, repression of recusants and the like, were strictly charged to prevent any of their subordinates trafficking on their own account with James. Besides other instances on the East March, there were several among Scrope's officers, the most remarkable being that of Henry Leigh, at one time much trusted as his deputy-warden, who went off very secretly to Scotland,<sup>3</sup> and in the course of a few months found himself a

<sup>1</sup> August 1598, pp. 551, 552, 556-7.

<sup>2</sup> 9th September, p. 559.

<sup>3</sup> 17th September 1599, p. 624.

prisoner in the Gatehouse.<sup>1</sup> From this prison he addressed a long exculpation to Cecil, who had ordered him to relate all that had passed between himself and the King, and also the attainted Francis Lord Dacre, then in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> The account of his travels—his several interviews with James—description of his Court and Cabinet—and of what the King called his “crack” with him<sup>3</sup> on many subjects, is very curious; also with the banished Dacre and his son, then nearly of age, and the latter’s desire to return to England, not to marry a Scottish wife, as his father wished him to do.<sup>4</sup>

That assassination was recognised, so late as the close of the sixteenth century, as a fit mode whereby an English sovereign might rid herself of a powerful enemy, who could not be reached by other means, is apparent from the offer by Lancelot Carleton through Lord Thomas Howard, to deliver the person or head of the rebel Tyrone to Elizabeth.<sup>5</sup> He had made the same offer before, by means of the chief of the MacLeans, whom he calls “Sir James,” but MacLean’s death had stopped the plan.<sup>6</sup>

Carleton now renewed it on occasion of the deadly offence taken by Angus MacConnel of Kintyre and his son Sir James, who considered themselves defrauded by Tyrone’s giving Dunluce Castle to their near relation, Sir James MacConnel of Cullylungart, son of Sorle Boy, and here called “Macksurle Buye.” Carleton hoped to effect the business by Angus’s son Sir James, if he would take it in hand, adding that O’Donnell,<sup>7</sup> his cousin-german, then in Spain presumably on Tyrone’s behalf, might be induced to help. He desired Lord Thomas to lay the plan

<sup>1</sup> 12th April 1600, pp. 643-4.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 648-54.

<sup>3</sup> A well-known Scottish phrase for a confidential talk.

<sup>4</sup> This son and his sisters are omitted in *The Complete Peerage* of “G.E.C.”

<sup>5</sup> 17th July 1602, p. 792.

<sup>6</sup> This most probably was Sir Lachlan MacLean; chief of his clan, who was killed in a fight in Islay on 5th August 1598, showing the date of the first scheme to have been earlier.

<sup>7</sup> Probably Hugh Roe O’Donnell, prince of Tyrconnel, whose mother was one of the MacConnells or MacDonalds of the Isles.

before Mr Secretary, and consult the Queen as a matter of state, also putting it before Scrope, though they were no great friends, who wrote to Cecil for his view on its fitness.<sup>1</sup> The scheme was evidently thought quite proper to be submitted to the Queen, giving a curious insight into the statecraft of that day.

The exigencies of space forbid more than a mere allusion to the disputes between the King and the Kirk on Church government; though one incident is worthy of special notice—their quarrel about English play-actors,<sup>2</sup> the Kirk's anathema against their performing, and the King's contrary command. This feeling towards the stage continued strong till a recent time, and is still by no means unknown in Scotland.

From the diversified contents of these papers, which must be, in the main, studied in the Index, it may be seen that the office of a Warden of the Borders, while one of great power and dignity, was no bed of roses, exposed as the officer was to enemies outside, and un-friends within his charge. With the death of Elizabeth the powers of her wardens ceased, and no such officers were appointed by her successor, in the changed relations of the two countries. But the predatory habits of the March-men were not so easily got rid of, and were long a standing menace to law and order in these wild districts. On 25th February 1605, the King appointed a commission to take order on both sides of the Marches, which dealt sharp justice to many of the freebooters whose names have figured in these papers; many suffering the last penalty of law, while many were deported. Full and interesting information on their procedure is contained in the report on Lord Muncaster's MSS.<sup>3</sup> prepared by the present Deputy-Keeper of the Records.

With these *Border Papers* ends the period of 300 years, during which the two kingdoms maintained a state of open or covert hostility to each other. Though another century was to

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<sup>1</sup> 26th November, p. 811.

<sup>2</sup> November 1599, p. 631.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 10th Report, part iv. pp. 229-73.

pass before their full union, and their forces were to meet in battle on more than one famous field, the union of the crowns did not fail, though by slow degrees, to pave the way for that of the nations. In spite of jealousies at the King's leanings to his own countrymen,<sup>1</sup> peaceful intercourse, though often interrupted, in time produced its natural effects in preparing both nations for that close community of interests, the full value of which is apparent at the present day.

Since the Editor was appointed by the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury to conduct these researches in the English Archives, he has received the greatest facilities from the successive Deputy-Keepers and their assistant officers, which he now begs specially to acknowledge.

It is almost unnecessary to add that his own official Directors, Sir Stair Agnew, K.C.B., the Head of the General Register House, and Thomas Dickson, LL.D., the Curator of the Historical Department there, have taken great interest in the progress of his work. To the latter gentleman, on his late retirement from the office which he has so long and ably filled, the Editor's warmest thanks are due for the sagacious advice on many occasions, which Mr Dickson's scholarship, sound judgment, and wide knowledge of Scottish history enabled him to place unreservedly at the service, not only of his friends, among whom the Editor is happy to number himself, but of all who seriously consulted the records in his charge.

J. B.

LONDON, *December* 1895.

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<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest examples being the appointment for life, as Master of the Rolls, of Edward lord Bruce of Kinloss, the first Scotsman who held that office, whose splendid monument still adorns the Rolls Chapel. Notices of this statesman occur on pp. 537, 730, 734, of this volume.





# CALENDAR OF BORDER PAPERS.

[1594-95.

Jan. 1.] 1. THE MAYOR, &c., OF BERWICK TO LORD BURGHEY.

"In all humblenes shewithe unto your honourable lordship, the Mayor burgesses and cominaltye of Berwicke," who have been long suitors to her Majesty to relieve the decay and poverty "we" are fallen into, by want of the traffic of merchandise between England and Scotland, which by statute ought to be exercised here for benefit of the town: also the want of the pastures granted to us by King Henry the Eighth, withholden by the victnaller, "in value *per annum* 100 poundes: likewise the decay of the whole fishinges in Tweade, the salmon yearelye taken dothe but defraye the chardges"—thus her highness's rent of 140*l. per annum* is lost. We have not the less sustained further loss of 60*l.* yearly, serving her Majesty's household with salmon at "under prices." Further we have for these seven years made great payments to M<sup>r</sup> Hethe and his executors for these fishings, and we owe great debt to the fishmongers, "which grewe upon us" by our long suits to her Majesty as aforesaid. "More ver (which is moste lamentable) the verye harte of this comonwealth, which was our cheif staye and upholde, ya eaten out by the guarrisons, who beinge for the moste parte maryed and so greate families, will not be contente with there wages, which is many thousandes yearelye out of her Majestes treasure, but doe occupye all mannary scyences, and take the benefitt and use of our preveledges and pastures, we beinge a great number livinge without paye. Also this towne standinge in the outplace of the lande, invironed with a barren and verye poore soile, dothe not yealde anye renews towardes our comon chardge as other townes in England, but everye poore man dothe open his purse to contribute thereunto." All which matters need honourable consideration, albeit we have hitherto endured, finding some relief in our own "travell in the ferme of the custome," which we enjoy by your honour's favour, albeit greatly wronged by untrue informations. Humbly beseeching your lordship not only to uphold us in the said "ferme," being poor people inhabiting a place of so great importance, and charged and wronged as aforesaid, but also your help in some other things which may be found very serviceable to her Majesty and beneficial to "posteritye to come." Signed: Thomas Parkinson maieur; Will<sup>m</sup> Morton, Edwarde Mery, Thomas More, Jhon Denton, Crastofer Morton, Hughe Fuell, \* Robert Jaxson, \* George Mortoun, John Orde, John Rogers, Tho. Hogg, \* Henry Rugg. Charles Hasloppe, Andrewe Skeall, \* Thomas Read, John Shotton, "balives." Rob<sup>t</sup>. Case, John Saterfrett, \* Henerey Scaresbreck, Barty (?) Bradfurth, George Thompson, \* Robert Morton, John Hixe, Harry Mansell, W<sup>m</sup>. Tappy, Will<sup>m</sup>. Gibson.

1 p. *Broul sheet.* Headed: To the L. Burghley, L. high treasurer. Indorsed.

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Jan. 1. 2. JOHN HARDING TO BURGHEY.

I received enclosed in a letter from the surveyors, one from your honour to the Mayor here, discharging him of the farming of the customs.

\* Signs by mark.

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with a copy to myself for my direction—but albeit I delivered your letter to his own hands, he will take no discharge, but denieth before the Governor that your honour hath sent him any, and will not permit me to execute your pleasure, unless I allow him to receive the farm as before, which I dare not do.

There are ships here ready, and hides and sheepskins to be shipped, also goods by land, which must therefore stay till your pleasure is known.

The Mayor continues to intermeddle with "custome cawses," and will not permit me to receive her Majesty's due, unless your honour directs "M<sup>r</sup> Governor" to assist me.

As the Mayor alledges that the book which I sent up for the half year ended at Michaelmas last is not true, but made "by gesse," I beseech your honour to appoint some fit persons here to cast up the same, now in a chest locked up in the office, that the truth may appear.

The Mayor's private gain cannot abide that the Queen's right be known, but seeks "to smother" the same by sending up a book for his own purposes with his assistants, whereof I humbly crave trial.

I thought it my duty to send your lordship this quarter's account, as the Queen is to receive the same, and that you may see "I doe not passe hir Majesties inheritance by gesse," as the Mayor says. I am bound to reveal the truth, and therefore incur their displeasure who should assist me. But I have no fellow officer, for the comptroller is absent, and the searcher is rather for the Mayor than the Queen. Berwick. *Signed*: Jo. Hardinge.

Christmas quarter	}	Custom, 356 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i> ,	}	Berwick—sum
ending 24 Dec.		Allowance 242 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i> ,		total, <i>extra et</i>
1594.		"Neate" 114 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>		<i>intra.</i>

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

Jan. 4. 3. PETER FAYRLEY TO BURGHLEY.

It is most untrue, as her Majesty and your honour have been informed, that the townsmen here have received 1000*l.* for the customs in the half year ended at Michaelmas last. For in a book sent up lately to the surveyor by John Harding the customer, he certifies there has not been 300*l.* received, which is much more than the truth. For his book "is devised of his own brayne," without comparing it with the original in the office here, which we shall "disprove." The cause of the said half year's customs "arysinge to more in truth then heretofore or hereafter is to be looked for, was by reason of the baptysinge of the younge prince of Skottes, which made more trafique by the meetinge of forreine states, and manie other of their owne lordes and people." The customer envying our state, has told many untruths against us. We humbly pray your lordship to commit the hearing of the matter to the deputy governor and council of Berwick, and meanwhile, till "good matter be found against us worthis to extinguishe our farme," we may be continued according to your former orders. *Signed*: Peter Fayrley "for and in the name of the Maior and Corporacon of Barwick."

1 p. *Addressed*: To the Lord High Treasurer. *Indorsed.*

Jan. 6. 4. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD SCROPE.

Because my father's hand is not well, I am commanded to write thus much as to the letters brought to Mr Curwynn by a Scotsman.—"That because the partie who writt the lettres is partie knowen to my lord, or at leastwise well gessed at (being one whom for diverse causes hee would be gladd to lay hold on), yf your lordship can so handle the matter (by your tender dealing with the poore man whom you keepe in ward) as to make him confesse who he is, and where he is resident most comonly," some plot

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may be laid to bring him to a house on the Border and apprehend him, it will be acceptable service. Otherwise it is to no purpose to keep the poor man in ward, if you know nothing else against him.

1 p. *Official draft. Indorsed:* "6 Jan. 1594. M. to the Lord Scroope."

## Jan. 13. 5. WORKS AT BERWICK.

Note of decays most needful to be amended.

*Extracts.*

The long bridge over Tweed—the joints and braces shrunk, with the "pillers and defenders" in great decay, and part carried off with great storms and ice. The whole was estimated at 180*l.*, of which there was spent in 1593 and 1594, 120*l.*, so there remains of the sum allowed 60*l.*

The Cowgate, now of firboards, in great decay and very weak, noisome and dangerous to that side of the town, and subject to surprize by the enemy. Also the bridge there of firboards is utterly rotten, standing on "proppes," and if it falls as it soon will, there will be no passage that way, either for the "scowte watche" at night or the soldiers and warders in the day, or for cattle or carriages. The cost is estimated at 320*l.* Three smiths' forges in the "newe pallaice" or office of fortification, one already fallen, will cost 25*l.*

Total, 405*l.* 10*s.*

The vamuers of the old town wall and new works, "which weare lyned and faced onlie for the bricces, which are nowe rotten and fretted awaye"—are greatly decayed and in places quite down, and so low that men may step over them into the flankers and come up again—a thing dangerous to the town, and also to the soldiers on watch at night, who are blown over the wall to their deaths or maiming. Also sundry places in the old town wall next Tweed in great decay from the beating of the surges in storms, and overhanging so that they will soon fall. The estimate of the above is omitted, for they daily grow worse, and no certainty is possible. But if your lordship would cause some part of the 1500*l.* allowed yearly for works and extra charges over the pay here, to be applied on such needful works as the Governor and Council here approve, it would shortly beautify and strengthen this town, and save her Majesty great charges—for when such decays happen, before the same are reported and authorized, the ruin so increases that what might have been done for 20*s.* will cost 10*l.* And whether anything is done or not, her Majesty allows the said 1500*l.*, and great part of it remains yearly in the paymaster's hands. *Signed:* Jhon Carey, John Crane, Will'm Acrigge.

3 pp. *Indorsed by Burghley:* "13 Jan. 1594."

## Jan. 13. 6. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELEY.

I received your honour's three several letters—one from my lords of the Privy Council which I have herewith answered—one from yourself of 27<sup>th</sup> December and another of 1<sup>st</sup> January, both received within an hour of each other. In your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup>, you write that the Mayor of Lynn was to send a ship to London with victuals worth 700*l.* for our relief. Two little ships from Lynn came in on the 8<sup>th</sup> with victuals for the palace "prest by the Maior," whereof I enclose a note of the masters' names, &c.—but there is nothing for the horse garrison who are in most need and not able to keep their horses without supply from the palace. If any of them is the ship your honour writes of, she is come. I have delayed writing to your honour, expecting M<sup>r</sup> Vernon who is not yet come.

I must deal plainly with your honour, as my duty to her Majesty binds me. I fear M<sup>r</sup> Vernon cannot go through with this matter, he is so far

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behindhand with all. And this town cannot long stand thus, fed "from hand to mouthe" as it is, if any danger should come. We should have by the book of composition, victuals continually in the town for 1500 men for a year. And so Sir Valentine Browne had in his time. This man at his entrance received 6000 qrs. of grain, at 4s. or 6s. at most per qr., besides 3000 at the Holy island, which Sir Valentine sold to the country. We are now far worse, and where Vernon complains of dear years, Sir Valentine desired them, for then he gained most. I assure your honour it is only Vernon's want which will overthrow this town, and rather than it be in my time, "I wold to God I had bene dead before I came." I will also remind you that the purveyor of beef and mutton only continues to provide till Lady day at my request, in hope of Vernon coming to satisfy his covenants—if not, we shall have no more.

On receipt of your letter of 28<sup>th</sup> December, I sent for the Mayor and discharged him of his "ferme," also giving charge to the captains to prevent any passage out of the gates; and "invested the customer absolutely in his office" as directed. But if it so hold long, most of the townsmen will go "a begging"; for their fishings failing as they do, and now this little relief to their credit being taken away, I know not what will become of them.

I enclose such Scottish news as I have. Their gatherings it is feared may cause quarrels presently, but I have sent one "of purpose to see" and will report shortly.

I have taken the musters and view of the garrison on the 8<sup>th</sup>, and enclose the defaults thereof to your honour. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer sigmet.*  
Inclosed in the above:—

- (1) A note of two ships that came in with provisions for the "Pallace" 8<sup>th</sup> January 1594.

In the *Gyfte of God* of Lynne, Balthezar Lancelot master, burden 44 tons; 100 quarters wheat.

In the *Gyfte of God* of Lynne, Thomas Bilye master, of the burden of 60 "odd" tons; wheat, 210 quarters; malt, 60 quarters; butter, 50 "firkenes;" "cods and lings," 1200; "hoppes," 2000.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed.*

- (2) Defaults of the muster taken 8<sup>th</sup> January 1594, before John Carey esq., deputy governor.

Absentees with and without passports, from the companies of John Carey, Sir William Reade, and six other captains, the gunners, ordnance artificers, horsemen and pensioners—in all, 51. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, Jhon Craue. *Noted at foot by Burghley*: "In garrison 617."

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Indorsed*: "Barwick. The defaultes of the musters taken there viij<sup>th</sup> Januarij 1594, and certified to the right honourable Lord Hnnsdon lord governor there xiiij<sup>th</sup> Januarij predicti."

Jan. 16. 7. THE MAYOR, &c., OF BERWICK TO BURGHLEY.

We hear that the governor here is devising with one Peter Dealavel, a merchant of London and others, to obtain the victualling of Berwick, and thus cross the town. Yet if by your favour, the town obtain it, these effects would follow. First—The security by our lands here, our friends in the country, and if required, the town of Lynne would join with us. Secondly—The town's privileges would ever keep a full store in the palace, whereby a hard time like the present might be easily put over. Thirdly—The payment being so sure to the town by the receivers, would enrich the town, enlarge men's credit, and give rise to general flourishing. Fourthly—Continue love and amity between the townsmen and garrison, to their godly comfort, and restore to the town sundry privileges and pastures "plouckte"

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from them for long. Fifthly—The increasing wealth of the town would save her Majesty's purse in many ways, and do such good as your honour may conceive more than we can declare. Whereas on the contrary, one private man may get and carry away wealth, as Sir Valentine Browne did, or he "crossed by God and overtaken in there course, as M<sup>r</sup> Vernon is"—and the town kept in misery, which, with pardon of your lordship, is not to be suffered. We trust in God and your lordship, in this, and our other cause the "ferme of the custome," which has done good both to our liberties on the border hand, and her Majesty's benefit, but by the contrary course now taken, will both come to nothing and redound to our loss.

If your lordship stand with us for the victualling, we shall send up the Mayor and recorder to remove any objections in our contrary, and otherwise arrange this weighty bargain with her Majesty. Berwick. The Mayor and aldermen. *Signed*: Thomas Parkinson maior, Will<sup>m</sup> Morton, Edwarde Mery, George Moortoun, Jhon Denton, John Ourd, Thomas More.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 16. 8. ROBERT VERNON TO BURGHLEY.

As I have bought all kind of provision for Berwick at Lynn and Hull to the value of 1619*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, as agreed with the Mayors of Lynn and Hull, by the copy of particulars enclosed, I humbly beseech your honour to help me in payment with 1000*l.* from her Majesty, to be repaid by the receivers out of the next pay for the half year ending at the Annunciation, taking order for the balance myself. And if your honour stand so much my good lord therein, I would pay the Mayor of Lynn 600*l.* and the Mayor of Hull 400*l.*, or if your honour wrote to them favourably, that they should wait till the next receipt shortly after Lady day, seeing they have got such great prices,—though they would rather have a short date, as your honour wrote they were to have ready money, which I was fain to agree to at the time.

I thank your honour for your goodness in my great distress, and beg a continuance of the same in my long suit to her Majesty, which M<sup>r</sup> John Stanope tells me she has referred to your honour. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Armorial wafer signet.*

Inclosed in the above:—

Provisions made at Lynn and Hull for the Queen's garrison at Berwick by virtue of the Lords of the Council's letters of 18<sup>th</sup> December 1594 directed to M<sup>r</sup> Boston mayor of Lynn, and M<sup>r</sup> Robert Tylour mayor of Hull.

At Lynn,—Bought of Cornelius de Neve, 142 qrs. 1 "combe" wheat, 242*l.* 15*s.*; 64 qrs. malt, 61*l.* 10*s.* Of John Koappe of "Ipswitche," 145 qrs. wheat, 253*l.* 15*s.* Of Thomas Claberne, "Island codd," 1000, "denarij," 42*l.* Of John Collingwood, "Island fishe," 200, 10*l.* Of Richard Wilkin-son, 50 "firkins" butter, 10*l.* Of Richard Clerke, "Englishe hoppers" 2000, "denerie" 30*l.*

Sum total, . 675*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

At Hull,—Bought of M<sup>r</sup> Anthonie Cole, 100 qrs. "white rye" at 28*s.* 8*d.* per qr., 143*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Dalton, 40 qrs. white rye at 28*s.* 8*d.* "le" qr., 56*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; 20 qrs. wheat at 34*s.* 8*d.* "le" qr., 34*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; 40 qrs. malt at 18*s.* 8*d.* "le" qr., 36*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; 20 qrs. "pease" at 14*s.* 8*d.* "le" qr., 14*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, in all, 144*l.* Of Richard Atkinson and Edward Tripp of Barton, 120 qrs. wheat at 33*s.* 4*d.* a qr., 200*l.*; 240 qrs. malt at 20*s.* a qr., 240*l.*; 120 qrs. pease and beans at 16*s.* a qr., 96*l.*, "in all" 536*l.* Of William Richardson, 3000 of "Warehouse codd," 105*l.*, 600 "Shetland codd" at 15*l.*, in all, 120*l.*

Sum total, . 943*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

1 p. *Indorsed.*

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Jan. 17. 9. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

In answer to your honour's letter of the 10<sup>th</sup>, where your lordship writes you are glad the full pay is made, and desires to know how Master Vernon or his "debetey" were satisfied for their victual before delivered: you will please to understand that whosoever is left unpaid, Master Vernon is not, for every half year he makes up his books for victuals delivered or any other credit to the garrison, long before the pay comes to the town, and goes and receives it continually of the receivers at their "audites" in the country, that he may make his provision "at the beste hand." In my last, I sent your honour a note of what store he had here and how much of the several kinds of grain; since which there is no more come. Your lordship tells me to cause him to pay for the provisions he lately took up at Lynn under the Privy Council's letters. When I began this letter, he was not come to the town, but I presently hear he is come and sent your pleasure to him. He asked me to stay writing, and he would answer your lordship in all points himself, and says there is great store of all provision coming, whereof you will hear from time to time by me. I hope it may, but as yet there is nothing come for the horse garrison, to their utter undoing if not remedied presently.

Your lordship writes you are partly of my opinion as to M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's disability, and requires me to say who it is that would take upon him "to perform that bargayen." It is one Master Peter Delavell, a gentleman well qualified, sober, discreet, very careful, honest and well experienced in such like affairs; for every year he buys great quantities of grain for himself by reason of certain salt pans he has at "the Sheldes by Newecastell;" and has been a merchant trading for 10 years at least in the East Countries and other places. And he and his friends are able on a little warning, to furnish the town with 1000 quarters of their own store, whatever should happen on a sudden, and that very near the town. He trades much at sea with 4 or 5 ships of his own. Notwithstanding, if your lordship does not find him every way sufficient when you talk with him, as to finding security, let him have no favour for my "moshininge him." And I would be a suitor still for M<sup>r</sup> Vernon to continue it, if he will commit no more faults.

For my opinion as to the Mayor and corporation having the "doinges" thereof: with pardon be it spoken, the truth is it were the best way to overthrow both town and garrison and deceive the Queen mightily. I speak from daily experience of them, and find them very proud and poor, careless of their credit, cunning and not to be trusted. Your lordship has some proof that they care not what they promise, so they keep nothing, and no man can get their own of them, for the Queen can neither get her rents nor composition of fish for her house at due times, "but bey peasemeales," and with great trouble and much ado. I know divers who have bonds of the Mayor and corporation, who were "as good" have nothing, for they can neither get payment nor justice. I know no man who has to do with them but is weary and undone, if it be any great matter. I have more complaints against them than any others. The garrison I can rule, but can do no good amongst them, and I am exclaimed against for lack of justice, which I cannot help, for they never thiok but how to get into their hands. So I can never consent to their having anything to do with her Majesty's stock or store. It would set them all together by the ears, who should be chief, and they would never agree. So I have given my simple opinion as your honour commanded. Praying God most humbly of his "infenigte" goodness, to restore your honour's health. Wishing to God that I might have "part of your payenes that your lordshipe myghte therbey have ease." Berrwick. I have sent a messenger to Lord Hume, on whose return your honour shall be advertised what follows. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wajer signet: a swan.

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Jan. 20. 10. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

As your lordship long since signified to me by letter your wish to relieve the distressed estate of M<sup>r</sup> Henry Leigh; if it could be done without charging her Majesty's purse, and I find he can serve no longer without present comfort, I propose the following course for consideration. Since my entrance to office I have not been burthensome to the gentlemen of the country by calling on them to lie on the frontier for defence, and would promise neither to do so, unless to days of truce, or on urgent need, if they in lieu thereof would agree to contribute "such benevolence" yearly, as might enable M<sup>r</sup> Leigh to continue his service in office. I therefore beg your lordship to send some such letter as you think meet, under your and the rest of the Council's hands, addressed to the gentlemen and freeholders of Westmorland and Cumberland, requesting them to levy amongst them and pay to M<sup>r</sup> Leigh such certain sum as they may yearly agree in for the above purpose. Praying your reply with all convenient speed that his straitened estate may be relieved, or otherwise I cannot continue him in her Majesty's service. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 20. 11. SCROPE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Since receiving your letter of 6<sup>th</sup>, I have examined and "travelled" to find from Marshall the Scotsman, the name and places of usual resort of "the partie." The poor man protests and I think truly, that both himself and Adam Corson who gave him the letters to deliver, have been "abused" by the Englishman who sent the letters. Both Marshall and Corson are merchants in Dumfries, and Marshall says that since his warding here, his brother and Corson have tried without success to apprehend the Englishman who delivered the letters to Corson at "Kirkowbraye" in Scotland, when they were by chance drinking wine together. Corson never saw the man before or since that day. He called himself "Hebburne or Aberne," Marshall thinks. This is all I can get out of this "simple pore man," who I think without my privity, by his friends' search has "scarred" the Englishman out of these parts, but will do my uttermost to get him into my hands.

Lord Herries on the 7<sup>th</sup> hereof wrote to me that the King had appointed him warden opposite, and desired me to meet for stay of outrages. But as my Lord Chamberlain and yourself declared her Majesty's dislike to him, I refuse meeting till I receive instructions therein, but have replied that I will keep order in the meantime; and beg your reply with the Queen's pleasure.

I pray you to deliver the inclosed to your father on behalf of Henry Leigh, and your favourable word for him. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Enclosing No. 10.*

Jan. 22. 12. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I had hoped that M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's coming would have done good, but I fear not, for he has taken order with the petty victuallers that every company shall be rated according to his composition, which ("albeit the poore sowles are forced to undergoe by reason of his want"), was never heard of before.

Though he may by his agreement with her Majesty tie them to these strict rates in the composition, yet, as your lordship knows, it will be hard for poor men with households, wives and many children, to be forced to take a penny a day in bread, and another in beer, and so on in the rest. For, my lord, I take it that these rates were set down in war time and the like, and not in peace. The palace was intended as a help to the soldier, and not a plague to the town. For if M<sup>r</sup> Vernon forces this composition, he will in

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a manner alter the garrison. For though the Queen's composition be only for soldiers, and thus enough, yet there are many old soldiers, and others once in her Majesty's service, long married with many children, and so the palace must either feed more mouths than soldiers', or younger men put in, and the old "put to laëre shiftes." Your honour would pity them if you were here to hear the complaints and moans that I do. For Vernon does not do his own part, though he ties them to theirs, for his bread and beer is "verye nought and yll." And he has yet neither pease, oats or beans for the horse garrison, who are forced to buy in the country at market rates—a greater hindrance to them than the want of their two years' pay. If not cared for, I shall curse the day I came here, for I shall be remembered as "a moniment of yll, that fayne wold doe good."

As I fear things will go no better with M<sup>r</sup> Vernon when this provision is gone, I have thought good to present the gentleman of whom I wrote to your honour before, that you may confer with himself, and examine his sufficiency and ability, and give your favour as you find him deserving of it.

If the Ipswich merchants come to your honour for payment of their corn taken at the Holy Island for this town, I have the money ready which M<sup>r</sup> Clopton left with me rather than carry it back with him, and will pay it on sufficient warrant from them.

All is quiet in Scotland I hear. The King means to come next week to Lothian and Spott, Sir George Hume's house. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "M<sup>r</sup> John Carey to my lord. By M<sup>r</sup> Delavell whome he recommendeth for the victualinge there." *Wajer signet*: swan.

Jan. 29. 13. SCROPE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

As Lord Herries has again written to me for a meeting, I beg you will acquaint my lord your father therewith, and signify her Majesty's pleasure in reply to my former letter, as soon as convenient.

I had arranged for redress with the Laird of Buccleuch, keeper of Liddesdale, and sent my servant with letters to conclude on justice. But found he had ridden to Edinburgh and is still there. I have not yet had his answer, though my servant left the letter with his deputy, declaring my "towardnes to concurre with the Lard in justice at lardge." I inclose a letter lately sent to me. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 30. 14. VERNON TO BURGHELY.

I have received your honour's letter dated 24<sup>th</sup> instant, and you shall receive herein a certificate of the provision here and what is coming, sufficient to serve the garrison till Midsommer. I have also sent William Vernon to provide malt, pease or beans. Wheat I hope to have "better cheape" at Easter. Some pease, "not muche," is come for the horse garrison, and more is looked for, with which they are content, so I trust your honour shall not be troubled farther.

I still beseech your honour for the letters to the Mayors of Lynn and Hull, to forbear demand of payment for the provision made there till next receipt, or an advance from her Majesty in part payment as I lately wrote for.

I am "righte sorye" that her Majesty hearing of my insufficiency, hath commanded your lordship to discharge me, who have served her now 28 years (18 or 19 here), suffering many losses both by sea and land, and by not receiving my half yearly payments under her Majesty's grant, and though I have been a humble suitor to her for these 6 or 7 years, have never to this



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hour received any relief. If it please her to consider me her old servant by your honour's means, I doubt not still to serve her here by the grace of God.

Before receipt of your letter I had written my humble petition to your honour and the rest of the Privy Council, which you shall receive herewith, beseeching your furtherance therein, as it will be no great charge to her, and enable me to pay what is due her, on my giving up this place, and discharge those gentlemen bound for me.

My allegation at first that my man received so much money and promised to furnish the provisions, "was noe fained thinge," but I have his own letter to witness it. I humbly beseech your honour to be my good lord in these matters as you have ever been. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (as before).*

Jan. 30. 15. VERNON TO BURGHELY.

I send my humble petition to your honour and the rest of the Council praying your favourable furtherance.

I send enclosed the numbers that I continually maintain and keep in wages here, "whether they worke or playe," which I am forced to do lest I want them when I most need them—to show your lordship my great charge and the smallness of the rates.

For all the want here, no one in pay but has had more than his allowance if demanded—the meanest soldier has had 12*d.* weekly in bread, at 24 oz. for a penny, and other victuals within the rates, and the captain and officers "treble the rate."

I beseech your honour to stand my good lord at this time, and from henceforth I shall take so strict a course that you shall find "you have done for a gratifull man," and if I continue in this place, I purpose God willing, henceforth "to truste none but myself." Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Signet as last.*

Inclosed in the above:—

(Vernon's petition to the Privy Council.)

Representing that for 18 years he has served the garrison of Berwick at the following rates, *viz.*, with good bread 24 oz. for 1*d.*; good beer at 30*s.* the "toun," the same being made of 12 bushels good malt, and 1 bushel of wheat "for head corne"; good beef and mutton "one with the other," from Christmas till Midsummer at 1½*d.* the pound, from Midsummer till Christmas at 1¼*d.* the pound; butter at 60*s.* the barrel; cheese at 40*s.* the "waye"; ling at 14*d.* "le pece," and cod at 10*d.*; pease or beans at 12*d.* the qr.; and "ottes" at 4*s.* 8*d.* the qr., always full weight and measure, often to his loss; and borne all manner of charges and wages in the victualling office, and losses by sea and land to great sums as he can justly prove. He prays them to move her Majesty in consideration of these and "this deare yeare," to grant him a lease in reversion of 100*l.* per annum, and to lend him for 2 years the sum of 2000*l.* to be employed in victualling the garrison and repaid by the receivers, also that all his "ministers" in the Queen's pay at Berwick may be placed in the companies and serve the Queen without farther charge to her, he finding sufficient men for watch and ward, or going out on service for the time. Or if the Council like not his proposals, but desire to take some other course for victualling, as he hears some are seeking it, then he prays them he may be accountable since Michaelmas last, and to move her Majesty to allow him all losses that he can prove he has suffered through her grant not being performed to him, or by losses at sea, or the smallness of the rates. Prays the Almighty to grant each of them in the life to come "an imortall crowne of glorie." *Not signed.*

1½ pp. *Broad sheet. Hewed*: To the Privy Council. *Indorsed.*

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## Jan. ] 16. OFFENCES OF VALENTINE BROWNE AND OTHERS.

The offences of Valentine Browne and others committed against the Queen within his account, for which they have merited great punishment besides restitution of the waste of her highness's treasure.

*Extracts.*

Valentine Browne—[under 12 heads—double pays—dead men's pay—taking Scottish money out of the Queen's treasure, and thus extorting 5s. in the pound from the captains—offering 100*l.* to Johnson the surveyor to join in cheating her Majesty of 500*l.* conduct money to labourers and workmen, which Johnson is ready to prove—selling stores unaccounted for, &c.]

“The said Browne and Owia Claiden”—[under 6 heads—charging for a shipload of grain as lost, which they sold, proved by Row the purveyor—373 qrs. of corn, 4 “fikkes” of bacon, &c., converted by Clayden to his own use, proved by Row, &c.]

“Thomas Jenison the controller”—[Under 7 heads—irregular books—payment of more wages than the clerk's and surveyor's books show—practising with Johnson to alter his books, which he refused—entering Browne's carts in the pay books, longer time than they served—converting 6 “fodder” lead, half a ton Spanish iron, 18 shovels, &c., out of the stores to his own use without warrant, &c.]

3½ pp. *Indorsed (as title).*

## Jan. ] 17. DECLARATION BY VERNON.

The charge of the stock received at Berwick, &c. “as prayed.”	
Stock received from Sir Valentine Browne . . . . .	9,604 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>
Against which there remains in Berwick provision worth 1,398 <i>l.</i> ; good debts due to Vernon 1,000 <i>l.</i> ; Browne's debts, not yet received by Vernon, who has the bills and specialties, 439 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> ; due on the 2 years' pay 438 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> . . . . . Total,	3,275 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i>
Losses by the enemy—2 ships with malt taken by the Spaniards—and 1 ship with salt from Rochell . . . . .	1,240 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Losses by tempest—1 ship with wheat and malt, sunk at Holy island—another coming from Norway with wainscots and deals—a third at Hartlepool with wheat—the two last his own adventure—in all . . . . .	1,140 <i>l.</i>
His losses by not receiving his money half yearly under her Majesty's grant . . . . .	1,200 <i>l.</i>
His losses in the “two deare yeares” 1586 and 1587, in bread and beer only . . . . .	2,500 <i>l.</i>
His losses in beans, pease and oats, <i>viz.</i> , 4 <i>s.</i> each qr. of beans and pease, and 5 <i>s.</i> of oats, for these 19 years . . . . .	1,000 <i>l.</i>
Also in these 19 years, in the service of beef and mutton “at so small rates,” <i>viz.</i> , 150 <i>l.</i> yearly . . . . .	2,850 <i>l.</i>
Also under the Queen's grant, he should have had the same stock as Sir Valentine Browne had, but wanted great part for years, and still wanteth, to his loss of . . . . .	1,000 <i>l.</i>
Loss in victualling the Queen's ships [the <i>Foresighte</i> and <i>Dreadenoughte</i> ], by command of the Council [in anno 1576] . . . . .	60 <i>l.</i>
And in provision for 2000 foot and 500 horse, for 2 months, who when they came lay in the country and spent little of his provision . . . . .	200 <i>l.</i>

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Jan. ]	He is like to lose this year in serving the garrison at so small rates	1,500 <i>l.</i>
	Total,	11,450 <i>l.</i>
	" <i>Summa totalis</i> of the remaine, debts and losses"	15,668 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>
	2 <i>pp.</i> <i>Indorsed.</i>	
	(1) A more detailed note of these losses and proofs.	
	3 <i>pp.</i> <i>Indorsed.</i>	

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## 18. ARTIFICERS' &amp;C., WAGES UNDER VERNON.

"In the Pallace at Barwick—Artificers and dalye laborers, ther waidges for the daye."

Bakers with a "firner," 6; "master brewer" and 5 others; a cowper and "dreaman"; 6 "turners" of grain; a chief miller and 2 others for the wind-mill, 1 for the malt mill; 2 butchers, a carter, a porter, 2 field keepers, a purveyor of beef at 12*d.*, and a purveyor of grain at 2*s.* 6*d.* Total 21*s.* 2*d.* *per diem.*

*Memorandum.*—The Council and captain have met and heard "your honours" letter read touching the receiving victuals by proportion according to the rates in all kinds, and say they are not to be "tyed" to take of all, but only of what kind they will, and leave the rest.

1 *p.* *Indorsed: also noted by Burghley.*

(1) Another copy.

Jan. 31.

## 19. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

To-day at Lord Hume's request, I met him near the "Bownd roade," where in conference he used these words "or such like in generalitie."—That the King had sent him to let her Majesty know that she was the prince he was most bound and beholden to, and loved and affected her above all in the world, and desired "a more assured lynking together," by yielding to anything she should desire at his hands, and desired she would try him in some secret matter, which it would please her at any time to send down to me; and has given Lord Hume his warrant under his hand and seal to follow whatever course her Majesty desires. "But I pray your honour take no further holde on me herein, but as one that hathe it from the mouth of a nobleman of Scotland." He says he will do anything for the good of both countries that her Majesty commands, and if I would meet the King at his house of Dunglas on Saturday next, I should hear as much from the King's own mouth: "which I refused."

I have sent M<sup>r</sup> Vernon the letter inclosed in your letter to me of the 24<sup>th</sup> "even now" received. I have also sent for the customer and the Mayor, to find if it is true as your lordship says, that the Queen has lost 200*l.* this last half year, by the town having the "customshipp." The Mayor can say nothing till M<sup>r</sup> Fairley the town clerk returns, and the customer affirms what his book certifies. So matters wait M<sup>r</sup> Fairley's return, with whom it seems your lordship has taken some order.

As to the late great assemblies of the King and his nobles in Edinburgh, they have been but dumb shows, like many before. The chancellor was either to have been put down and the Council of State altered, or all parties to have been reconciled. But nothing but factions continue, as their wont is.

"Touching the latter part of your letter wherin your honour writes of the mariadge of your daughter the Ladye Vere, I am gladde as a feeling member of your lordshippes joye, and rejoyce at her ladyshippes good fortune in preserving your honours life so longe, wherby thimperfections of her father

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shall be no blemishe to her honour, whome I pray God make as happye a couple as ever were of that name. Being also very gladd that her Majestie will vouchsafe so honorablye to solempnise the matter with her royall presence, which will be I dare saye a great comforth to your lordship and a great honour to the yonge couple." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

The comptroller and surveyor have requested me to inclose their certificate of necessary reparations for your timely answer therein.

Lord Hume has "even nowe" ridden to Edinburgh on a report to him in the Merse that Cesford and Buccleuch had taken the porters of the abbey gate, and made the King prisoner in the Abbey. I know not the truth, but Hume is gone upon it: still I doubt the news.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 31. 20. VERNON TO BURGHELY.

Explaining the disposal of sums due to him by the receivers at Michaelmas last, 2048*l.* in all, whereof he "did not finger one penny." Thanking his lordship for his good favour and comfort in his necessities; and if by his means he finds favour for his fault, he hopes never to commit the like again. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 31. 21. PROVISION AT BERWICK.

Note of grain received in the Queen's palace at Berwick since 24 December 1594, and what is brought and to come from Hull.

Received between 2<sup>d</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> January 1594, out of "the *Clement* of Welles, William Pyne, master, the *Guifte of God*, Balthazar, master, the *Guifte of God*, William Morgan, master, the *Katherine* of Hull, Francis Hodgson, master," in all, wheat 360 qrs. 4 bushels; rye 95 qrs. 3 bushels; malt 144 qrs. 3 bushels; pease, 19 qrs. 2 bushels.

Provisions bought, yet to come from Hull:—

Anthony Cole, merchant, 100 qrs. white rye. Of Richard Atkinson and Edward Tripp of Barton 120 qrs. wheat; 240 qrs. malt, and 120 qrs. pease and beans.

Butter and fish at Berwick.—Island cod at 120 "le hundrethe," 1,200; Wardhouse cod at same, 4,700; "lynges" at same, 200; 60 "firkins" butter.

1¼ pp. *Indorsed.*

Feb. 3. 22. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Having occasion to send a packet of letters out of Scotland "by Mr Bowes his man" to his master, I have to excuse my fault in reporting the King's capture by Cesford and Buccleuch, which arose out of a great fray in Edinburgh that day "betwene the Master of Montrose and Sir James Sandelandes—wherin were great partes taking, and many men on bothe sides—so as it is thought, ther was very neare an hundreth pistol shott, shott amongst theme. Sir James Sandelandes him self is shott in three severall places, twoe in the head and one under the pappe," but is not thought in danger of death. The fray grew so great that the town rose in arms and all the ports were shut. Then I take it, some country men seeing the tumult, and not knowing the matters, brought the report about the King to Lord Hume. Other things might help it, "as thErle of Argyle, Tullybarne, Grant and the shreiffe of Eyres being commytted to the castle of Edenbroughe, and Athell, Lovat and MacKennyne, being commytted to Lythcoe: who albeit

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they are for other matters comytted, yet thes sturres wold suffice to bread contrary rumors and reportes." Wherefore I pray you pardon "my over haistie advertismentes," for Lord Hume upon them went to Court, which "the easlyier" deceived me. But whoever writes of Scottish affairs must sometimes write either very "tarde," or sometimes false, "so unncerten are there actions." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 9. 23. VERNON TO BURGHLEY.

I perceive by your honour's letter of the 3<sup>d</sup> instant, received this day, that "they of Hull" have been with your lordship for money for their provisions, though the most part is not yet delivered, and while the Mayor would needs have payment on the last day of January, yet the most of them were content to wait till the "nexte audicte," which I assured them should be the furthest day.

I have been troubled with an ague and dare not venture to ride post, but on my own horses, craving pardon for the delay in attendance on you. But by the grace of God, I intend setting forward to-morrow morning.

I answered your honour's former letters, and how the money due to me at Michaelmas last was disposed of, and trust you have received it with my humble petition, wherein I pray your honour to stand my good lord with the Council, and doubt not if now relieved by your good means, that I will never trouble you with the like, and be thankful for the same during my life. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer armorial signet.*

Feb. 10. 24. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

At M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's request I send his letter inclosed, and also explain to your lordship why I have not yet answered your letter of 10<sup>th</sup> January signed by yourself and Sir John Fortescue, regarding the matters disputed between the customer and farmer here. Your letter was not delivered to me by M<sup>r</sup> Fairley till the 3<sup>rd</sup> instant, whereupon I called the Mayor and customer before me, and restored the former to the execution of the custom, taking bond of them under the town seal for 200 marks, to make good to her Majesty all that they remit to the merchants from Christmas "forward" till your farther pleasure.

The farther delay in certifying your lordship of the customer's books (of which you sent me copies to be "tryed" with the original) was, first the Mayor required to confer with his brethren, and they could not find a "wise man" among themselves to represent them, but sent to Newcastle for M<sup>r</sup> Sanderson or M<sup>r</sup> Felton, which I think is only to win time, for any "indifferent man" would do. I have chosen for her Majesty M<sup>r</sup> Comptroller and myself only. Their man is not yet come.

I am out of hope of amendment in the victualler's office, it gets daily worse and worse. His presence here does no good, for beer that used to be 15s. a hogshead, is raised to 20s. "readye monye, or none to be had." There is no great fault in this, for he need not brew strong beer unless "he list." But the brewing of this strong beer to get ready mouey for his own use, hinders the soldiers getting their small beer as they should. So they are forced either to buy his strong beer, or the ale brewed in the town, "which bothe caryes the price of ij<sup>d</sup>. the quart." As for the horse corn and other provision, "we are fedd only with hope." Nothing else comes.

For Scottish news—the King has been 5 or 6 days at Dunglas and Spott, and I hear is about returning home. Hercules Steward and two other of Lord Bothwell's men have been taken by means of M<sup>r</sup> John Coiville and

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William Hume. But I think it shall prove "smallye" to the hurt of Hercules Steward. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a swan.*

Feb. II. 25. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Now that I have written on her Majesty's affairs of this town, your lordship will give me leave to bewail a little my own estate, for I have none but her Majesty and you to trust to. I have been here now almost two years as my father's deputy, by her Majesty's appointment, which I willingly accepted, having ever had a "thristing" desire to be employed anywhere to do her the best service in my small power, which showed itself in coming hither, leaving wife and children "at all adventures," besides selling all I could, and making honest shift to maintain myself here. Then my wife borrowed money to come to me: but how or in what state my children are, I know not. I left besides "all my small little" to the trust of servants, to my great losses, regarding it not for her Majesty's service. I have had nothing from my father but what he gave to my brother William Carey, who lived here at little or no charge, *viz.*, "the demaynes of Norrham" and captainship of 100 men, which he bestowed on me for my maintenance here under him. Now "I understand by my brother Sir Robert Carey, that my lord hathe bestowed upon himself, not onely the tythes of Norrham, which he had by lease from the Deane and Chapter, but also the captenship and demaynes of Norrham with all the royalties therof." And as my lord had this last but at pleasure, Sir Robert has made him move and get a grant from her Majesty (as he writes to me): which if it be so, I beg your honour to procure my revocation, as I cannot do her Majesty service, if my maintenance is taken. If it be not "alredye past," then I request that I may hold what I have in possession. It would be a disgrace to me serving her Majesty here, to have it "pluckt owt of my haudes (and especially by myne owne brother, at whose mercie I must be if he have yt) whether I shall at any tyme ryde over the bridge or noe (for over the bridge all is his)". You see how hard the world goes, when he must seek so far, and can find nothing but what his own brother has!

"Pardon my rudenes (good my lord) being touched to the quicke with this, and much worse which I will conceale." Praying your wisdom may cover my follies spoken in grief, and find me a remedy to relieve or return me home, where I can shape my life and living, and to hear from you as soon as may be. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Feb. 15. 26. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Having opportunity by means of sending "M<sup>r</sup> Bowes his pacquett," it is my duty to certify that M<sup>r</sup> Sanderson of Newcastle is now come whereby I hope with expedition to advertise the truth of the controversies on the customs, having waited all this time at the Mayor's request.

I received this day by Cuthbert Armorer a letter from the King of Scots which seems to confirm what Lord Hume said to me about the conference. The principal under the King's hand I have sent to my lord my father, not to offend him, for he is very angry with me for some other causes "best knowne to himself," and therefore ask your lordship's pardon for sending only the inclosed copy.

I also pray for some answer to my last touching Norham: for I have taken too great pains and ended too many causes, to be turned out without just cause.

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For Scottish news: there is likely to be great quietness, as it is said the Earls of Huntly and Arrell are to leave the country by 1<sup>st</sup> March—but I think it a mere report. The King is to go to Stirling on Monday next to solemnise “the natyvitie” of the young Prince.

Hercules Steward has been twice examined by the Council, but confessed very little. Many make great means for his life, and he is not thought in peril.

The Duke was looked for in Edinburgh on Friday last. He has protected most of Huntly's friends, as Cloynyne, Geithe, Abbergeldy, &c., if the King like the composition.

The Queen and the Chancellor are made friends, and on Thursday or Friday he kissed her hand, and had familiar speech.

Bothwell is still in Caithness, but if Hercules Steward who had gathered some money for him, had not been taken, he would ere this have left the country. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Swan wafer signet*.

Inclosed in the same:—

(The King of Scots to Carey.)

“Traist freind we greit yow hairtly weill . . . we have thoct meit and expedient conforme to the conference betwixt our trusty and welbelovit cosen the Lord Humme and yow at your last meiting, upon some maiters concernyng the advancement of our service, to desyre yow maist eirnestly to gyve credyt to him thairin as to ourself. And whansoever he or any in his name shall crave your assistance for the furtherance therof and effectuatting of that which may bread our special contentment, that ye wilbe ever readye to concurre with him, either by yourself or those whome chedefy yow may command. Thus trusting ye will doe, as we shalbe ever maist willing to doe yow whatsumever pleasure may be craivit of us, we comyt yow to Godis most holy protection. From our palece of Halyruidhowse the xij<sup>th</sup> of Februar 1594. Your very loving freind, James R.”

1 p. *Copy by Carey's clerk*. *Addressed*: “To our trusty freind John Carye esquier governor deputy of Barwick.” *Indorsed*.

Feb. 20. 27. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Having on the 18<sup>th</sup> hereof got together before myself and the Mayor, the farmer of the custom, and her Majesty's officer the customer, with M<sup>r</sup> Saunderson for the farmer, and M<sup>r</sup> Crane comptroller, for the customer, we opened the original books and the customer's copies sent down by your lordship; “trying them thorow worde by worde” to the end. We found no great difference in the entries of the quantities and kinds of cloth. But in the rates we found great differences—M<sup>r</sup> Customer putting his values a great deal too high, as the following rates will show. First,—“broadclothes and carseyes” set down at full rates, without allowance to the merchant, as usual in other English ports, or any regard to “the former and auneyent customes and priviledges of this towne ever heretofore allowed (as appears by there auneyent bookes of the custom howse).”

He has also “rated his freseadoes” at 6s. 8d. the half piece, viz. every 12 yards, while by the book of rates it is but 3s. 9d. So in every pack of “single freseadoes” his value is 23s. 4d. too much.

He also rates “fustians” at 3l. a piece, while in the rate book “Millan fustian,” the best, is rated but at 20s. So his rating is 40s. too much.

He also rates all “Scotes linnen clothe” at 6l. the hundred, while in the rate book, through all England, “Holland clothe” is but 5l. the hundred, “Kentishe clothe” 48s., and “Crest clothe” but 40s., and here they affirm that the former officers never rated Scottish cloth above 40s.

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It is further found that for every pound set down in his book as received "in the nets" by the farmer, he has only had it "after xij Atchisons to the shilling," losing in every pound 4s. of exchange, the shilling being at 15 "Atchisons" here, which is but 16s. in the pound to him.

Further he charged in his book 4 trunks and 10 packs, some of which were passed by Thomas Fowlys and Robert Jowsey for the King, by your warrant to me; and others for Lord Hamilton and the Laird of Wiemes—all passed by warrant without paying custom to the farmer.

All which sums when cast up, greatly diminish his book valuation. The farmers also are in great fault from not observing your directions in the book of orders, which I hope they will amend if continued.

In reply to your lordship's question, whether the custom should be resumed by her Majesty or left at farm? I have little skill in these matters. Yet I will say that the farmers by their diligence have increased the rent greatly—and I am sure of this, that whoever comes here to take the uttermost of the Queen's due under the book, will shortly get very little. For such is the misery of the Scottish merchants, that during this "litle contraversie," the farmer asking them to make the money he receives "currant," and instead of 12 "Atchisons" to the shilling, to make the rate 15, they utterly refuse, and tell him to let it alone, or they will find some other way. You will see little has come this last quarter—whether the Queen gets the benefit elsewhere, I know not.

I pray your lordship to let me hear touching Norham—if it is passed or not. For if passed, I must be a suitor to the Queen that she or my lord will give me some other allowance. For it is not 244l. a year "thrice tolde" that will keep me here in her service. If not gone, then that I may keep it as I do now, not wishing it out of "my lord's" hands. Sir Robert Carey living so far of, can hardly attend to the daily trouble of the causes among them which I have to determine. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 20. 28. CRANE AND SANDERSON TO BURGHLEY.

Reporting their examination of the customer's books as in the preceding letter,—under seven heads. Berwick. *Signed*: John Crane, He. Sanderson.

2 pp. *Written by Crane. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 21. 29. JOHN HARDINGE TO BURGHLEY.

Defending his high valuation of Scots linen cloth, and offering to prove he is right. Also accounting for the diminution of custom in last quarter—and that the Queen sustains no loss thereby. Berwick. *Signed*: Jo. Hardinge.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 22. 30. THE MAYOR, &c., OF BERWICK TO BURGHLEY.

Your lordship has heard from Mr Governor and the two gentlemen who examined the books, of the customer's overcharges, and other errors, done to prejudice us. His "troublesome questions" as we hear, have driven merchants to find other ways over the Borders, which is very likely, for since Christmas neither he nor we have received "one grote." And though the surveyors agreed to write to your lordship,—after hearing the discussion in the office between us and the customer, that the Queen's certain gain would arise by continuing us in the "ferme," as you have been pleased to do with an improved rent—yet Mr Elande and "this customer" dream of a better course, *viz.*, to resume our liberties and disappoint us of the benefits of



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the statute 22 Edward IV. "(which God forbid)." If they could, her Majesty's profit would pass over the March, or be put in the purse of corrupt officers, and the town brought to nothing. The wardens have certified our services on the border by ourselves and friends at our common charge, and we sustain other losses, as 20s. on every barrel of salmon for the Queen's household, and 100l. yearly by want of our pasture grounds in the victualler's hands. We have obeyed your lordship's orders not to prejudice any other port, or meddle with sea traffic, and the occasion of the great rise last half year was the baptising of the Prince of Scotland, as formerly mentioned.

We shall also observe the orderly keeping of the books hereafter, and in all things humbly refer ourselves to your lordship's wisdom. Berwick. "The Maior and aldermen." *Signed:* Thomas Parkinson maiour, Will'm Morton, Edwarde Mery, Thomas More, Jhon Denton, Thomas Hogge,\* George Mortoun, Henry Rugge, Crastofar Morton, Hew Feuell.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 23. 31. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHEY.

I have received your pletter of 15<sup>th</sup> and am greatly bonnd for your favour. You forbear dealing in my private cause till you have "some second speciall direction," fearing lest in doing me good you cause greater offence than you can remedy.

Thus then it stands—when I came here, my father gave me the domains of Norham, which my brother William had from him. I have ever since taken such pains there (more than with Berwick) in deciding their controversies and doing justice among all in Norham and Islandshire, that there is such love among them to me, and such knowledge of their causes in me, that I am more perfect in doing them good than any other can be "a great while." But I know not why, unless on some displeasure or wrong information, my father has without my privity, taken it from me and given it to Sir Robert Carey, who I hear has also her Majesty's grant. Now my humble request is this, that your lordship would stay her Majesty's hand from passing it till she hear more. And that it may be kept secret, that I have no farther displeasure.

There is little stirring in Scotland. Hercules Steward the Earl Bothwell's brother, and one William Syms his butler, both taken by M<sup>r</sup> John Colville and William Hume (who promised them their lives) were notwithstanding hanged lately in the market place at Edinburgh. Berwick. *Signed:* Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 26. 32. BLAND AND DAWSE TO BURGHEY.

Profit of custom in the port of Berwick for the half year euding Michaelmas 1594.

"Copie."—On M<sup>r</sup> Chancellor's signification of your pleasure to us yesterday, we have considered the points of M<sup>r</sup> Carey's letter to your lordship on the controversy between the farmer and customer of Berwick, and finding that the customer's entries touching the quantity and quality of the goods, &c., are true, we have for your satisfaction rated the same according to the custom of London and other ports, and find that for all the goods inwards and outwards, it amounts to 1045l. 4s. 5d., besides the goods for the King and others discharged by your warrant, not exceeding 35l. 5s. 10d. The said sum of 1045l. 4s. 5d. arises chiefly by the custom of cloth carried by the Scots from London and other places in England, not by fustians or linen cloth—the custom of which in the half year ending Michaelmas last, comes but to

\* Signs by initials.

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57*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* towards the above total. And so, like M<sup>r</sup> Carey, we leave the determination to your lordship's consideration. W<sup>m</sup>. Bland, J<sup>no</sup>. Dawse.

By the customer's book the half year at his rate comes to . . . . . 1097*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.*

As cast up by the surveyors here, only . . . . . 1045*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*

So the difference of their rating is . . . . . 52*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*

1097*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.*

"This was prepared for M<sup>r</sup> Chauncellor, but for haste sake I send it to you."

1 p. Copy. *Indorsed*: (as title).

Feb. . . . . 33. CUSTOM OF BERWICK.

Note of alterations in the rates charged on long and short cloths, corn, hides, and sheepskins.

Sum for the half year and quarter, 153*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*

1 p. *Indorsed*: "The accownte which is to be charged Feb. 1594."

March 7. 34. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELEY.

M<sup>r</sup> Vernon and most of his officers and petty victuallers, including his chief officer "his cozen" William Vernon, "being goue from hence," with his purveyor of beef and mutton, who told me he would victual no longer than Lady day, unless some new order was taken, I caused the controller and such officers of the palace as remain, to go in as secret manner as might be, and take a true view of the store now left. Not going myself, for so many would have gone with me, that it would have bred much talk and mutinous speeches if things had not been found there according to covenant. He has accordingly made the inclosed certificate, setting down the proportions, "being reasonable greate to shewe, but so badd indede as no man will take anye at his price: they will rather fast, yt is so ill," and not according to his contract.

I hear there is a ship at Holy Island, with provision for the palace, but the weather prevents her coming hither, so I know not what is in her.

It seems to me that being here in the Queen's service, I have lost my father and the rest of my friends, whether through malicious judges being unanswered, or by my own just deserts, I know not, God be my judge: and you my lord must stand my father and brother, and procure that her Majesty may stand my gracious and merciful good Queen, praying God when I shall deserve the contrary, "I may synke into hell presentlie." I hear you have been a "staye" for the passing of the captainship of Norham and the domains to my brother Sir Robert for a space, and thinking you have done it at my intercession, I let you understand how necessary it is for the Governor here, who "cannott mysse ytt." He has neither oats nor straw for his horses but from thence: for his house, he has his coals his geese and hens and all manner of "wyldefoole" out of Norhamshire. Besides whoever hereafter shall be governor of this town and warden of the East March, Norham and Islandshires being a liberty within itself, belonging to the house of Durham, will ever breed controversies and contentions—being in two men's hands. Also the captainship of Norham having neither castle nor house to lie in, it is requisite ever to be in the governor's hands, or her Majesty must be forced to lay out a great deal of money on the re-edifying of the castle, "that now ys flatt downe to the grounde," or the captain must lie elsewhere, which will be very "discommodious" for the countrymen who have daily and hourly suits to be decided by the captain. Besides as "my

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Lord" holds most of his salmon fishings as captain of Norham, few noblemen will hereafter seek the government of Berwick without Norham.

I would humbly move her Majesty through your lordship for leave to come up, were it but for one month. My first reason is, after serving her for at least 24 years, I have never before been "so longe weyned from the seight of her most sacredd presence." Second, I have lost my father's love and favour, who will scarce vouchsafe me to be his son, as his late treatment shows, and other letters confirm, and I would gladly clear myself before my enemies. Farther, I have great sums of money to pay, which will undo me unless I can come up to borrow and make shift. Also I would gladly take some care of my poor children, or they may do very ill, and the little living I have may be "imbezeled" or taken from me. And lastly, I would as gladly see your honour's self as all my other friends in the world. I would not ask this leave, but I see things were never so quiet, and Sir John Selby being here might be deputy governor for the time, and I assure you if any cause happen, while on my way, I would come back here at once even if I had reached Ware. But if I came only for a month or six weeks, I should show you and her Majesty some things worth hearing. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

I hope your lordship will so deal in this, that it shall procure me no farther displeasure at my lord's hands than I have already.

*2½ pp. Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Berwick, 29 February 1594. View of the store in the Old Palace in charge of Mr Vernon, taken that day.

Bread corn.—Wheat, white rye and meal, 330 qrs. in all, which will serve 16 weeks "od" days, baking 20 qrs. weekly, as now. Drink corn, *viz.*, malt, 72 qrs. which will serve 8 weeks, brewing 18 qrs. every 14 days, as now. Horse provender—beans, "peasen," oats, none.

"Acates, *viz.*"—butter, 50 firkins; lings, 100; cod fish, 5500; red herrings, 1500; white herrings, none; cheese, none.

1 p. Indorsed by *Burghley*: "29 Feb. 1594. A view of the store at Barwick . . ."

March 7. 35. A LIDDESDALE INDENTURE.

"Indented at the Dayeholme in Cressoppe the vij<sup>th</sup> daye of Marche 1594, betwixt Walter Scott of Gowdelandes, cosin and deputie to the right honorable Sir Walter Scott of Branxholme knight, keeper of Lyddisdail, and Thomas Carlton esquier constable of Carliell castle, servant to the right honorable my Lorde Scroppe, lorde warden of the West Marches of England."

English.—For Umfray and Herrie Dobson's bill against Eekye Armstrange of Tweden, &c. delivered Will Armstrange of Tweden upon his trial, to stay within Carlisle till Lord Scrope or Mr Carlton license him to depart.

Scottish.—The Laird of Maingerton's bill referred to the Laird of Buckclugh. "Request at my Lords Scropes hande."

For John Elliott of Copsbaw's bill, sworn, 5 kye, 2 oxen, delivered Ambrose Carlton. English.—John Routledge elder and younger, their bill, "done before the Lardes acceptacion." English.—For the three bills of Bewcastle, the Lairds of Maingerton and Whithaugh "denyes the receipt," and Syme of Calhill and Dick of Dryupp, alleged uot to be within Liddesdale. James Routledge's bill, the same answer.—For Robert Tweddell and Leonard Corbett's bill against Hob Elliott, &c., sworn, 7 oxen, 1 cow, a spear, a dagger, delivered Wille Elliott, called "Cowfaughes." Scottish.—For William Elliott of Larestone's bill, offered Jock Grame "son to Rob." as foul—refused because Gowdeland says he is not worth the sum

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—therefore referred to the Laird of Buccleuch and my Lord Scrope. For William Scott of Thirleston and William Elliott of Faweneshe—not to be answered at this March. For the bill of Hobbie of the Belsies, turned “man” to Richies Will, upon the Laird of Buccleuch’s letter, to be entered on trial. Walter Scott of Godelandes. James Scott in Quhyhope “clerk in this dataile.”

1 p. *Copy by Scrope’s clerk. Indorsed.*

March 14. 36. VERNON TO BURGHLEY.

I humbly beg through your lordship, who knows my state, that her Majesty will grant me relief, considering my great losses, and it shall be a warning to me for life. I have sent to Hull to see the provision shipped this month, and what else is wanting. If I had laid in cheese and white herring, they would not have taken a “waie” of the one, or 3 barrels of the other without “compultion.” The cod is Island and Wardhouse, and as good as any in Lynn or Hull. Before I came, the surveyor and comptroller and “M<sup>r</sup> Porter” and others had of it, and commend it, as well as “M<sup>r</sup> Governor” himself, so they need not find fault with it. I laid it in because it is good, and will last; yet as the town is served commonly with fresh cod and other sea fish, they will take little from the store, as will appear when Lent is past. *Signed: Robert Vernon.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

March 15. 37. THE MAYOR, &C., OF BERWICK TO BURGHLEY.

We hear the customer of this town “is come upp to London, whose restles head and malicious mynde will not leave to trouble,” till he has hindered the Queen’s profit and greatly prejudiced this poor town. He works by M<sup>r</sup> Blande and one M<sup>r</sup> Smythe “who is towards the Lorde Euckhurste”—for we see by copies of some letters he wrote to them before his journey, that his friend Smyth told him, that if your lordship with M<sup>r</sup> Chancellor and the surveyor, “did order” for the town on these proceedings, he would find means to have the cause brought before her Majesty. We can but wonder that this man receiving his office from your lordship, can dare do anything touching it except through you! A year ago he asked leave to make an illegal demand of the merchants never made before, which your lordship refused him. Yet this month he “boldely receivede frome the marchauntes an extortt fee,” and refused his warrant till paid. Now they wish to sue him on a statute, “whiche lawe will overtake him, and the same lawe (after we shall have indicted him upon extorcion) will put him frome his office, if it so maye stande with your lordshippes good pleasure. For his life in this place, he is a noted man for evill in sundrye grosse partes,” which we forbear to correct or meddle with, till this controversy is ended.

These dealings of his have caused the Scots merchants to seek safe passage by means of Cesford and Buccleuch through Teviotdale, Liddesdale, and those parts, which will be costly to prevent. The last time we were excluded from the “ferme” by your letter, the customer devised with a factor here for the Scots merchants, to make a new form of entry for their packs for the factor’s gain. “Surely he was verry tymely therein!” We humbly pray that our rights and privileges under charter, statute, and orders from the Lords of the Council, may be upholden to us, whereby we have advanced her Majesty’s custom here: otherwise there will be little benefit to her highness. Berwick “The Maior and Aldermen.” *Signed: Thomas Parkinson, maiour, Will’m Morton, Robert Jaxsou,\* Edwarde Mery, Thomas More, Peter Fairley.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

\* Signs by initials.

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March 20. 38. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I find by your letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> that it is better to have an honourable friend than many kin, but leave the requital to God, having no means myself.

Your honour's postscript requires to know the profit my lord has by Norham. Though it is not a son's part to discover the secrets of his father's living, I will satisfy you, as in truth I can in this point, "which is no more then as his own greave, or otherwise as your lordshipe calles them in your country, his baylye," has heretofore told me, that he commonly makes to my lord's own purse yearly very near 400*l.*, all rents and duties being discharged—some years more, some less, as corn rises or falls. This is only for the tithes of Norham and Islandshire, which he holds by lease from Durham; he renewed it lately from the Dean and Chapter at the change of the bishops, and has since "bestowed yt of" Sir Robert Carey. How they have agreed for it I know not, but I would have thought Sir Robert might have been content with 400*l.* a year "at one clape," without seeking what I possess.

My lord has never made any great commodity of the captainship and demeans himself: for the most of his time, he let Sir John Selby a stranger, have it, till my brother William came, who got it for his maintenance till his death, when my father bestowed it on me, till Sir Robert Carey has gone about to get it from me. But I must tell you, when my lord was here himself he took the commodities, as oats and straw, wild fowl, &c., and coals for his house, besides "the ryaltye" and commandment, without which the governor has nothing to do over the bridge, but by leave of the captain. It seems by Sir Robert's earnest seeking of this, he desires to be near Scotland.

Your lordship refers to my note sent of the small store, and mislikes it. I must more earnestly entreat your lordship to take order therein, for nothing more is come, the stock decreases, and Vernon's men deal so ill, they make it bad. He greatly abuses your honour and us, in not confessing his insufficiency.

Your honour doubts getting leave for me to come up. I earnestly beseech you to further it, were it but for 12 days, for the reasons I gave in my last. If they may anything persuade her Majesty, I pray your furtherance.

You mention at the end of your letter that M<sup>r</sup> John "Caulvyn" is in great favour with the King, and like to encounter with the Chancellor. It is true he is in good favour and lies in the Abbey. But the Chancellor is too great a man for him to encounter with—for ~~if~~ he dares not goe out of the Abbye to his owne house att Leeth, wheare his wiffe lyeth about his nedfull affayres, past once in xiiij dayes, and that very secretly, his enimyes are so great." I send herewith a letter which I received this day from "Calvyn" himself, but doubt the latter part touching my lord Bodwell, for not long since a merchant told me he saw him received into Duncarke by the governor there and but five in his company. "Praying your lordship to pardon all faultes, for that I ame forced to trust my servant with the writing of this, being myself forced to keepe my bed, as I have donn this foure or v dayes by extremity of a great ache or payne, which the surgeons here have not yet determined whether yt be a seatica or the stone—but so greivous it is that I can nether sett, goe, nor stand, but continually lying . . ." Berwick.

\* "I hear a secret wiche I dare scares commit it to paper but onley to youer honer whoe I knoe cane yeues it weysley. This requeste of the Queenes to the Kinge for the kepinge her younge prince was wonderfull ill taken bey the Kynge, and is judged to be the Chanselers devise bey Backclenghes meanes, whoe is thoughte to be in to great faver withe the Queen. I dare

\* The rest is holograph.

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say no moer, but ther is muche spoken of this in Scotland." *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2½ pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: "M<sup>r</sup> Robert Carey to my Lord." *Corrected by Burghley* to "Jhon."

March 20. 39. THE CUSTOMER OF BERWICK TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

To prevent merchants evading custom at Berwick, he begs authority to place a deputy at Newcastle to take bond of all carrying goods over the Tyne, that they shall be discharged in Berwick.

Second.—Authority to proclaim in Morpytt, Hecsam, and Alnewicke, and all parish churches in Northumberland, that "no Scotch lynnyn" pass into England unless sealed by the customer or his deputy at Berwick, on pain of forfeiture, one "moytie" to the Queen, the other to him who seizes it. Also that no goods pass into or out of Scotland, one mile from the highway to Berwick, under the like penalty. All such seizures to be brought forthwith to the Berwick custom house, that the customer may account to the Queen, as was done by Robert Ardinge late customer, by the Lord Treasurer's order. That "their honours" would command the lieutenant governor of Berwick to assist the officers of customs when required for the Queen's service, and not to suffer the Mayor and "comynalties" to molest the merchants passing through the town, or make any new tax or exaction on them under colour of privilege. Farther the said governor to charge the warders to prevent corn or merchandise passing the gates into Scotland, without the customer's warrant, on penalty of forfeiture as above.

Their honours to write in like manner to Sir John Forster lord warden of the "West" Marches, and Sir John Selby deputy warden of the East Marches, to assist the custom house officers at Berwick in the Queen's service.

Farther their honours should know that the farmer has paid no duties to the Queen "for theis two yeares come our Lady day next." *Not signed*.

2 pp. *Indorsed*: "20 Martij 1594. For the increase of the customes at Barwick."

March 22. 40. PASSPORT TO JAMES CLARKE, &c.

Licensing the bearers, James Clarke "gentleman of Scotland," and John Anderson and James Kerswell "Scotsmen," repairing to London and foreign parts under their King's license, with one brown ambling nag 14 "handfull" high, one black ambling "stoude" nag 16 "handfull" high, and one gray ambling nag 13 "handfull" high, with their bag and baggages, to pass peaceably without let or stay. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed*: "To all justices of peace, maiors, sheriffes, baylifes, constables, hedboroughes," &c. *Indorsed by Burghley*: "Pasport." *Oval wafer signet*: indistinct.

March 22. 41. PASSPORT TO GEORGE TOWERS, &c.

Similar for George Towers, William Addamson, and Walter Scote "gentlemen of Scotland," repairing to London and foreign parts, &c., with a brown ambling nag 15 hands high, a gray ambling nag 15 hands high, a sorrell ambling nag of 13 hands, and a dunne ambling nag of 13 hands, a spare ledhorse, &c. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signet as before*: indistinct.

March 23. 42. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Agreeable to Sir Robert Cecil's letter intimating her Majesty's pleasure,

1594-95.

I met Lord Herries at Tordawathe last Thursday, and we conferred of justice for past and future offences. I offered to begin either from his or my own entrance on our offices, but as he required the King's authority before agreeing, we separated without doing more than freeing all unlawful prisoners on both sides and their bonds.

As for the "partie" who wrote the letters brought to M<sup>r</sup> Carwen, I have been unable to accomplish your desire to apprehend him; but I hear on good credit, "that his name is (as he geveth onte) Cecill." He told his familiars he was with your lordship within this twelvemonth. It is bruite he is now gone to Spain, but if he returns hither, I trust to find means to bring him to your disposition.

I commend these Scots advertisements to your view. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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March 25. 43. ACCOUNT BETWEEN VERNON AND BOWES.

Reckoning with M<sup>r</sup> Vernon for victuals charged in his book delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Treasurer for the first half year ended at the Annunciation 1595.

Sum total of these victuals . . . . .	1,343 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 6½ <i>d.</i>
Whereof disallowed as charged on my lord governor . . . . .	300 <i>l.</i>
And for works stopped, as the treasure is insufficient to pay more than the garrison . . . . .	135 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 5½ <i>d.</i>
"Quades, and not defalked" . . . . .	1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
So remains to be paid M <sup>r</sup> Vernon out of this half year's receipt . . . . .	908 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 10½ <i>d.</i>
Against which—	
Balance due M <sup>r</sup> Treasurer on former accounts . . . . .	35 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>
Warrants to M <sup>r</sup> Rant for Cornelius de Neve . . . . .	304 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i>
For M <sup>r</sup> Henry Sydney for 250 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	554 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i>
Warrant to Mr Scudamour for Sir Thomas Layton . . . . .	61 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i>
For men of Hull . . . . .	340 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
	402 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> 991 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 3½ <i>d.</i>
So there is paid to M <sup>r</sup> Vernon more than is due and defalked of the ordinary pay now, which is to be paid by him to M <sup>r</sup> Treasurer . . . . .	83 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 4½ <i>d.</i>

1 p. *Written by Sheperson, Bowes' man. Indorsed by Burghley*: "Money payable to M<sup>r</sup> Vernon, Feb. 1595."

March 25. 44. PROVISIONS FOR BERWICK.

In December 1594—Provided in Norfolk cod, butter, wheat, malt, &c., by John Collingwood, M<sup>r</sup> Henry Sydney and others, 925*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; whereof paid 554*l.* 5*s.* and "oinge" 371*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

In January 1594—Provided in Hull, white rye, wheat, malt, beans and fish, &c., 943*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; whereof paid 407*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; "oinge" 536*l.*

Vernon appends a declaration that after making these payments, &c., there is a balance due him of 135*l.* 4*s.* 5½*d.*

2 pp. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed.*

1595.

## March 28. 45. PAY AT BERWICK.

Sum due to the garrison, &c., at Berwick for the first half year ended at the Annunciation 1595—with 37 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> due the Queen's watch for the latter half year but to be paid before hand . . .	6,664 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i>
Besides works and extra ordnance charges charged to works in Vernon's book for victuals . . .	135 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 5½ <i>d.</i>
Total, . . .	6,799 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 2½ <i>d.</i>

For which in M<sup>r</sup> Clopton's hands for the year ended Michaelmas 1594 665*l.* 3*s.* 11¾*d.*

To be received from the receivers of York, Lincoln, Northumberland, &c. . . . .	6000 <i>l.</i>	6,665 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 11¾ <i>d.</i>
Deficit to be supplied (besides work and extra ordnance charges) . . . . .		134 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 2¾ <i>d.</i>

1 *p.* *Written by Sheperson. Indorsed by Burghley:* "The manner of paye at Barwyk."

## March 28. 46. LORD HUNTINGDON TO [BURGHLEY].

According to her Majesty's pleasure made known by your letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> and received the 21<sup>st</sup> instant, I send by this bearer, "Davyd Lawe who was takyn with Nicolas Wyllinson by M<sup>r</sup> H. Lee." If he comes not with such speed as expected, yet immediately on getting your letter, I wrote to Carlisle for him, and have charged the bearer to make all the haste he can—thinking it best to send him in charge "the hole journey," having to pass so many different counties, who might not be so careful. I have taken the best course for his convoy I can, as you will see if my order is observed in other counties, as it shall be till he passes Yorkshire. "Thus commytynge you to the Lord Jesus." York. *Signed:* H. Huntynghon.

1 *p.* *Holograph. Flyleaf and address lost.*

## April 2. 47. PASSPORT FOR GEORGE SETON, &amp;c.

Licensing "Capten George Seaton gentleman of Scotland, with his wif, his wifes sonn, Absolon Pentlen, and John Hume, William Crawford, his servantes," to pass by London to foreign parts, with a black ambling "stond" horse, 16 hands high, a brown and a gray ambling nag, each of 14 hands, and a "dunde" ambling nag of 12 hands. Berwick. *Signed:* Jhon Carey.

1 *p.* *Addressed (as before). Wafer signet as before: indistinct.*

## April 6. 48. PROVISION AT BERWICK.

Stock remaining there 6<sup>th</sup> April 1595, declaration how long it will serve, and what is on the way thither, &c.

The bread is estimated to last till 14<sup>th</sup> September. The malt estimated to last till the 14<sup>th</sup> of December next, "if they brew not faster after Midsummer."

[The details of the daily service of rations, &c., to the garrison, follow.]  
Rob. Vernon.

1 *p.* *A copy by Carey's clerk. Indorsed (as title).*

## April 8. 49. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I hear by most of my friends, that I am most infinitely bound to your



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honour, and by your means to her Majesty, in defending "my inosent injuries," and can say no more but "God rewarde you."

Touching this poor town, as I see no likelihood of amendment, I must deal more plainly than hitherto, fearing the fault will be laid on my own shoulders, and must assure your lordship and the rest of the Council, that unless present order be taken "out of hand," the town will be undone, for there is no provision to speak of. There is no help from the "pallace," as the custom was in dear years, "a man weare mu'ch better dwell at London:" and the poorer sort and many housekeepers are giving up housekeeping and go begging, yea even the better sort find their "porsyone of want" also. And for the Queen doing anything for Vernon, it is "but to shoote one arrowe after another," he is so deep in debt in Norfolk and elsewhere. I send herewith a certificate of the provision in the "pallace," showing what has been brought since my last, and yet on his own saying the two ships last come are all we are to look for till Michaelmas.

Also the purveyor of beef and mutton now here, tells me plainly that unless Vernon satisfy him, as he promised to do at Lady day last, and is now two years behind—he will provide no more. So we shall be in good case at Easter, when we shall get nothing except from the Scots! I would not write thus aginst "the poor gentleman" without great cause.

I also inclose the defaults of muster taken on the 3<sup>rd</sup>. There is no news in Scotland, "but such as is sent upp to M<sup>r</sup> Bowes by the leard of Weameses man, who as I heare is come with certen letters of conspiracye from the King, that were taken in Flaunders and sent to the King by the Estates, and other thinges taken from a Jesuite apprehended at Leeth." The King and Queen are now at Stirling, where they mean to remain some long time. The King has made kindness between the Earl of Mar and the Chancellor, but how long it will hold God knows.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> M<sup>r</sup> John Calvyn had his remission and pardon proclaimed at Stirling, and goes openly to Court. If it pleased her Majesty, I think he might be a "good instrument" there.

Praying leave still to come up but for 12 days if her Majesty please in this quiet time. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan scifer signet.*

Inclosed in the same:—

- (1) Survey of the store in the "Old Pallace" or victual office under Robert Vernon's charge, taken by John Crane comptroller and Captain Carvill appointed thereto by the deputy governor.

Bread corn,—wheat, rye and meal, 380 qrs. Drink corn,—malt, 170 qrs.; 50 whereof heated in the ship, but if aired and mixed with good malt, it will be "serviceable." Horse provender,—"peason," mixed with a few beans, heated in the ship, "all rotten and noughte," 42 qrs. "Oates, null." "Acates," viz., 4 firkins butter; 4000 cod "wett and drye;" 100 lings; herrings, "null;" cheese, "null."

\* It is a pitteyus thinge that the horsemen have not had a note † sines Mycabehellmas, nor all this towen bathe not had nether aney whit heringes all this Lent, wiche wold a byn a good helpe to the poer." *Signed*: John Crane, Kobart Carvill.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

- (2) Defaults of musters taken 3<sup>rd</sup> April.

Absentees with or without passports, from the companies of John Carey, Sir William Read, Robert Carvill and five other captains, the gunners, artificers, horsemen and pensioners, 60. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, John Crane. *Note at foot by Burgheley*: "The garrison is about 1<sup>m</sup> heades."

3 pp. *In Crane's writing. Indorsed.*

\* In Carey's hand.

† "An oar."

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April 8. 50. THE MAYOR OF HULL TO CAREY.

Of the provision of grain in these parts made by M<sup>r</sup> Vernon for Berwick, there remain to be shipped betwixt 300 and 400 qrs., the most of which had been laden ere this time, but the justices of Lincolnshire and the customer of this town, stayed the same till the Privy Council's pleasure be further known—which I think will be shortly, as M<sup>r</sup> Vernon has written to the Lord Treasurer thereon. I thought good to certify you. Kingston-upon-Hull. *Signed*: Robert Tailor, maior.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To the worshipfull my very loving frend M<sup>r</sup> John Cary depute governour of Barwick be this delivered." *Indorsed*.

April 13. 51. VERNON TO BURGHLEY.

I declared your pleasure to M<sup>r</sup> Carey, who tells me he will in two or three days certify you of the provision here, and what is coming from Hull by the Mayor's certificate to him, and the good opinion all men have of my sufficiency for service here. Meantime I send a certificate signed by Sir John Selby, Sir William Reade, and M<sup>r</sup> Comptroller, of their twenty years' knowledge of me here, and trust, though this year has been very chargeable to me from the dearth, yet by God's help, to end it with goodliking of all, and that He will send a more plentiful year the next. But mean time there is no want of anything here, as will appear by their certificate. I still beseech your honour for relief at her Majesty's hand for my great losses in service here, as shall seem best to you. I intend by the grace of God to be with your honour shortly after Easter. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed by Burghley*.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Selby's, &c., certificate.)

Vernon having declared to them the Lord Treasurer's pleasure that they should give their opinions of his sufficiency and store for the garrison, they certify that for twenty years he has amply served them in all respects till this dear year, when the horsemen were short of pease and oats, getting double allowance of bread instead—and no other want to speak of. They doubt not he will make full provision "and better cheape" than this year, wherein he is like to be a great loser. They attest his long experience and upright dealings with the garrison, never doing wrong the value of a penny in weight or measure, but good and pleasure to many, even to his own hindrance. *Signed*: Jhon Selbye, Wylyam Reed, John Crane.

1 p. *Indorsed by Burghley*: "13th April 1595. Sir John Selby, Sir Wylyam Reed, Jhon Crane."

April 14. 52. PASSPORT FOR GEORGE KYER, &amp;c.

Licensing the bearers "George Kyer, gentleman of France, and Henry Leviston and William Kyer, gentlemen of Scotland, with their attendantes William Dwre, John Hume, Nicholas Destampes and Robart Blenched Scotsmen," recommended by their King, to pass by London to foreign parts, with one ambling white "stond" horse 18 hands high, an ambling gray gelding of 17 hands, an ambling gray "stond" horse of 18 hands, another ambling gray "stond" horse of 18 hands, a "trotting" bay "stond" horse of 18 hands, an ambling gray "stond" horse of 16 hands, an ambling gray "stond" horse of 18 hands, and an ambling gray "stond" horse of 17 hands." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed (as before)*. *Indorsed by Burghley*: "Comended by Roger Aston to be brought." *Wafer signed as before*: Carey's shield of 9 quarters. *Crest*: a unicorn (or griffin's) head. *Clear impression*.

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April 15. 53. ROBERT ARDERN TO BURGHLEY.

A note of the Queen's garrison in Berwick and the allowance of victuals, &c., for the same.

The garrison with the retinue of the Lord Governor and the officers, contains under the establishment, 1000 men or thereabouts, victualled as follows:—

One man daily, 5*d.* and 4*d.* over each month; *per* month of 28 days, 12*s.*; *per* half-year of 6 months, 14 days, 78*s.*; *per* year of 13 months, 1 day, 7*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* For 1000 men the month 600*l.*; the half-year 3900*l.*; the year 7820*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* For which 5*d.* M<sup>r</sup> Vernon must allow by his covenant to each man—bread called “cheat bread, baked and cold from the oven,” 24 oz. for 1*d.*; “soldier's beare” 30*s.* the tun, 1 “pottle” 1*d.*

On flesh days, 4 in the week, 208 in the year—beef or mutton, from Easter to 25 June, at 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* a pound—from Midsummer to 1 January at 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*; and from 1 January to “Shrovetide” at 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

On fish days, 3 in the week, 156 in the year—butter at 3*d.* the *lb.*; cheese at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Fish,—lings, 14*d.* a piece; cod, 10*d.*; red herrings, 12*s.* “the cade;” white herrings, 26*s.* 8*d.* the barrel.

“Wine vinegar—” the hogshead of 60 gallons at 6*d.*; a quart for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* “Rouge tallowe,” 2*d.* *per lb.*

No man's allowance to exceed 12*s.* a month.

Horsemeat to be made yearly,—beans 500 qrs. at 12*s.* the qr., 300*l.*; oats 500 qrs. at 4*s.* 8*d.* the qr., 116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Total allowances of victuals, &c., 8237*l.* 10*s.* *Signed:* Robert Ardern.

2 *pp.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley:* 15 April 1595, Ardens book.”

April 15. 54. ROBERT ARDERN TO BURGHLEY.

“Under correction,” considering that there should be a “remaine” in store every year after victualling the garrison, it will be needful to have an imprest of 2000*l.* over and above the estimate—making in all, 10,237*l.* 10*s.* And as provisions are so dear in England, I think “(by your lordships favour)” wheat and rye may be speedily provided “at Anserledam or Ankewson in North Holland” for Berwick, much cheaper than here. And if the dearth continue, a part may be had from “Danske.”

If the wheat is bought not over 23*s.* 4*d.* the qr., the 2*d.* loaf may contain 48 oz., as it should do, and “beare out” the charges, as freight, fuel, milnage, wages, &c. If over that price, a loss will arise on every quarter.

If malt is bought under 15*s.* the qr., the beer may be sold at 30*s.* the tun.

The like with the beef, mutton, &c., if bought higher than as set down. “Therefore to be helpen by the carefull and true service of one that hath skill to devide the time.” *Signed:* Robert Ardern.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley:* “15 April 1595. Ardens declaration for victellyng at Barwyk.”

April 15. 55. NOTE AS TO BUYING FOR BERWICK.

That some man of credit and skill be sent to the Eastern counties, with money and instructions to provide wheat, malt, &c. under direction of the justices of peace, to see the Queen's money properly bestowed.

Thomas Clarke at Berwick to be ordered to make lofts and office houses to receive it, and issue as before to the soldiers, as he has used.

A man of credit to be sent to the Bishopric and Yorkshire to buy beef and mutton, under the direction of three justices of peace. One Alen Barker who acted for M<sup>r</sup> Vernon, is a fit man for one. The provision to be delivered to Clarke as above.

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To move the Queen for the balance of two years' pay, that Captain Selby is here suing for.

1 p. *Indorsed by Burghley*: "15 April 1595. From Mr Selby." *Marginal notes also by him.*

April 19. 56. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Scotland is very quiet now—but of late there was a tumult in Edinburgh on a report that Bothwell had landed at the Earl's ferry, which caused great fear for the time. "The King and Queene are now presently at some little difference, for the King wilby no means be drawne to come to Edenbroughe, whereto his Counsell have by all means they cane perswaded him, and the Queene shew will not in any case be kept from thence, who doth greatly desyer to have the custody and keeping of the young prince into her owne custody and keeping, which the King will not in any sorte yeald unto, notwithstanding that the Queene is very earnestly bent to have it so."

I received by the customer's hand a letter of 23<sup>rd</sup> March signed by your lordship and Sir John "Foskew" to revoke the custom from the farmers and deliver it to the Queen's officers, which I have done, with the willing assent of the Mayor and aldermen for their interest. As to the reckoning with them for the past year, and their delivery of the money drawn for custom since Christmas, to the customer, as you ordered: they say when in London last, they reckoned with the Queen's four surveyors general of custom, and since then they have many more to make which cannot be done here. And any money due since Christmas is still in the merchants' hands. So they beg your honour to wait till the beginning of the next term, when the Mayor and some of his brethren mean to come up and account.

I send a bill of most needful works, which cannot well be long delayed, or the charge will be far greater. I still beg leave to come up, and will not fall an hour of my time to return, be it ever so little. Mr Vernon is newly come here, who begs me to write in his behalf, but I dare not say much, seeing little hope of the amendment he promises, but that it grows worse and worse. I inclose a letter from the Mayor of Hull to me. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Berwick, 19 April 1595. Report on the necessary works formerly certified to the Lord High Treasurer, and now merely revived to his memory.

*Extracts.*

First.—The long bridge over Tweed in great decay—(whereof part was repaired in the years 1593 and 1594)—for which coals and timber remain yet in store.

The Cowgate and bridge in such decay that none dare ride over the latter—nor the night watch, &c., pass—as formerly reported.

Smiths' forges—as formerly reported.

The glass windows of the Governor's house blown down and broken so that none can lodge in it.

Defects in the old town wall next the river—and the battlements so low that some of the watchmen have been killed or maimed, falling over them.

The surveyors point out how these being promptly done, would save the Queen double and treble. *Signed*: John Crane, Will<sup>m</sup> Acrigge.

2½ pp. *Written by Crane. Indorsed.*

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April 19. 57. ESTIMATE FOR BERWICK GARRISON.

To victual 981 men for 7 months at 28 days in the month, from 19  
April till 31 October.

*Extracts.*

Wheat, 858 qrs. 3 bush. at 23s. 4d. the qr., by the old covenants, 4 cwt. to the qr. . . . .	1,001 <i>l.</i> 8s. 9 <i>d.</i>
Now 40s. the qr. . . . .	1,716 <i>l.</i> 16s.
	Excess of price 715 <i>l.</i> 6s. 3 <i>d.</i>
Difference between malt at 15s. and 28s. a qr. now.	390 <i>l.</i>
"    oats at 4s. 8 <i>d.</i> and 10s.       "	6 <i>l.</i> 13s. 4 <i>d.</i>
"    beef or mutton at 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>d.</i> a <i>lb.</i> and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i>	239 <i>l.</i> 2s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i>
"    butter at 3 <i>d.</i> , now 6 <i>d.</i> "	294 <i>l.</i> 6s.
"    beans at 12s., now 18s. a qr. . . . .	150 <i>l.</i>
Total provisions at the rates of the old covenants . . . . .	4,144 <i>l.</i> 10s. 3 <i>d.</i>
Total at the new rates . . . . .	6,735 <i>l.</i> 11s. 11 <i>d.</i>

2 pp. *Broad sheets. Annotated by Burghley. Indorsed by him:* "A  
certificat of provision for Barwyk made by M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Bowes and [        ]  
Arden for 981 men for 7 months."

April 25. 58. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

The sending of my last letter about the decayed works here was not without great cause—for since, a great part of the town wall is fallen, and more likely to fall daily. It is so "slender," that a man may shake it with his hands or a staff. The next spring tide will bring it all down. That your lordship may understand whereabout it is, "I will so neare as I cane, appointe you in the mape where you shall finde it." When I first came here I sent you by Captain Bowyer 2 maps, "a little one and a great." If you have not lost them, "there is in the little mape written, 'the pallace'—this breache that is fallen, is even against the last letter 's' of the same worde 'pallace'; that is the full sea, also that is written over against yt. In your great mape of the towne as it now is, yt is in the myde way between D and E, somewhat nearer D than E."

Praying your honour it may be timely looked to, also the "Kowe gate bridge is cleane rotten."

Scotland is very quiet, save of late a rumour that Bothwell was come to these parts caused some little stir.

Inclosed is a note of a certain progress intended by the King and Queen of Scots—intreating you if it so fall out, to signify your counsel and the Queen's pleasure, how I shall behave myself. Whether the Queen will have any honour bestowed on them, or if I shall withstand their coming so near the town? Berwick. *Signed:* Jhon Carey.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

"M<sup>r</sup> William Hume of Bassenden brother unto Sir James Hume of Cowdenknowes, sent me worde that the King and Queene majesties hath purposed about xx<sup>th</sup> dayes or a moneth hence, to have a prograce into Lowdian and the Marse, from Edenbroughe to Ceton, and from thence to Northbarwik, and so to Bell, a house of the Larde of Basses, and from thence to Brocksmouth, and so to Donglace to the Lord Humes, and from thence to Weitherborne, and eyther in the way thether, or from thence, to come into the boundes of Barwik so neare unto the towne as that they may have a sight and revee thereof—the which the Queene greatly desyreth, and so

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from Weitherborne to Macarstone, from thence to Lawder to the Lord Chaunceller his house, and there to remayne viij or ten dayes."

*Written by Carey's clerk.*

(1) *Another copy in same hand.*

April 27. 59. PASSPORT FOR CAPTAIN W. HAMILTON, &c.

Licensing the bearers "Capten William Hammiltoun, and Capten Boswell, gentlemen of Scotland, with their servantes Thomas Freiswell, James Hammiltoun and Lenarde Jarre; and John, and James Boswell gentlemen of Scotland," bound by London for foreign parts, commended by the King's letter to Carey—with a white ambling and trotting "stone" horse 17 hands high, an ambling gray nag of 13 hands, an ambling black gelding of 15 hands, a bay ambling and trotting "stonde" horse of 16 hands, a bay ambling "stond" horse of 14 hands, a white ambling gray gelding of 15 hands, a trotting iron gray "stond" horse of 15 hands, a black ambling and trotting gelding of 15 hands, an ambling and trotting dapple gray gelding of 16 hands—to pass without let, &c. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

1 p. *Addressed (as before). Oval quartered wafer signet: indistinct.*

May 7. 60. PASSPORT FOR JAMES GIBSON, &c.

Licensing the bearers, "James Gibson Scotsman and preacher in Scotland, Robarte Ritchardson, George Heryott, and George Lockard, gentlemen of the same countrie, with their servantes John Armerer and Robarte Macklemorrowe," bound by London for foreign parts,—with an ambling "gray white stonde" horse of 16 hands high, an ambling brown bay "stonde" horse of 16 hands, an ambling black stond horse of 18 hands, an ambling "white gray" nag of 14 hands, a trotting bay "stonde" horse of 18 hands, an ambling iron gray "stond" horse of 15, and an ambling white gray "stond" horse of 14 hands—to pass, &c. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

1 p. *Addressed (as before). Indorsed: "Pasport for M<sup>r</sup> Lockard and his servantes and horses alone, and not any of the rest, for that they do retourne into Scotland. M<sup>r</sup> Wardlowe may be joynd with him." Carey's quartered wafer signet.*

May 7. 61. PASSPORT FOR D. WARDLAW.

Licensing "M<sup>r</sup> David Wardlowe Scotsman," to travel by London to foreign parts, with an "amble" dark gray gelding of 16 hands high, without let or stay, &c. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

1 p. *Addressed (as before). Carey's quartered wafer signet.*

May 10. 62. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

On Thursday the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, the Queen of Scots came to Edinburgh. The King was looked for next morrow Friday "being come from Lythequo" the Monday before, but came not, and the Convention was put off till he came. The "Sessyons" should hold on the 15<sup>th</sup>. The King and Queen's progress to our bounds, was moved, but much "misliked" by the King, and "cleane rejected." It would seem only the Queen's wish, as she desired to see East and West Teviotdale, and the governments under Cesford and Buecleuch's charge, and the borders and bounds. But the King was very angry.

It is thought that the Earls of Huntly and "Arell" are arrived at "Ham-broughe." Scotland is quiet, but it is feared "this marriage of the young Lord of Glaymes will kindle a new hatred betwene the Chaunceller and the

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Earle of Marre, for that the Master of Glaymes had promised his nephew the lord in marrydge to Sesfordes sister, and now by the Earle Marres crossing of it, he is to marrye with fayre Mistris Ann Murrey the Kinges mistris—which will easely breed a dislike where there was no love before.”

The wall of which I wrote, is every day “falling still more and more,” and if not speedily mended, must be guarded with men day and night. I also intreat your honour’s warrant to M<sup>r</sup> Clopton for the half year’s pay, or we shall be undone, by this dear and scarce year.

Since I last wrote of “the yll beanes” in the palace, there is nothing more come, though the Mayor of Hull, whose letter I inclosed, wrote there was 300 or 400 qrs. of grain ready—but “never a whyte come hether.” The dearth here is wonderfull, “and the dearth of cattell for lack of stowver\* is very great.”

I must earnestly renew my old suit for leave to come up for ever so little time, to arrange for the little living I have, “which now stands in very dangerous tearmes,” and your honour sees how needful it is for me to be careful of my estate, so as my children may not after go begging. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signet.

May 10. 63. JOHN CRANE TO BURGHLEY.

Reminding him of his former report on the decay of the brewing vessels at Holy Island, which are now in such “rewyn” that they are quite useless if need arose. Has reported as in duty bound, leaving the order for repair to be given to M<sup>r</sup> Vernon who is in charge of them. Berwick. Signed: John Crane.

1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a crane.

May 10. 64. CAREY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Your “favorable” letter of the last of April should have been performed in all points, if the King and Queen had “held on their pretended prograce.” [The reasons why they did not given as in his letter to Burghley of same date.]

Scotland is quiet, and no news worth writing. Thus much I desire your honour to assure yourself of, my poor love and faithful service ever to be commanded by you and your house, being tied and bound by my lord your father’s favours towards me, which I will never forget. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed.

May 20. 65. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

On behalf of the Mayor and corporation, who have according to promise, sent up some of their brethren to account with the Queen’s surveyor for her dues and arrearages of custom. Signifying at their request, that their estate is very hard and poor, needing relief “by reason of the great decay of their waters,” which they pay great rents for and cannot meet them. the custom being taken from them, which will be less profitable to the Queen than is looked for. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signet.

May 20. 63. THE MAYOR, &c., OF BERWICK TO BURGHLEY.

Showing him that as he ordered, they had surrendered the custom

\* i. e., estover, feeding.

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lately granted by him—that they have lost by their fishings, having paid 700*l.* to M<sup>r</sup> Hethe for them—by the want of their pasture grounds—by their debt to the London fishmongers under long suits to the Queen not yet obtained, and other causes—and have sent some of their neighbours to petition him, while reckoning with the surveyor for the farm of the custom. Berwick. “The Maior and aldermen.” *Signed*: Thomas Parkinson maior, Will<sup>m</sup> Morton, Edwarde Mery, John Denton, George Mortoun, Tho. Hogg, Henry Rigg, John Orde.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer seal: town arms, indistinct.*

May 29. 67. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I find by M<sup>r</sup> Clopton he has not yet got your warrant to pay the garrison at Midsummer, for which I pray your lordship, or we shall be undone, such is the dearth.

It were good also the repairs were begun, as the summer is now “well entred, and will soone passe over.” If it lie this coming winter till next summer, it will be more chargeable, and then must be done “of force,” instead of now “uppon pleasure and with leasure.” For all M<sup>r</sup> Vernon’s going to Norfolk and Hull, we have not sicce received “one corne”—this for your consideration. The Scots are quiet, save some outrages in the Middle March, by Buecleuch foully murdering divers of her Majesty’s subjects, whereof your honour will have heard by the lord warden. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

May 31. 68. REPORT ON STORES IN BERWICK.

Berwick, last of May 1595.—Note of the store in the old “pallaice” or victual office in charge of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon, surveyed and seen the said day, “by the parties hereunder named.”

*Extracts.*

Meal, rye, wheat, &c., 188 qrs.; sufficient to last 9 weeks, baking 20 qrs. weekly as now. Wheat “unserviceable” for bread, 31 qrs. Malt 65 qrs.; sufficient for 7 weeks, brewing 13 qrs. every fourteen days, as now. Neither “beanes, peazen” or “oates.”

14 sacks hops, 3300 *li.* weight.

Oxen—11; whereof 4 “slaughtered” this day.

Muttons—45; whereof 5 “slaughtered” this day.

“Other acates.”—40 “coople” lings—1960 “coople codde fishe wett and drie.” Neither butter, cheese, white or red herrings. *Signed*: John Crane, Robart Carvill, William Boyer, Antonye Thompson.

1 p. *Written by Crane. Indorsed by Burghley.*

May 31. 69. VERNON’S NOTES ON THE PRECEDING REPORT.

The 188 qrs. wheat will “serve” for 11 weeks at 20 qrs. the week ending 17 August; 31 qrs. wheat which they say is not good, “yet may be borne withall this deare yeare.” Shipped from Hull, and to ship, 80 qrs. “Serveth iij weekes.”

Malt “certified” 65 qrs.; 43 qrs. to be received from Robert Jackson of Berwick; 180 qrs. shipped and shipping from Hull, will serve 14 weeks brewing every 10 days—60 qrs. beans shipping at Hull. They get neither beans, pease, or oats, till Michaelmas when their horses come from grass. Deef and mutton they have as they call for it. Of fish there is no want. They “spend” neither white nor red herrings till Michaelmas. “Nowe is



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the time" to provide salt butter, and cheese, which shall be done speedily. *Not signed. Annotated by Burghley.*

1 p. *Indorsed*: "M<sup>r</sup> Vernon his awnswer concerninge the remaine—certified xxxj<sup>mo</sup> Maij 1595."

June 2. 70. THE CAPTAINS, &c., OF BERWICK TO BURGHLEY.

We thank your lordship for your late care of us through the "intercours" of our deputy governor, who hath acquainted you with all "causses" more than was usual in Sir Henry Woodryngton's time. Thus the two wants of money and munition being effected, "the third and treangle stantione, now joyntly to sustaine the state of this garyson or anye other, is the victuellling of it." M<sup>r</sup> Governor has certified truly of the small store here, in discharge of his duty, as the victualler's "counter note" admits; and on 30<sup>th</sup> of last, informed us that M<sup>r</sup> Vernon had shown your lordship under some of our hands, that the complaints against him were unfounded. If this be true, it came from none of us "ressedent" here, but from some continual absentees, who are careless of this place. But "wee both captaines and constables that lyve upon our chardge . . . still continew our humble intreatye, not against the victuellor, who is an honest geutelman, but against his wautes and victuellling, the which hereafter in parsell we sett downe." By M<sup>r</sup> Governor's command, we with the comptroller, surveyed the store in the office and send the report by him.

The captains' answer to M<sup>r</sup> Vernon.

First.—He says he delivers 5s. daily in bread for 50 men, thus 10*d.* more than his contract for 1*d.* per man. We answer, though the petty victuallers confess this, yet at 7 days to the week, a penny daily for 50 men comes but to 29s. 2*d.*, and his extra 10*d.* is only weekly not daily. And instead of 12*d.* to each man for 7 days' bread, he only gives 8*d.* for 7 days.

Second.—Instead of every man getting his "firken" of beer fortnightly, not a fourth of them gets it, though M<sup>r</sup> Vernon says the contrary.

Third.—Beef or mutton he says is had when called for. Beef we have "in som reasonable sorte," but not full. Mutton this long time, none at all for the private soldier—though in our companies there are old and sick men who need it. For the fish, we refer to the survey on 31<sup>st</sup> May. He says that none will be taken before Michaelmas—and truly: for unless better than most of it, none will be taken at any time. For butter, cheese and herring, it is true we will take none, for there is none to take, and the soldier pays 6*d.* for what M<sup>r</sup> Vernon is bound to serve at 4*d.* the *lb.*

The constables' wants, complaints and replies.

Beans due to the 80 horsemen from Michaelmas to May day "on kening" to every horse for 30 weeks, 600 "boles." If in oats, a bushel per horse weekly in 30 weeks is 1200 "boles." M<sup>r</sup> Vernon says he has delivered to the horse garrison from Michaelmas 1594 till Easter day 1595, oats, 47 bolls, and beans and peas, 278 bolls, equal to a "kening" of beans weekly. So for 15 weeks they have only received 301 bolls and for 15 weeks more we need 299 bolls.

For horsemeat, our wants in the 15 weeks from Michaelmas to May day are 90*t.* at 18*d.* weekly each man.

His allowances to the horsemen of double bread as he says, are short by 23s. 4*d.* weekly. And the four constables get none of their due allowances. Beseeching your lordship, both captaines and constables jointly, for reform in these wants. Berwick. *Signed*: Robart Carvill, Antonye Tompson, John Twyforde, William Boyer, Jhon Fennicke, Josua Delavale, Leonard Morton.

3 pp. *Annotated on margin by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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## June 2. 71. NEEDFUL REPAIRS AT BERWICK.

*Extracts.*

The long bridge of Tweed, estimated cost of repair,	60 <i>l</i> .
The Cowgate and bridge, estimated cost	320 <i>l</i> .
The breach in the old town wall next Tweed behind the Governor's lodging, now fallen, to be done with hewn stone from the foundation, will cost,	73 <i>l</i> .

Total, . . . 453*l*.

[Memorandum (as formerly) by the reporters, from what source the money might be taken.] *Signed*: John Crane, James Burrell for the "surveior."

1½ pp. *In Crane's writing. Marginal notes by Carey*: That Tweed bridge though "verey needfull," may "beste be forborne," the other two being more "of nesessety." *Indorsed*.

## June 3. 72. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

After receipt of your letter of 24<sup>th</sup> May to know the most needful works here and cost, I sent her Majesty's officers to view and report, as your honour shall find inclosed.

You wrote of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's coming to Court, with letters from some of the captains that the garrison is well provided, and a note by him of the store, requiring me to inquire how it agrees? I called the captains and constables to see, who I think have certified your honour herein. For the captains who have written to the contrary, they are never here, and know nothing of our wants—specially Sir William Reade who cares not what scarcity is here, for he serves his own company with his own corn. If M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's corn from Hull and M<sup>r</sup> Jackson's were here, it might serve till near Michaelmas, but I doubt it coming at all without your help. I have caused the controller and 3 of the captains to see the store and set down a true note for your honour to judge of the other captains' account of it.

I have not complained of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon "for any mallice to the man," for I love and wish him well, nor have we had any great want yet, though very ill served: but in discharge of my duty I must certify how things go here.

Your honour compares the old prices with the new rates for this dear year, and how the Queen will be a great loser—but the fault is not in us that want, but in M<sup>r</sup> Vernon, that should have made provision in time. I see by your letter, that some would gladly take it this dear year, amending the rates to suit the time; wherein I cannot blame them if they can get it, but your honour is too wise to let the Queen be "over reched." For the old rate is a most honourable one with the great stock he had in hand, and many will take it, though providing now will go very hard: yet it must be done, always the best course.

Your postscript is true, that much corn of all sorts comes here daily by ships—"but what good is that to us" when there is scarce one man here able to buy a boll? There is no money, "save that one M<sup>r</sup> Jackson a townsman" bought a ship load of some 500 qrs. rye. If M<sup>r</sup> Vernon had been able, he could have had plenty of corn.

You find want of Scottish news "for lack of an embassator," and require some from me. On the 10<sup>th</sup> May I certified your honour at large about the King and Queen, &c. Other news there is none—for since Bodwell and the other two earls going out of the country, all is quiet. "The King and Queene is to Starling," and shortly the great marriage shall be solemnized at Lythquo between young Lord Glaymes and the King's mistress. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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June 4. 73. R. VERNON TO BURGHEY.

Petitions (1) to be relieved by the Queen of his losses by the enemy, &c. (2) That the garrison either take weekly all their provisions supplied by him, proportionally, or else he shall not be bound to serve them. (3) That his artificers and labourers be paid in the bands and himself relieved. (4) To serve beef and mutton always at one price,  $1\frac{1}{4}d.$  a *lb.*; butter at  $4d.$ ; cheese  $2d.$ ; pease and beans  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  a *qr.*; oats  $6s. 8d.$  He will always have in store 1000 *qrs.* wheat, 1200 *qrs.* malt, 300 *qrs.* peas and beans, and 200 *qrs.* oats.

Asks his original contract to be thus amended owing to the rise in prices in the last 30 years. *Not signed.*

1 *p.* *Written by his clerk. Indorsed by Burghley:* "7 Junij 1595. Barwyk."

(1) *Another copy. Indorsed:* "4 Junij 1595."

June 6. 74. BURGHEY'S WARRANTS FOR BERWICK.

To M<sup>r</sup> Scudamour—to pay M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Ashton 3000*l.* for the garrison of Berwick for the first half year ended at the Annunciation last past, and 500*l.* under the Lord Treasurer's letter—taking the acquittance of M<sup>r</sup> Bowes, treasurer, Berwick, for the whole sum.

Similar to M<sup>r</sup> Clopton—2000*l.* for same half year, and any balance in his hands at the preceding Michaelmas, taking Bowes' receipt for the whole.

To [M<sup>r</sup> Ralph Ashton].—Sending him the above at Bowes' request who is presently in the Queen's service "here," that he may receive the money and pay the garrison as directed.

2 *pp.* *Drafts. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

June 7. 75. VERNON'S REPLY TO THE CAPTAINS' COMPLAINT.

[He denies or explains away each separate allegation—or that there is any shortcoming in his supplies.]

"The certificate that came in his behalf, was under the handes of Sir Jhon Selbie, Sir William Reade, and M<sup>r</sup> Jhon Crane comptroller, whoe hee doubteth not but will at all times affirme what they have certified your lordship." *Not signed.*

2 *pp.* *Written by his clerk. Indorsed partly by Burghley:* "M<sup>r</sup> Vernon his awnswer to the captaines letter of complaint, 7 Junij 1595."

June 8. 76. SCROPE TO BURGHEY.

I take boldness to intreat your lordship for my sake that you will be favourable to Thomas Lancaster, whom I hear you have commanded to ward, and enlarge him on good bond till the end of next term, that he may come down to order his affairs and satisfy you. "I the rather desier this favour because I am informed that the Lowthers give *note* they will entrepoize their credites againste myne for his contynuanee in warde and in your lordshipes disfavour, if I shoulde do my uttermost to the contrary."

My chief cause in writing is to report proceedings between me and Buccleuch, who as I have expected is more inclined to disturb than to keep the peace, though he pretends the blame is with me.

His discontent as far as I can see, was that in the bill of Laristone, offer of delivery was made of John Grame son of Rob, a principal offender named in Buccleuch's complaint, and required though refused (as appears in the last indent of our deputies), and because the "recepter" to whom he had great quarrel, was not delivered. Also because, for the special benefit of his own friends, more than the other dwellers in his charge, I would not upon "his peremptorie and verie hawtie motion," agree to give redress to his friends

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wherever they dwell, for offences by my people—a thing never heard of before, and in my conceit inconvenient as touching the authority of other officers—and causing confusion in my charge. Because I refused this, he has since made great threats of disturbances—and this day I hear (though not for certain) of a great outrage in Gilsland by his people.

You have heard doubtless of the 4 Englishmen killed in Tynedale in Sir John Forster's charge, Buccleuch himself being present, "for revenge of an antient feede"—and the late slaughter of one Browne in Bewcastle. I would ask your advice whether to "poyne" again or refer the amends to those sent by her Majesty to negotiate with the King on other causes.

Some of the "Kanges of Steakhughe" commit great outrages here daily, and I can get no redress. They "shrowde" themselves under Buccleuch's protection, though dwelling in the West March. I would ask your lordship what "overlooke" her Majesty would give, if amends were taken of these "Kanges" by her subjects? Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

June 13. 77. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Bothwell, Huntly and Erroll being "off the country," and the Court so far off, there is little news "stering." The King and Queen are still at Lythquo, by reason on her coming there, she "fell very sick and it is reported by most folke, that shee is parted with a bearme," but others think she is sick for policy, to see if thereby she can get her young prince into her own custody, which the King will not bear of. It stands hard which of them shall have the victory. She is set on by the Chancellor, Buccleuch, Cesford, and others of the nobility and council and the town of Edinburgh. The King resists it by Mar and his faction. The Earl of Mar and the Chancellor are likely to break out in greater hatred than before, if the King does not stop it "by his absolute authority." It is murmured and muttered there that Buccleuch and Cesford will break out on our Border, why I know not.

Though it is a thankless thing to meddle in other men's offices, I must let your lordship know what passes. I wrote long since of Cesford's foul outrage here, coming to Woller with 80 horse "and trumpet sounding," killing 2 men there and another at a town hard by. On 29<sup>th</sup> May I wrote to your honour of Buccleuch coming to Grenehugh, a widow's house in Tynedale, seeking for some of the Charletons, and not finding them he burned the house and corn, &c., in it, and went his way. He had very near 300 men, and in 8 days after, he came to the Bowghthill, and killed 4 of the Charletons, very able and sufficient men, saying he would come back soon and kill more of them. I did not write particulars, thinking my lord warden had written to the Council, but as sufferance encourages more outrages, I presume to advertise it now. Cesford lately came in to murder some of the Stories, once by Wark, as far as Twysell, and intended to come to Tweedmouth, but hearing that on the 9<sup>th</sup> instant being "Whytson Mondaye," they would be at a certain fair kept at Witwoode and would lie in a town called Eakell the night before, he came with 17 horse, and waited for them in the morning in the "highe strett" between Eakell and Hambleton, "to have killed them and all the fayre folkes passing by, but as hape was, the two Stories fearing such a thing, traveled most parte of the night and so escaped him." He then went quietly by Wetwood town's end, where most of the fair looked upon him and many met him. Thence to a town called Newton, where he drank, and discharged all his men but two, sending the others home through "Chevett." With his two men he went to Pawston, where he drank and talked with "the Laird," telling him he would have the Stories' lives "ear it were long." All this time no fray rose, nor any man asked him why he did so? So are they encouraged by

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sufferance. I must also remind your honour that now is the time if you mean to have works repaired—for the year “is well spent.” Also for the half years pay, “for mony is here already at a noble in the pounce, and glad they can gett it so.”

I would also desire your honour's pleasure touching the customer, who imposes new customs never taken, but referred to the Governor's discretion, as this—many Scottish men, our good neighbours in the Merse, who supply our markets with beef, mutton, veal, pork, and all kind of “pullyn,” &c., without which we could not live, and when corn is plenty the Governor allowed them now and then to buy a ‘boule’ of pease or beans or malt “as it falls out.” Now the customer will have 5*d.* on every boll, and the town 2*d.*, and each of the porters at the two gates, “pence a pece”—so there is 9*d.* risen on a boll. Or if a neighbour comes to town to buy a “cloke cloth,” or cloth for “a jerkyn and a payre of hose,” he must pay custom never before heard of. Yet I do nothing till your pleasure is known, but it will breed great inconvenience to the town, for they will not serve our markets if thus dealt with. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signet.*

June 24. 78. CAPTAIN BOYER TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have presumed to send your honour this “platt” in hope you will accept of my “indevor more kyndelyer then the counynge or plainenes of the thinge maie desearve by commendacions”: for first as moved by Mr Henry Lock, I presumed, and then on your honour's inclination for the “desirous knowledge of this place,” and lastly Sir Robert Carey's favour to see it safe delivered, confirmed me. Berwick. *Signed*: Wil. Boyer.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: “To . . . Sir Robert Cycell . . .” *Indorsed.*

June 28. 79. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Receiving the “bruite” both here and in Scotland of Buccleuch's purpose to attack this frontier: though I think it is but to make himself strong while in disgrace with his sovereign, as I hear—I thought it my duty to order all under my rule to be ready on the burning of the beacons, or on an hour's warning, to repel invasion. And to give your lordship notice in case of reports otherwise reaching you—and shall do so from time to time, begging you to acquaint her Majesty, and to vouchsafe her directions, and your own advice for my doings. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 2 80. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

On receipt of your letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> June and instructions, I called the Mayor, who said that as the alderman was in London casting up accounts with the Queen's surveyors general, to discharge arrearages, he could do nothing here, for all the accounts, &c., were there. I sent for the customer, who said the same, that being required by the surveyors general, he had sent up all his accounts and reckonings to them. Thus I could say no more.

Your honour says there is order taken for the works in most needful places—but as yet we hear of none—and the year runs fast on. Nor is any order yet come for the half year's pay, as your honour writes.

Your honour wishes to understand Buccleuch's and Cesford's quarrels with the Charletons and Stories. It would be too tedious at large, but I will be as brief as I can. First—for Buccleuch: your honour remembers hearing long since of a great rode by the Scotts “as Will Haskottes and his

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fellowes," made in Tynedale and Redesdale, taking up the whole country, nearly begging them for ever. On complaint to the Queen and Council, there was some redress made with much ado and many meetings. Buccleuch and the Scotts made some "bragges and crackes," as that the country durst scarce take their own: but the Charletons, being the "sufficientest and ablest men" on the borders, not only took their own goods again, but encouraged their neighbours to do the like and not be afraid—"which hath ever synce stuck in Buccleughes stomach . . . Mary! he makes another quarrell, that long synce in a warr tyme, the Tyndale men should goe into his country, and there they tooke his grandfater and killed divers of his cuntrye, and that they took away his grandfathers shworde, and would never lett him have ytt synce. This sayth he is the quarrell."

Cesford's with the Stories is—"About Lamas laste certen of Sesfordes men came to the persons of Wollers, he being at that tyme with my lorde leiftenaunte at Newcastle—at which tyme they stole all his sheep and other goodes he had, whereof he compleyned to York to the courte and to our wardens here . . . till uppon a tyme seing he had loste all, and could by no means gett justice . . . he gott certen of his frendes, and . . . got as many of Sesfordes owne sheepe as he had before loste." Where upon Cesford often sought to kill him, so much that the poor man left all he had in the country and came here to live in Berwick. Cesford then came one night to Woller, killed 2 of his men, and at a town two miles off killed one called "The Leird Baggott"—cutting them all in pieces. The "Leird" had two brothers in law called Storyes, who got presently to horse, rode into Scotland, met Cesford's shepherd, the only guide and cause of their brother's murder, and there killed and cut him in pieces—whereon this quarrel arose, and Cesford says he will have their lives.

For Scotland—there is appearance of great trouble: the King and Queen are little better than "severed" about the keeping of the young Prince. She and her party (which is very great) are at Edinburgh, and they will have the prince and the keeping of the castle. The King keeps at Stirling, Falkland and Lythquo, and thereabouts, and he and Mar will not "yeald to have him" \* from Stirling. So the Queen's faction can not get him but by force. They have many men in readiness, and look for the fall of Mar. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

July 2. 81. THE MASTER OF THE ORDNANCE TO BURGHELY.

Complaining that whereas the castle, "cyttidell" and town of Carlisle, and storehouse there, are included under his charge of the north, yet he has no control of the pay of the gunners and officer of the storehouse there, and as their places fall void, the Queen grants the same for their lives, to "unmete" and non-resident "partyes," to the detriment of her service. Therefore praying that he may have control and pay of Carlisle, as he has at Berwick, and will thenceforth answer to her Majesty for its efficiency, &c.

1 p. *Broad sheet. Indorsed: 2 Julij 1595.* The information of the Master of the Ordnance of Warwick," &c.

July 7. 82. LORD HERRIES TO SCROPE.

"I haif resavit your lordschipsis lettre this day fra your servand Gairis, quhairin your lordschip declairis thair is divers outrageous attemptatis comittit be sum Scottismen aganis the pepill within your lordschipsis office, sen your servand Richarde Bell depertit fra me." I shall be as ready to punish these as you would crave, but am much hindered in my office, and

\* The prince.

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it will be difficult without your help. The course to be taken must be "advysitlie" set down between us, and if you have not "laser to travell," I would it pleased your deputy M<sup>r</sup> Carletoun "to cum speik me," that we might confer on the best remedy against breaches of peace, "quhilk divers my cuntrie men heir preiss to do, to your lordschipsis trowbill and my disgrace." Referring farther matters to the bearer. Drumfries. *Signed* : Herys.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Wafer signet; a saltire—indistinct.*

July 8. 83. MUSTERS AT BERWICK.

Defaults of the same taken before John Carey esq. deputy governor  
8<sup>th</sup> July 1595.

*Extracts.*

Absentees with or without passports, from the companies of Carey, Sir William Reade, Robert Carvill, William Selbye (and 4 other captains), the gunners, ordnance artificers, horsemen and pensioners; in all 67. *Signed* : John Crane.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Written by Crane. Indorsed.*

July 15. 84. THE QUEEN'S RENTS FROM RICHMOND, &c.

Estimate of her Majesty's rents and revenues of Richmond, Durham and Northumberland at the Annunciation of Our Lady, 1595.

William Clopton gent. general receiver of these counties.

Richmond, 920*l*. ; Durham "cum ccol. pro decima Episcopatus," 1285*l*. 15*s*.  
Northumberland, 760*l*. . . . . 2,965*l*. 15*s*.

Fees, annuities, pensions, salaries, &c., for the first  
half year, 765*l*. 4*s*. 7*d*. ; payments into receipt by  
"fermors" 47*l*. 15*d*. ; to the Treasurer of Berwick  
for the first half year 2000*l*. . . . . 2,812*l*. 5*s*. 10*d*.

Remain . . . . . 153*l*. 9*s*. 2*d*.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

July 15. 85. THE QUEEN'S RENTS FROM YORKSHIRE.

Estimate of her Majesty's rents and revenues of the county of York at the Annunciation of Our Lady 1595.

Thomas Skidmore gent. deputy receiver of the county.

Charge with 700*l*. of the 10<sup>th</sup> of the Archbishopric . . . . . 4,714*l*. 16*s*. 10*d*.

Fees, annuities, pensions, salaries, &c., for the first  
half year 666*l*. 12*s*. 7*d*. ; fees of the lord president  
and Council of the North, 635*l*. 15*s*. 10*d*. ; pay-  
ments in the receipt, 281*l*. 15*s*. 1*d*. ; to the Treas-  
urer of Berwick for the half year, 3000*l*. . . . . 4,584*l*. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Remain . . . . . 130*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

The fees of the Lord President and Council are paid quarterly by the receiver. The annual free rents, rents reserved, and fee farms payable at Michaelmas only, amount to 1,591*l*. 11*s*. 3*d*.

1 p. *Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

[c. July  
18.]

86. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

The news of these northern parts is "so off and on," that no certainty can be grounded on them. Though I am unwilling to deal in princes' affairs,

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as too high for my capacity, "yet being incouraged by the Scotts fashyone, who will liberally speake of their own prinse, I have taken a little libertye to speake more boldlyer of them, then otherwise I would have thought had becomed me. . . . But thus much is surely both contened and reported, both by the beste and worste sorte of Scotland," that if the Queen do not send an ambassador there in time, there will be such "garboyle" as will not be easily stayed,—perhaps the better for us, as they will be all "by the eares." The King and Queen are at great controversy for the young prince, and will not meet. He lies at Lythquo, Fawckland and Stirling, and she continually at Edinburgh with a great court. I dare not write all that is said or reported, but it is said that the King either has already, or will presently call Sir James Steward into favour again; and begins to say "that if his cossyn Francis Bodwell were with him, his nobilitye durste not doe as nowe they doe," and he is in so great a strait that if the Queen and her faction run (as is expected) too violent a course against him, he will be forced to call Bothwell and others in again.

The Scots are busyer than for many years on the East and Middle Marches, chiefly the Middle, taking "markett folkes horses and goodes in the daye tyme."

M<sup>r</sup> Ashton came here on the 16<sup>th</sup> with the half year's pay, but your warrant for the needful works is not. But I and M<sup>r</sup> Controller have set the quarriers and hewers of stone "a worke," and a quantity of stone is "wone" against its coming—and also a sufficient quantity of lime is ready. I send the defaults of last muster taken before the pay. Berwick. *Date blank.*  
*Signed: Jhon Carey.*

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed: "M<sup>r</sup> John Carey to my lord, from Barwick. Not dated. Received the 23 of Julij 1595." Swan wafer signed.*

## July 23. 87. SUPPLIES AT BERWICK.

A note how long the wheat rye and malt will serve at Berwick, with what is sent from London.

Wheat meal and rye, in all, 393 qrs.; which will serve till 8 December—19 weeks, baking 20 qrs. weekly.

Malt, 112 qrs.; which will serve till 4<sup>th</sup> September—6 weeks, brewing 18 qrs. weekly.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Written by Vernon's clerk. Indorsed by Burghley: "1595 from the xxij of Julij."*

## July 23. 88. CRANE TO BURGHLEY.

Sending him as directed a report of (1) the grain sent to Berwick since his last report on 31<sup>st</sup> May—also (2) what store of victual remains.

(1) Corn come, 46 qrs. 5 "kenninges" wheat; 160 qrs. 7 "kenninges" malt; 53 qrs. beans.

(2) Store under M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's charge:—

Wheat and meal 73 qrs., will serve but for 3 weeks and "od" days, baking 20 qrs. weekly; malt, 112 qrs., will serve but for 6 weeks, brewing 18 qrs. weekly; beans, 53 qrs.

Hops, 2700 lb. weight.

Beef and mutton—oxen 10; "weathers" 62.

"Other acates"—ling, 40 "couple"; cod fish 160 (?) "couple."

Butter cheese and herrings—none. *Signed: John Crane.*

*Note by Burghley, &c., on margin: "26 July 1595 shipped for Barwyk. Wheat 150 qrs.; rye, 170 qrs."*

2 pp. *Written by Crane. Indorsed.*



1595.  
July 24. 89. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I received your two letters of the 16<sup>th</sup>—one that Captain Selby is coming with the “remayne of the two yeres paye,” which will be very welcome—and that I survey and report the store of victuals: the other letter, “a kinde of warrant” under your and my lord my father’s hand, to set in hand the needful works. On this, informing the controller and surveyor of your pleasure, they asked M<sup>r</sup> Vernon’s officers if they could serve the poorer sort of workmen with bread only, for they were to get no pay till Christmas—who replied they could not, for there was not enough to serve the garrison above 3 weeks. We will do what we can to set forward the work, for the hard hewers, quarriers and masons are most of them soldiers, and victualled from the palace, but unless your lordship cause Vernon to send warrant to his officers to give the “poorer sorte of laborers and such,” a small allowance of bread, the works cannot well go forward, as they have no wages to buy it.

While writing I received a packet and letter inclosed under your and my father’s hand, with a schedule of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon’s debt to men of Lynn and Hull, of 907*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, for me to stay it out of his money due on the half year’s pay—also that I and the Council here should view what victuals remain, what is lately come, and the chief lack, and inquire of his deputies (for he is not here), how they can supply the want and how soon, and certify you particularly in writing.

I told you formerly, that Vernon always makes up his books and gets his money at the audit, at least 6 or 8 weeks before the pay comes here. So your honour’s letter is too late, there is nothing to “stay”—nor any over-plus of money with his officers. I have caused Sheperston, M<sup>r</sup> Treasurer’s officer, to make a note of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon’s book and how much is paid him, and inclose it, where you will see neither his officers or any other here receives “any penny.”

As for calling a council, all the councillors of this town consist only in myself. But I have called before me Vernon’s officers, and caused M<sup>r</sup> Controller to survey the store of all kinds, as the inclosed note will show. His officers plainly tell me, they know of no supply coming, or that he can provide any, and they are almost undone themselves. M<sup>r</sup> Allen Barker, who has purveyed beef and mutton for long for the town, and very honestly, gave up providing, by Vernon’s breaking covenant at Midsummer; but at my intreaty continued at “his owne creditt” till now, when he has clean given up serving us, “and will nether medle nor make” till some new bargain is made. So we are in poor case.

In your letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> the postscript says that M<sup>r</sup> Vernon, being unable to come himself, has told your honour he has directed “his cossyn” William Vernon—who being here at the receipt of my letters, showed his “directions.” They are only that William Vernon should try to get 60 qrs. of wheat from one who will not trust him a penny, having lost too much by him already!

I hope on seeing my report, you will do me the favour to credit my certificates, being here and seeing the wants of the place, better than Sir John Selby and Sir William Reade who are never here, and care little what becomes of us.

On 31 May they said there was enough till Michaelmas, and yet three parcels have come in since then, and nothing like enough. Seeing such immediate need, I will certify the best shift I can think of, *viz.*—One M<sup>r</sup> Jackson, an alderman here, has a quantity of rye that he bought of a chance ship, and there is another ship load of “one M<sup>r</sup> Sydneys” of Lynn, with malt, and finding no market, he stored it here in houses. These things, in extremity might be stayed by your warrant, and an order with it for payment at Christmas.

Little Scottish news but constant ridings.

The palace officers have been “even nowe againe,” to say that this day

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they kill all the "beifes" they have, and it is the last provision they know of—the purveyor having given up. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

3½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.

July 28. 90. RALPH ASHETON TO BURGHLEY.

Having received of the two receivers of Yorkshire and Northumberland the money allotted for the garrison of Berwick, &c., for the half year ended at the Annunciation of "the blessed Virgin Mary" last, I performed the payment according to your appointment, and inclose a brief of the receipts and payments, which could not have been done without receipt of M<sup>r</sup> Clopton's whole "remain," which he paid to further her Majesty's service. He demanded from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes an abatement of 200*l*. and more thereof, which M<sup>r</sup> Bowes was to answer him for "diverse rentes and averages, and such like reckenings betwixt them." My proceedings were by the privity of one of M<sup>r</sup> Treasurer's men, according to your lordship's direction. "Leaver, my pore house." Signed: Ra. Asheton.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Inclosed in the above:—

Reckoning between Robert Bowes esquire, treasurer of Berwick, and  
Ralph Asheton esquire, for the pay, &c., of the garrison for the first half year from 30 September 1594 till 24 March then next following.

*Extracts.*

Treasure received by R. Asheton from the receivers of York (3000*l*.) Northumberland (2000*l*.), Lincoln (1000*l*.), and M<sup>r</sup> Clopton's balance for Berwick at Michaelmas 1594 (665*l*. 3*s*. 11¾*d*.), in all 6665*l*. 3*s*. 11¾*d*. Whereof, payments made and to be allowed by Bowes to Asheton, *viz.*, Lord Hunsdon's fee as governor, 333*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.; John Carey esq. the marshal's fee, 130*l*.; Robert Bowes as treasurer, 216*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.; Sir John Selby knight porter, 92*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.; John Carey as chamberlain, 47*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.; Richard Musgrave esq., master of the Ordnance, 73*l*.; M<sup>r</sup> John Crane comptroller, 32*l*.; Thomas Parkinson mayor, 100*s*.; John Harding, customer, 100*s*.; John Kelsterne, comptroller of customs, 50*s*.; William Acrigge master mason and surveyor of works, 22*l*.; Leonard Farley master carpenter, 9*l*. 6*s*. Other officers, gunners, pensioners, &c., 2 surgeons, 8*l*. 16*s*. each; Richard Clarke preacher, 25*l*.; 2 tipstaffes, 8*l*. 16*s*. each; watchmen, &c., in all, 6629*l*. 8*s*. 9*d*.

Remaining in Vernon's hands, 35*l*. 15*s*. 2¾*d*.

2 pp. Written by his clerk.

July 29. 91. ROBERT VERNON TO BURGHLEY.

I send your honour (1) a note of the provisions issued to the garrison between Lady day and 24 July, and the remain, with what is shipped "from hence," (2) a note of the provisions bought in Norfolk last December, and at Hull in January, and how much is not paid, (3) a declaration of victuals delivered to the garrison and works in the half year ended last Lady day, with my own entertainment, and how applied towards the Lynn and Hull provisions, showing that I have not converted a penny to my own use, "excepte I have answered other money for yt." If your honour had joined Sir John Selby in your letter to M<sup>r</sup> John Carey, it "mighte have done me greate pleasure," for M<sup>r</sup> Carey is quite against me, "and if my displasinge lye in his hand, I am sure to have yt." He told my man Allen Barkour I was leaving the place at Lady day, but Barkour said he did not doubt me, and at Easter last I satisfied him, and he promised to serve the garrison to Mid summer, as before, and then to Michaelmas in my name,

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trusting me to bear any loss, with leave to give up on a month's warning to me. Since then I have heard nothing contrary, till Mr Carey writes that Barkour has stopped supply for me, "whereof I marvaile." For he is an honest and sufficient man, and would never have done it without persuasion. But I have written to know the certainty. I would beseech your lordship to prevent any want, for your letter to Barkour to continue his supply till Michaelmas, by which time you may consider either to relieve me, or for some other man for that place. Signed: Robert Vernon.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley. Wafer signet: quartered.  
Inclosed in the above:—

(Note of victuals, &c.)

Extracts.

Issued Midsummer quarter 1595—Bread, beer, beans, "grosse wares," and fish, in all	666 <i>l</i> . 10 <i>s</i> . 9 <i>d</i> .
From 23 <sup>rd</sup> June till 24 <sup>th</sup> July 1595.	205 <i>l</i> . 17 <i>s</i> . 9 <i>d</i> .
Slaughtered till same date, 29 oxen, 22 weathers	159 <i>l</i> . 6 <i>s</i> .
Total,	1,032 <i>l</i> . 14 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .
Remaining at the same date—Wheat, malt, beans, 9 oxen; 1 bull 70 <i>s</i> ; 6 kine, 60 weathers, &c., in all	647 <i>l</i> . 1 <i>s</i> .
Shipped for Berwick 26 <sup>th</sup> July.—Wheat, 32 <i>s</i> . a qr., rye at 20 <i>s</i> ., in all	400 <i>l</i> .
Total,	1,047 <i>l</i> . 1 <i>s</i> .
Expenditure from Lady day till 24 July	1,032 <i>l</i> . 14 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .
Remain, with what is sent from London	1,047 <i>l</i> . 1 <i>s</i> .

1 p. Indorsed: A note of the value of the victuals issued from Lady day, &c., and of the remain.

July . 92. GARRISON, &C., OF BERWICK.

Extracts.

The number of soldiers, under 8 captains	500
Horsemen, pensioners, &c., of the old garrison	201
Officers that receive fees—Lord Governor, &c.	21

1 p. Written by Burghley's secretary. Indorsed by Burghley: "July 1595. Such as have victuals."

Aug. 2. 93. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Having stopped a vagrant passenger calling himself Manington, who told me that he and others landed at Leith in Scotland, and for proof showed me a passport signed by the Provost and three burgesses of Edinburgh—I suspecting it to be counterfeit, sent it to Mr Bowes' servant Nicholson lying in Edinburgh. He has this day returned it saying it is forged, "and that he learneth some evil in the man." At taking, he had another letter from one Osburne of the town of Ayr in Scotland to one Jefferey Cooke, fish-monger in West Chester,—wherein among other things, it is said that Angus Maconell lord of Kintyre in Scotland had "listed" 6000 men and "bonnen" for Ireland, which forces it seems from Nicholson's letter, are designed to spoil the isle of Man—for this lord of Kintyre and Donell and other rebels there, are at sea for that purpose. Besides certifying your lordship, I have sent notice to the deputy governor of Man to be on his guard. The passenger is impudent and arrogant and I can get nothing of worth out of him. I

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pray your further instructions what to do with him. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 2. 94. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I have your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> July by one Richard Atkyns a servant of Mr Roger Manners, for payment to him and one Edward Trepp of 536*l.* due them for victuals delivered to Mr Vernon on the Council's letters. I have told him, as I formerly did your honour, that I can do him no good, for Mr Vernon always receives payment for the whole charge of his book at the audit. Yet this poor gentleman, whose estate it seems "standes upon yt," hearing Captain Selby was coming down with the balance of the two years' pay, and thinking Vernon had some "good" in that, desired to "staye" Selby's coming. When he did come, I made Sheperston make up Vernon's reckonings, and show me if he had anything due, when I would if I could, have satisfied this gentleman somewhat. But there is on the reckoning little or nothing due Vernon; so I thought it better to return the gentleman to you again, than keep him here at charges. I find his estate so ill that I am fain to lend him 5*l.*, little as I can spare it, to help his journey, referring his hard estate to your consideration. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Aug. 3. 95. RICHARD SWIFTE'S REQUESTS.

Demands for the victualling of Berwick.

1. The garrison to be tied to take all their provision from the victualler, who has it ready, so the soldier can only "vent" it elsewhere, which "I think will avail him nothing."

2. All the workmen under the victualler to be in the Queen's pay, for if he is charged with them, he will make no profit.

3. The Queen to bear all losses at sea by the enemy or tempest.

4. Also the repairs of the palace, storehouses and windmills.

5. If the officer keep "cartes and horses," to be allowed for them as others in Berwick are.

6. That consideration be had of the present dearth, till easier rates return.

7. That as much money shall be imprested to the officer at his entry, as the value of the whole provisions always to be in store shall come to. *Not signed.*

1 p. *Swift's writing. Indorsed*: "3 Aug. 1595. Requests of Mr Swifte."

Aug. 6. 96. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Having received the letter or rather a warrant under your and my father's hand of 16<sup>th</sup> July, I and the controller have set the works in hand as speedily as may be. Though it is rather late in coming, we shall do what we can: desiring your honour that Mr Vernon will cause his officers to supply a little allowance of bread to the labourers.

We were in hard state for victuals till last Monday the 4<sup>th</sup>, "two little pretty bottles" came in, laden they say from London by Mr Vernon with 150 qrs. rye, and 150 qrs. wheat, and malt is shortly expected, of which we live in hope, or shall soon lack our drink. On Tuesday the 5<sup>th</sup> there came another little boat from Lynn of Mr Sydnames with "seaven score" qrs. peas and rye for the market, so we are pretty well stored till after Michaelmas.

Captain Selby is come with the balance of the two years' pay, but Mr Ashton having gone to his own country, it is yet unpaid. But I have written twice by post for him and he is daily expected.

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The "steires and broylls" in Scotland are smothered for a time, but troubles are daily looked for by the "best sorte" there. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Small armorial wafer signet.*

Aug. 7. 97. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM, &C., TO HUNTINGDON.

Finding, on conference among ourselves, and with the best gentlemen here and in Northumberland, also by the multitude of offenders presented before us at the Assizes and gaol delivery, that the outlaws of both Borders, and other notorious thieves, are determined to make this bishopric an open spoil and prey, to the impoverishing of the poorer sort, and endangering such of the better sort as are able and willing to repress them: we presume to advertise you thereof, craving also your assistance for speedy redress according to your long experience and high authority, presuming also to give our opinions for timely reformation "before the sore shall becom incurable." 1. That it would please you to direct letters to the wardens, especially of the Middle and West Marches, for extraordinary care in taking order with their officers of Bewcastle, Gilsland, Redesdale, Tynedale, &c., for better readiness to resist and pursue inroaders or suspicious passers by. 2. To move the Privy Council for some extra forces to be laid where usual, or at least command the wardens to observe more duly the days of truce, and execution of justice—the neglect whereof has bred wonderful boldness in the Scots, and in our illdisposed neighbours of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland "and this county," to join with them in their worst confederacies. "Whereof a great presumption at the bar this presente Assizes, was publicly shewen by oue David Armstrong *alias* Bangtaill, a Scot, and a notorious owtlaw, who being apprehended and brought in by M<sup>r</sup> William Fenwick of Wallington upon your lordshipes commaundement, arraigned and found guiltie of eight severall felonies, feared not to threaten M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick, that though he were the best beloved gentleman of his clan, yet his heeles should be lifted and turned up to the sky for bringing him, being a Scot, to be tried here before us! Also that he the said Armstrong would kis the bar when he went from yt, and vow that never any Scot should be so brought in and dealt with againe." 3. To order the justices strictly to revive the good orders for watches of all kinds, "slough houndes," following hue and cry, and putting themselves and servants in better order for service under their tenures and leases, "in these remote partes." We had intended to lay these particulars before their lordships, but resolved first to "bemoan" the wretched condition of this country to your lordship, not doubting that we shall shortly hear of some good course taken by you for reformation of these evils. At the Assizes at Duresm. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm., Ra. Eure, Fr. Beaumont, Edw. Drewe.

2 pp. *Corrected by the bishop. Addressed*: "To the right honorable our very good lorde, the Earle of Huntingdon, lorde lieutenant and lord president in the northe." *Indorsed*: B. of Durham, L. Eure, Justice Beaumont, Serjeant Drewe. . . ." *Wafer signet*: a shield—Durham, impaling a quartered coat (*Mathew*?). 1595 at top.

Aug. 8. 98. ESTIMATE FOR BERWICK.

Estimate how long the victuals at Berwick, with what is sent, and needful to be sent, will last from 24 July to "Hallowtide."

*Extracts.*

A note of the provisions there, and the loss on each article, *e.g.*, 104 oxen, weight, 400 lbs. a piece, bought at 4l. 10s., loss on each 20s.; 168 "muttons," 40 lbs. a piece, at 10s. and 12s., loss on each 6s., &c.

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2 pp. Broad sheet. Written by Vernon's clerk, annotated by Burghley, who adds on flyleaf, calculations of Vernon's losses at sea, &c. Indorsed: "8 Aug. 1595. An estimate for xiiij weekes endinge primo Novembris." By Burghley: "for vitellyng at Barwyk, Vernon."

Aug. 9. 99. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Your lordship knows the trouble intended by Buccleuch to this office, though his complaints against me are unfounded as will appear on trial. The inclosed letter from Lord Herries shows his difficulty in doing justice, and I therefore beg your lordship and the Council to move her Majesty for some companies, either of horsemen or of the foot of Berwick, as in like times of necessity, with an early reply, as the nights are waxing long. Carlisle. Signed: Th. Scroope.

"I have onely written to my lord Chamberlen herein, who I trust at your takinge notice of so muche, will repaire to your lordship and yeild the travell and favour I requier his lordship to do."

1 p. Postscript holograph. Addressed Indorsed.  
Inclosed in the above:—

(Herries to Scrope.)

Acknowledging his letter of complaint, and would gladly make redress, but for great hindrances—*e.g.*, many offenders in the rolls presented by Richard Bell, depend on the Laird Johnston and are "exemit" from his jurisdiction—others are stirred up by evil inclined people in Scrope's own wardenry, to be worse against their quiet neighbours than they would be. He has written to the King, and expects speedy answer.

Having received a number of complaints from Scrope's servant, he will shortly send some counter complaints, when they may appoint to meet and settle some of these, "to encourage trew men and abate the pryde of the insolent corrupt bordour men. . . . Drumfreis the ferde day off August 1595." Signed: Herys.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Aug. 9. 100. VERNON TO BURGHLEY.

I have bought malt to serve till "Halloutid" to be shipped at Welles in Norfolk "before the later ende of the next weeke"—and also ordered butter and cheese. Only "biffe and mutton" is now needful, and I doubt not my man Allen Barker will furnish it till Michaelmas. I look to hear from him or some other daily.

Beseeching your honour to consider my great losses, for which I will not be ungrateful. Signed: Robert Vernon.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.

Aug. 9. 101. RICHARD SWIFTE TO BURGHLEY.

I am "fearefull" to enter into this service, except on conditions whereby I may discharge it sufficiently. I have long had little to do, and would be glad to be employed to do myself some good, "or elles no hurt."

But at present rates, I see little chance of doing any good. For it will be 9 months after the officer's entry, before he gets paid for his deliveries, and then to provide "a staple" of provision for 1000 men for a year, while the covenant is for 1500, will take 7000*l.* or 8000*l.* at old prices, &c. I think you will find "few able, and none willing," to bear the burden.

Wherefore I pray your lordship, if the new officer is not to be set up "with

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as good a stock as Mr Vernon"—and without it I dare not venture—I may with your favour cease to proceed farther therein. *Signed*: Rich. Swifte.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 11. 102. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO SIR R. CECIL.

"Right honorable, my dutie acknowledged with speciall thanks for all the contentes and circumstances of your letter, which I receaved the third of this present: wherunto I could not soner retourne answer, partly because the justices of Assise and my selfe with the rest had our handes full to deliver the gaole of manie famous infamous malefactors both Scottes and Englishhe: and partely because he to whome I had given the notes of my sermon preached on Palmes Sondaie last before her Majestie, was not in these partes untill the ix<sup>th</sup> of this instant. Nowe at the last, thonghe somewhat longe, first, to thexeption taken against my speaches by Mr Fowles the King of Scottes his messenger, as if in my saide sermon I had used some bitter invective against Scottes and Scotland: I saie, that nader your honorable reformacion, by his leave it is a mere imputacion; neither the nation being once named by me, nor anie man of that countrey, saving that I reported Mr James Lawson sometyme the superintendent of Edenbrough, manie yeares agoe to have shewed me an olde booke written in parchment, wherein was contained this odd prophecie as he termed it—*Angli quia proditioni, ebrietati, luxuria, et negligentia domus Dei dediti sunt, primo per Danos, secundo per Normannos, tertio per Scotos (qui vilissimi reputantur) erunt conterendi.* In the citing and expounding of which sentence, I protest unto your honor, because I would avoyde offence, I did leave out *Scotos* and supplied it by the word *Alios*. I added, that albeit my selfe were no prophet, ne the sonue of a prophet, nor gave anie credit to suche olde said sawes: yet if the former sinnes of our ancestors did procure diverse invasions and conquestes of this kingdome, I did not see, but that the same transgressions remaning amonge us, that provoked Gods vengeance against them, the like eventes mought light upon us or our posteritie as Gregorie saith, *Quos una culpa claudit, una pena tenet.* To the which effecte I alleged this reproof of our owne nation out of Gildas our contryman—*Britones propter avaritiam et rapinam procerum, propter iniquitatem et injustitiam judicum, propter desidiarum predicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi, patriam perdidisse.* Wherupon I most earnestly besought all estates to repent and amend their lives, according to my text, Phil. i. 27 (Let your conversation be worthe of the gospell of Christ). Using that comminacion of our Saviour in the 13 of Luke—*Nisi penitentiam egeritis, omnes similiter peribitis;* and that exhortacion of Samuel, *Lib. i. c. 12.* 'Feare ye the Lord and serve him in synceritie of heart, and consider howe great things he hath done for you; but if you shall still doe wickedly, both you and your prince shall perishe;' and here woe worthe (quoth I) those wicked subjectes, who by their graceless and godlesse conversacion drawe such dangers, not upon them selves only, but upon their princes withall, especially suche a prince as God hath blessed us with, amonge and above all other nations, a most gracious instrument of his glorie, a most glorious ornament of the Christian worlde: whome Almighty God longe preserve and prosper to rule and raigne over us.

"In all this what falte can myne accuser fynde? either in the mater or the forme of doctrine? Shall it not be lawfull for Gods minister to tell Israel of his sinnes and the house of Jacob of his offences? Shall not the watchman when he seeth the sworde hanging, the shepherd when he perceaveth the wolphe comming, have libertie to open his mouthe for them that be dumbe in the cause of all the children of destruction? Shall we not dare to saie with Job, *Deus facit hypocritam regnare propter peccata populi;* or to affirme with Ecclesiasticus, that *Regnum de gente in gentem*

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*transfertur propter injurias, injustitias, contumelias et diversos dolos?* If it beseme not a preacher and chefely a bishop (albeit then but elect), to reprove aud rebuke with all auctoritie, wherto then serveth S<sup>t</sup> Paules commission commanding them so to doe? To growe to an issue, Sir,—If M<sup>r</sup> Fowles or any contryman of his or any other will presume to justifie against me any one worde of disgrace by me then uttered or at any other tyme against the Prince or people of Scotland, myne humble desyre is it maie be articulated in writing, and in wryting I will answere it, upon myne oathe to be taken by commission, in case my solemue protestacion under this my hand will not content them. Marie! therein I will loke to enjoye the privilege of my calling allowed by the Apostle (1 Tim. 5), 'Against an elder or preist receive none acusacion, but under two or three witnesses': and then if their suggestion can be proved, let me endure the demerit of myne indiscretion—*Sed nihil tale*. Againe what a simplicitie had this been for me, that both was then and still am by Gods providence and her Majesties benignitie to live all my daies within a good daies journey of Scotland, publicly to irritate a nation so some offended and geven to suche revenge: knowing besydes the princelie care her Majestie hath ever had and commaunded for the conservacion of the amitie and unities betwene the two realmes: having had longe experience withall howe her highnes from the beginning to this present hath most bountifully relieved, and most mightily supported the Kinge, both in his estate and lyfe, more lyke a naturall mother then a neighbour prince. Which kyndnes to continew I beseeche God her Majestie maie still have better and better cause.

"This being thus, I would by your honor most humbly beseeche her Majestie not soone to apprehend everie jelous report that everie Scottissh factionarie shall conveye to the Kinge, or the Kinges messenger to her highnes, against her loiall subject and sworne servant: but rather to testifie against the surmisers by the vertue of her owne eare and judgement; who would never have suffered me to have past uncensured, had I in her presence committed such an unadvised error. So trusting I shalbe no farther questioned in this behalfe, least I be forced to alleage other causes why some Scottes disfavor me, yea aud traduce me, both to her Majestie and to the Kinge (which I both can and will doe, if I be therto pressed hereafter)—I renewe my humble thanks to your honor, and offer myne innocencie herein, and my poore service and selfe prostrate at her Majesties most sacred feete. At Duresm Castell 11 Augusti 1595. Your honors most bounden." *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed*: "To . . . Sir Robert Cecyll knight," &c. *Indorsed*: "Bp. of Duresme to my master. His aunswere to M<sup>r</sup> Da. Fowles exceptions: received the xvij<sup>th</sup> of the same at Greenwich." *Wax signet*: Durham, impaling Mathew's arms.

Aug. 12. 103. LORD EURE TO BURGHEY.

As one devoted to your lordship who accepts my well meaning, "in censuring me (not accordinge the ordinary manner of the worlde) to geve fayer shewes, and with smale intendment of performance, but with honorable concept to judge as fathfullie and honorable, I vow to your lordship which imbouldneth me the rather to acquainte your lordship principally whome (as one principall subjecte in this land yt concerneth) what distresse, calamytys, pyttifull complaints, with the cries of wyddowes and fatherles children, even to the skyes, is inforced in this bushoppricke of Durham, by the greate theifte, intollerable sufferance of Northumberland, and the weakenes or rather dastardie (yif I may so tearme yt) of the inhabitantes there." Goods are taken in the day, men robbed on the highway, taken out of their houses and ransomed by Scottish outlaws " (or Scottishe imitatinge)," and on the smallest theft from a Scot, he threatens blood revenge by his clan. At this Durham



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assise, when many of "the greatest and strongest ryders or rather reavers" Scots and English were in gaol, great threats were sent to their apprehenders and prosecutors, and at the bar a notable Scots thief threatened blood against the gentleman who took him. Yet in my own hearing that gentleman not only intreated for his life very earnestly, but more than once urged on the judges that he ought not to have been tried before them—"a rayer speche to all whoe favored the trewe executione of justice"! I refer the remedy for these miseries to your honorable judgment. "But sewerlie with greefe of soule I speake yt, the cuntrye people is in a manner amaysed, and moste doe forbear to be actors in so honorable a tragedye, both for saiffetie of the subjecte (and if with favoure my wordes be interpreted), and suffer whatt they maye indignitye to her royall government by suche bayse personns, her subjectes lefte as a pray to the wyilde boore that gredeleie seeketh there subversyon."

Humbly praying that your lordship will consider these complaints, and present them to her Majesty for some speedy redress. "The waterr of Tyne southe and moste of Darwent are open enymies to Bushoppricke." Ingelbie. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 8-12. 104. GRAIN FOR BERWICK.

In the *Anne* of Lynn, Thomas Pearson master—150 qrs. wheat, 50 qrs. rye. In the *Amberos* of Wells, Robert Bell master, 120 qrs. rye. From Robert Jaxcon 10 qrs. rye. From Allen Barker 10-29 July 1595, 25 oxen and 13 "kyne."

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed*: "Grayne sent to Barwick by M<sup>r</sup> Vernon and delivered there since the last certificate."

Aug. 15. 105. WORKMEN, &C., AT BERWICK.

Note of the decayed places, and the numbers of workmen now at work there.

Bridge over Tweed: carpenters, 10; sawyers, 2; smiths, 2; lightermen, 4. Breaches in the old town walls: masons, layers, and quarrymen, 20. The Cowgate: smiths for enlarging of the old iron gate, &c., 6. Labourers at the long bridge, the quarries, &c., 60. Carters or drivers of 2 carriages, 2. Boys to carry mortar to the breaches, 10. Sum total 116, whereof 76 have no pay, and require a small allowance of victuals. *Signed*: John Crane, Will<sup>m</sup>. Acrigge.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

Aug. 16. 106. ASHETON AND SELBY TO BURGHELY.

We are busy here about the reckonings of the two years' pay. At it is now seven years since it was due, we find the reckonings very intricate and difficult, and many controversies still undecided between M<sup>r</sup> Treasnrer and others, before we can perfect them. We have written to M<sup>r</sup> Bowes, on whose answer we shall proceed as directed under the privy seal. Sheperdson his man tells us that his master's promise to you for payment of 1000*l*. in money, and tickets "defalkeable," shall be performed in convenient time. But we have received no more money than the 700*l*. out of Exchequer, and 800*l*. at York—1500*l*., now remaining with me, William Selby. Berwick. *Signed*: Ra. Asheton, Will<sup>m</sup>. Selby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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## c. Aug. 16. 107. BURGHEY TO VERNON.

"Questions to be answered."

1. How much money is due to him for victuals delivered to the garrison for the 35<sup>th</sup> and 36<sup>th</sup> years of the Queen's reign?
2. The number victualled, and do officers get more than common soldiers?
3. Do the men of the old bands with less pay, get as much as those of the new?
4. Show the profits they make in selling their allowances?
5. Are absentees, or "checked" at pay, allowed victuals?
6. How many petty victuallers?
7. What is a horse's allowance?

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or indorsement.*

## Aug. 16. 108. VICTUALLING AT BERWICK.

Replies by Vernon, under 7 heads, as to the mode of issuing victuals, number of the petty victuallers (6), and the companies to which they are attached, the officers who draw victuals, &c. The "benevolence" given weekly to the poor, by the governor, officers, captains, and soldiers, is usually paid to them in bread at the soldiers' rate.

2 pp. *Indorsed*: "16 Aug. 1595. Vernon his awnswer to the questions."

## Aug. 17. 109. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHEY.

In answer to your letter of the 9<sup>th</sup>—before Captain Selby came here with part of the 2 years' pay, Mr Asheton had gone home, but being sent for, came here on Sunday the 10<sup>th</sup>, and since they have been engaged on the reckonings, but these are so intricate and difficult that they found they could make no pay "without leaving great claymor behynde of the soldiers, who had there good, which might hereafter come to the Queens Majesties eares againe." Besides if all reckonings had fallen out right, I think they could not get Mr Treasurer's 1000*l.*, but in such reckonings as would not be allowed. So Mr Asheton having spent a full "senight" here, and seeing he could do no good, the 1000*l.* being unsatisfied, went home on Saturday the 16<sup>th</sup>, and means to be with your honour at London in the end of this month to report. Mr Treasurer's man has taken a very ill course betwixt his master and the garrison.

I have sent a note of the workmen inclosed under the controller and surveyor's hands, and hope they will be at work till Michaelmas—but your warrant came so late that the bridge at the Cowgate cannot be finished till next spring.

Mr Vernon's man sent the inclosed note of what corn has come, and much has come to market since—but we hear of no malt from Vernon, though long looked for, and his man tells me but 62 qrs. remain.

The controversy between the King and Queen for possession of the young prince is come to nothing. In show they are lovingly together at Falkland. He means to go to Stirling "a hunting" and back to the Queen, who meets him at St Johnstons, where it is said they mean to receive the communion together. He has proclaimed his journey to set the Borders in good order on 20<sup>th</sup> October, so there is appearance of quietness, if it holds. Berwick.  
*Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signed.*

## Aug. 20. 110. THE COUNCIL TO SCROPE.

Signifying that the Queen on his complaints, has required the King

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of Scots to make Buccleuch do justice, or remove him and place another in office—also that the Bishop of Durham, Lord Eure, &c., have moved her Majesty to censure the wardens of the Middle and West Marches to see that their under officers keep stricter order—farther that she has had sundry informations against Musgrave of Bewcastle, for familiarity and friendly intelligence with the Scots his neighbours, permitting them to pass through his rule without resistance, and has commanded him to be brought before them, charged with his faults, and if cause requires, to discharge him from his office. Commanding Scrope to make examination of these charges and order Musgrave in the Queen's name, to repair to Court—against which time Scrope shall inform them of the same, and appoint a keeper in his absence, with his opinion of a fit successor, if Musgrave be removed—also to charge the other officers under him to keep stricter watch in their offices against passage of outlaws, Scots and English. And that similar orders have been given to Sir John Forster for Redesdale and Tynedale.

2 pp. *Draft corrected by Burghley. Indorsed:* "20 Aug. 1595. M. of the lordes lettres to the Lorde Scroope."

Aug. 20. 111. THE COUNCIL TO FORSTER.

We doubt not but it is too well known to you that pitiful complaints of the outrages in the Bishopric of Durham have been laid before her Majesty, and that if better order be not speedily taken by you as her warden there, her Majesty must of very necessity make choice of some other to have that place which you of so long time have held. And though it may be presumed that by reason of your great years and infirmity, you are not able in person to follow and prosecute the recovery of justice by frequent keeping of the truce days, or by personal prosecution of the offenders: yet as you have sundry officers under you and gentlemen of good value for service, who might under your direction preserve the Queen's subjects from outrage, we require your speedy answer what may be done by you herein: for this misgovernment can no longer be suffered, and her Majesty will continue you as her officer no longer than you can repress these disorders by Border law.

1 p. *Draft corrected by Burghley. Indorsed:* "20 Aug. 1595. M. of he lords' lettres to Sir John Forster."

Aug. 21. 112. PASSPORT FOR R. RICHESON.

Licensing Robert Richeson Scotsman going to London on his lawful affairs, with a "sower" ambling nag 15 hands high. Berwick. *Signed:* Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed as before. Official seal as before.*

Similar for Thomas Lydderdale Scotsman, with a white ambling horse 16 hands high; and James Richeson Scotsman, with a bay ambling nag of 15 hands, and a led gray ambling gelding of 18 hands.

Aug. 22. 113. SCROPE TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Acknowledging himself deeply beholden for his courtesy in sending him the Queen's address to the King of Scots for putting order to Border outrages. That on the return of his man from Scotland, he will inform "my verie good lorde and your selfe" of all that he hears. Carisle. *Signed:* Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Address leaf lost.*

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Aug. 28. 114. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

In answer to your inquiry : this wardenry is too weak for offence or defence, especially Bewcastle, through the long continued incursions without redress. Thus Liddesdale passes easily through it to attack Gilsland, which place is also greatly weakened from the same cause. "So that your lordship maye sallie assaye to deduce her Majesties opinion from acceptinge this office to be stronger than th'oposite or more able then the reste for its owne defence." And as the King of Scots gives no more than fair words in reply to her Majesty's letter, without performance, and the people in my rule are likely to sustain farther damage, I would most humbly beseech her to send hither speedily some hundred of the Berwick foot, for the last fortnight I had to call down and keep in nightly watch on the frontier 100 countrymen, to their great charge and oppression.

The "verie brute" of the soldiers' coming did at first strike terror, till it was found a false alarm, and raids began afresh. A violent course of redress may draw on great dangers, if we are not fortified before taking revenge, and my service here would do no honour to myself or content her Majesty if extra support is not granted in this time of extremity.

I would move your honour for some relief to Henry Leigh, that he may serve his office more effectually, as he merits.

As I can find no more through Mr Bowes' man, about Mannington the prisoner and his errands out of Scotland, worth troubling your lordship, I intend very shortly to enlarge him. Carlisle. *Signed* : Th. Scrope.

"Such as I have received oute of Scotland your lordship will have herewith inclosed. There is no justice betwixte me and Buckclugh nor Heris nor noe apparance of any to content. Therefore as for the reasons above, I pray your lordship worke my lord Chamberlens good will to let 100 of the foote garisons at Barwick to come to lye heare for some tyme."

2 pp. *Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 29. 115. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"I most humbly crave pardon that I have not sines my firste cuminge doune, writen to your lordship before nowe. The chiefest causes was, because I was a stranger in the countrey, altogether ignorant of their customs and maners, and to wright before I knewe what to wright, I thought it not fit, and therefore have staid till nowe that by exsperiens I see what we are to looke for at the hands of our oposit warden, which is determinid to dooe us no justis, as by the copen of his letter which my lord has sent you, you may perseve." We are not able to withstand them by our own forces, as the country was so spoiled the last winter. And it has been usual on this March even when not so out of order, to have 100 soldiers from Berwick or otherwise, as the Queen and your lordship appoint, which will keep us in quiet. "We are macht with a poeple without laues, and we are bound to keepe laues, only force must bridell them ; therefore good my lord, have sum care of this poore countrey, and let ther be suche order taken as we may have help in teyme, for thay are alleredey verey bise, and the longer the nightes growe, the worse thay will be." As occasions fall out I will advise you. Carlisle. *Signed* : Rob<sup>t</sup>. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed (as corrected by Burghley)* : "Mr Rob<sup>t</sup>. Caree . . . Little hope of redress and justice to be expected at the Lord Maxwells (*sic*) haudes," &c.

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Aug. . 116. VERNON'S DEBTS AT LYNN, &amp;C.

Lynn.—To Thomas Clayborne (and three others) and John Knipe of Ipswich—in all . . . . . 371*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*  
 At Hull—to Richard Atkinson and Edward Trip . . . . . 536*l.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed*: "Aug. 1595. Note of the money owing to certain men of Lynn and Hull, for provisions delivered by them for Barwick."

Sept. 3. 117. LADY SCROPE TO LORD SCROPE.

"Swit lord, I find bey thes men that you have sent oup, that ther practes is onley to deshonor you, for to my self thay have outterley denyed al ther one confessions, avoing that your extrem deling with them inforsed them to do that thay dod. Wich when I hard, I thought best presentley to advartes you therof, that now you may thinke the better what you have to do. I wel do my best to kepe them from coming before the Cunsel tel I here from you agayne ; but good my lord, worke now of a more surer grond, for in my pore openion thys plat hath ben layed from the beginning to make you forsake that plas, wich I hope you will better thinke of then in thys manner to leve et. When you have revenge you self of your enimes and settelled al thynge in better order then now thay ar, then you may voues\* et at your plesur, befor wich tyme (for Gods sake) hare al with pasians and let them not have ther desiers in removing you of a sodain from then. For your coming oup, I know not what to say, for I fere et will be a greater deshonor for you to have them avow to your fayes before the Cunsel your extremet of feling with them, and your larges promesses if thay dod your will. (For on of them dod say that you offred them Lanslet Carltons land and xx*l.* a yere, if he wold aver that you wold have him.) But your lordship is wise inof, and knos what to do better then I, therfor I wel atend onley for your ansur and be redey to fulfel your will, leving the rest to the report of thes barer, who was a wetnes of al that thay sayd to me, and so at thys tyme I well take my leve. From Hackne the 3 of September. Your assured loving wiife." *Signed*: Philadelpha Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed*: "To my lord and husband the Lord Scroope."

[Aug. or  
Sept.] 118. SCROPE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

*Text of letter wanting.*

*Addressed*: "To the right honorable my most especiall good frinde Sir Robert Cecill knight, principall secretarie," &c. *Indorsed*: "1595, Lord Scroope to my master. Desires the Carletons may be committed againe and some further examinacione taken of them and the Graymes." *Was signed (Scrope) broken.*

Sept. 6. 119. LORD EURE TO BURGHEY.

I received your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> by the post of Northallerton on the 5<sup>th</sup>. Your acceptance of my former letter binds me to honor you and doth greatly "recomforte me," the rather that I have long desired your favour, and will now endeavour to deserve its continuance.

"It pleasethe your lordship on speciall good will to me, to nominate to her Majestie amonge others, me to supplie the present weake and sicklye estate of Sir Johne Foster, in the wardenrye of the Myddle Marche, and upon that nomy nation, her Majesties gratiois lykings of my service in that place under

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her: her Majesties further pleasure made knowen by your lordship, that I shoulde fit my selfe for the same before Mychaellmes next."

Her Majesty's good opinion is the sole support of my poor estate, at whose feet I prostrate myself, and devote my service to her royal command. "Bat terrified" to undertake such a charge, knowing my own infinite wants, without strength from her royal graces, I with all lowliness and in humblest manner submit myself to her royal pleasure, which I pray your lordship "wittnes" to her Majesty.

Your lordship knows I am "nearrlye" unacquainted with these border services, and the Scottish outlaws have for years so strengthened themselves with horses and English subjects' goods, that it is thought this winter they will do greater outrages. Again, the gentlemen of Northumberland, except a few, are combined by "tryste" to save their goods, to let outlaws pass, some favouring them for "clanne or intermarriage," and must be strongly resisted.

The warden has no house of her Majesty's safe and fitting to lie in, and would require for a time some horse or foot of her Majesty to break up such combination. I only speak of report, and cannot touch any name of worth.

For myself, I can no way make my removal from Ingleby in Yorkshire by Michaelmas next—for corn has to be reaped—grounds for store to be had—my own grounds far off and other things for housekeeping not to be had, winter coming on so fast, unless your lordship help. I would therefore ask whether I shall repair to Court for her Majesty's further directions, or stay here? Your lordship knows better than I what the Queen's houses, grounds and "personages" in Northumberland are, and their estate. "Except the warden, besydes the ordinary fee, have grundydes and personages for helpe of hospitalitye, he shalle not be able to doe her Majestie that service he shoulde doe." Inglebye. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 9. 120. WILLIAM SELBY TO BURGHELY.

Fearing you may think me negligent, I must certify your honour that the two years' pay is not yet effected, by reason of divers controversies between M<sup>r</sup> Carey and M<sup>r</sup> Bowes, and M<sup>r</sup> Carey and M<sup>r</sup> Vernon, and two victuallers, one called Glover, the other Coleman. M<sup>r</sup> Asheton now in London, has promised to make known the particulars to you. When these are settled and M<sup>r</sup> Bowes' promise performed (which Sheperdson his man says is ready) we shall proceed as directed.

Munition is come for Berwick, Carlisle and Newcastle. The officer of the Tower has not (as in Captain Erington's time) sent a copy under his hand to me (now comptroller) that I may see the master of the Ordnance justly charged with it in his account. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup>. Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a shield barry.*

Sept. 10. 121. SIR JOHN SELBY, &C., TO BURGHELY.

Reminding him that their pay for the years 1588 and 1589 fell behind, and about four years since by means of Sir William Read and Captain Selby's suit to him, they obtained solely through his lordship, one half of it. That now Captain Selby having again sued for the balance, has obtained the same, only through his lordship's means, and the good help of Sir Robert "Cieccill"; and they pray for an order that the same may be paid to them. Berwick. *Signed*: John Selby, Thomas Parkinson, maiour [5 captains, 3 constables, 10 pensioners and 6 gunners].

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "The officers of Barwick to my lord."

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## Sept. 10. 122. WARDEN OF THE MIDDLE MARCHES, HIS FEES, &amp;c.

Northumberland.—Grant of the office of Warden of the English Marches towards Scotland, “viz., in partibus de le Myddle Marches ac in dominio Secocie, neonon custodie de le Tyndale et Riddesdale,” to Sir John Forster knight by the Queen’s letters patent dated 4<sup>th</sup> November, 2 Eliz. (1560), with wages and fees of 300*l.* yearly, also 10*l.* each for two deputies under him in said Marches, and 40*s.* to each of two warden sergeants therein; all during her Majesty’s pleasure, payable yearly at the feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S<sup>t</sup> Michael Archangel by equal portions—in all 324*l.*

Also the said warden’s fee for keeping the castles of Tynedale and Ryddesdale 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly. The fee of the said Sir John Forster as bailiff and receiver of the issues, &c., of the barony of Bywell and lordship of Bulbeeke (parcel of the possessions of the late Earl of Westmorland attainted) 6*l.* 7*s.* yearly during pleasure, under the Queen’s letters patent of 12<sup>th</sup> July, 13 Eliz. (1571).

1 p. *Latin. Indorsed (as title).*

## Sept. 12. 123. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHEY.

I have been intreated by Captain Selby and the other captains and officers here, to send “these letters” with their dutiful thanks for your favour, which they can only requite by prayers.

“The Chauncellor of Scotlande hath byn very sicke, and in such case as he was prayed for by the ministers in thire churches at Edenbronghe, but is nowe something amended. The King hath byn a great whyle at Glasco and S<sup>t</sup> Johnstones, and in divers partes of the West, taking possessyone of the landes and houses of the Earle Athells, who is lately dead, and the King being his next heyre, hath entred uppon all his landes.”

There is a ship new come in here with “some six score” qrs. malt for the palace, so we are well stored till Michaelmas. But I would beg your lordship consider that provision must now be made for next year, and if M<sup>r</sup> Vernon have neither money nor credit, we shall be in worse case than before. The garrison take up their horses at Michaelmas—there are neither pease nor oats, but a few old pease, which will last but a fortnight or 3 weeks, and then they will be in same case as last year. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

## Sept. 19. 124. SCROPE TO BURGHEY.

Notwithstanding her Majesty’s letter to the Scottish King, and his reply promising redress for outrages, I can see no order given by him, or willingness in his officers to enter on any course for it, and by Lord Herries’ inclosed letter, I see we shall get nothing more than fair words, and therefore must press your lordship to move her Majesty to send 100 at least of the foot of Berwick with speed to this place to prevent the ruin of her poor subjects. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

*On ayleaf*:—

Warrant by the Queen to Lord Hunsdon commanding him to choose and send 100 foot of the Berwick garrison to Carlisle to be under Scrope’s orders for defence—with power to recall them to Berwick when necessary for her service there.

*Draft in Burghey’s hand.*

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## Sept. 29. 125. MIDDLE MARCHES PRINCIPAL MEN, &amp;c.

"To enquire how Harbottell hath bene repayred. Lord Ogle; Henry Withrington; Fra. Ratcliff; Robert Delavale; [ ] Lawson; [ ] Mettford. The constable of Pruddo; the baylie of Bywell, Carnaby; Edward Gray, constable of Morpat; the baylie of Bedlington; constable of Warkworthe; constable of Anwyck; William Fennwycke; William Fennwycke, keper of Tyndall; the baylie of Hexam; constable of Langley."

1 p. *Indorsed by Burghley*: "29 7bris 1595. Principall men and officers on the Midle Marches."

## Sept. 29. 126. BERWICK ACCOUNTS.

Reckoning between Robert Dowes esq. treasurer and Ralph Ashton esq., for the pay of the garrison of Berwick for the half year ending 29 Sept. 1595.

*Extracts.*

Received by Ashton from the receivers of York (5000*l.*), Northumberland (2000*l.*), and Lincoln (2000*l.*), 9,000*l.*-

Paid by him to the governor, officers, garrison, &c.

[*detailed*]

8,151*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*

Balance remaining 848*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*, certified by Christopher Sheperdson for the treasurer, whereof:—

Paid by the receivers to the treasurer himself

before the account made "and detain'd by him"

711*l.* 18*s.* 9½*d.*

Balance remaining clearly in Ashton's hands

136*l.* 11*s.* 3½*d.*

*Signed*: Ra. Ashton.

2½ pp. *Indorsed*: "The reckoninge for Michaelmas paie for Barwick, maid the xxx<sup>th</sup> of December eodem anno 1595."

## Sept. 29. 127. STATEMENT BY VERNON.

"Remaine" at Berwick on 29 Sept. 1595.

Breadcorn and meal, 172 qrs.; malt, 178 qrs.; peas and beans, 47 qrs. In salt store—hops, 1800; ling 50; cod 3000 . . .—bay salt 7 "way."  
Cattle—1 bull, 16 oxen, 5 kine, 86 "weathers."

*Memorandum*.—It is to be considered what has been expended of this since 29 Sept., and what has been brought thither since. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

1 p. *Indorsed (as title)*.

## Sept. 30. 128. SCROPE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I send the inclosed from Scotland, hoping you will acquaint my lord your father therewith. Earnestly intreating you to procure and send me his resolution with her Majesty's pleasure as to sending soldiers here for defence, in which I have often written to him and been over troublesome—but my excuse is the urgency of the matter. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

I must intreat speedy answer, for I find by George Nicholson in Scotland that the King has "posted over his resolution for Border causes till the xv of the next monethe."

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

## Sept. . 129. REPORT ON THE MIDDLE MARCH.

Reasons for some to be sent to see disorders redressed or another warden appointed.



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There has been no redress for any outrage by the Scots this 6 or 7 years "but wans gon and ay gon, never to be recalid."

The chief of the country, all but three or four, are driven to pay "blake mælle" for himself and friends to some Scots thief to save him from the rest.

The poor and those unable to pay "tribut to thos caterpilers," are daily ridden upon and spoiled.

The meaner sort cannot keep horse and furniture for service—the better sort are "so patisht with riders," that they take no care to defend the country, and each man oversees his neighbour's "wrake," so he escapes hurt himself. The Middle March hitherto counted stronger than the other two together in horse and foot, is now weaker in strength, and faint in heart, and unless redress come before winter, "the cuntrey will growe wild, and the Scots will be allettogether our masters." There are at least 10,000 Scots sheep fed within England, winter and summer, besides numbers of cattle, and any man who disturbs them is sure to be delivered by our warden. And the Scots already claim and enjoy 3 or 4 "meisse" of English ground, and will encroach further if suffered. The men of account (except 3 or 4 as above) have Scotsmen dwelling in their houses, who are chief guides for the spoil of the poor.

"Tristing" between Scots and English, which is March treason "by the establishment," is as common without the warden's leave, as our men meeting in the markets. "I am sorry that I must be forst to lay the falt where it is, but my conciens is chargid to see my cuntrey so ruind and not dooe my best to see it redrest. This cuntrey had gret neede of suche a warden as is able to take paynes, and will see wronges redrest, which Sir John Forster by no manes is able to dooe—for his age is within 6 of a hundrid yers ould, his memory faylles him, he is not able to star out of his chamber, and he hathe none that medles for him in matters of the wardenrey but a basterd sun of his owne who is his debite warden, wan that is so given over to drunkennes, that if he cannot get companey, he will sit in a chayre in his chamber and drinke him self drunke before he reise! Thes be our cheffe offisers that rules our cuntrey. I refer it to your honners discretion whether ther be not hey teyme for redres."

If by reason of Sir John Forster's bypast good service, her Majesty be unwilling in his old age he should lose his office, yet in my poor opinion she may do a charitable deed to my poor countrymen, to send down a sufficient gentleman of worth in the country to lie at Harbottell with 25 or 30 horse men during the time Sir John Forster shall live, or that she be pleased to appoint another warden—or otherwise "wo be to th'inhabitans therof, and the Quene shall lose a goodly cuntrey not to be recoverid to his former strenthe in a longe teyme agayne. Thus muche I thaought it not a mis to let your honor understand, be a manes to releve our miserable afflictid cuntrey, and the prayers of the poore will help you to Heven." *Not signed.*

2 pp. In Sir Robert Carey's hand. Indorsed by Burghley: "7<sup>ber</sup> 1595. A relation of the state of the wardenry under Sir John Foster."

Sept. . 130. BERWICK PRICES IN 1591 AND 1595.

A "conference" between the prices of victuals in 1591 and 1595.

*Extracts.*

Wheat	in 1591	20s. per qr.	In 1595	40s. per qr
Malt	"	12s. "	"	20s. "
Rye	"	16s. "	"	24s. "
Pease and beans	"	12s. "	"	20s. "
Oats	"	10s. 8d. "	"	10s. 8d. "
Oxen	"	4l. "le peecc"	"	5l. 10s. "le peecc.

1595.

Weathers	in 1591	7s. 6d.	"le peece,"	In 1595	12s.	"le peece."
Butter	"	60s.	"le barrel"	"	4l.	"le barrel."
Cheese	"	40s.	"le waie"	"	60s.	"le waie."

[And some minor articles.]

The cost in 1595 exceeds that of 1591 by 2692l. 13s. 4d.

1 p. *Written by Vernon's clerk. Indorsed: as title (partly by Burghley).*

Sept. . 131. LORD EURE TO THE QUEEN.

"My humble sute to hir Majestie that it would please hir highnes to graunt this my petition for the reformation of the present abuses in the Middle March."

1. The constant incursions of the Scots have so weakened the people that they cannot keep horses as formerly and are forced to "trist" and combine with the outlaws.

2. To grant the warden "a large and severe comission" to punish all who make such "trist."

3. And a force of horsemen for defence, till the people recover their losses and furnish themselves with better horses.

4. That her highness would please to remove the officers in Redesdale and Tynedale, the bailiffs and constables of Hexham, Bywell and all other petty officers "infected" with combination or toleration of thieves.

5. And substitute Yorkshire or inland gentlemen in their places, who need not fear the outlaws—Scots or English.

6. That she would place horsemen at Harbottle and Rothbury to be led by the deputy warden living at Harbottle.

7. The chief danger to the English subject being upon South and North Tyne, "Darwett" water and "Allondaile," where some reset the outlaws and divide the spoil, and by the outlaws passing "the Waist above Bucastle" which is weak, that the warden may lie in Sir John Forster's house at Hexham with his horsemen, and ground for their horses, to defend the "Byshopbricke" and country.

8-9. As the "house of Hexham" is Sir John's, and some controversy like "to grow betwixt the inheriters of Carnabie and thos to whom Sir John will bequeath that house and landes"—that her Majesty would grant the warden some house of her own, in case Hexham be taken.

10-11. As the warden must strengthen his own people to his great charge, that her highness would increase the fee of 500l. formerly granted to Sir William Eure my great grandfather, my grandfather, to the Lord Wharton, and my father, &c., to perfect the services, and grant me "Stiford demayne" and other things which Sir John had by her gracious favour to better his estate in service.

12. To arm the country better with advice of her Council and the lord lieutenant of the north.

13. That she would bestow the parsonage of Simmouborne ou the warden, now occupied by "one" Simpson, who has Haulttwisle, which is sufficient to maintain him—as Simmonborne "was bestowed upon my grandfather, then employed in this service, and, I will kepe a preacher there." *Not signed.*

2 pp. *Broad sheets. The paragraphs numbered by Burghley. Indorsed: "Sept. 1595."*

Oct. 5. 132. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I hear this morning from Scotland that the King and Queen are now at St Johnstons. On Monday next the King comes to Dunfermline, thence by Stirling to Lythquo, where he remains till the 15<sup>th</sup> instant, when there

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is to be an assembly of the nobility, wherein the King is to take order between the Johnstons and Maxwells and to quiet the Borders.

Great means are used to get the Queen to see the young prince at Stirling, but she persists in refusing.

"The Chancellor of Scotland departed this lief the third of this moneth, at night, at nyne of the clocke." His death will make some change. It is thought that either the Earl of Mar or the "Pryor of Pluscardye" lord Seton's brother, "should enjoy his place"—neither of them "effected with the common people"—and I think "my gracious soveraigne Quene might have some stroke in the election for hir parte—considering that chancellors be great men."

I must still trouble your honour with complaints—but though we ever hope for amendment, we grow worse and worse. The horsemen instead of taking up their horses at Michaelmas as usual, still have them at grass, in danger of the Scots, as there is nothing for them in the palace. I pray your honour's consideration. Berwick. *Signed*; Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Annotated by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 7. 133. INSTRUCTIONS TO LORD EURE.

"Instructions for Sir R. Eare knyghte, lord Eure, nowe appointed warden of the Middle Marches towardes Scotlande."

First.—You shall receive our commission under our great seal of England, to the various clauses whereof we require your good consideration to execute the same in all points as therein you are prescribed.

*Item.*—We have ordered Sir William Bowes and Sir Thomas Fairfax knyghts, and others, to repair to Northumberland when the Earl of Huntingdon and you shall find it convenient—and after conference with Sir John Forster you shall receive by order of Sir William Bowes all rolls of the warden courts, acts of the days of truce, and all bills and complaints on both sides yet unfild. Also from Sir John Forster the copies of all treaties between the realms, and ordinances by the commissioners concerning justice between you and the warden opposite.

*Item.*—Whereas of late the opposite warden has had some part of his government withdrawn from him to the hindrance of justice, we have written to the King of Scots to reform this innovation, on which we trust he will restore matters.

*Item.*—We have both before and now written to him signifying that as our subjects have long claimed redress for many outrages without success, we will give our wardens both leave and commandment to revenge the same, if justice be still denied, and we would have you to understand this as our warden, and will give you special authority to act on your report of such lack of justice.

*Item.*—After our commissioners shall have perused the state of the frontier of your March, and you shall have taken possession of office by keeping warden courts, you shall signify by letter to the opposite warden your desire and readiness to meet him for a day of truce to redress complaints by Border law and custom.

*Item.*—You shall ride to such meeting as usual, with men of best repute and estimation, and disposed to keep order, taking none who have any deadly feud with the Scots—requiring the like of the opposite warden. At which meeting you shall impart to him what we have written to the King of Scots touching his wardeny.

*Item.*—As by inquiries for two years past by direction of our cousin the Earl of Huntingdon our lieutenant, great decay was found through spoiling and burning in Redesdale and Tynedale,—taking lands away from tenements,—raising rents too high—and lastly too much sub-division of holdings: we

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would have you to consider the same, and how they may be remedied by degrees, advertising us or our Council thereof and your opinion.

Finally.—Understanding you have no house of your own in that March, and there is none fitter than the house of Hexham belonging to Sir John Forster, and not inhabited by him: we have earnestly required him by our letters, delivered to you, to grant you the same with some ground belonging thereto, fit for your household, giving him "some reasonable rent," which we hope he will consent to—if not, on your certifying to us or our Council the manner and cause of his refusal, and if not obtained of him by further means, you shall have the use of our own castle of Morpeth.

4 pp. *Draft corrected by Burghley. Indorsed:* "Draught of the Instructions for the Lord Eure being appoynted warden of the Middle Marches, 7<sup>th</sup> Octob. 1595. Entered."

## Oct. 7. 134. ESTIMATE FOR BERWICK.

A proportion for 900 men "for one moneth, viz., xvj fleshe daies, xij fishe daies"—contrasted according to the rates Vernon serves at, and the market prices.

Sum total of the rates of the provisions paid by the garrison to Vernon	488 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
And those for same amount in the market	806 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>
Excess of market rates	316 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Deduct for hide, fell, tallow, and offal	62 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
So nett overplus for a month	244 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>

1 p. *Written by Vernon's clerk. Indorsed by Burghley:* "7 Octob. 1595. Berwyck."

## Oct. 13. 135. MUNITION AT TYNEMOUTH CASTLE.

"A note of all suche munyson and armor as are remayninge within the castell of Tinemouthe the xiiij<sup>th</sup> daye of October anno regni Elizabethæ (&c.), xxvij", delivered over into the charge of M<sup>r</sup> Roberte Carye esquire, now capptayne of the same."

First—lying on the mount, 2 falcons without carriages. *Item*.—in the store house—2 culverins, 16 old calivers, 12 "sheaffe of arrowes in decaye;" 1 flanker without carriage, a brass falcon without carriage. *Item*.—"in the barne garthes," 1 brass sacre, 1 iron falcon, 1 brass mynyon. *Item*.—"in the halle"—10 corslets decayed, 10 head pieces decayed, 10 "collors" decayed.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Contemporary hand. Indorsed.*

## Oct. 14. 136. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

With thanks for your travail in procuring her Majesty's pleasure to send the soldiers, they cannot be sent too soon—and as to pay, they usually had conduct money from Berwick hither, and on arrival, a month's pay "aforehande" on your lordship's warrant to the receiver.

As you direct, I shall collect all complaints against Thomas Musgrave officer of Bewcastle, with any proofs that can be got, and certify you, sending the party "if matter worthie prove against him."

I hope you will excuse my promise to come up now, on account of the unquietness here, trusting that if matters settle I may have licence to come up at Christmas to do my duty to her highness, and confer with you on things I cannot commit to writing. The Lowthers are repairing to Court, hoping to prevail with you by other means than formerly in their suit for the Dacres' lands, which "will not fall fitt to be in the comaundement of any contreyman here, and unfittest for them." Carlisle. *Signed:* Th. Scroope.

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Your last letters fell open in my hands, "I knowe not by what accident, whither ivell wax or carriage." I pray you hasten the soldiers hither.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

Oct. 17. 137. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Now that our works are finished so far as the time of year will allow, I inclose a note by the comptroller to show this. The long bridge is mended as far as possible, beginning so late. I assure you when it was taken up, and four bays were mended, it was much worse than any man thought, "for it was so rotten and bad, as if it had stood this wynter, it wold have bene clene carried away. I feare there is much more of it in the same case."

The breach in the old wall is finished, and as much of the Cowgate and bridge as we could. We have patched an old iron gate "which was challenged for fees," and made it as good as new, saving the Queen 100*l.* at least. We have near 20 tons timber left of the 60 you sent us two years ago, which will nearly finish the long bridge,—but you must seud us warrant for 30 or 40 tons from Chopwell to make the Cowgate bridge, saving the other 20, which if used for this, the long bridge must be left undone. Praying also to have your warrants and directions sooner, which will be better every way.

I inclose the defaults of muster taken the 9th instant.

Scotland is quiet. The King keeps the chancellorship in his own hands still. The Scots' riders mean that the new warden shall have little to do, for they are clearing out the whole country. M<sup>r</sup> Grey has lost 100 head of cattle, and Sir John Forster himself some of late.

For our own wants in this town, unless your lordship look more carefully into the matter, we shall be in very ill case this coming winter. Supplies come scarce, our want is great, and provisions scant, the foundation yet laid being so slender. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) Defaults of the muster of Berwick taken 9<sup>th</sup> October 1595.

Absentees with and without license from the companies of Carey, Reade and six other captains, gunners, artificers, horsemen and pensioners, 70. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, John Crane.

2½ pp. *Indorsed.*

(2) Note by the comptroller of the work done.

1. The long bridge on "taking up of the planckes," was found much worse than expected, but is mended, and 20 tons timber remain to finish it when the season admits. 2. The breach in the old town wall next Tweed is done. 3. The Cowgate not yet done, for the time and season would not serve, and is delayed till spring. Some timber will then be necessary for the new bridge there. *Signed*: John Crane.

1 p. *Holograph. Indorsed*: "17 Oct. 1595."

Oct. 18. 138. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I sent my servant with your letter to Sir John Forster, and his answer thereof "I bouldie returned by poste to your lordship with my servante." Sir John sent me a letter showing his unwillingness to let his house to me, yet he will not stay there himself, as he told my man, and is very unable to ride thither he says. I have sent him her Majesty's letter, and presumed to say I was charged with safe delivery of it, and his reply, which I will at once send to Court.

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The gentlemen of the country are so weak and short of horses, while the opposite warden as reported, intends revenge "for Wythrington his roade," with extraordinary numbers, as a welcome to me: wherefore as it touches my credit not to begin with shame and her Majesty's displeasure, I would renew my suit to her for 100 horse for this winter, to secure the country for the present. If her Majesty grant me her house at Morpeth, I humbly entreat to have the park adjoining at a rent, also some allowance to repair the house which is "mightlie decayed," and will cost me 500 marks before I can lodge in it. Ingelbie. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of wax signet.*

Oct. 19. 139. SIR JOHN FORSTER TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

"Rights honourable and my verie good lord," I most humbly beg your honour to see the inclosed letter delivered "into her Majesties own handes, for that the matters therein conteyned requirethe expedicioun, and withall speed possible to be conveyed unto her Majestie." From my house nigh Alnwick. *Signed*: John Forster.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To . . . Sir Rober Cissell knight principall secretarie to her Majestie," &c. *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in same:—

(Forster to the Queen.)

Please your Majesty, I have received your highness's letters, wherein your Majesty "doubtes" that I will not deliver the Borders with Tynedale and Redesdale "in sutche sorte as I have writtens the same, for that it is reputed that the writter haithe writtens more thenn I will performe." I have written nothing but that I will deliver it in as good order as ever it was in any warden's time, whenever it please your highness to send the commissioners to receive it. For my house of Hexham: "I ame nowe presentlie to repaire thither to lye, for I ame not able to travell but in a horse litter, and whenn I ame theire, I feare I must be forced to returne backe againe, bothe for want of provision of coran, hey, fier and other necessaries, for that itt is nott theire to serve my tourn withall, for whosoever haithe incensed youre Majestie that Hexhame house is a fit place for my lord to lye at, is greetly deceived, for that there is not provision any waye for my lord Ewrye there to be served as he should be." Yet though I pay 180*l.* to your Majesty for the house and what belongs to it, it shall be at your command at all times if you write or send to receive it "for my lord Ewrye" to lie at. "Thus resting in most humble and dutifull obedience to do youre heighnes any service that in me liethe. . . . Frome my house neighe Alnwick this six<sup>th</sup> of October 1595." *Signed*: John Forster.

$\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed*: "To the Queenns most excelent Majestie." *Indorsed.*

Oct. 19. 140. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I send your lordship here inclosed by post, Sir John Forster's letter directed to you, denying his house at Hexham for my use, though himself not intending to lie there—alleging to me that part of the country is most subject to theft—himself unable to travel from weakness, and other "allegations" not fit to trouble you with. I beseech you he may be compelled to a more reasonable course, and if her Majesty will allow me pay of 100 horse for only six months, I will undertake to make that country quiet enough. So craving your farther means to obtain this house. Ingleybe. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

1595.

Oct. 24. 141. SCROPE TO BURGHEY.

Notwithstanding her Majesty's letter to the Scots King, and my frequent complaints to him by means of George Nicholson there, we get nothing but fair words and large promises. Wherefore I pray your lordship to procure her Majesty's license for my people to revenge themselves as they best can, and to this end, to hasten the soldiers hither, without whom they cannot act. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 24. 142. ESTIMATE OF BERWICK PRICES.

Estimate for 900 men for 3 months from 1<sup>st</sup> November, 16 flesh and 12 fish days in each month, contrasting the market prices with those paid by the garrison.

*Extracts.*

Provisions [ <i>detailed</i> ] by garrison prices . . . . .	1,300 <i>l.</i>	16 <i>d.</i>
The same " at market rates . . . . .	2,280 <i>l.</i>	15 <i>s.</i>
The "surcharge" appears to be : . . . . .	991 <i>l.</i>	0 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Deducting hides fell and tallow, (180 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> ) the nett amount'. . . . .	811 <i>l.</i>	0 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>

2 pp. *Broad sheet. Indorsed*: "24 October 1595." *Notes by Burghey.*

Oct. 24. 143. GILSLAND COMPLAINTS.

"Gyllesland anno 1595 against Lyddesdaill."

1. Quyntyn Foster of Crackthropp upon John Nyxson *alias* "gleed Lareston," Clemett Nyxson *alias* "the Clashe," servants to William Elliott of Lareston, George Elliott *alias* "buggerback," and others, for stealing 80 kye and 12 horses and mares at the Haslegyll at Whitsunday last.

2. John Pott of the Quarrell upon Robert Elliott *alias* "Hob of the Leys" *alias* "the troche;" Robert Elliott the officer *alias* the laird of Thorlesop; Ryché Elliott of the Lewlandes, William Elliott son to John of the Hewghouse; Arche Elliott called "dogpyntle;" George Elliott his brother, "buggerback," &c., for 8 oxen, 10 kye, insight 14*l.*, taken Tuesday night last, 2<sup>nd</sup> September.

3. Hector Armstronge of Daperlyne upon John Nickson *alias* Larestoneburn, "guyde and purpose maker," Arche Elliott *alias* Ibbells Arche," Rytche James Wylson, Clemett Nyckson "the Clashe," Jenken Nyckson son to George, and young Robyn Elliott of Thorlesop, for 10 kye and oxen, insight 5*l.*, taken "the Magdelen daye" last.

4. Mychaell Armstronge of Daperlyne upon John Nyxon of Lareston bre, Arch Nyckson *alias* "Cowfowle," Clemett Nyckson "the Clashe," Hobe Elliott of the Stanesheale *alias* "bane pryck" for 14 kye and oxen, and insight 10*l.*, taken same day.

5. Stephen Hodgeson of Geltesdaill upon Walter Scott *alias* "Watt of Harden," John Henderson of the Hoghyll, Gibbe Elliott brother to Will E. of the Favensh, Arche and Hobbe Elliott sons to the Syme Wyll E., Hob Elliott called the laird of Burneheads, for a "browne bausened" mare and a bay mare and foal, stolen 13<sup>th</sup> July last out of the "ould water" in Geltsdaill.

6. Anthony Carleton "for his hearshipp at Tredermayne" the 12<sup>th</sup> September, upon "Watt of Harden," John Henderson of Hoghyll, Andro Henderson, Hector Armstrong of Tweden, Andro Armstrong "the bundgell," Gyb Elliott brother to Wyll of the Fawandeshe, Arche and Hobe Elliott sons to the said Wyll, and Hob Elliott the laird of the Burnheads, for 60 kye and oxen, and 6 horses and mares.

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7. Herbert Crowe, Thomas Newton, Rowye Barnefather and John Jack, son, for 7 horses and mares taken last Midsummer by John Nyckson of Lareston, George Nickson "yll drowned Georde," Hob Elliott "the troche" John Croser, "Ibbels" Arche Elliott, &c.

8. John Armstronge of the Graynes upon Hob Elliott *alias* "kyll of the spade," and "Wyll Ellotts" John of Burnheads, for 24 kye and oxen before Lammas last.

9. Also upon Wyll Croser *alias* "greathead" for 4 "cowdoos" at Lammas.

10. Also of George Elliott "buggerback," for 12 "yewes and a tupp" about same time.

11. Gawen Armstrong of Daperlyneholme upon John and Jenkyn Nyckson of Lareston, for a mare, 5*l.*, a nag, 4*l.*, insight, 7*l.*, taken Friday after Michaelmas.

12. Also on Will Croser "greathead," and Hobe Croser, son to Qyntyne C., for 3 kye the week after S<sup>t</sup> Hellen day.

13. Rolle Robson of Allanstead upon John Nyckson the laird of the "Highe eshes" and his brother for 12 ewes 2<sup>d</sup> August last.

14. Thomas Armstrong and Thomas A., both of Spadeadam, upon Mark Elliott, Joack Elliott, James Elliott of the Hyll, Arch Elliott "dogpyntle," Hobe Elliott of the Bowholmes, and Clemett Croser, &c., for 35 kye and oxen, insight 20*l.*, a horse, 5*l.*, a mare, 3*l.*, all stolen Wednesday night 17 September last.

15. Hob and Dick Armstrong of Leven and James Foster upon Will and Riche Elliott of the Hewghhouse, Hob Elliott, &c., for 3 horses last summer, 18*l.*

16. Rynyons Edward Armstrong of the Thorntwhayt upon George Nyckson of Keelie "halfe drowned Geord," Wyll and Rycbe Elliott of the Hewghhouse, &c., for 6 oxen, 11 kye, a mare, 20*l.*; insight, 10*l.* in September last.

17. Also "a litle before" of Arche, John, and Gyb Stoderte, servants to the "Lardes Jok" for 2 kye and 4 oxen.

2½ pp. *Indorsed by Robert Bowes*: "Bylles of complaynttes of Gillesland agaynst Lyddesdale, sent by the Lord Scrope to me with his letter, xxiiiij<sup>o</sup> Octobris, char. xxx eiusdem 1595."

Oct. 26. 144. SCROPE TO BURGHEY.

Last term, by my letter and the "solicitinge" of this bearer M<sup>r</sup> Midlam, I commended to your favourable consideration the petition of her Majesty's tenants of Middleham and Richmond, for explanation of some words in their leases, "importinge a parte of their custome and for ratifficacion of the same," to avoid strife and controversy among them—which cause your lordship referred to this term. Wherefore I make bold to recommend the same to your favourable decision, referring all matters therein to this "solicitor." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed.*

Oct. 27. 145. EURE TO BURGHEY.

Craving pardon if I trouble you more than needeth, I understand that Sir John Forster on receipt of her Majesty's letters, holds himself discharged from office, and not only gives no help to the country in their daily spoils, but "bruteth and wryteth" that no such would be made except on knowledge of new officers on both sides of the March, and also has kept days of truce, proclaiming that all complaints should be redressed if ready—



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whereby I judge that he thinks I shall be charged with these, notwithstanding my absence.

As your letters, of 13<sup>th</sup> October importing denial of the house of Hexham, and of 21<sup>st</sup>, allowing me the same, was the first knowledge I had, when I sent to Sir Robert "Cycill" Sir John's letters to same effect: I am preparing to convey my stuff and provision "as the winter wether and huge waters" will permit, and humbly beg I may not be charged with the country spoils, till I enter, and the commissioners receive from Sir John the rolls, &c., under their commission. Also that he may be specially continued in charge of the wardenry till I come.

I find his friendship "so could," and the increasing division of the gentlemen, that I must remove some of his officers, and pray your lordship to assist me with but 100 horse for the winter.

I have presumed to offer my humble thanks to her Majesty, and assure her I am hastening thither, craving Sir Robert "Cicill" his pains for delivery thereof.

Except her Majesty command Sir John Forster to help me with the corn and hay grown at Harbottel "demayne," I shall have none for my horses: for the winter is so wet that the corn is not yet in the barns. I hear other wardens have been so served "by her Majesties price of the oulde warden." Ingelby. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 28. 146. HUNSDON TO SCROPE.

I have received presently a letter from my Lord Treasurer with her Majesty's pleasure (which I knew already) that you and Mr Ashton should use your credits for a month's pay, "100 and od powndes," to be paid by Ashton out of next half year's pay—but I must assure you that till they get their month's pay at Berwick, they neither can nor "shall" stir, for they cannot travel so far "of themselves." I send you these with my lord's letter, which I got while at dinner, and am now going to Court where I have not been for 15 or 16 days: when I will let him understand that these are but delays and her Majesty "utterly unserved."

You shall hear soon again, and surely if it were not to yourself, not a man should leave Berwick, for I have more need of them there than you have: as in the last 10 days I have had more incursions in my wardenry than you have had these 3 or 4 months—and if not redressed, I will be revenged to the uttermost. Somerset House. Your loving father in law, Hunsdon.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Copy by Scrope's clerk. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 28. 147. EURE TO THE QUEEN.

Humbly casting himself at her feet as his only refuge—showing the envy and difficulties that he must incur in succeeding Forster as warden, and praying that as many spoils have been committed since the 7<sup>th</sup> October—Forster should be compelled to see to these and defend the country till he enters on office, which he is labouring to do with all speed. Ingelbie. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed*: "To the Quenes most excellent Majestie." *Indorsed.*

Oct. 28. 148. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Captain Selby has paid the "remayne" of the two years' pay, but the men are so ill satisfied, it has bred more clamour than if not paid at all. In proof of this, my company found themselves so much injured by Sheperston, that if I had not come down into the street, they were like to have

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done him a mischief: seeing all others paid, "and they who are the awncientes band, and were ever first used to be paid, to have no drum sownd at all!" They had by the reckonings which your lordship shall see, 260l. "good," yet got not one penny. And hearing of his going away, they brought him to me to stay him till they got their money. I rebuked their disorder, but they prayed me as their captain not to see them wronged, or they could not live in the town, where they owed so much, and their creditors all running for their debts, hearing the pay is made. I beseech your lordship to consider their case, and have sent the clerk of the band with his books, &c., to show the truth. I offered M<sup>r</sup> Bowes on their behalf to save farther trouble, that they would lose 5s. in the pound on the tickets, but this was refused. Many would have come up to petition her Majesty, but I refused all but the bearer. I pray excuse for my boldness on their behalf. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Oct. 29. 149. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Showing that the 8 constables are now by the last establishment reduced to four, each in command of 20 horsemen, and his yearly pay 20l.—that they earnestly desire some augmentation, for their service is very needful, and their charges heavy, each being forced to keep 3 serviceable horses for himself and his 2 men, "which cannott well be maintained with *xxl. per annum*"—recommending their petition to his favourable consideration. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Oct. 29. 150. CRANE TO BURGHLEY.

To same effect as preceding, on behalf of the four constables. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Crane.

*1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 29. 151. HUNTYNGDON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Lord Eure is very desirous that "M<sup>r</sup> Richard Goodericke esquier" should be joined with Sir William Bowes and the other commissioners authorised by her Majesty to "take the rolles, &c.," from Sir John Forster. He has good reason, for here are only M<sup>r</sup> Francis Slingsbie and D<sup>r</sup> Colmore to do the service, for Sir William Bowes is not come, Sir Thomas Fairfax is in very ill case, and gone out of the country to seek help, M<sup>r</sup> Frevyle is gone to the "tearme," and M<sup>r</sup> Anderson at Newcastle not well. I said I could not interfere, though I think he will do well if the Queen allow him. I should have written before, but have not been well and forgot it. York. *Signed*: "Your verrye lovyngre friend, H. Huntyngdon."

*½ p. Addressed*: "To . . . Sir Robert Cecill knight one of her Majesties most honourable privie counsell." *Indorsed (partly by Cecil).*

Oct. 29. 152. THE CONSTABLES OF BERWICK TO BURGHLEY.

Showing that they were formerly eight in number and their yearly pay 120l. 13s. 4d.—that under the establishment they are now reduced to four, at the yearly pay of 20l. each, which is insufficient to enable them to keep horses for themselves and 2 servants each—praying for an augmentation. Berwick. *Signed*: John Fenicke, Leonard Morton, Cuthbert Armorer, Josua Delavale.

*1 p. Broad sheet. Addressed at head. Indorsed.*

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Oct. 31. 153. JOHN CAREY, &amp;C., TO BURGHLEY.

Reminding him of the value of the timber in the Queen's lordship of Chopwell near Newcastle, and the heavy charges of timber brought to Berwick in Sir Valentine Browne's time before these woods fell to her, being 5*4s.* or 3*l.* each ton, while from Chopwell it is not more than 1*4s.* or 1*5s.*—and to beware of those who under colour of a lease of underwood have carried off special timber there. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, Rychard Musgrave, John Crane.

1 p. *Written by Crane. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 31 154. HUNTYNGDON TO FORSTER.

Acknowledging his letter of 23<sup>d</sup>, wherein it appeared he had received the Queen's letter, and took himself to be discharged of the office of warden of the Middle March, so long held by him—but pointing out that until Lord Eure came and published his commission, Forster must continue acting warden—just as a sheriff must go, though his successor be named at London, till the latter enters the county—reminding him therefore to be more careful of the wardenry till Eure arrives, than he might have needed to be if the Queen's intention to change had been less publicly known than he writes it is. Promising to hasten Eure, though he need not: but till he appears, Forster is not to think himself discharged from office. York. H. Huntingdon.

1 p. *Copy by Forster's clerk.*

Nov. 1. 155. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

In answer to your letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> October, with the note of provision remaining here on 29<sup>th</sup> September last—desiring me to certify what was then in the palace, or has come since, and what now remains: I inclose the report. Your honour will see our hard estate, for this country is “(by reason of the yll and unseasonable weather) cleane undon”—all or most of the corn abroad for lack of weather to “in” it. It will be in worse state for scarcity than last year. And M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's officers have entreated me to write to your honour that wheat must be sent, for there is only 10 qrs. in the palace, and more they cannot get in the country for money or their lives.

The comptroller and officers of the works beg your lordship will send your warrant for 30 or 40 tons of timber to Chopwell for the Cowgate bridge, in due time, for the last came so late, they could hardly do anything. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Note of the victuals in the palace on 29<sup>th</sup> September 1595—what has been sent since—and what remains on 30<sup>th</sup> October.

2½ pp. *In Crane's writing. Indorsed.*

Nov. 4. 156. CAPTAIN SELBY TO BURGHLEY.

As instructed I have paid all that is due to this garrison for the 2 years ended at Michaelmas 1589—except a balance of 50*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* due to Captain William Carey and his company, which M<sup>r</sup> John Carey oow their captain, will not receive, till the controversy between him and M<sup>r</sup> Bowes is decided. So (that excepted) no one in the town can claim of right a penny from her Majesty, your goodness being the means. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed.*

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Nov. 9. 157. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHEY.

"To be tedyus or trubellsume to your lordship it wear freveylus; wherfor referinge all to your honorabell wisdome, I will commit my selfe and case to your lordshipes beste likinge hearin. It is so that Ser Jhon Selbey hath byn longe sike, and is so styll—beinge so dangerusley sike as he cane hardley scape aney tyme—all his frendes her lokinge everye daye and hower for the same. Wherof I thoughte godd to sertefey your honer, and witheall to put your lordshipe in rememberans that I have byn hear nowe almost iij yeares, wherbey I have lost my fortewenes that myghte have happend me ther. I have gotten nothinge hear but her Majesties bare fee, wiche dothe hardley feynd my howes withe all that I reseve out of the southe; beseydes I have noe plase of sertentey hear but under my lord, from wiche I maye be as well taken to morowe next as I have byn from the captynshipe of Norhame—wiche I understand Ser Robert Carey hath gotten bothe from the Queen and my lord my father—so as when so ever I shall retorne from hens, I maye goe in fare worse estat then I came hether, for that I have soweld some thinges wiche I had ther to mayentyen myselve in her Majesties servis hear." So if it please you to move her Majesty for the office of "gentyllman portership when he shall dey," I shall find the continuance of your favour, for I find my father is determined to place my brother Sir Robert as strongly as he can in the country, and I shall ask you to place me in the town. I leave it to your honour's pleasure; others may allege I cannot have so many offices, but your lordship knows I am not marshal, as perhaps will be alleged, being only my lord's deputy and "maye quickeley be caled," yet Sir Valentyne Browne had all the offices in the town in his hands "att ons." But if through your honour I get this office, I will promise whenever it pleases her Majesty to make me "absolenteley marshall," your honour shall nominate whom you please to the other office. It has always been served by a deputy, for Sir John never comes here. I beg your lordship either to burn this letter or conceal it from my father, who I know will be a suitor for Sir Robert Carey, as will my lord of Essex and many more.

I must also ask your honour to send some victuals hither "out of hand," or we shall keep but a sorry Christmas if our wants are not relieved.

"Scotland bredes no occasion of advertissment," and is quiet, save that Maxwell's company and Johnston's have met, and the Johnstons have slain many of Maxwell's men. The King has made the Queen and the Earl of Mar friends since the Chancellor's death. The Convention is continued till the 24<sup>th</sup> instant. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Holograph. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 10. 158. SIR JOHN SELBY, &amp;C., TO SIR ROBERT CECIL

Understanding by Captain Selby of your earnest solliciting her Majesty for the balance of our two years' pay, which hath done "wonderfull muche good" to all in this town and country, we acknowledge ourselves most bound to your honour. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Selbye, Wyllyam Reed, Will'm Selby, Robert Carvill, Antoyne Tompson, John Twyford.

1 p. *Addressed*: "To . . . Sir Robert Cissil knight and one of her Majesties most honorable pryvye counsell." *Indorsed. Water signet*: a shield barry.

Nov. 10. 159. SIR JOHN FORSTER TO SIR ROBERT CECIL

I have received your letter on behalf of Lord Eure, wherein it appears that some "senister" informations have been shown to your honour against me: the contrary of which I will "justifie" whenever the informers be. I

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have done as much to keep order since I have not been warden as ever I did before, for "the mainie of the change of wardeuns" has encouraged disorder,—not open forays, but stealing "as was and ever will be." Tindale and Redesdale I shall deliver in as good obedience as ever they were to any warden,—and I have kept two days of truce since the bruit of Lord Enre's wardenry, and done full justice.

For your writing that Lord Eure cannot enter on office for want of a house, I was minded to have gone to my house at Hexham myself, but on her Majesty's letters I have let his lordship have it with "beddinge" and all other necessaries for his use, so he need not stay on that account. My Lord President also wrote to me to have extraordinary care in Lord Eure's absence, the copy whereof I inclose herein, and shall do my best endeavonr therein.

For Harbottle castle, it is allowance to me of 50 marks of my fee and is in charge of my son,—who has nothing to keep his house and family but that only, having a great honshold "and chardge of childreun," and spends that, and as much more, in keeping his house. And the keeper of Redesdale has always had the demayne for his own provision. Yet as you wish my lord may have corn and hay by the Queen's price, and the demayne is near Harbottle castle, if my son may have one "bowle" at Alnwick for another at Harbottle, he is willing to pleasure his lordship therein. From my house nigh Alnwick. *Signed*: John Forster.

1½ pp. *Addressed*: "To . . . Sir Robert Cyscell knyghte principall secretarie to her Majestie," &c. *Indorsed*. *Forster's armorial wafer signet*.

## Nov. 11. 160. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

The bearer Captain Selby, having finished so much of the "remayne" of the two years' pay as was given him in a book made by M<sup>r</sup> Comptroller and Master Shepperson, by your honour's instructions, has desired my leave to repair to London to take out his "bandes" and make up his accounts in Exchequer; which I have given him, and also refer him to your favour for his long service, in case he desire the same. Berwick.

\* I beseech you to conceal my late letter, or it may breed me great displeasure. If I get the office, I would gladly have it come as a special favour of her Majesty's and your honour. It would cause my friends to think better of me if she graced me so much. "If it ples youer houer not to thinke that please fitt for me, then doe I humbeley besече youer honer that it will pleas youer honer in consitherasion that at my ferste comminge hether I soweld a ward wiche my lord my father had geven me for on of my dafters, to bestowe uppon me Master Rafe Grayes sune, himselfe beinge as I hear verey sike and not likly to live longe: and I have a dafter that is nowe mareygeabell and I have no money to bestowe her withe all, and her husband that shold a byn, I sold at my ferste comminge hether." *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: ". . . by M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Selby." *Sean wafer signet*.

## Nov. 12. 161. SIR WILLIAM READE TO BURGHLEY.

I am appointed by my lord governor to go to the West Borders with my company, which I am ready to do. All that I have to live upon being from her Majesty by your honour's means, so I am bound to serve her where ever appointed. "I have had great commandement in the feild, and bene governor of townes, and have had men of good callinge and leiveinge under my chardge and commaundement, and ame nowe to goe into the feilde with one hundreth men. I take it me lorde meneathe it for my good, yett I may

\* Holograph from this point.

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dowte thereof, for if ther were ether credite or commoditie, it is like he wold rather have prefered his sonne, who haith never bene in the feild as captaine, yett he is here a captaine of c<sup>th</sup> men that was Captaine Brickwells, who haith not bene xij miles oute of this towne these twenty and fower yeares."

Sir John Selby, long a faithful servant to her Majesty, is very sick and not like to live long. Knowing the sufficiency of this gentleman Captain William Selby his brother, for the place of gentleman porter, which his said brother, father, and uncle have supplied these many years, though he has deserved much better, yet that place would better content him than any other of double commodity: I cannot choose but commend him therefor, having been often an eye witness of his services in all places where I have myself been these 40 yeares in England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and the Low Countries, where he has exercised places of good credit, as Sir William Drewrie would if he were living, testify. And no man in these Marches, his brother excepted, has such judgement in the laws of the Borders. Knowing your honour has always preferred such men, emboldens me to trouble you. Berwick. *Signed*: Wyllyam Reed.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet, with a star between two water bottles (?), and letters "I. R."*

Nov. 17. 162. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO BURGHELY.

"Finding a good preparative made by my kind frends, I have addressed my suite for mariage unto M<sup>r</sup> Foljamb: to the entry whereof, having bestowed such few daies, as the Lord President and Lord Ewrie, by their greater occasions, deferred my servise in Northumberland, I find the hope of good success worthy commending to the blessing of God, seasonable prosecuting, and good meanes." Yet as in duty bound, preferring her Majesty's service "before mine owne particular," I am now on my way to Alnwick as directed, to attend on their lordships at Newcastle on the 25<sup>th</sup>, whence you shall hear farther. "My humble suite unto your lordship is . . . to beseech your lordships honourable commendation of mee and myne aforesayd suite, unto M<sup>r</sup> William Wray sometime your lordships servant, and brother to the gentlewoman: whose good perswasion, by your lordships goodnes to be induced, might further my success."

As I conceived by your lordship's speech, her Majesty purposed to employ another in Bewcastle—if she by your means please "to grace mee with this note of hir favour" by placing me there, I persuade myself that this bettering my estate, with the good opinion of the lord wardens in the West and Middle Marches, the place so suitable to procure concurrency in their services, and my experience profiting them both, might produce effects to her Majesty's liking, and the benefit of both countries. Which I wholly refer to your lordship's judgment. York. *Signet*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: "Sir William Bowes" . . . *Wafer signet*: a bundle of darts or arrows, in saltire.

Nov. 17. 163. INSTRUCTIONS BY HUNTINGDON.

Instructions to Sir William Bowes and Sir Thomas Fairfax younger, knights, &c., for the service commanded them by the Queen's letters dated at Nonesuche 7 October 1595—given them 17<sup>th</sup> November 38 Elizabeth, by the Earl of Huntingdon her lieutenant and president of the Council in the North.

1-2. You shall repair to Sir John Forster's house at Alnwick on Saturday 22<sup>d</sup> instant or near that day—acquainting him with the occasion of your coming: requiring first to know the true estate of the Middle Marches, *viz.* :—

3. What is their strength in horse and foot furnished, to be set down in writing under the several divisions, lordships, &c. ?

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4. What decays of tenancies have been caused since he became warden (1) by the Scots and (2) by the landlords?

5. You shall inquire of him the bounds of his March towards the East and West and Scotland, and if the Scots "use sheldinge and other depasturing" upon the English ground or waste?

6-7. What spoils by them since the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the Queen's reign are still undressed, and the causes why not?

8. What Scottish bills remain unsatisfied (to his knowledge)?

9. What Scots or English men he has under hand for March affairs?

10. What assurances or combinations there are between the English and Scots—especially men of name—with the names "on both pacts"?

11. To prepare all records, treaties, books of precedents incident to his office, and deliver them with all bills, by indent to Lord Eure.

12. What murders by Scots and what redress therefor?

13. What March treasons within the last 3 years, and the names of English fugitives and outlaws?

14. What are the greatest evils he has noted in his long experience as causes of disorders, and his judgment on their reform?

Lastly—He shall set down in writing his answer to each several article and that as soon as may be. H. Huntingdon. "Concordat cum originali."

*Signed*: Jo. Ferne.

2 pp. *Indorsed (as title).*

Nov. 18. 164. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

"I am bould to trouble your lordship at this tyme, signefyinge . . . my fynall determinacion to proceed in my journey towards the north some day this next weeke." My stay will not be fitted for service as my state requires, for as yet Sir John Foster has denied me the gracious demand her Majesty was pleased to make by her Council's letter. How he will be better affected hereafter you shall hear from the Commissioners, who intend to be at Alnwick to receive the rolls, &c., on the 22<sup>d</sup> instant.

The combination of the Scots thieves and the Northumberland gentlemen increases. The two principal gentlemen of worth in the country being with me, to whom I imparted how hateful it was to her Majesty that her subjects should make such unlawful compacts for their private safety, and refuse the open course of justice for redress: yet notwithstanding Mr Henry Wodrington and Mr William Fenwick have of late entered assurance with "the Bornes lord Sesforth men, and Armestronges 'Bangtailes' freindes." Since then the Bornes have twice come into Harbottel and broken the houses of two of the Queen's tenants there, and driven 30 of their kye and oxen.

The opposite warden and other lairds have mustered a far greater and better appointed force than any I can find here: you shall have ere long further report by the muster masters. By the advice of the "conningest borderers," the only means for resistance is a reasonable force of horsemen. I would beseech your lordship to vouchsafe the hearing of some skilful in the borders, and ancient servitors there, for their opinion. Ingleby. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 20. 165. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"This nighte very lat I did hear that Ser Jhon Selbey ether was ailredley ded, or that he could not longe continewe—for I understand that he bathe dun nothings elles but slepe continewealey thes ij dayes, and that speake ether he cane not or will not, but onley holdethe upe his hand insted of speche. His frendes ar all gone to him and kepe it very close, but shewer he cane not scape paste ij or iij dayes, for his vesitians thinke be will goe

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awaye slepinge." I have written to my father of his sickness, for in case he died, the Scots would take advantage of "the present vacansey," but I shall have a care to keep order, "as God shall geve me grase."

If it please your honour to think it fit for me by her Majesty's favour, I shall be highly bound for your favour, but refer it to your consideration. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 21. 166. T[HOMAS] JACKSON TO BURGHLEY.

Presuming "to challenge that favour which yt pleased your honour to commaund me, at the counsell table when I was discharged of my company . . . being retyred hyther to Barwycke, with promyse frome my lord chamberleiu to be preferred to some place as yt should happen, I have therefore . . . humblye to request your honoures favorable furtherance, and some charitable remembrance of me, that among such places as now are to be disposed of in Barwyck, I may not be forgotten: being at this present theare resydent without any intertainment." I hear that my lord is determined to place Sir Robert Carey porter, or as more fitly termed sergeant major of Berwick now vacant by Sir John Selby's death: it is needless and bootless for me to attempt, or as much as think of it. Yet if by your motion to my lord, who wishes and desires my preferment, though I must have nothing that his sons "looke after," and seeing the miserable state of the town, and that it is contrary to the establishment for one man to hold many offices, and your honour knows how many offices these two brothers shall have "if they so share them": I have presumed to entreat your honour to move my lord for one of these places—for the foot company of 100 men which M<sup>r</sup> John Carey has to maintain his table till such time as the office of marshalship shall be disposed of. "Yt is the meanest, and therefore moste fytttest for me, yf they wyl departe with anye": and the lord chamberlain promised it me when the marshal's place is disposed of. I would not be "combersome" to your honour, and refer it to your consideration. Berwick. *Signed*: T. Jackson.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: "Cap<sup>t</sup>. Jackson to my lord." *Wafers signet indistinct.*

Nov. 21. 167. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"This Fridaye morninge abowt two a clock Sir John Selby departed owt of this world, who (I hope) God bath called to his mercye." I sent letters to all the towns and gentlemen in the wardenry, to appoint good watches and stand on guard till farther direction from your honors—and sent for the gentlemen to meet on Monday next to consider if they need help from the garrison, which I will send if they require.

We are still in very great distress for victuals, having not received "any whitt at all" since my last certificate. So we are likely to be in such want as Berwick never was before: for we hear of nothing coming, and when it comes, "I feare the weather wilbe very dangerous for the same." And we look for no help in the country, for the "yll weather" has destroyed all the corn this year. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 24. 168. MUSTERS OF THE MIDDLE MARCHES.

Abstract of the three musters taken for the Middle Marches in Northumberland 24<sup>th</sup> November 1595.



1595.

AT CLIFTON FIELD.—Commissioners.—Henry Woddrington for Northumberland, Thomas Westropp for Yorkshire, Anthony Hutton for the Bishopric.

The Wards.	Light horse furnished.	Horses for petronels with coats of plate, steel cap, spear, sword and dagger, wanting petronels.	Defects of horse and armour.
Castle ward, . . .	5	12	81
Morpeth ward, . . .	14	18	283
Total, . . .	19	30	364

AT STAGGSBANK.—Commissioners.—Richard Goodricke for Yorkshire, William Fenwicke for Northumberland, John Fetherstonhaugh for the Bishopric.

Seignories and Wards.	Light horse furnished and allowed.	Horses dis-allowed.	Absent.	Armour.
Barony of Langley,	5	50	4	Mr Goodricke saith that all those viewed were generally well armed with furniture [as] light horse, and very few defects in armour. And where the horses [were] defective, they took no note of them by [reason] they had no such instruction, but only for light horse.
Bywell and Bulbeck,	2	74	83	
East Allandale and forest of Allandale, . . .	0	27	20	
Hexhamshire, . . .	2	12	81	
North Tynedale, . . .	21	61	0	
South Tynedale, . . .	7	46	2	
Total, . . .	37	270	190	

AT ABERWICK EDGE.—Commissioners.—Francis Slingsbie for Yorkshire, Henry Anderson for the Bishopric, Nicholas Forster for Northumberland.

The Wards.	Light horses furnished with spear, &c.	Horses furnished with petronels.	Horses dis-allowed.	Armour allowed.
Cookdale ward and Ridsdale, . . .	80	8	160	Spears, . . . 200 Petronels, . . . 20 Bows, . . . 6 Lancestaves, . . . and furniture for footmen, . . . 4

1595.

Sum total of the three musters.

Light horses allowed, 136; horses with petronells, 8; horses disallowed and "defecte" by absence, 993.

"Besides the non-appearance of divers gentlemen and thier tenantes and the lordshippes of Pruddoe and Newburne belonging to thEarle of Northumberland, as appearith in thend of the muster booke of Stageshaw bancke." Signed: Jo. Ferne. *Marginal notes by Burghley that in 1593 the light horse in the three musters were 920, "now but 136." Also pedigree showing the internarrriages between the Carnabys, Ogles, Woolringtons, Musygraves, and Lawsons, and comexion of Sir John Forster with the Greys of Chillingham, Herons, &c.*

1½ pp. *Inlorsed (as title).*

Nov. 24. 169. MUSTER OF COOKEDALE AND RYDDESDALE.

General view and muster of the light horsemen in Cookedale ward and Ryddesdale in the Middle Marches of England in the county of Northumberland, taken at Abberwick edge by Francis Slingsby, Henry Anderson and Nicholas Forster esquires, commissioners, on 24 November 38 Eliz., and certificate of the stature colour and pace of horses allowed, and the defects of armour and horses.

"Note.—That sp. in the 2 columbe signifieth speare; p. or pet. noteth petronells; b. for bowes; lanc. for lance staves; and d. for defectes."\*

WARKWORTH LORDSHIP:—

AKLINGTON.—Jo. Robinson, William Robinson, Jo. Anderson, Robert James, Jo. Clay, Jo. Lawson, and Tho. Robinson, sp. f. d.; † Jo. Right, pet. f. d.; Tho. Anderson, Rob. Robinson, and Tho. Wrighte, sp. f. d.

BIRLINGE.—George Wharier, Tho. Davy, Edw. Robinson, Jo. Barde, Jo. Wharier, and Christofer Elder, sp. f. d.; Cuth. Arnold, bo. f. d.

GUISSONS.—George Mylner, pet. f. d.; Henry Gray, bo. f. d.; Regnald Thompson, sp. f. d.; Jo. Reede and Cuth. Dickenson, d.

DOGSDON.—Jo. Turner, George Barde, George Horsley, Jo. Burnwell, Jo. Wharryer, Edw. Broughill and Roger Taler, sp. f. d.

THIRSTON.—George Reede, William Day, Robte Richeson, Rich. Richeson, Tho. Tyndell, Rob<sup>t</sup>. Shilverton, and Rob<sup>t</sup>. Smyth, sp. f. d.; Tho. Pott, pet. f. "glead hewde" tr. gelding of 16 hands.

OVERBUSTON.—Robte Wilson *senior*, sp. f. d.; Rob. Wilson *junior* and Rich. Mylborne, bo. f. d.; Jo. Wilson, pet. f. d.; Jo. Browell and Jo. Byard, bo. f. d.

SHILBOTTLE.—Jo. Wardell and Edm. Horne, sp. f. d.; Jo. Gibson, pet. f. d.; Jo. Embleton, d.; Christofer Leachman, sp. f. d.; Tho. Lysle, pet. f. d.; William Moydy, d.; Jo. Cirspe and Charles Stampe, sp. f. d.; Jo. Johnson, pet. f. d.; Tho. Stampe, sp. f. d.

Summary.—Spears furnished 37; petronells 8; defects of armour 4; bows furnished 6, in all, 55. Horses 1; defects of horse 54.

ALNAM.—Edm. Hunteley, Peter Rochester, and Tho. Howye, d. d.; Tho. Clennell, pet. f. bay tr. gelding, 14 hands; Jo. Awder, sp. f. white tr. horse, 16 hands; Rich. Hearon, d. d.; Tho. Davison, sp. f. d.

BEWICK.—The Queen's tenants:—Gawen Collingwood, pet. sp. f. dark grey gelding 16 hands; Alexander Simpson, sp. f. d.; Roger Collingwood, d.; Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hebburne, sp. f. dark gray tr. horse, 15 hands; Ra. Reveley, sp. f. d.; Jasper Fawdon, sp. f. bay tr. gelding, 15 hands; Anthony Shotton, John Gibson and Henry Tyndaile, sp. f. d.; Steven Simpson,

\* This applies to the tabulated form of the original in six columns.

† "f." signifies furnished, "d." no horses, also unfurnished, "tr." trotting.

1595.

- sp. f. black tr. "meare," 14 hands; Alexander Simpson, Ra. Tyndail and Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Temple, sp. f. d.
- NEW BEWICK.—Jo. Rosdon *junior*, d. d.; Jo. Rosdon *senior*, Ra. Rosdon, Mychaell Rosdon, and Christofer Story, sp. f. d.
- WAPPERDON.—Cuth. Allenson, sp. f. bay tr. "meare" 15 hands; Edw. Story, sp. f. d.; Henry Temple, sp. f. gray tr. "meare," 14 hands; Ra. Gray, sp. f. d.
- EAST LILBORNE.—Ra. Burrell, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 16 hands; Jo. Tughill, d. d.; Rob<sup>t</sup>. Newton, Symon Bowland, Jo. Edmonson and Henry Allatson, sp. f. d.
- ENGLINGHAM.—William Hunte, d. d.; Rich. Softeley, sp. f. d.; John Allanson, d. d.; Oliver Mowe, sp. f. d.; Andrew Huntridg, la. f. d.; Marke Softeley, d. d.; Christofer Ogle, sp. f. bay tr. gelding, 15 hands; Oliver Nicholson, la. f. d.; Tho. Elderton, and Jo. Clarkson, d. d.; Tho. Snawdon, pet. f. d.
- ROTHBURY.—William, Leonerd, and Umphrey Hunters, sp. f. d.
- SOUTH MIDDLETON.—M<sup>r</sup> Ra. Graye tenants:—John Hudson *senior*, Henry Humble and George Browne, sp. f. d.; Thomas Hudson, sp. f. bay tr. mare with a star, 15 hands; Henry Atkinson and Hob. Hudson, sp. f. d.; Edw. Hudson, sp. f. dun "sanded" tr. gelding, 14 hands; Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hudson, sp. f., white tr. gelding, 15 hands; Edm. Hudson and John Hudson *junior*, sp. f. d.
- Summary—Spears furnished 43, petronells 3, lance staves 2, defects of armour 13—60 persons, armours 61; horses 13, defects of horse 47.
- NORTH MIDDLETON.—Oswold Humble, sp. f. d.; Tho. Tughill, d. d.; William Wallace, Edw. Turner, William Hewett, James Dnn, Jo. Watson, and Tho. Hewett, sp. f. d.
- ELDERTON.—Tenants to M<sup>r</sup> Jo. Elderton:—Tho. Elderton, sp. f. bay tr. gelding, 15 hands; Jo. Smyth and Jo. Moryson, d. d.
- BOSON.—Hector Story, d. d.; Jo. Story, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 15 hands; William, Tho., Jo., Rob<sup>t</sup>. and Mych. Storys, sp. f. d.
- FELTON.—M<sup>r</sup> Lysles tenants:—Lanc. Lysley, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 15 hands; Jo. Robson, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 14 hands; Ra. Carr, sp. f. dark gray tr. gelding, 15 hands; Jo. Mynes, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 14 hands; Lanc. Turner, sp. f. d.; Jo. Graye, sp. f. "grisled" tr. gelding, 15 hands; Raph Dode, pet. f. d.; John Lisle, sp. f. gray gelding, 14 hands.
- LAMADON.—M<sup>r</sup> Roger Conier's tenants:—George Bydnell, sp. f. a black tr. horse, 16 hands; Hen. Bootyman, Rich. Mylne, Jo. Mylne *senior*, Ra. Renison, Rich. Dichborne, William Lighton, and Jo. Mylne *junior*, sp. f. d.; William Potter, sp. f. "dunn" tr. gelding, 16 hands; James Younge, pet. f. dark gray tr. horse, 15 hands.
- RYDESDALL.—Lyell Robson, sp. f. "sorell" tr. mare, 16 hands; William Hall, sp. f., gray tr. gelding, 16 hands; Jasper Hall, sp. f. black tr. horse with white face, 16 hands; Ra. Hall, sp. f., gray tr. horse, 15 hands; Tho. Hall, sp. f. black tr. gelding, 16 hands; Sander Hall, sp. f. black tr. gelding, 14 hands; Edw. Hall, sp. f. brown tr. bay, 15 hands; Roger Hall, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 16 hands; William, John, and Thomas Halls, sp. f. 3 black tr. geldings, 15 hands; Mych. Hall, sp. f., "grisled" tr. gelding, 15 hands; Ra. Reede, sp. f. white tr. gelding, 15 hands; Arche Reede, sp. f. brown tr. horse with white face, 15 hands; Tho. Reede, sp. f. gray tr. horse, 15 hands; Tho. Hedlie, sp. f. dark gray tr. horse, 16 hands; Arche Browne, sp. f. white tr. gelding, 15 hands; Jo. Forster, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 14 hands; Arche Forster, sp. f. d.; Alexander Rotherforde, sp. f. bay tr. gelding with a "starr," 16 hands; Percyvell Pott, sp. f. dark gray tr. gelding, 16 hands; Rob<sup>t</sup>. Wann, d. d.; John Hall, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 15 hands; William Hall, sp. f. "sorell" tr. horse, 15 hands.

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Summary—Spears 53, petronells 2, defects 5,—60. Able horses 33, defects of horse 27.

Rob<sup>o</sup>. Elsdon, sp. f. "duple" gray tr. horse, 16 hands; Bartram Hall, sp. f. dark gray tr. horse, 16 hands; Jasper Pott, pet. f. black tr. gelding, 14 hands; Mych. Pott, sp. f. bay tr. gelding, 16 hands; George Pott, sp. f. black horse, 16 hands.

"OF THE TENN TOWNES."

CLENNELL.—Rob<sup>l</sup>. Clennell, pet. f. bay tr. mare, 16 hands; Mychaell Clennell, pet. f. gray tr. gelding, 16 hands; Jo. Robson, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 14 hands.

BITTLESDON.—Rob<sup>l</sup>. Turner, and George Shankes, sp. f. 2 gray tr. geldings, 15 and 14 hands.

NETHERTON.—Cuth. Collingwood, sp. f., black tr. horse, 14 hands; Rich. Turner, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 14 hands; W<sup>m</sup>. Buddle, sp. f. gray tr. mare, 14 hands; Jo. Bolam, sp. f. d.; James Bolam, sp. f. gray gelding, 14 hands.

BORODEN.—"Defect of appearance."

ALLERDON.—Cuth. Browne, sp. f. d.

SHARPERDON.—"Defect of appearance."

ALNWYCK LORDSHIP.—My lord of Northumberland's tenants:—

BILTON.—Rich. Weddowes, sp. f. gray "stond" horse, 16 hands; Jo. Slegge, and Edw. Anderson, sp. f. d.; Jo. Hepple, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 14 hands; Edw. Hepple, sp. f. d.; Tho. Hepple, pet. f. d.; Jo. Forster, sp. f. d.; Edw. Wilson and Christofer Branxton, d. d.; Jo. Stampe, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 14 hands; Tho. Dande *senior*, d. d.; Tho. Alnwick, Tho. Dande *junior*, and Jo. Rotherford, sp. f. d.

ALNWICK.—George Fenwick, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 16 hands; George Saughill, pet. f. bay tr. gelding, 15 hands; Jo. Harbottle, sp. f. "white graye" horse, 14 hands; Jo. Metcalf, pet. f., gray tr. mare, 14 hands.

RUGLEY.—Jo. Saughill, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 15 hands; Edm. Stanton and Jo. Kyllingwood, sp. f. d.; He. Dobson, lanc. f. d.

BENELEY.—William Storye, sp. f. bay tr. gelding, 15 hands; Henry Rotherforth, pet. f. "black baye" horse, 16 hands; George Shelle, d. d.; Tho. Trotter, sp. f. d.; Rob<sup>o</sup>. Story and Cuth. Johnson, d. d.

ESLINGTON.—Sir Cuthbert Collingwood's tenants:—

Edw. Collengwood, sp. f. dark gray tr. gelding, 16 hands; Geoffrey Hallyday, sp. f. "white graye" tr. horse, 17 hands; Jo. Earsdon and James Moody, sp. f. d.; William Smythe, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 15 hands; Jo. Hudson, sp. f. "bey" tr. gelding, 14 hands; Jo. Shotton, sp. f. black tr. gelding, 14 hands; Cuth. Moiffitt, sp. f. gray tr. "nagge," 14 hands.

Summary—Spears, 38; petronells, 7; lance staff, 1; defects, 6; in all 52. Horse, 30; defects of horse 22.

EDLINGHAM.—William Errington, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 15 hands; Alex. Myers, sp. f. gray tr. gelding, 16 hands; Rob<sup>o</sup>. Davison, sp. f. black tr. bay, 15 hands.

BOULTON.—James Jackson, Tho. Gibson *senior*, Tho. Gibson *junior*, Jo. Huntrodes, and William Lucky, sp. f. d.; Christofer Crissope, lanc. f. d.

WHITTINGHAM.—Thomas Pigdon, Quintyne Peareth, Jo. Nycholson, Jo. Pigdon, Rob<sup>o</sup>. Rochester, Jo. Browne, Bartram Armstrong, Ja. Hudson, and Edw. Earsdon, sp. f. d.; Jo. Ditchborne, sp. f. black tr. horse, "with a start," 16 hands; Jo. Jackson, sp. f. d.

THROTON.—Henry Smythe, sp. f. bay tr. mare with white "rache," 14 hands; Jo. Hndson, sp. f. sorell tr. gelding, 14 hands.

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BRANTON.—Cuth. Collingwood, sp. f., sorell tr. horse with a "rache," 16 hands; Tho. Anderson, sp. f. black gelding, 15 hands; Rob<sup>o</sup>. Harrygate (2), sp. f. d.; John Crispe, sp. f., "mouse collour" gelding, 14 hands; Jo. Harrygate, sp. f., "bright bay" gelding, 14 hands; Jo. Crispe, sp. f., bay mare with a white "rache," 15 hands; Peter Whittingham, sp. f. d.

Summary—Spears 29, lance staff 1, in all 30. Horse 11; defects of horse 19.

General Summary—Spears 200; petronels, 20; bows, 6, defects of armour, 28, lance staves, 4; "toto," 258: "one weapou more than men."

Total of the men viewed, 257; whereof allowed for light horses 88; horses disallowed 169,—257 "ut supra." Of which 88 light horses, there are nags of 14 hands high, 27; nags of 15 hands, 33; mares 10,—70; geldings of 16 hands, 17, and of 17 hands, 1,—18. Total 88. F. Slyngisbe, H. Anderson, Nichs. Forster.\*

"Vera copia." Signed: Humfrey Purefey, J. Stanhope, Charles Hales, Jo. Ferne.

10 pp. In several hands. Indorsed (as title): also by Burghley.

On a flyleaf is the following memorandum:—

"30 Dec. 1595.—M<sup>r</sup> Slingsbye uppon conference with him the day aforesaid doth explain the muster bookes of Cookedall ward and Riddesdall as a parcell thereof in manner and form followinge.

*Imprimis*—that whereas 'pett' or 'p' is sett for petronells, the soldior had his petronell pece, his coate of plaite, his skull, sworde, and dagger, and noe more armour.

*Item*—thos wich are noated lance staves, are onelye footemens staves, . . . whoe had allsoe coates of plate, sculls, swordes and dagger.

*Item*—whereas theare is noated: x: townes, and but fyve appeared, thother v made defalte. They are all espetically attendant to the castle of Harbotle, for any service belonginge to the said castle.

*Item*—the first 'd' in the columbe for armour, doth signifie noe armour.

*Item*—the second 'd' sett after the horses, signifieth theare was noe horses worthie to be allowed for service." Signed: Fra. Slingsbye.

#### Nov. 24. 170. MUSTER OF CASTLE AND MORPETH WARDS.

View and muster of the horsemen within the Castle ward and Morpeth ward of the Middle Marches taken at Clifton field 24 Nov. 38 Eliz. by Henry Woodrington, Thomas Westropp and Anthony Hutton esquires, with note of able and furnished men and defects.

##### CASTLE WARD:—

SEATON DALAVELL.—Thomas Dalavell; bay horse white "snipp," light horse furnished; George Hearon servant to Ro. Dalavell, p. f. †, a bay mare, d.; Edward Dalavell servant to Ro. Dalavell, p. f., gray nag, d.; Thomas Patterson, p. f., bay nag, d.; John Warde, p. f., gray nag, d.

HORTON.—Rowland Shaftoo, p. f., gray nag, d.; James Lawson, p. f., "grissalt nagg," d.; Randall Fenwicke, p. f., gray horse, fit.

SEATON DALAVELL.—Anthony Dalavell, p. f., a gray mare, d.

CRAMLINGTON.—John Straungishe, p. f., a gray nag, d.; Rob<sup>o</sup>. Lawson, f., a black horse, fit.

\* In one hand.

† "p. f." signifies a petronel, coat of plate, steel cap, sword and dagger; "d." that the horse is unfit as a light horse.

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- PRESTWICKE.—Edward Charleton, p. f., "sorred" nag, d.  
 SIGHELL.—James Clarke, f., a gray horse, fit; Parsavell Matland, p. f., a bay nag, d.  
 DENTON.—Anthony Errington, f., black horse white star, fit; Arthur and Roger Erringtons, p. f., bay nags, d.  
 MORPETH WARD :—  
 HAXLEY.—Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Woodrington, f., bay horse 2 white feet, fit.  
 OGLE.—Laurence Rushforthe, f., black horse white star, fit; Henry Patterson, p. f., a black nag, d.  
 SALTWICKE.—Henry Mylborne, f., a gray horse, fit; Cudberte Ogle, f., a gray horse, fit.  
 WITTON UPON THE WATER.—Nicholas Thornton, p. f., a dark gray nag, d.; James Thornton, p. f., a gray nag, d.; Henry Thornton, p. f., a gray mare, d.  
 WODRINGTON.—John Hamlin, p. f., a gray nag, d.  
 DRERIDGE.—Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Womppray, p. f., a gray nag, d.  
 ELLINGTON.—James Smyth, p. f., a gray mare, d.  
 NEWBIGIN.—Christofer Patterson, p. f., a gray mare, d.  
 ANGERTON.—Anthony Fenwicke, p. f., a bay nag, d.  
 PONTELAND.—Marke Errington, f., a gray horse, fit.  
 CHEVINGTON.—Roger Brothericke, p. f., a gray mare, d.; Marke Headley, p. f., a gray nag, d.  
 HEGGESWORTH.—William Clarke, f., a bay horse, fit.  
 DARRISHALL.—Gawin Ogle, p. f., a gray nag, d.; Lanclot Ogle, f., a bay horse, fit.  
 LANGHIRST.—Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Straker, p. f., a gray mare, d.  
 FRICKLINGTON.—Matthew Cockson, p. f., a gray nag, d.; Martin Ogle, f., a gray horse, fit.  
 CONYGARTH.—Thomas Genniges, p. f., a black mare, d.  
 OLDE MOORE.—Christofer Wilson, p. f., a brown mare, d.  
 BYRKLEY.—Marke Ogle, f., a gray horse, fit; Michael Ogle, f., a "frayned" horse, fit; Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Ogle, p. f., a black nag, d.  
 MELDON.—Roger Hearon, f., a "sored" horse, fit.  
 RIFLINGTON.—Alexander Hearon, f., a white horse, fit.  
 BLAIKDON.—William Fenwicke, f., a gray horse, fit.  
 ROTHELEY.—Michael Ogle, f., a bay horse, fit; Lamwell Fenwicke, p. f., a gray nag, d.  
 Summary.—"Light horsemen ably furnished" in the two wards 19; "able horse and men for petronells" in same wards, "furnished with jackes and wanting all petronells is 30." *Signed*: Anthony Hutton.

A particular note of all the defects at the above view by the three commissioners before named :—

- MORPETH WARD.—Defective men :—  
 PEGGESWORTH.—William Clarke, and 8 others.  
 LANGHESTE.—Garrard Thornton, and 10 others.  
 OLDE MOORE.—John Geven, and 10 others.  
 HEBBORNE.—James Ogle, Roger Pye, and 5 others.  
 FENROTHER.—Richard Dawson, and 14 others.  
 EARDON.—William Albone, Widow Banton, and 12 others.  
 ELLINGTON.—Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Myllen, W<sup>m</sup>. Trumble, W<sup>m</sup> Skipsey, and 15 others.  
 OGLE.—Henry Milburne, John Satan, William Spraggou, and 16 others.  
 KIRKLEY.—Anthony Willy, Tho. Ellyson, and 11 others.  
 THROPLE.—Tho. Atkinson, Raphe Pott, and 10 others.  
 NEWTON UNDERWOOD.—Tho. Albone, and 9 others.  
 STURTON GRAINGE.—William Watson, and 7 others, horsemen  
 OLD FALTON.—Robert Carr.  
 OUGHAM.—Anthony Rumney, and seventeen others.

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ANGERTON.—W<sup>m</sup>. Stamper, W<sup>m</sup>. Hindmars, and forty-four others.  
WEST CHEVINGTON.—Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Walls, W<sup>m</sup>. Bairde, Marke Sotherne, and six others.

WOODHORNE.—George Birtleson, and fourteen others.

DEMEANE OF WOODHORNE.—Ephraim Woodrington, and 5 others.

WITTON UPON THE WATER.—George Thornton, John Josey, and 5 others.

WOODRINGTON AND DREDRIDGE.—Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Trumble, John Craster, John Chater, and seventeen others.

HAXLEY.—Roger Carr, Roger Bairde, and 19 others.

MITFORTH.—Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Mitforthe, and 2 others.

"Some of the horses disabled in Morpeth ward, 283."

CASTLE WARD:—

WHALTON.—Tho. Readhead, Launce Toone, Launce Megetson, and 16 others.  
BARRICKE OF THE HILL.—Thomas Anderson, Tho. Peareth, Anthony Rye, and 10 others.

LITTLE CULLERTON.—John Pye, and four others.

EDINGTON.—Edw. Graye.

"WHITLEY IN TYNMOTHSHIER."—Richard Hodgson, Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Dowe, and 3 others.

[ ].—Rob<sup>ts</sup>. Mylls, Thomas Pryor, and 7 others.

PRESTON.—Thomas Bell, Tho. Otewaye, Margrit Cowherd, and 2 others.

CHIRTON.—Gerrard Bailife, Margrit Cowherd, and 2 others.

EARSDON.—John Gofton, Widow Arkle, Widow Cutter, and 5 others.

MORTON.—Geo. Dinon, Widow Hall, and 2 others.

MELDON.—Alexander Hearon, and another.

PRESTICKE.—Steven Gibson, John Wanhopp, and 3 others.

"Summ of disallowed horses at the view taken for Castle ward at Clifton feilde" as above, 81.

Sum total of all the disallowed horses for both wards, 364. Henry Woodrington, Tho. Westropp, Antho. Hutton. *In one handwriting.*

"Vera copia." *Signed:* Humfrey Purefey, E. Stanhope, Charles Hales, Jo. Ferne.

*On styleaf is the following:—*

Notes taken 29<sup>th</sup> December 1595 on conference with "M<sup>r</sup> Capitaine Westropp" on the musters of these wards where he had charge.

First.—His lordship's direction to him and his fellow commissioners, was to view all the horses there, and certify those fit and furnished for light horse—and if they would only serve for a petronell, to set them down with the defect.

"Which defectes, whersoever they found the lacke of a petronell, they lacked also a paire of curates, and a caske for his head, the usuall furnyture for the same. Note also wher yt was sett 'ja.' (for a jacke), the same should have bene 'co,' for a coie of plate . . .

*Item.*—'f.' sheweth a full furnyture of a coote of plate, a steele capp, his sworde and dagger, and his speare or staff, but his horse not fytt for that purpose, where he ys noted 'petronell.'

*Item.*—a 'p.' is for a petronell."

The number of 201 other horses viewed in the defects, were such as brought horses, but unitt either as light horse or for petronells; the men had no spears and few of them either coats of plate or light horsemen's caps.

The countrymen at the musters told them they had no good horses, for the Scots spoil them continually of these "and other goodes." *Signed:* Thomas Westroppe.

8 pp. *Indorsed (as title), and by Burghley:* "29 Decemb. 1595, Castell ward, Morpeth ward."

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Nov. 29. 171. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO BURGHELY.

Mr Slingsby, Doctor Colmore, Mr Anderson and myself conferred at Alnwick with Sir John Foster, and have reported to the Lord Lieutenant here, his several answers to the instructions in writing,—we have also seen delivered by indenture between Sir John and Lord Eure, all the rolls still in force since the last treaty concluded by the Earl of Rutland—"the former bills as Sir John affirmeth, being cut of by the saide treaty." I have since been at Newcastle with the Lord Lieutenant, who has diligently examined the state of these Middle Marches, mustered the able horsemen, and conferred with the gentlemen to establish Lord Eure in his office. The report of these I leave to his lordship's letters, but pray your lordship's allowance, "yf in inward zeale of conscience, of faithfulness to the Quenes service and in especiall dutie to youe, I deliver my conceipt in generall of the estate of this country.

True religion hath taken verie little place, not by the unwillingnes of the people to heare, but by want of meanes, scant three able preachers being to be found in the whole country. False and disloyall religion hath taken deipe roote, and that in the best howses, increasing daily by the number and diligence of the senynaries, with more libertie resorting hither, being driven from other places of both the realmes."

The usual course of justice has very small progress here, either sessions of peace, punishment of felons, &c., sheriffs' accounting, and the like—partly by the power of the warden "crossing" it, and partly by private men taking liberties and protecting "falters" to strengthen themselves. March justice is "cleau out of joint"—the English spoil less and deliver more than the Scots, to our gradual weakening and their strengthening, under title of justice. They offer us law, but we cannot use it through their iniquity. They require us by the treaty, to prove bills by "avowrie" of a Scotsman, which being amongst them "a matter of deadly feede," we can only get but a few bills filed for lack of avowers. This gives rise to unlawful "complottes and combynacions" of the English with the Scots, to recover somewhat by private favour, when it cannot be got by public justice or reprisals, though the latter is warranted by our statute law on delay or denial of justice. This "inveterate evill," not remedied by sundry commissions, still proceeds—for the Scots refused (as Sir John Foster affirms) in the last treaty at Berwick, "to fyle or cleane uppon the wardens honour, being in dede the cheife meane hitherto agreed uppon, for us to avoide the afore recyted mischeife in avowrie." Their next plan is to answer us by "estoppell," making their bills of as great value as ours—which value is not from their actual loss, but under "the strict wordes of the treaty," which bind us to answer for the whole, though but a part be kept. "So as in the great emotions" in that realm, some of our people taking a trifling part of the spoil, "wee are burdened and billed for the whole, as in the great bill of Fawkland and suche like." But as the treaty of amity between the princes is rather *contractus bonæ fidei* than *stricti juris*, I think it should be so interpreted, that neither realm gain by the other's loss, and transgressors on either side be punished not protected—to the loss of true men. The opposite wardens and officers being always borderers bred and dwelling there, also cherish favourites and strengthen themselves by the worst disposed, to support their factions. And as they are often changed by the King for their misdemeanors, the new man always refuses to answer for attempts before his time. Cesford the warden cannot answer for the whole Middle March, "but must seeke" to Fernihirst for one part, and to Bucclench for Liddesdale.

Execrable murders are constantly committed, whereof 4 new complaints were made to the lords in the few days they were here, and 3 others this month in "Athelstoumoore. The gentlemen of the Middle March here presently, "recount out of their memories near 200 Englishmen miserably



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murthered by the Scottes, since the tenth yeare of her Majesties reigne, for the which no redresse at all hath been made." As for the people, Scottish spoils, hard landlords, "the hand of God in death of cattell and dearth of corne," has so reduced this March, that of 1000 furnished horsemen certified in 1593, there are not in this last "more exact view," 100,—and so dispersed that it cannot be seen how to draw them together. And men of judgment say, that Liddesdale, East and West Teviotale are four fold stronger in horses. The gentlemen say "vehemently" they have lost near 20,000*l.* since her Majesty's 26<sup>th</sup> year. The people generally are discontented and dejected to see their enemy triumphing in their blood and enriched by their losses. The gentlemen are distracted, partly by their "displeasures, which these lordes have labored to compound," but mostly by their endeavours for private defence.

The contagion has touched that part of the bishopric adjoining Northumberland, "alonge the hyer partes of the rivers of Tease, Weare, and Darwent," and now instantly an honest neighbour one Simpson, is a prisoner in Liddesdale taken by the Ellottes out of his house near Durham, and held to ransom for 100*l.* Others in like case under bouds for ransom, extorted by torture. Sundry attempts also in Richmondshire made, and two wealthy men's houses near Richmond assaulted, 70 miles from the Border, and one of them spoiled. Though the lord lieutenant with great travail discovered this, and intends having redress, yet it is a disquiet and terror to the people.

The new lord warden is pressed with these difficulties—a strong enemy—a weak and distracted country—suspicion of privy practice to cross him—a year of scarcity—and a very unsafe place of abode, being on the high way of the worst disorders.

I have presumed to certify thus much to your lordship more tediously than I should: yet will be ready to do more particularly, if you direct me. Praying you to receive information from some other, equally heedful of truth—and in the meantime trusting you will cover my name from undeserved offence. I pray God to make you an instrument under our gracious sovereign, "to cure the aforesaide gangrene thus noysomly molesting the foote of this kingdome." Newcastle. *Signed:* Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

3 pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of signet.*

(2) A copy of same.

3 pp.

Nov. . 172. SCROOPE TO BURGHLEY.

In my lord chamberlain's paquet I received a letter from you to myself, and another to Mr Ashton, which I have sent him. I remind you of the order in my father's later time here, for payment of the soldiers sent from Berwick—the treasurer there or the nearest receiver, either gave them a month's pay, or an imprest for conduct money to meet their charges and carriage of armour; and when here, Mr Clopton or Mr Ashton paid them monthly beforehand on your lordships' "joint warrant." As "the depe of wynter and most unquiet season is now come on us," and incursions nightly increasing, I know your lordship takes consideration, though by the inclosed copy letter, some think differently,—I therefore send it for you to digest and use according to your wisdom, so that I be not hereafter questioned for it by "his lordship." *Signed:* Th. Scroope.

I pray you for her Majesty's pleasure as to reprisals by us, failing redress.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed:* "No. 1595, lord Scroope to my lord."

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## Dec. . 173. HUNTINGDON TO BURGHLEY.

"These are to advertyse your lordship, after I dyd receive hyr Majestys lettres datyd the \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ broughte to me by the Lord Ewre, I was in mynde to have sent for sum of the pryncypalle gentlemen of the Myddle Marchys. But hearynge as I dyd, by sundrye meanes, of the bad state therof mannye wayes, I resolvyd in end to goo my selfe to Newcastle, wheare I myghte with more ease to them, and lesse perryll to that cuntrye, convent more of the principalle men before me then I coulde well calle hythyr, consydrynge what was tolde me of the dayle spoyles there. And understandyng after my laste cummyngye hythyr, that no muster had ben takyn in all Northumberland as by my lordes lettres datyd the \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_, which I sent thythyr, as I dyd to the other countyes wythyn my charge, I resolvyd to have all the horssemen mustryd in that countye, spuryngye to deale with the footemen at thys tyme, because the harvest there was then so bad and bakewarde. And for the takynge of thys muster in the Myddle Marchys, I dyd apoynt to everye place 3 gentlemen, wherof one of thys countye of Yorke, another of the countye of Duresme, and a 3<sup>d</sup> of the countye of Northumberland. Thys muster was takyn by these 9 gentlemen the daye before my cummyngye to Newcastle. And the nexte daye they broughte in there severalle certyficates, which I found to dyffer so farre from that I sent unto my lordes laste, as yt dyd a"  
[Ends abruptly here].\*

1½ pp. *Holograph: much altered. Indorsed:* "Dec. 1595. Copie of a lettre intended to have been written to the Lord Thesaurer by the Erle of Huntingdon towching the border cawses" (and by *Burghley*), "The Erles own hand."

## Dec. 3. 174. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

On Tuesday the 25<sup>th</sup> November Lord Huntingdon came to Newcastle, where he conferred with the gentlemen of the Myddle Marches for union among themselves, which I hope will end in better service to her Majesty. The day before, a general muster of light horse in the three wards had been taken by 3 muster masters in each—whose certificate was sent to the Earl while at Newcastle, and will doubtless be shortly in your hands—showing great decay since last muster "anno 93."

I have received by the commissioners from Sir John Forster, certain bills of complaint, his book of indents with the opposite warden, and the Commissioners' book agreed on "anno 63." I see many more bills due, neither redressed nor inrolled, and refer to your lordship whether commissioners should not be authorised to meet with opposite commissioners as in former times, to satisfy all these bills before my time—the particulars whereof I will send in my next.

The safest and speediest remedy I can devise, by the advice of experienced men here, is to have a general watch of the fords and passages of the whole March; which is now begun, and will be continued so long as we find it "dothe any good," though from the general terror of the people, daily murders, &c., it is feared it will not be to the effect I wish. Newcastle.  
*Signal:* Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Flyleaf and address lost.*

## Dec. 6. 175. CRANE AND ACRIGIE TO BURGHLEY.

Sir William Reed and his men being appointed to lie at Carlisle, and there being a "great brute" of the coming of the enemy, who would find

\* Lord Huntingdon died before 14<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1595.

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the Holy and Fern islands, if they took them (as God forbid), the fittest havens for ships and men in these parts, not to be recovered without heavy charges to her Majesty and loss of many men's lives—and he, having great care and regard for these places in his absence, having required us to report defects greatly needing amendment, we find, first—there are 2 pieces of great ordnance there so full of “flawes and hunycombes,” that they dare not be shot off more than once for fear of bursting, and killing the gunners and servers, leaving the haven mouth undefended. Sir William has often desired to exchange them, but the master of the ordnance here dare not without your warrant. Also the upper court or platform in the fort at Holy island, is so broken and full of holes, that the pieces cannot be brought to the loops to be shot off, “nor reverse,” without breaking their stocks and carriages, unless more men be allowed. We leave the remedy to your lordship's consideration. Berwick. *Signed: John Crane, Will'm Acrigge.* “Post scripture.—. . . If the Spaniards should land, Sir William Reed would be veary loth to be absent . . . and for that his credite in service hath bene at all tymes in diverse offices of good callinge, with good discharg therof, and now to be removed from his so necessary a chardge into the West Borders upon so small service as is there to be done, it is a thing thought veary inconvenient.”

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 7. 176. CRANE AND ACRIGGE TO BURGHLEY.

As the breach in the old town wall next the river was done last Michaelmas, also great part of the defects of the long bridge amended, so far as the season permitted, and the iron gate for the Cowgate finished, to be set up when the stone work is ready—we recommend that the stone needful be got, not at the quarries which will be chargeable, but out of the old Cowgate wall “neare hande,” which will save carriage and hewing, to be done by taking in the “olde walle and rampeir at the Cowgate betwene Bedford and Hunsdon mountes, which dothe not onlie barre and condempne the flanckers in Bedford mounte and the Milne mounte, leaving the whole groyne and greatest parte of the cullyn of Bedford mounte to be unflancked, but also sundrie partes of the saide olde walle and rampeir yet standinge and subject to the prysall of thennymie, do so top and surmounte the curteins betwene the saide mountes, as the peeces to be placed theron by thennymie shall playe upon and beate thorenance house, the weast parte of the towne, and insyde of the rampeires of the mountes and curteines, bothe of Bedford and Midle mounte, with suche disadvantage and danger, as it is moste expediente tymelie to be prevented.” And the taking said old wall, mended in sundry places only with “pales of firdeales,” blown down by every great wind, to the Queen's cost, will not only make up the Cowgate, but also the “vamures” of the walls all about the town, many of which are blown down, as they were lined with brick now decayed, and other needful works about the town. The earth thereof will fill up the now empty buttresses and “rampeires” of the new walls inside, and greatly strengthen that side of the town. But we wait your pleasure and warrant before meddling with the old wall.

We must also revive to your memory the need for some further proportion of timber from Chopwell wood for these works. Berwick. *Signed: John Crane, Will'm. Acrigge.*

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 8. 177. CHARLES HASLOPPE TO BURGHLEY.

The customer having showed me your lordship's letter the 5<sup>th</sup> instant, touching two packs of cloth and “carveys” seized by me as searcher on 7<sup>th</sup>

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October last, whereby I find that by his letter of 4<sup>th</sup> November, without my privity, he has not certified the full truth, I asked M<sup>r</sup> Governor to stay the said packs till I showed your lordship the state of the "cawse"—which he has done. And as it will exceed a "competente lettre," I have drawn up the inclosed paper, whereby a practice to defraud her Majesty, both now and formerly will appear, between Mychell Phenley a Scottish merchant and the customer. Berwick. *Signed* : Charles Hasloppe "searcher of Barwicke."

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in same :—

Presumptions in behalf of her Majesty, touching the seizne of two packs of Yorkshire cloth and "Denshier" kerseys, made by the searcher of Berwick, being the goods of "Mychell Phenley Scotisheman."

1-4. The packs were seized and brought into the Custom house 7<sup>th</sup> October—the Queen's mark put on them—and the customer informed that Robert Sympson Englishman had entered them as his own, though the goods of "an alyente," illegally, to defraud the Queen. The searcher unloosed the cords to open them, but the customer begged delay till the Scots merchant came: who acknowledged them as his, asking my favour and offering to "content" me, or it would overthrow him.

5. I refused to delay, when he confessed he had "Denshier" kerseys coming from Coventry, and feared they were in the packs—showing the customer knew this.

6. On opening them, the kerseys were there, contrary to Sympson's entry, and the customer's, in the Queen's book.

7-8. He and other officers owned the seizure good, but he delayed delivering copies of Sympson's letter, to give the Scotsman time to see him, and he also put the Queen's mark off the packs.

9. The Scotsman being "in greiffe" with himself, two of his neighbours and an Englishman said to him, "Why have you venterd your goodes, have you not the customers word nor none others for your warrant? If ther be any suche thinge, lett yt be knowen and the fault lye wher yt is." He answered if the worst be "and if he wer xx customers in one and wore velvet," he would speak, if it come to that.

10-12. These packs were the first that ever came to the customer's lodging, which might have "trubled" the searcher's eyes, but he had special news: and the customer of himself said the merchant should pay for his fault—who offered through an Englishman 20 marks sterling.

13-14. I inclose copy of Sympson's letter sent by the "caryer" to the customer to enter the packs, and of his letter to Phenley inside of a pack, showing the fraud, for Sympson never had a factor in Scotland.

14. The packs are entered in Exchequer—and I did not expect to find the customer oppose it.

15-16. I can prove that Phenley got Sympson's help before with 5 packs, but the officers stopping them, he entered them himself and paid the Queen's dues. There are other things I omit, to avoid tediousness. *Signed* : Charles Hasloppe "sercher of Barwicke."

3½ pp. *Holograph. Indorsed* : "12 Dec. 1595. Presumptions," &c.

Dec. 8. 178. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

From your lordship's letter of 26<sup>th</sup> November, I am very sorry to find your opinion touching the gentleman portership differs so far from mine, but submit to your honour's pleasure. There is no great need for a gentleman porter at all, as the governor and captain of the ward have the care of the keys.

For victuals, I am driven to tell your lordship we are very hardly dealt

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with by the victualler—we look and expect, but never find. And if Lord Hume would but keep our neighbours of the Merse from victualling us, “wee need no other seidge,” for we should either have to starve or leave the town. We have long looked for M<sup>r</sup> Vernon and M<sup>r</sup> Swifte “whose desdes are not according to his name, for he is longe a comming.” I must pray your honour to have them sent away with more speed than they themselves make, and if they excuse themselves with wind and weather, they have had warning enough on that. The continual rumour and preparation in Scotland for the Spaniards coming, makes me more earnest herein.

The comptroller and surveyor require me to entreat for your warrant for some timber for the long bridge, now in great decay—what they had having been bestowed on the Cowgate bridge. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan raefer signet.*

Dec. 9. 179. EURE TO BUCCLEUCH.

“Understandinge by generall reporte” that your King has appointed you keeper of Liddesdale, I thought it not amiss to write these few lines to you, to understand your grant, &c., that I might frame myself to concur with you in justice. “Hopeing of your good neighbourhood herein, I wilbe ready to yeald you the lyke.”—Hexham.

Copy of my letter to Sir Walter Scott knight laird of Buckclughe and keeper of Liddesdale.

“Commissioners for the Borders, out of which your lordship\* make choise as best shall seame to your honorable wisdom.”

The Lord Wharton, Sir William Mallyorye knight, Sir William Bowes knight, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood knight, Sir Thomas Fairfaxe *junior* knight, Richard Goodrick esq., Francis Shingsbye esq., Gerrard Lowther esq<sup>r</sup>., Captain Selbye, Thomas Carleton, Doctor Colmare, Robert Bowes *junior*.

(Buccleuch's reply to Eure.)

That he will be ready to concur with him in justice for Liddesdale, and asking that the necessary forms to be followed be “condiscended” on as soon as pleases him. “Hassingdean kirke this Friday the xix<sup>th</sup> of December 1595.”

1½ pp. *Copies by Eure's clerk. Indorsed.*

Dec. 9. 180. EURE TO SIR WILLIAM CARR.

Signifying his appointment as warden of the Middle Marches, and her Majesty's commands to see justice done to her subjects, and concur with the opposite warden at days of March for mutual redress. Hexham.

The copy of my letter to Sir William Carr knight lord warden of Scotland “foranent” the Middle Marches of England. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

(The warden's reply.)

Acknowledging the letter and that he has conferred at large with Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, who has carefully signified Eure's mind to keeping good order on the Marches—complimenting him on appointment as “justicer” which the Queen would not have conferred without knowledge of his sufficiency—and that he himself will discharge his own duty when the English warden has occasion to try him.

“The coppie of Sir Robert Ker his lettre in answeere of my lettre to Sir William his father, the xxij<sup>th</sup> day of December 1595.” *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

2 pp. *Written by Eure's clerk. Indorsed.*

\* Burghley.

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Dec. 13. 181. SCROPE TO HUNTINGDON.

"Havinge occasion to make the post ryde," I send you the inclosed news brought by my man this day out of Scotland. Considering how unfit this country is for service, as the late muster rolls sent you show, and the "bruite" of foreign preparations for our trouble, I think it would bring this country in better order if you wrote to the gentlemen, &c., here, to certify how many men they will voluntarily muster for service, in addition to those they are charged with, and bind themselves to serve in case of extremity—as I hear is done elsewhere. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet quartered.*

Dec. 19. 182. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Your letter of 5<sup>th</sup> subscribed by "my Lord Buckhurst and Sir John Fosceaw," I received not till the 12<sup>th</sup> at 9 A.M.: containing instructions to inquire about a Hamburg ship "parted" from London with one of Hull. The next day 13<sup>th</sup> at 9 A.M. I received from Sir Robert Cecil more particular direction, viz. to send a trusty person to confer with George Nicholson and Tusser, how to stay and bring the ship back lawfully. Whereon I at once dispatched Captain Bowyer with 2 garrison men, who used such expedition, "as the same night towards morning he arived att Edenbroughe." Losing no time, he sent Tusser and Wayde his companion to the ship with a garrison man, to see if she "held her continnace for passadge." After they left for the other side where she lay, being a long passage, Bowyer "fitted himself" with a small English bark there, and with his people waited the tide to have goue out "and ryden by the Hamburgar as bound all one course," as Tusser and he had agreed. At which instant, Tusser returned, reporting she had sailed last tide with a fair westerly wind, and Bowyer advising with the English ship master, found it useles to follow. Having to return here, he thought to "trye and scyfte" Tusser, and having long conference together, "the capten telleth me, he founde him in such varietye and unsteadfast speches, that one his conscience, there would have bin no such thing found as Tusser had informed your honour; perceaving him to be a most buisseye person, and that if he be harkned too, his delewsiones wilbe many." He told Bowyer he was going presently to confer with the Lord Crightoun, one of the most notable factions papists there, whereby it is to be doubted this "fellowes" residence there without cause, bound by his first intentions for another place, "will prove naught." I thought it good you should know Bowyer's opinion of this man, against another time.

While Bowyer was there, the rumour of the Spaniards coming was great, verified by Colonel Steward who then returned. They were thought to have landed in England, from Bowyer's appearing, till he told them he was only on pleasure. No letters are allowed to leave the country, on pain of death—a general muster is being made, while the King and Queen are in Edinburgh. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "... Towching Tussers informacion of treasure in a ship of Hamborowe."

Dec. 19. 183. JOHN CAREY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL

[On the same subject, with some additional particulars.] Bowyer knowing "the Duche language" and putting himself in "the tryme of a master marryner," hoped to have got on board the Hamburger, and performed his commission by fair means or force.

Tusser being questioned about the treasure, "said that out of a barrell of corne, the tope being filled with peper, he sawe the shipper himself cast three bages in a corner that could not be lesse than eight thousand poundes

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in silver. 'Why then,' quoth Bowyer, 'he must have dossen men to lifte it!'" Then he told Bowyer a Spaniard was on board, but confessed it was only a little boy. Nor could Bowyer get the name of the ship and shipper out of him, to have traced her, and he either knows not or will not tell Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

\* Postscript.—Complaining that the postal delay had obstructed the service.

2½ pp. *Addressed*: To Cecil as a privy councillor. *Indorsed*.

Dec. 22. 184. JOHN FERNE TO BURGHLEY.

In your letters of the 17<sup>th</sup> instant to the Archbishop of York and the Council here, your lordship writes you have not received mine of the 8<sup>th</sup> as to the Middle Marches, and requests me to "reiterate" the same, with farther report of Lord Huntingdon's doings and purposes in his last journey. By my letters of the 14<sup>th</sup> of this month, "presently upon his death," I wrote to you, that my letters of the 8<sup>th</sup> as to the Marches were indeed dated 11<sup>th</sup>, as I find by the original, and the error was due to forgetfulness and trouble on the loss of our "honorable, religious, faithfull, and wise president." For these letters on March matters were stayed after being sealed, as no packet could go, "my lord then livinge," without his command, and he not then in case to be spoken to. So I wrote them anew, with a second date of 11<sup>th</sup> December, and sent them by one Rideley an alderman of Beverley who rode post to London meaning to be there by the 15<sup>th</sup>—hoping you have received them. His lordship, as I have said in my letters of 16<sup>th</sup> instant, did not acquaint me with any particulars. In my first letter I told your lordship there were but four preachers in Northumberland,—little or no justice civil or martial—the law of the realm and the March contempned and almost out of use—report that wardens' courts have been held in private chambers—general complaint of violences—decay of horse, &c. "exceedinge greate"—the people without heart—ransoms as common as in war—rodes increasing in the Bishopric—eight score masters of families reckoned to have been slain since the Queen's 10<sup>th</sup> year—with my opinion that these misdemeanours were furthered by evil disposed English, by marriages with the clans and families of Scots, and sundry other causes. This was the sum of my first letter on the Marches—and as further report of my lord's doings and purposes would have lengthened this letter inconveniently, I have set them down in order of a "journeauil" as inclosed, showing my knowledge of each day's business at Newcastle. York. *Signed*: Your lordships most humble to be commanded, Jo. Ferne.

2 pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Ferne's report to Burghley.)

Report of "the late" Earl of Huntingdon's proceedings at Newcastle on the affairs of the Middle Marches.

His lordship came to Newcastle on Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> November accompanied with the Lord Ewry.

On 26<sup>th</sup> by 12 o'clock the gentlemen of Northumberland "convented" by his lordship arrived, and after dinner, he saw the warden court books delivered to Lord Ewry by Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Bowes, Doctor Colmor and other commissioners, as received from Sir John Foster, also the indentures between Lord Ewry and Sir John touching the receipt of said books. The Earl also received from the commissioners Sir John's answers to the articles which "I suppose" his lordship had drawn and commanded them to take—but I

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did not hear the particulars, which Sir William Bowes can certify—"but his lordship talking with me aparte, said that 'Sir John did winde like an eele'—that was his phrase."

[2]7 Nov. "In the forenoone a sermon": and in the afternoon his lordship accompanied Lord Eure to the Castle, where Lord Eure's commission was read and promulgated before a great assembly of gentlemen of Yorkshire, the Bishopric and Northumberland. His lordship doubting the truth of the musters formerly ordered by him, now appointed them to be made on one day, "viz. the 24 of that moneth as I remember," in three places by 3 gentlemen, one of each county—which nine commissioners reported to his lordship after dinuer, that there were but 115 horse "furnished" in that March—but the Northumberland gentlemen thought that 45 of those "defective" in Yorkshire and the bishopric, were fit for Border service, making up 160. His lordship then advised these Northumberland gentlemen to settle their feuds and quarrels, to defend their March better, and that it was her Majesty's express command that they should leave all wroogs to "the sworde of justice," not to their private revenge. On returning to his chamber, thinking of the great defects in the musters compared with last year, his lordship " (as I gathered by his wordes) said 'Oh, how hath that man (betrayed or abused) Queene Elizabeth!' thon of the wordes he spake, viz., ether 'betrayed' or 'abused,' but verily I doe not well remember which." And his countenance showed great sorrow and grief at the state of affairs; and that night, partly with the great trouble he had taken, the "travell" of his journey, but chiefly I think of grief, he was "sicke," and till next day at noon was mostly "private."

28<sup>th</sup> Nov. "He was sicke."

29<sup>th</sup> Nov. He received the answers of the Northumberland gentlemen, to the articles he gave them two days before, touching the decays and disorders of that March and their opinions on remedy, and perusing them, called me to read an article on the unjust ransoms and number slain since her Majesty's 10<sup>th</sup> year, &c., which they could not answer without conferring with the country people, so took further time. Whether these last were brought to York with him or not, is unknown to me—but I suppose the muster books and Sir John Foster's answer are in his "caskettes," which we of the Council here sealed and locked up, as before reported to your lordship. That day after dinner, his lordship set out for Durham on his way homeward.

As I never had any of his books, &c., in my hands, I can say no more than here set down. As to his purpose for bettering the Marches, I know very little, except that he said that commissioners from both princes were necessary for "justicing" both nations—if not, that her Majesty might maintain 100 horse to strengthen them, till the people recover themselves.

"His meaning was to have comen to London presently and have enformed her Majestie and your lordship of all things."

3 pp. *Written by Ferne's clerk. Indorsed:* "26 No. 1595. M<sup>r</sup> Ferne's report of the Erle of Huntingdon's proceedings at Newcastle."

Dec. 25 185. SCROPE TO THE COUNCIL.

In the absence of Thomas Musgrave, officer of Bewcastle, presently with your lordships, I sent my servant John Musgrave his brother there. On Tuesday night last a band of 16 or 20 Scots horsemen on a foray, were discovered, and in following the fray, John Musgrave happened to kill a principal man, though "a notorious comon ryder" on the Queen's subjects. For revenge of whose death, the Scots have already threatened that office "with highe and proude boastes," which I think they will do if they can. and look daily for the "verie worste." And as the soldiers are not yet come, I have here in readiness the forces of this office for any service, intending with them "to seeke at their owne dores" any who shall attempt



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revenge for this man's death, unless countermanded by your lordships. I humbly beg a few horsemen to be allowed there to keep down outrages, for footmen are not "so good to defend and pursue as for offence and retyeringe themselves and companies in any service." I attend your directions with all expedition. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 25. 186. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

I inclose my general letter to the Council, referring your lordship to the same. Adding only that as Bewcastle is of late so weakened, "there beinge scarce two 'good horses' in it, nor "not many," even when the captaiu himself is there, to ride out with him, and as John Musgrave his brother, in respect of this "accydenste" dare not remain there—I beseech you that Thomas Musgrave may be speedily commanded to his charge, or such other as her Majesty and your lordships think meet. But if he is returned to the office, it were good that he gave assurance before leaving you, to furnish himself with and keep a fit retinue of his friends or servants, till the office is in better strength, and promise to see the office furnished with their due number of horses for defence. But better assurance must be taken than his "simple promises," for I fear his performance "will not be auswerable to his promises and faire speches" while with you.

I duly acknowledge your favour in the causes I lately recommended to you "by the sollicitinge of Adam Midleham, as well for her Majesties tenantes of Richemond and Midleham, as in myne owne perticular." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 26. 187. EURE TO BURGHELY.

My delay in writing since my last of the 3<sup>d</sup> instant, was owing to the "extreame tempestions wether" on my coming to Hexham "the daie prefixed in consultacione with the gentlemen of the Middle Marche, viz. x<sup>th</sup> of December att Morpeth," to receive bills of complaints. For the most of them did not come; but it appears that the spoils besides murders, since their last return in 1593, amounted to 6369*l.* till my entry, and many bills not entered; if a part of which could be recovered it would help the people to furnish themselves against outrages. But without a commission from both their Majesties, it will "rarelie" be had, for the two means of justice by March law are taken away, "viz. a vower is food,\* and none can be hadd of Scottishe, the Englishe are terrified by there slaughters to awe for the Scottes. Assyse is likewise taken awaie by the careles respecte of relogione, honor the warden will not be assented unto of the opposyte." Without reform of these corruptions, what redress on truce days will be had, I refer to your wisdom.

Sir John Forster at delivery of the rolls to the commissioners, said that all bills were answerable from 1586, when Lord Rutland and my father were at Berwick; but I hear that my lord chamberlain, &c., commissioners from her Majesty since 1588, met there, which the Scots will doubtless claim to their advantage, and if they do, the losses are great, as will appear to you by this note out of their certificate general.

M<sup>r</sup> Slingsbie viewed Harbottle castle, and I pray your lordship to ask what decay he found. The prison is not fit for felons, nor the house for any man of worth, "eyther for saifetie or healthe." I beg some help for its repair, either by Sir John Forster repaying part of the Queen's money "not

\* Feud.

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bestowed," or some other means, for my keeper lies there on service "in meane sorte."

The prison at Hexham "is ruinated, the jeastes of chamebers taken awaie, a pooer ould catiffe hath the patent, and neyther through his povertie hable to keep man to gaurd the presonne, or geveth them meate in presone, neyther anie pertitions of roomes for the severall presoners, but one dungione." I pray your consideration therein with speed, for I am forced to make my house a prison meantime, and I beg I may pay the gaoler his fee for life, and place a fit man there, and if allowed 100*l.*, and timber out of the Queen's woods in this March, I would repair it sufficiently. I sent you the breviate of the muster given to the Earl of Huntingdon at Newcastle, showing the lamentable defect. For horsemen: if her Majesty allowed me 100, to be placed as needed, at Hardbottle, Chipchase, Aydon brigg, Hawtwisse and other places, I would get better peace with my opposite neighbours, and crave commission to levy them in Yorkshire.

I wrote as directed to Sir William Carr, the opposite warden by patent, but received no answer, but a letter from Sir Robert Carr his son, who executes the office, "proferinge" justice—and a message that he could not answer for Buccleuch's government of Liddesdale, or for Fernihirst's of East Teviotdale. So "I am posted to three opposytes (and maybe nutoward neighbours)," and have to answer for my whole March. I inclose copies of my letters.

I made means to learn Buccleuch's "grant," who has hitherto given no great cause of offence, but as corn this year is failed both in Scotland and Northumberland, "and meate must be hadd," I look that my March will pay part, if we are not stronger.

"Sesford and the Trumbles are in contrarie, whome Buckclouche joyneth to Sesforthes aunoye"—procuring peace to me for a little.

My news I fear is late, being out of the fittest post way, and busy hunting out felons, English and March traitors, to keep a court to reform them, and I am a "verie stranger" in Scotland.

I hear that Sir John Forster is bailiff of Bywell by the Queen's grant, so I am hindered there and in other places for my necessary provision. Praying your lordship I may have the disposing of that "balife," and the others in Hexhamshire, and a constable in Langley, which will much further the Queen's service, now much hindered. Sir John will not let me have corn, hay, or straw for "anie money," notwithstanding the Queen's pleasure signified in your letters. So I must entreat for some grounds to keep my horses winter and summer. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed (partly by Burghley) and notes by him on margin.*

Inclosed in the above:—

(Note of spoils.)

Breviate out of the general certificate of decayed tenancies in the Middle Marches since 26 Elizabeth, certified to the Privy Council 1593.

The spoils since 26 Eliz. certified <i>ut supra</i> . . . . .	869 <i>l.</i>
The spoils since the former certificate to this present year, 1595 . . . . .	636 <i>l.</i>

15,060*l.*

I cannot "sever" the spoils done since Lord Rutland and Lord Eure's commission ended at Berwick 1586, for the years are not set down in the general certificate book. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Burghley.*

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Dec. 26.

## 188. EURE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

[To the same effect (in briefer terms) as to his father.] Adding—"I finde . . . not twoe paier of boultres in Hexham towne, the cheiff marktett towne in that quarter of the cuntrie—officers few or none that will thrust themselves to apprehend a malifactor, but am forced to send my servantes or freudes. I coulede enlarge my petious discourse to your honour, but in trothe I neyther finde good orders established or helpe from the grave experience of my predecessor to help me."

I inclose copies of my letter to Sir William Karr opposite warden, and Sir Robert his son's reply. Hexham. Signed: Ra. Eure.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Inclosed in the same:—

Copies of Lord Eure's letter of 9<sup>th</sup> Dec. to Sir William Carr of Cesford and reply of 22 Dec. by his son Sir Robert Carr.

## Dec. 189. REPORT ON NORHAM CASTLE.

As directed by your order sent by Sir Robert Carey knight now captain of her Majesty's castle of Norham, and with advice of Leonard Faireley master carpenter of Berwick, James Burrell and other skilled artificers, we have surveyed the ruins and decays there, which are very great; the walls are much decayed, and many of the towers and turrets heretofore on them, are fallen down, and no platform or place for ordnance left. "So (the owter gatehouse outhe excepted) at the entrie or goinge to the castell, there are neither lodgings, offices nor any other houses of receipt standing in the castell, but are all fallen downe and rewynated." And if they should be "reedified" in their former "proportion and forme," they would cost her Majesty above 1700*l.* or 1800*l.* at least; and therefore we have only set down such lodgings and offices as are most needful for the captain and his retinue, viz:—

## THE CAPTAIN'S LODGINGS:—

1<sup>st</sup>. The great dungeon tower, 5 stories high, one half of which (the north part) is all fallen down to the vault: which place we think fittest and with least charge to be rebuilt for the captain, viz., a hall, a buttery, a pantry, and eight other lodgings, besides two garners for corn, and a vault for a prison underneath the same. The walls are in thickness 12 feet, in length 21 yards, in breadth within the walls, 8 yards, and in height above the vault 18 yards. Making up all which, and repairing the part of the dungeon still standing, in stone, lime, iron, glass, timber work, &c., carriage and workmanship, will cost, by estimation, . . . . . 610*l.*

THE KITCHEN AND OFFICES.—A house or room adjoining, in length 18 yards, in breadth within the walls 7 yards—very necessary to be converted into a kitchen and offices—in timber work, laths, lime, slate, &c., and workmanship, will cost as above, . . . . . 30*l.*

Bakehouse and brewhouse to be also built, in stone, lime, slate, timber-work, &c., with workmanship, will cost as above, . . . . . 94*l.*

A stable for 20 horses to be built, being in length 18 yards, in breadth within the walls with "bays and stables," and a lodging at the end for the horsekeepers, of 5 yards square, which in stone, lime, slate, &c., with workmanship, will cost as above, . . . . . 68*l.*

A powder house and gunner's lodging, in length 9 yards, in breadth within the walls, 7 yards. The west part whereof is fallen down, and will cost to repair as above, . . . . . 10*l.*

The inner gatehouse, to the inner court, being in length 9 yards, in breadth within the walls, 7 yards, with the iron gate there (in decay) will cost as above, . . . . . 18*l.*

Total of the above estimate, . . . . . 830*l.*

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For the above it will be requisite to have 100 tons of timber—the charges of which, felling, squaring, land and water carriage and freights, loading and unloading, are included in the estimate, and “your lordshipes warrant” only remains to be had from Chopwell wood. *Signed*: Wyllyam Reed, Ra. Gray, Anthony Felton, John Crane, Will'm Acrigge.

3 pp. *In Crane's writing. Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

## Dec. 190. SCROPE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Hoping to have had more worthy matters to send, I forbore to acknowledge her Majesty's most gracious letters of licence to take amends of the Scottish spoilers opposite me, but having received the inclosed from Scotland by my man this day returned “(though he were hindered these x dayes by extremity of wether and waters),” I send them by the post. And if there is anything worth, you will impart it to my lord your father, with excuse for my not writing to him. Notwithstanding the need of the soldiers ordered here, and that 100*l.* is paid to them already, they are not yet come. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

“The Lowthers ar my greate adversaries, and Gererd is now on his jorney towards London. If he shall broatche any thinge against me, that shall come to your privitie, I desier and assure my selfe that you will stand my honorable frende.”

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed (to Cecil as a privy councillor). Indorsed*: “Dec. 1595. Lord Scroope to my master, with certaine advertisementes out of Scotland. A pamphlett given to the King by an Irish gentleman.”

## 191. BOWES' ACCOUNTING WITH VERNON.

Answers by Robert Bowes to the note exhibited by Robert Vernon to the Lord Treasurer, specifying delay in each half yearly payment.

He refers to the books and accounts mutually subscribed between them—with the farther explanation that as he himself received no more than 6000*l.* for the first half of each year, and did not get the remaining 9000*l.* of the 15,000*l.* necessary to pay the garrison, &c., till the end of the second half, Vernon, who was always in advance with his expenditure, was therefore not fully paid till Bowes had the money.

1½ pp. *Indorsed.*

## [Dec.] 192. ROYAL WARRANT FOR BERWICK PAY, &amp;c.

“Elizabeth, &c. To the Treasurer and Chamberlains of our Exchequer, &c., greeting. Whereas by default of Robert Bowes treasurer of our town and garrison of Berwick, there was in arrear of their pay 5500*l.* for the space of two years ended at Michaelmas 1589, 31<sup>st</sup> of our reign, wherewith they being grieved and complaining to us, we were pleased for their easement till further order might be taken with the said Robert Bowes, by our warrant in May of our 33<sup>d</sup> year, to pay them 3000*l.* “as parcell of the said 5500*l.*” due them by the said Robert Bowes, treasurer. And whereas the said Robert Bowes was indebted to Thomas Smyth late farmer of the customs of our port of London in 1500*l.*, “which by our favour we allowed to be paid to us by the said Bowes as parcell of the debt of the said Smyth, which being added to the former debt due to our said garrison, doth make the full some of 7000*l.*”—payment of which great sum we have of our favour to the said Robert Bowes been pleased “to install” and receive by 1000*l.* yearly from the feast of S<sup>t</sup> Michael the Archangel 1593, 35<sup>th</sup> of our reign. Whereof he has answered to us of the first year ended at Michaelmas last 700*l.*, leaving 300*l.* to be paid by one John Smith his assigne. And whereas the said garrison

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have newly made humble suit to us for payment of their arrears whereof there is still due to them 2500*l.*, and the said Robert Bowes on being dealt with by you, has made certain offers to us for their satisfaction at Midsummer next, and for the rest of his debt of 3000*l.* to us to be paid yearly by 500*l.* from the "Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary" next coming, which we are content to accept—We command you on assurance first made by him in such sort as you our Treasurer with advice of "our counsell learned" shall think good for his payments, to pay back to him the said 700*l.* already answered in Exchequer, making with the 300*l.* yet unpaid, 1000*l.* Also to discharge to him 1500*l.* to be dne to us for a year and a half on the instalment ended at "the Annunciation of Our Ladie" now next ensuing, which shall be in the 38<sup>th</sup> year of our reign; "with which allowances, making in all the somme of 2500*l.*, the said Robert Bowes hath undertaken to make full satisfaction unto our said garrison of Barwick at or before the Feast of S<sup>t</sup> John Baptist next coming, for all debts and arrerages due by him to them before the Feast of S<sup>t</sup> Michael, in the xxxj<sup>th</sup> year of our reign above-mentioned." Which being done, or such order taken therefor as you our Treasurer shall think meet, we command you thereon to acquit and discharge the said Robert Bowes by cancelling or by judgment of you our barons or other course of Exchequer of all his "bandes, recognisaunces," &c., to us made or recorded in Exchequer for the said 7000*l.* And whereas the said assurance to be granted to us by him for the yearly payment of 500*l.* is to "growe" chiefly out of certain salt pans erected at Sunderland in our bishopric of Durham, under a privilege heretofore granted by us to Sir Thomas Wilkes knight clerk of our Council, for making white salt within this our realm—having some years yet to run "which some have of late unadvisedly impugned"—Our pleasure is that you our Treasurer and barons during the residue of the said years, aid and assist by authority of Exchequer the farmers workmen or assigns of the said Sir Thomas Wilkes and Robert Bowes, and maintain them against all who shall impeach their said privilege. Given, &c.

4 pp. Draft. *Inlorsed*: "1595. Draught of a warrant for paying of the garrison of Barwick, and discharge of M<sup>r</sup> Bowes assurance."

(1) Part of a draft on same business.

1595? 193. COMMISSIONERS IN THE NORTH.

The names of those joined in commission with Thomas late Archbishop of York president of the Council in the north.

The Archbishop, president; Thomas earl of Northumberland; George earl of Shrewesbery; Henry earl of Comberland; Francis earl of Bedford; James bishop of Durham; Henry lord Scrowpe; John lord Lumley; William lord Ewre; Thomas lord Wharton; John Walche a justice of the King's Bench; Nicholas Powtrell serjant at the law; Henry Pereye knight; Thomas Gargrave knight; Nicholas Fayerfax knight; William Vasasoure knight; John Foster knight; George Bowes knight; Henry Gates knight; George Conyers knight; William Whittingham dean of Durham; John Rokeby doctor of laws; John Vaughan, Henry Savell, Richard Corbet, John Egglefelde, George Browne, Christofer Estoit, and Thomas Eynose, esquires.\* These were of the *Quorum*—The Archbishop, John Walche, Nicholas Powtrell, Thomas Gargrave, Henry Savell, Robert Mancell, George Browne, Francis Frobiser, and Christofer Estoit. The counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, the Bishopric of Durham, the cities and counties of York, and Carlisle, towns and counties of Kingston upon Hull, and Newcastle on Tyne, and Berwick on Tweed and its liberties.

\* On margin in another hand:—Henry eric of Rattland president; Henry eric of Westmerland, William lord Daeres, William lord Grave, William Constable, Thomas Wharton knyght, Robert Mancell serjant at law, Francis Frobiser esquire."

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1 p. *Indorsed (in the second hand)*: "The names of the comyssoners in the north in the tymes of the Erle of Rutteland and the Archebysshop of Yorke."

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Jan. 1.

194. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

There being in this county of Northumberland, none in the commission of the peace fit to give a charge at a sessions, or to aid the gentlemen on any point of law arising, I would entreat that the commission be renewed—myself to be therein and "George Lightfoote a lawyere of whome we stand greate need, whose lyeth in Bushoppricke and none nearer hand." I have sent the old commission to my lord keeper, which I could not get before the 30<sup>th</sup> "of this munthe." Your lordship will "the easiler" pardon me, since I must abide the leisure of Sir John Forster the *Custos rotulorum*, and the clerk of the peace, by whose means I am to receive these. And I would pray you to ease Sir John's old age of the keeping these rolls now very imperfect, and try my diligence therein.

I also humbly intreat on behalf of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Woodrington lately made sheriff of Northumberland, and hindered by infirmity from coming to London at present, that bonds be taken with good sureties of county gentlemen at Newcastle for his "more ease" and "better health in discharge of his office." He has lately lain in the bishopric and is very ready to do service. He "is honest religiouse and wise, and frameth himself to alter that wilde course louge contynewed in the cuntrie to a reformation of better obedience; which though not in full measure as yt ought, yet in parte *preter solitum*, he with me, and I with him, shall shewe your lordship att the yeares end the frutes of his labor." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Address leaf lost.*

Jan. 3.

195. HUMFREY PUREFEY, &amp;c., TO BURGHLEY.

On conference with the Yorkshire gentlemen, *viz.* Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Goodricke and Slingsbye and "M<sup>r</sup> Capten" Westropp, appointed by the late Lord Huntingdon commissioners on the Middle March musters, we have perfected the same by their information, and sent the copies to your lordship, prefixing to each the notes by these gentlemen to clear up doubts, &c.: also copies of the instructions to Sir William Bowes, &c., commissioners to receive Sir John Forster's answers, and his answer, and letter to the late earl. Not having received from the Yorkshire justices their notes on some doubts in their certificates of muster (which we have) we presume to stay these till so perfected as we hope shortly.

"Having found a lettre in our late Lord President his owne hand written to your lordship, touching his service in Northumberland; whereby his lordships honorable endeavour therein (even to his last) maye manifestly appeare, beinge as it seameth prevented by sicknes to finishe the same: in honour of his good lordship, we have thought it our duetyes to send it upp." York. *Signed*: Humfrey Purefey, E. Stanhope, Charles Hales, Jo. Ferne.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "... Certane of the Councell at Yorke to my Lord . . ." *Inclusing probably* No. 173.

Jan. 3.

196. THE QUEEN TO THE COUNCIL AT YORK.

Signifying her pleasure that Lord Evers shall levy 80 light horsemen in Yorkshire and the Dishopric for service on the Middle March this winter, and commanding them with the aid of the high sheriff of Yorkshire and the sheriff of the bishopric and justices, to levy the men, with "conveni-

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ent cotes and apparell for the wyntar season," on Evers' special demand—assuring the owners of the horses that they shall be surely returned "if otherwise they dy not."

1 p. *Draft by Burghley. Indorsed.*

Jan. 8. 197. THE QUEEN TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Referring to his letter last summer jointly with Lord Evers and the justices of assise on the evil government and lamentable decay of the Middle March—the late Lord Huntingdon's repair to Newcastle last month, his grief at the state of affairs, and death in consequence—appointing the bishop to be one of the commissioners to meet those of Scotland. Meanwhile to order in her name Sir John Foster, late warden, to come to Durham and attend there till her farther pleasure is known, and his servants in his absence to assist the warden at their perils, so that the Queen may see cause to deal favourably with their master.

1 p. *Draft by Burghley. Indorsed*: "To the B. of Durham . . ."

Jan. 13. 198. MUSTERS AT BERWICK.

Defaults taken there before John Carey esquire deputy governor 13 January 1595.

Absentees from his own, Sir William Read's and 4 other captains' companies (Captains Carvell and Twyforth being at Carlisle with their companies)—the gunners, ordnance artificers, horsemen and pensioners, with and without passports, in all, 52. *Signed*: John Carey, John Crane.

2½ pp. *In Crane's writing. Indorsed (as title).*

Jan. 13. 199. SCROPE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Lord Eure when late here told me privately, that seeing no likelihood of redress from his opposite neighbours, he intended to take pain for repair of past outrages, for better stay in future, asking my consent and assistance. Considering "howe extraordinarie" that course is, and hearing he means to proceed, I beg through you, to know her highness's pleasure as speedily as possible. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

\* "Notwithstandinge that which I have wrytten to my cosen Kyvett concerninge Hethrington, I am well contented that he proceede in his sute for the pardon: so shall he after better descerne whither the spleen, or affection, hath beste operation."

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 15. 200. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

In case my letter to the Council is not now "extant," I send copy thereof, showing I did not promise to send up any matters with which Thomas Musgrave was to be charged, or otherwise inform against him. All that I know otherwise, is that Lord Eure told me that Lord Huntingdon in his hearing, informed the Queen that Thomas Musgrave governed his people ill, in suffering them to commit many offences in the Middle Marches. Thus I refer to these letters of 25<sup>th</sup> December having nothing else to add. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Waxer signet quartered.*

Inclosed in the above:—

(Letter to the Council.)

Scrope acknowledges their letter ordering him to send Thomas Musgrave.

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keeper of Bewcastle, with note of charges against him—and only delayed sending him in hope the soldiers from Berwick would have arrived. But they not coming yet, and Sir Symon Musgrave having appointed some of his name to take charge, he has sent Thomas to appear before them, when those who have informed against him will be best able to satisfy their lordships of the truth. His government is not altogether meet, but he promises and gives hope of amendment. Carlisle 25 November 1595.

1 p. *Copy by his clerk.*

Jan. 17. 201. JAMES VI. TO EURE.

The Laird of Buccleuch having by our command delivered William Elliott of Harscat a principal actor in the attempt of Tyodale, to Sir John Forster opposite warden, we hereby require you to cause delivery to the said laird, of Jock Dod called "Jock Pluck" and Gibbie Charlton called "Gibb of the Boughthill," or either of them, being principal actors in the attempt against Elliott, whereon his proceeded, the bill being fyled before Robert Bowes esquire, ambassador resident here for the Queen your sovereign,—that justice may be done and grudge between the parties removed. Palace of Holyroodhouse. James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Copy by Eure's clerk. Indorsed by Eure.*

Jan. 18. 202. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Lord Scroope sent me the inclosed letters, desiring me to write also in behalf of the two captains at Carlisle with him. Heretofore, captains there have been paid monthly by M<sup>r</sup> Clopton receiver of the Bishopric, who dwells at "Farney castle" 64 miles from them—and a great charge and trouble to them sending there every month for the money, besides the danger of losing it on the way "in such a wyld countrie, and amongst so loose a company of people." They pray your lordship to direct M<sup>r</sup> William Greenvyll deputy receiver of Cumberland to pay them either at Carlisle or "Peireth."

I have had nothing to write of for long, or your honour should have heard. I think M<sup>r</sup> Bowes should be presently sent down, for now the King may "juggle" as he list, and nobody can "decyfer him." He makes fair show to us, but of performance I hear little.

Vernon and Swifte are here, and some little provision is come in 3 little ships, which will store us a while. More they say is coming, which we will need, "yf it prove a broken world." For the Scots say the Spaniards will come, but if we have victuals I will warrant my charge.

I know your honour heard of the Irish priest taken in Scotland and his letters, with his confession that "two more of his sort" were at the place whence he came, bound for Ireland through England.

I would be glad your honour sent the warrant for the timber from Chopwell that the controller and I have often written for, to make the long bridge good this spring. This winter has and will shake and try its soundness. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 20. 203. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Having of late by chance, not from the opposite warden, met with a public proclamation in Scotland, I inclose it. The report there is still that the Spaniards are looked for to come with Huntly and Marr, which encourages the Borderers who are very strong—Cesford I hear having furnished himself with numbers of "launces" and warlike furniture. Since Christmas, Rugley a town of the Earl of Northumberland's within a mile



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of Alnwick, was twice spoiled by Cesford's own men, 25 horse at one time, 27 at another, and no goods rescued. Yet it lies in the strength of my March, many gentlemen hard by, and towns about it.

I lately took a notable thief Lyonell Charlton of Thornehrughe: for offences assisting Scots and English outlaws, there is none like him. I sent him to Durham to be tried for burglary, but I hear one Christofer Charlton another thief, is gone to London to sue her Majesty for Lyonell and his own pardon. I humbly beseech that such an offender be not so pardoned, for the country will be endangered by his life, and if you would send Christofer with a letter to me, without his suspicion, it would stop his suit, and the country would be comforted by an example made of such dangerous persons. For unless her Majesty benefit otherwise by sparing their lives, these are "well bestowed *ad terrorem*, and the cuntrie eased of a heaveie ennemie." He is suing the pardon by two of the Charltons, servants to her Majesty, "and one Ridley aboute the Courte." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Address leaf lost.*

Jan. 20. 204. EURE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Sending him a copy of the proclamation named in the letter to his father—with the like Scottish news. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 21. 205. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Having received your letter "of the 24 of this instant," I conferred with M<sup>r</sup> Comptroller and the surveyor, who require me to intreat your honour to send your warrant to one John Rotherforth bailiff of Chopwell wood, for 40 tons of timber to repair the long bridge over Tweed, which is "much rotten and much shaken in many places."

Your postscript in your own hand shows you think the taking down the old wall from Bedford to Hunsdon mounts, to be very necessary: but without your and my lord my father's warrant, it cannot be done.

Unless you send down M<sup>r</sup> Bowes, I fear you will get little news. Since the Irish priest was taken, we hear again of the Spanish purposes, and intercepted letters. But the Irish priest's letters and all since, are so close kept and concealed, that I doubt the King's good meaning, or he would certify her Majesty. But he makes great show of uniting his country against the Spanish faction, "which God graunt yt prove so."

I inclose the defaults of musters on the 14<sup>th</sup>. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan icafer signet.*

Jan. 16-23. 206. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO FORSTER.

(1) "Right worshipfull," I received yesterday a letter "signed with her Majesties owne hand," commanding me in her name to send for you to come to the city of Durham, where I am to deliver to you her further pleasure: wherefore I send this by my servant, praying you to certify me what time you purpose "by Godes grace" to be there, that "I maie cast to meete you." Hoping the "travle" will not "empaire your state of bodie," if you make easy journeys, such as it is said and writtten that you make between your own houses in Northumberland. I trust you will make no delay, "which cannot bee well taken." And I wish you would bring your son M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Foster, if now with you. "Att B[ishop] Awkland this xvj<sup>th</sup> of Januarie 1595."

(2) "Grace and peace. Sir," by your letter of 21<sup>st</sup>, I see you and I are not like to meet at Durham. If your delay is but an excuse, you will wish in

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the end you had done as directed. What I had to impart to you I may not "(as you desire)" commit to a messenger, for howsoever you come short of my expectation, "I must nott exceed the compasse of my commission by your leave." The "sleight answer" in your letter "such as it is," I will send up, lest you should think I wronged you by concealing it,—though I am loth to do it for your own sake. "This I maie presume to assure you, that your infirmities of helth or debilitie of bodie is nott thought to bee such as you pretend; heeing able to eate, drink, sleep, talk and walke reasonably well for a man of your yeeres, as the reporte goeth": so that by coach or litter you might convey yourself well enough, taking what leisure "you list withall," no day being fixed for your arrival. Wherefore I advise and require you as before, and rather "offer the hazard of your helth," than give cause of suspicion of disloyalty to so gracious a sovereign. Wishing your deep consideration of the premisses, and "(if you reforme your judgement, as I hope you will rather soone than syne)," acquaint me therewith, at whose hands you will find no injury or extremity. "Att B[ishop] Awkland xxij Januarie 1595."

1½ pp. *Contemporary copies. Indorsed.*

Jan. 26. 207. RALPH GRAY OF CHILLINGHAM TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

As M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bowes treasurer of Berwick, on account of his absence, is purposed to part with the same, and I hear would be content if it pleased her Majesty, that I might succeed him, which I rather desire, as divers of my ancestors have held it: I would ask that by your means I may be preferred thereto. If M<sup>r</sup> Bowes be in London, he will inform your honour, and if gone, he will impart his mind to "M<sup>r</sup> Captaine Selbee" who will inform you. For security, I shall lay in such bond as shall be accepted. I have sent my brother to attend you herein, and a letter to my lord your father to be delivered to him if you think fit. Chillingham. *Signed*: Ra. Graye.

¾ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a lion rampant.*

Jan. 28. 208. CANNONIERS AT CARLISLE.

William Lacon, "clericus ordinacionum et operum apud Carlisle ad xij<sup>d</sup>. per diem"; Daniel Spence, chief cannoneer (*capitalis vibrellator*) in Carlisle castle, at 12<sup>d</sup>. per diem; George Blinco, cannoneer there at 12<sup>d</sup>.; and Cuthbert Braddell cannoneer there at 8<sup>d</sup>. per diem.

*Latin. Indorsed*: "28 Jan. 1595. Cannonieres at Carlile."

Jan. 29. 209. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I received your letter of the 9<sup>th</sup>, with her Majesty's and your own letters to the Bishop of Durham, and sent these to him the day after receipt, being the 15<sup>th</sup>. On the day after that prefixed for the sessions, I received the commission of peace for Northumberland, wherein I am misnamed "William," and have returned it by my solicitor to be "mended"—praying you that the Bishop of Durham be added to it. It were not amiss that a gaol delivery be had at Newcastle sometime in Lent, "accompanied" with the Bishop and some of the Council at York.

I do not yett keep a warden court, not having settled a fit place, finding "the Scott hath been interteyned through the Marche," causing abuses which deserved death; and have made public proclamation against conference with Scots or entering Scotland, which has done much good. One great abuse, viz., that blood is not satisfied but referred to the princes, has greatly encouraged the Scots. Buccleuch has cruelly murdered divers of the Doddes in Tyndale, and of late divers Charltons.

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William Kerr in the East March with 5 others, murdered a poor man not suspecting them, in the field by day. Sir Robert Kerr, very lately since Sir John Selby's death, murdered one Storie at night in his house, "himself in presens," and a chief actor. The general certificate shows near 200 persons murdered, and no restitution of "quick for dead," by March law.

Another mischief is that our people are forced to pay tribute and intermarry with the thieves—and if one in my March is outlawed on an indictment, he flies to the West, and there as a fugitive brings in Scots. So we are almost Scots "amongst oure selves."

If it pleased you (without letting my entreaty be known), to cause Lord Scrope appoint meeting between us in his March or mine, to confer, as his father and Sir John Forster did, on certain points, he would more readily do it. I was with him at Carlisle at Twelfth day, who honourably advised me, but no general consultation "was concluded of." I inclose copy of the articles concluded on by the late lord Scrope and Sir John, to which I beg you to add such as you think necessary for our governments, protesting that if the Spaniards should come, as daily expected, not 100 light horse here, our thieves strong and well allied here, and with great clans in Scotland—we are in great danger.

On Tuesday, 28<sup>th</sup> December, 27 horse whose headsmen and leaders were Sir Robert Kerr's servants, spoiled the Earl of Northumberland's tenants in Ruggley "harde by Alnewicke." They were above two hours in the town, the fray came to Alnwick at 7 P.M., the bell was rung, and the fray continued till 10, as I am credibly informed. Yet though there were numbers of strangers in Sir John Forster's house that night, and 30 horse in his stable, as M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick of Wallington tells me—Captains Carvell and Twiford with 100 men on their way to Lord Scrope—none rose to aid the town or follow the fray, but 2 men of Sir William Reade's, and one of M<sup>r</sup> Beadnell's, who meeting one of the poor men "in his shirt naked," running there for aid, told him to complain, or they would find means to let your lordship know.

At the same time, two Scottish sirmes quarrelled as to spoiling another of Lord Northumberland's tenants—one would save and the other spoil him. He escaped spoiling, but his wife hurt and himself "scaped death verie nearlie." In revenge, the clan desiring spoil came on the Saturday after New Year's day, the 10<sup>th</sup>, with 25 horse, and "uterlie beggared" the town, "save one Salkeld whoe is married with Richard Forsters syster." Whether favour or acquaintance procured his good fortune, I know not. The country "rysse well, but light not of the trodd," so no goods rescued.

I can get no day watch set there either in "Cookdaile ward or Broom-eishe waterr," notwithstanding my letters to Sir John and other gentlemen. So I have appointed them to meet me at Morpeth on 3<sup>d</sup> February to confer thereon. I have demanded redress from Sir Robert Kerr, without answer as yet, though I satisfied two bills of his "att his intreaty, to geve insample of justice." His wardenry being divided in three, I wait your directions.

There is no gentleman of worth in Northumberland not near of kin or allied to Sir John Forster. "I am aboute to draw your lordship a booke thereof," which I will send on my return from Morpeth, with a compendium of all the March laws in any King's time that come to my hands, the neglect of which by Sir John has ruined the country.

I send herewith the commissioners' names in treaties with Scotland, till the last in her Majesty's time, and a note of northern gentlemen fit to be employed in like affairs, as you desired. Though you have a more perfect note, yet as you commanded it. "I bouddie adventure like blind Byard, to the same."

Sir John Forster is with the Bishop of Durham this night. On my return from Morpeth, I will send such complaints as I can gather against him, as you commanded. The above state of affairs on this March might have warranted a snit for more horsemen than her Majesty has allowed. If the

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weather had not favoured us, I had tasted the enemy's power ere now, and am warned that in Annandale, Ewesdale, and Liddesdale, they wait their time for attack, to meet which I have but footemen "naked" for want of horse. So it may please you to send them speedily out of Yorkshire, and as many as may do her Majesty service and better the country. Corn is scant and victuals dear, and a horseman cannot live under 1s. 6d. a day. I must also have officers, for the bands must be divided.

I would willingly save expense to her Majesty, but wish to die rather than betray her, and if the enemy come in with 200 horse as they intend, the help of our footmen will be "bnt casual" against their good horses. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the above :—

Commissioners' names authorized by KING HENRY VI., for the treaties with Scotland.—

Robert bishop of Durham; Alexander bishop of Chichester, lord privy seal; Jo. viscount Beaumont lord high constable of England; Sir Tho. Stanley knight controller of the King's household; Rich. Andrewes doctor of laws. BY KING EDWARD IV. :—

George bishop of Oxford, lord chancellor; Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury, lord high chamberlain and warden of the West Marches; John earl of Northumberland; Lord Mountague lord warden of the East Marches; Raiph Graystocke; Sir William Haystinges knight; Thomas Kent doctor of laws; Sir James Strangwishe knight; Sir Robert Cuustable knight.

BY KING HENRY VIII. :—

Sir Thomas Awdley chancellor of England; Thomas Cromwell esq. the King's secretary; Doctor Edward Foxe the King's almoner; Doctor Jo. Trignowell one of the King's counsaile; Doctor Guent official of Canturburie.

BY KING EDWARD VI. :—

Thomas bishop of Norwich; Robert Bowes knight; Leonard Beckwith knight; Thomas Challonor knight.

BY QUEEN MARIE :—

Sir Thomas Cornwallis knight; Sir Robert Bowes knight.

BY QUEEN ELIZABETH in her 5<sup>th</sup> year :—

Henry lord Scroope; Sir John Forster knight; Sir Thomas Gargrave knight; Doctor John Rookeby.

"Immitating as neare as I canne the president of those former commissioners, I doe present unto your lordship for commissioners in this treaty, so farr as I cann, like to the former, viz."—

The Bishop of Durham; the Lord of Hunsdon or his deputy; the Lord Scroope or his deputy; the Lord Eure; Sir William Bowes knight; Sir Cuthbert Collingwood knight; M<sup>r</sup> John Fearne one of the Council at York; Clement Colmer doctor of law.

2 pp. *Indorsed*: "Jan. 1595. Commissioners for treatinge with Scotland."

Jan. 210. [ROBERT BOWES] TO [BURGHLEY].

M<sup>r</sup> Wyndibancke having signified to me your lordship's pleasure to deliver the names of gentlemen fit in my opioun to take the government of the Middle March till her Majesty's resolution, I am hold to present the following, viz.—

NORTHUMBERLAND.—Raufe and Edward Gray esquires. Robert Delavayle and Robert Clavering esquires. fit to be assistants in commission to either of the first.

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YORKSHIRE.—Sir William Mallory, knight, Sir William Bowes, knight, treasurer of Berwick “and to be” warden of the Middle Marches, which will avail her Majesty’s service much, he lying at Aluwick. Sir Thomas Fairfax, knight, *junior*.

“Humble referringe the consideracion hereof to your lordships grave wisdom, and beseechinge the contynnaunce of your lordships honorable meanes to procure my discharge.” *No signature.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Contemporary hand. Flyleaf and indorsement gone.*

Jan. 31. 211. EURE TO BURGHELY.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> I received yours of the 24<sup>th</sup> instant, calling for answer of your former letter of the 9<sup>th</sup>. I forbore replying, in full assurance that my lord of Durham would have written to your lordship in answer to the letters I sent him, and pray your pardon.

I am troubled how to draw articles on Sir John Forster’s service, nor see how I can find more than the late Earl of Huntingdon reported to your lordship. By the muster books he gave me, there were “in anno 1580,” 1134 serviceable light horse, and at my entry 75 only appear, some of these not fit for service. But being hastened by your letter of the “26” instant, I inclose these articles drawn as well as the shortness of time admits, and also such gentlemen’s names here for your lordship’s selection, if approved of.

I send also copies of a letter from the King of Scots procured by Buccleuch, and one “from him to me likewise,” craving restitution for a bill of Will Elliott, “filled by the lord ambassador legende M<sup>r</sup> Bowes as is written,” of which I know nothing. Since that “facte” by the Dodes, Buccleuch, Will Elliott and 200 horse, have murdered and burned in Tyndale, unredressed. I pray your lordship for speedy direction. Hexham. *Signed: Ra. Eure.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Flyleaf and address lost.*

Inclosed in the same:—

“Certaine noates of abuses snposed to be commytted by Sir John Forster since his government in the Middle Marches.”

Days of truce.—The warden has generally met the Scots for redress, 8 miles from any part of his own March, contrary to old custom, to the vexation and trouble of his March, and to the ease of Scotland, 20 or 40 miles “from the furthest part of the Mid Marche.” And he was so weakly attended and “confusedlie disordered” through his confidence in the Scots, that the Queen received great indignity, *viz.*

AT STAFFORD.—Richard Reveley of Chatton, gentleman, mortally wounded and died.

AT THE READSWIER.—Sir George Hearon, his own deputy warden and keeper of Harbottel, slain; Sir John himself taken prisoner; Sir Francis Russell hurt and taken prisoner, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood prisoner, with many more gentlemen, taken to “Dawkeath” to the Regent, and divers slain.

AT COCKLAW.—Sir Francis Russell slain.

His dealings with great bills of burnings, day forays, murders, &c., when redressed at all, were done “cleane contrary to law, equitie and custome of the Borders.”

Great bills of murder, &c., fyled and by the King’s special order appointed to be delivered “with dobles and sawy,” have been deferred for the last three years, and no days of truce held till about August last.

Scottish thieves “thrise fyled” and delivered to him, have not been executed according to the Commissioners’ book at Carlisle, nor when “taken with the manure.”

He licensed Liddesdale and East and West Teviotdale thieves to have

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their "goodes" go on English ground, and if taken or impounded, restored them or delivered the takers.

He has done justice to Scotland, getting none in return.

Harbottel castle, where no gentleman has "layde" in defence of that country these 30 years,—save Sir George Hearon for less than 3 years—is now in great ruin to the loss of the country, notwithstanding her Majesty has been at charges for the same.

Marriages tolerated betwixt the gentlemen of the March and thieves and English fugitives, who plunder nightly on the Tyne,—and intermarriage with Scots a principal annoyance, *viz.*—Forster with the Humes of the Merse; Selby with Rotherforth of East Tevidale; Collingwood with Hall of East Tevidale; Reade with Armestronge of Liddesdale; Gaier with Mowe of East Tevidale.

Names of gentlemen for commissioners in this service :—

The Bishop of Durham; Sir William Bowes; M<sup>r</sup> Stanupp; M<sup>r</sup> Cardenall; M<sup>r</sup> Fearnie; M<sup>r</sup> Clement Colmour doctor of law; Robert Bowes *junior*.

2 pp. *Marginal notes by Eure. Indorsed by him and Burghley.*

Feb. 1. 212. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I have delayed a fortnight "to see if I could have gotten the book \* itself, but the King is very charye thereof, for that he meaneth to answer the same, having both the counsell of civill lawyers and other wise men."

I also send "a particuler" of my own estate, humbly beseeching you to find time to read it, and give me your opinion, being the only man I rely on for relief.

We await your warrants for the timber for the long bridge, and to take down the old wall, as may be thought fit. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wajer signet.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(Occurrences in Scotland.)

As no man dare write news, I can only send 'thus much from a friend there, "by worde of mouth" to myself.

The King lately received a packet of letters out of Flanders, from one Alexander Tayte a Scotsman born now a Jesuit priest, "to this or the like effecte :—

That moved by zeal to his prince and native country, he thought good to warn the King of the peril and danger hanging over his head, and to take wholesome counsel in time, lest he lose his most precious soul, and his crown and dignity also. That the Holy Father, and Catholic King, with other Catholic princes, had great care to bring him into the way of truth, and join him to their society; in-proof of which two ambassadors, one from His Holiness, the other from the King of Spaine, were to be sent to him with great offers, which he trusted the King would not refuse, giving "for an example the obstinacy of the Frenche King, who remayned so long in the religion he had bin brought up in, that he had almost pulled the crowne off his owne head, but having in time, through the goodnes of God, bin brought to the acknowledgment of his errors, and being by the Holly Father received into the bosome of the Church, had procured not onlie to himself thereby his soules health, but also peace and quietnes of mynde and conscyence to his whole realme and subjectes"—wishing him to do the like, making known that if he obstinately refused, then His Holiness with

\* Referred to in the inclosure.

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the "Most Catholik King," and the other princes leagued with them, had prepared so puissant an army to arrive in this island, that it would pass the power of the Queen of England and him to resist. I had this by one that brought it by word of mouth, "from a man that knowes very much of the Kinges secrettes, but durst not write yt for feare of intercepting."

Having heard of a book delivered to the King, with which he was much discontented, I desired a sight thereof, through a friend of mine there. But the King keeps it so "charely" that it cannot be "wanting" from its keeper "above one night." My friend has "such favor as he obteyned the having of yt a night and half a daye, in which time it was sent for thrise by the King"; so he finding he could not send it to me here, read and bore so much in mind as he could, writing to me thus:—

It is composed by one M<sup>r</sup> Dolman in form of a discourse between a civil and a temporal lawyer, in two books. The subject is the right of a commonwealth to choose its own government, as Kings, in England or France, Dukes in Venice or Genoa, or popular government, as the "Swesers" or Low Countries. He affirms "the monarchy of a King" to be best, most resembling God, as one governeth all, one sun gives light to all, so one king rule all. Also in nature, one bee is king of all the rest. Affirming also that these commonwealths at pleasure "uppon just ocaciones," may depose a king or other ruler or "to debare him that is next in blood," though the kingdom go by succession, and put whom they like in their places. And if they please, may alter a kingdom or dukedom to a "popular state," if the commonwealth think it most needful: giving examples of divers kings in Spain, Portugal, France and England being deposed, their deposing confirmed by general councils and "sea of Roome." But the mark whereat he "sutes," is the succession of the crown of England after her Majesty. For after long discourse of all the kings of Europe that have matched with England, he comes to the division of the houses of Lancaster and York, and prefers Lancaster as of better right. For Henry 7<sup>th</sup> when he won the field against King Richard, was crowned in right of Lancaster not York: though to appease broils in the country, he was content to take to wife the heir apparent of York. He names as competitors, Spain and Portugal conjoined, then Scotland, then the house of Suffolk, then the house of Clarence. Scotland he puts farthest off, for the King of Scots though come of Henry 8<sup>th</sup> eldest sister, is rather of York than Lancaster. Moreover Henry 8<sup>th</sup> in his last will, recorded in the Chancery, utterly forbad and took away the title that ever after Scotland should have to the crown, and also in her Majesty's reign it is confirmed by act of parliament, that no foreigner should reign in England. Moreover there is a blot in the King's title, for his mother was attainted, convicted and executed for treason against the Queen. Scotland also "being poore, to come to dominere in England, whose condition, as he saith, being rude and uncivill resembling the Irishe, will hardlie be well brooked in England; and as for Urbella,\* she is as fare off, although borne in England: for saith he, she is come of basterly two wayes—first, Archhalde Douglesse earle of Anguische married King James the 4 his wiff, of whom she is come, who had before that marriage a wiff, and at that instant and time lived, and also that the Queene had a husband which she married in secrett before that time, called Steward.† Att which, saith he, King Henrie her brother being angry, sent in a nobleman into Scotland to knowe the truth, which was my lord admiralls father that now is, and he finding of yt by him to be true, made his will as aforesaid."

The house of Suffolk, he "lodes yt in the same predicament," for Charles Brandon, who married the King's second sister, had a wife then living, so his successors are illegitimate. The house of Clarence, of which he says the

\* Lady Arabella Stewart.

† Henry Stewart, created Lord Methven.

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Earl of Huntingdon is, "can no waye be advanced to the crowne, for yt is fare off, and weake in purse and frendlesse." But for the house of Portugal and Spain, which he conjoins, "he intituleth the Infant of Spaine, and would gladlie bestowe the Crowne of England uppon her by those means, viz. She" quoth he "is come of the house of Lancaster in this order"—John of Gaunt married first Lady Blanche, by whom he was Duke of Lancaster, and had by her a son and daughter. The son's issue ended in King Henry the 6<sup>th</sup>. The daughter was married "to" the house of Portugal, whereby it "challengeth priorytie in blood" of all the competitors, as representing Lady Blanche. John of Gaunt by his second wife, had daughters, who were married to the Duke of Brittany and other princes of France, "of whome, he said, this Infant of Spaine is come, and so challengeth Britanie, and also of the house of Portogale, and so maketh claime to the crowne of England."

So ends his book—"That when this matter shall come to debating, it would rest betwene the Infant of Spaine, and the secoud sonue of thEarle of Hartforde." These matters are so far above me, I fear to write them, except that they are word by word, from one that saw the book.

Two mariners that passed here, told me of a ship freighted with the goods of one M<sup>r</sup> Offley of London, driven by weather into harbour in Orkney, where the Earl of Orkney "after many slights and devises," seized the ship and cargo, 56 "laste" of wheat, and 4 "laste" of wax, and after keeping the crew 20 days, threatening they should be hanged or thrown overboard, in the end discharged them. The pilot is at Edinburgh to crave redress from the King.

3 pp. Large sheets. Indorsed.

Feb. 5. 213. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

That the fruits of my labours "may be refreshed with the pleasant dew of your honorable wisdom and direction," I acquaint you of my conference here on the 3<sup>d</sup> with the gentlemen of worth on the March, as to strengthening the same. They urgently asked leave to come to Court and lay their "piteouse estate" before her Majesty for some relief—but I stayed that course till you vouchsafe your pleasure therein.

The "yeomonrie" being so weak, I would ask your letters to me, straitly to command the gentlemen of great living and fair houses on the March, to keep hospitality there, or to maintain a sufficient number of horse and men furnished to rise to frays for defence. This would both strengthen the country, and remove them from their quiet dwellings in the Bishopric and Yorkshire, whither they have had to repair from their "unmeasurable losse." I have also arranged with them, that watchmen attend the beacons to fire them in case of sudden incursions.

There being too many Scots "crepte into" this March, who bring in others, or "speare" out complaints against the English, besides hindering trade and paying no taxes, I would with your leave, fix a peremptory day to send them over the March, rather than the extremity of law—as confiscation of goods and "prise of their person,"—which would be less offence to the King; but forbear till you direct me further.

Morpeth I find more convenient than Hexham for meeting the gentlemen, so if her Majesty would graciously grant me a lease for years or in feefarm, with the parks and domains formerly occupied by Lord Dacre, for the accustomed rent, I will resort thither so soon as I can "frame myself," after bringing the March at Hexham and the waters of Tyne to better order. Where I lie, I cannot possibly go to days of truce and return at night, with other great inconveniences.

I pray your direction as to answering the King of Scots' letter, whereof I wrote formerly. Morpeth. Signed: Ra. Eure.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley. Quartered wafer signet.



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Feb. 8. 214. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

With many apologies for my presumption, but "your command absolute directeth me thereto," I humbly present to your lordship, not "as rare or newe," extracts of the old statutes, laws and treaties from Henry 3<sup>d</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> of her Majesty, as confirmed by the Earl of Rutland and Lord Eure then her commissioners. If these had been observed wholly or partly, the country would now have been in better defence.

The spoils increase, for the same day I was at Morpeth, Sir Robert Kerr's servants who spoiled Rugley, spoiled Glanton a town in Cookdale ward. My messenger can neither deliver my letter to him, nor does he make good his promise of justice and good neighbourhood. "I wyshe to God" your lordship would either see that the King's promise of justice "be executed by such as feare God and the honoure of the state wher they lyve and governe," or enable me to take "pune," thus enforcing better respect or some little amends to us. I pray your direction for a pleasing answer to the King's letter—whereon I would also signify Cesford's "unorderly course contrary the Kings proclamacion," and his shameful maintenance of these notable thieves.

I send in this "book" the names of such gentlemen in those parts, fittest for this commission, craving to be one myself. Asking your "allowance for not ordering these things learnedly, being without my skill."

The Bishop of Durham tells me to-day, that Lyonell Charlton, Roger Fowbrey laird of Fowbrey, and Thomas Charleton laird of Hawkupp, have escaped from Durham gaol, to which I committed them—"great theves but lyved in proud estate." The first is one of the greatest thieves in this March. Antone Armestrangle *alias* Antons Edward, has lately since my coming fled out of the West March into Liddesdale, and is offered living by Buccleuch. Signed: Ra. Eure.

2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed.

Feb. 12. 215. RICHARD MUSGRAVE TO BURGHLEY.

In the "yare eightie eight and eightie nine," powder and other munition was delivered into the Queen's storehouse here by the Earl of Huntingdon, by whose direction and warrants much was issued and sold into the country. So that my father being then master of the Ordnance, would not take charge of it, neither did I as his successor in office, receive it with the rest of the Queen's munition, for my lord lieutenant claimed to dispose of it himself. Now since his decease, my lady his wife has sent "to vewe and price the same," and I knowing it was issued from the Queen's store in the Tower, thought it my duty to signify the premisses for your direction, and send a "scedul" inclosed. "Frome the Manners at New-castell." Signed: Rychard Musgrave.

1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a shield charged with 6 annulets, 3, 2, and 1. Crest: two arms holding an annulet.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Schedule of powder, &c.)

Powder, 54 demi-barrels; "armore," 100; "muskettes" with their furniture, 90; "pickes," 460; bills, 980.

Holograph. Noted by Burghley.

Feb. 13. 216. RICHARD MUSGRAVE TO BURGHLEY.

There being great want of skill in the cannoniers paid by her Majesty at Cariisle, I thought it my duty to move your honour to exchange one Daniell Spence presently paid 12*l.* a day as master gunner in the castle, who being by occupation a "boucher," lives altogether in Suffoik, without

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a substitute in his place, and is not worth his pay. I present to your honour the bearer John Smithe a very able, honest and sufficient man, to take such charge and instruct others in the science of gunnery, "wheroof they have noe smale need at Carlisle." The Manor at Newcastle. *Signed* : Rychard Musgrave.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet indistinct.*

Feb. 18. 217. EURE TO BURGHEY.

I received your letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> on the 13<sup>th</sup> instant, and that of the 9<sup>th</sup> by the post of Morpeth on the 16<sup>th</sup>. As directed by the former, I watched M<sup>r</sup> Bowes the Queen's ambassador to Scotland, on his journey at Newcastle, sending one from me fully instructed on Will Ellottes bill and other Middle March claims.

I have sent by a "purposed messenger," her Majesty's letter to my lord of York and the Council there, which came in your packet of 9<sup>th</sup>, who shall attend his grace and the council's pleasure for the levy of the 80 horsemen, for whose pay I will send as directed to M<sup>r</sup> Skidmoore, asking pardon for the delay through my not answering your letter of 9<sup>th</sup> January. In my letter of 8<sup>th</sup> February I sent the articles to be propounded to Sir John Forster, and "booke" of the Border Laws—Hen. 3<sup>d</sup> to 5 Eliz.—the most points in which last, as reported to me, have not been observed by him of late years.

I would beseech that a m<sup>st</sup>er may be had presently to see what increase will be by the Earl of Northumberland's tenants, for his constable being with me to-day, tells me there ought to be more of his Alnwick tenants furnished than are, and I know otherwise, his Newcastle tenants are only unfurnished of horse.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> instant one Robert Elliot *alias* Hob of Bowholme Scotsman, was arraigned and condemned to die for divers murders, &c., in England. He was servant to this Will Elliot whose bill is discussed. He was taken "with the bloody hand" by the captain of Harbottle. I would remind you of Hexham gaol, part of which is "newlie comde to the grounde," that her Majesty's surveyor would view its state and unfitness: "the prisoners have sickned and . . . I am forced to pasture my owne house att dyvers tymes with suche men as are of the better sorte." The gaol at Newcastle and here increases so fast, it were good a gaol deliv<sup>er</sup>y were had here the latter end of this Lent. I name this place as best for the country. The York sittings begin the first week and last till the Assises, commonly held the third or fourth week—so that some of the Council of York might come hither if commanded, or some of the Bishopric, if his lordship so pleased and himself "would grace" the service, the first in my time.

I will send you presently upon receipt of certificates from the gentlemen of this March, a "cailandar" of all the Scotts now here, their trade and manner of living.

The gentlemen of greatest worth who now lie out of the country, are these—Sir Cuthbert Collingwood knight, who when at Eslington, was a great defence to Cookdale ward, having divers young gentlemen his sons, fit for the Queen's service. He is removed privately into the Bishopric, his eldest son and his wife both recusants, live privately at Eslington, rather fearing the law, than publicly to the strength and good of the country there.

On Tyne water, M<sup>r</sup> Francis Ratcliffe lay at Dilstone, and kept household fitting an esquire, is a great recusant and lies in \*

M<sup>r</sup> Raiph Errington of Bingfeild is removed to Richmondshire, his house possessed with a "hinde," which weakens the Queen's service.

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In Chipchaise, where M<sup>r</sup> Hearone lay, and kept divers men in aid of Tynedale, his child, an infant in minority, and the widow his mother married to M<sup>r</sup> Henry Bowes, who lies in the Bishopric.

There are divers other gentlemen of "meanner sorte," of whom I will report hereafter.

For the house at Morpeth, I refer it to your pleasure—I desire no other house than I have—but for convenience of meeting the gentlemen of the east parts, and return from days of truce. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

*2 pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Armorial wafer signet: 1<sup>st</sup> quarter a bend; 2<sup>d</sup> 3 bars; 3<sup>d</sup> a S<sup>t</sup> George's cross; 4<sup>th</sup>, indistinct.*

Feb. 19. 218. EURE TO BURGHEY.

In the beginning of last week, the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup>—Sir Robert Kerr rode to Edinburgh, with a great number of the Kerrs, who are reconciled to him and Fernihurst, it is thought "in revenge of the quarrell to the Trombles, which the Lard of Buckclughe undertakethe." And so Buccleuch is strenghtening "the Armitage," which lies too near us here,—has drawn most of the Ellots to his house at Hawick, and keeps "an extraordinarie number in house."

It is thought the King intends to ride on him with a force mustered by Cesford and Lord Hume, which causes this defence. Yet as his love to us is small, and his "mallice monsterus" against Tynedale, I look that we shall suffer, before his men are dispersed.

I have no more than these things to relate, and offer my humble thanks for your loan of the "Booke of the Borders," which I returned at the beginning of the term. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

*½ p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before: 1<sup>st</sup> quarter, bend charged with 3 scallop shells?; in 2<sup>d</sup> qr. a canton dexter.*

Feb. 25. 219. EURE TO BURGHEY.

I received your letter of 15<sup>th</sup> on the 20<sup>th</sup>, but not finding your signature, fear your health, which I trust "God by his holie hand" will protect to continue long among us. In the same you note imperfections in my breviat of the treaties, as "G. B[ishop] of Oxford," where there was none such "in that princes tyme and reigne." I am in hand to write these records more at large, craving your lordship's assistance therein, as I am desirous to be acquainted with the written law of the Border.

In naming Sir William Mallorie, I did not intend to displace Sir William Bowes, who is far more experienced in Border affairs, and named him before in other letters.

I assure myself Sir John Forster cannot "particulerlie" excuse himself, but if it pleased you to release him of further trouble, your advice would be to him now "in his ould age a caveat for deserveinge evell." The losses committed by him cannot be redressed. I boldly trouble you with my letters to her Majesty, with some discourse of the Borders, humbly entreating her "to have compassyon of the ould knight now at deathes doer." Your favour in delivery of the same shall bind me. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

*¾ p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before: 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter, 3 lions rampant (?) 2 and 1.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Eure to the Queen.)

Giving the reasons before recited in his letters for the present weakness of his March—adding that Cesford being at fend with another great clan, keeps more followers than he can maintain, who therefore help themselves by forays in England, which he dare not punish for fear of losing their

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service. Finally adding—"In the humelitie of a deutyfull subjecte, I humbly beseech your Majestie not to impose the blame of these decaies on Sir John Forster the oulde knight, but vouchesaife gratuslie to rewarde his former deutyfull service to your heighnes, with gracious pardon of his defectes or negligence, whose oulde age shall with joye creep to his longe home, and lengthen what maie be, his decrepett age with conforthe." *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed (to the Queen). Indorsed.*

Feb. 25. 220. SCROPE TO BURGHELEY.

Sending, at request of M<sup>r</sup> Richard Musgrave, master of the Ordnance, "these two lynes" in favour of the bearer John Smith, who has been recommended by Musgrave for the post of gunner at Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*

Feb. 26. 221. JOHN CAREY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

The uncertain state of Scotlaud affords no worthy news "but such as vayne rumores will afforde everie idle brayne to sett themselves on worke with all."

This gentleman, the bearer Captain Bowyer, having weighty affairs in London, desired this my letter in his behalf, but I will let his own doings merit your favour in his just causes. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhou Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed: To . . . Sir Robert Cecill knight, one of her highnes . . . Counsell.* *Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Feb. 26 222. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

"Not to be tedious, be assurid that while I have leife, I will be honist to you,—for my leife, or what els to me is dærist, I lay at your feet to youse at your plæsur. Sir, it is not unknowne to you I am shner, how I cam from Court disgrast by her Magesty not suffringe me to spaêke with her nor kis her hand. It is a burden to hevey for me to bære, my only compfort is, that my conciens is with me hou that in thought, word, nor dæde I ever did offend her. Thus muche I thought good to let you knowe, and to intræte you, that if at aney teime it please her Magesty to name me to you, you will assuer her, that my leife is werisum to me, seinge my servis no better acceptid, and that ther is no fortun so miserable as to have bin hapey."

I have tröbled you, but pray for pardon, finding some little ease to my heavy heart, now I have made it known.

The bearer is desirous to be known to you. "Ther is good parts in the man," and if you employed him, you would find him serviceable. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed: "To . . . Sir Robert Cicill knight, on of her Magestys most honorable privey Counsell."*

Feb. 26. 223. SWIFT TO BURGHELEY.

The book of account of three months' provision has been ready for 10 days—awaiting your honor's pleasure. The provision hereafter will be better and cheaper, if gone about in time before needed, and conveyance to Berwick by sea more convenient and less dangerous, if seasonable weather and wind be taken for sending them. For in the last necessity of the garrison, three of the ships were hastily dispatched in bad weather, and were 5 or 6 weeks at sea on that dangerous coast, and at Holy island, before reaching Berwick.

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Besides the money paid on our certificates sent you, and the 400*l.* impressed, we staid engaged to some of our friends in 800*l.* and more, for beef, mutton, grain, &c., in this our journey—300*l.* of which must be paid before Easter, and the rest at next pay day.

1 p. *Indorsed*: "26 Feb. 1595. Remembrances delivered by M<sup>r</sup> Swift for Barwick."

## Feb. 26. 224. SCROPE TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Understanding from you the Queen's pleasure to continue me here till her ambassador shall have dealt with the King and effected some order for better settling the Border, I stay my journey, trusting her Majesty will give me leave to repair to her before long. This office has of late been more quiet than for many years, and I am in good hope it shall not "hastely growe to wors." This and the reported coming of the Spaniards about Whatsantide at farthest, made me choose this time for my absence, and waiting on her Majesty before then, knowing I should be sent back. "More-over the jorneyes of my wife downe and upp ar so chargeable (the last standinge me in 600*l.*) that unles her Majesty would give her leave to contynue in this countrey, which I will no further move then maye rest in her Majesties best likinge," I would ask that myself might have leave to come up now. "I have writen herewith to my wife for her better satisfaction accordinge to her Majesties direction." Harry Leigh told me he went on M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope's advice to prosecute his commenced suit in London, expecting it to be heard and decided this last term. But hearing nothing of it from him, and his service at Rokeley being most needful, I pray you hasten the dispatch of his suit without detriment, and of himself back to his charge. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Let me hear when you think he will be dispatched.

1 p. *Holograph. Address leaf lost.*

## Feb. 26. 225. THE QUEEN TO THE COUNCIL IN THE NORTH.

Instructions to Matthew, archbishop of York, and other commissioners appointed by her special commission under the Great Seal dated \_\_\_\_\_ to be observed according to its tenor and the following articles.

Her Majesty referring to the death of the late Earl of Huntingdon lord president, whereby the said commission is determined, by which he was constituted lord president, and that she has not yet resolved on his successor, authorises the archbishop and other commissioners to proceed with the business enjoined by the said commission: and understanding that the late president had adjourned a session of the Council to the 1<sup>st</sup> of March, requires the archbishop, &c., to repair to the place, take up the business, and determine it with all speed convenient. Proclaiming in the city of York her Majesty's present grant for the relief of her subjects. With power to the archbishop and *quorum*, to appoint a steward of household for the diets of the Council as hitherto, also a sufficient number of learned men to carry on the sittings in the archbishop's absence through "accident of his infirmity."

3 pp. *Draft by Burghley's secretary, with corrections by Burghley. Indorsed*: "26 Feb. 1595. Instructions for the Counsel in the Northe."

## Feb. 27. 226. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I have sent the Queen's commission for levying the 80 horsemen addressed to the Council at York, by the captain of Harbottel, whom I have appointed to receive the men. I understand by him, your lordship directs part to be levied in the bishopric, and from M<sup>r</sup> Skadamoor's man, that his

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master, being at London, directs him to disburse 120*l.* monthly for the soldiers' wages, by your warrant, which is 12*d.* *per diem* and 6*d.* over weekly to each man. Under correction, I assure your lordship the poor men cannot find meat for themselves and horses in this country, from the great scarcity and dearth. "Everie meales meate" will cost them at least 4*d.*; every stone of hay, 3*d.*; and every bushel of oats, 4*s.* 8*d.*, and not under. Your lordship has allowed nothing for any officer.

I humbly beg your lordship to consider their estate, and crave, without offence, to allow them 18*d.* *per diem*, otherwise in my opinion, the thieves at home will rather be increased, than "lewd persons" suppressed. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before: The 1<sup>a</sup> quarter seems quartered.*

Feb. 28. 227. EURE TO BURGHEY.

I have to-day received your letter of 23<sup>a</sup>, and am comforted to find it signed by your hand. I humbly beseech you will increase the men's pay to 18*d.* *per diem*, for man and horse cannot live on 12*d.* at present prices, and I fear if they want, they will learn our Border fashion. I wish I had had them "or this," for I am mightily threatened. Robert Elliott the Scot was executed at Hexham for his "foule crymes" on this March and elsewhere.

I would your lordship wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Felton, surveyor of the Queen's woods in Northumberland, for a true report of Hexham gaol and Harbottel castle—if not repaired, the castle will fall in ruin, and the prisoners "for lacke of ayer."

I would remind your lordship of the commission of "oyer and determiner" for this county to the Bishop of Durham, the Council at York, &c., and if thought good, to nominate Henry Woodrington, "a gentleman of greate command," which I think will be for the good of the couuntry under him. There is no commission for gaol delivery here, save the general one for the North, with the Council at York. One in my hands is necessary as elsewhere. The justices of assise only come at "Lambas." Some of the Council at York would willingly come now. There was a gaol delivery here in Sir John Forster's time; it is fitter than Newcastle, and not inconvenient for York. It is about 18 miles from Durham. I desire to keep a warden court the next day following, for as it "toucheth lyfe," I desire the assistance of the "gravest" of the north, and their experience in justice, to the terror of the wicked.

The "lord ambassador" in Scotland writes that he cannot have audience for the King's important affairs.

The Laird of Buccleuch who is exempted from Sir Robert Kerr's government, is strong of Earl Bothwell's faction, and if the King continue his displeasure for the Earl's sake (which is doubtful), the Queen might have opportunity to join "in love" with him, and overthrow some of our enemies in Liddesdale. I am but "a younge borderer," and if my rashness offend, I submit with pardon. But fear we shall get small redress otherwise.

I beg your lordship grant me "a large tyme" for discharge of my account for the "sherifwicke."\* My charge was great, my father's funeral soon followed with greater charge, suing my "liverie," attending her Majesty twice in London, my removal here in winter, dearth of all provision—for which I trust you will allow me divers years for payment, though not desiring to defraud her Majesty. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghey. Wafer signet as before.*

\* York.

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Inclosed in the above :—

(Scottish news.)

Buccleuch is reconciled to the King, since my last to your lordship. The Lord Bothwell has a factor in London, Robert Mooer a Scotsman, who lies near "Cheapesyd," disliked I hear by the King. He employs one John Craystone a Scotsman, who remains on this and the East March under colour of banishment. The King lately propounded to his Council a motion for the return of the Earls\* out of Spain with pardon and his favour—not pleasing to "the Kirke."

These lords have written to their friends in Scotland that the Spaniards will come before May day next.

There were few but well armed light horse, showed at the late Scottish muster.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *By Eure's clerk.*

March . 228. AWARD BY SIR JOHN FORSTER.

Addressed, "to all Christiane people," relates the deadly and detestable feuds existing between the Ogles, Wooddringtons, Fenwicks, Herons, Ramesis, Selbys, Shaftowes, Mydfordes, Ridleys, Eringtons, Lawrences, Thorntons, Aynesbys, Clennells, Paustons, Halls, Reades, Hedlyes, Pottes, Charltons, Robsons, Doddes, Hunters, Mylbornes, and Readheads, "loyall and dutyfull subjectes of England," and the Ellotes, Armestrongs, Crosers, Nixsons, Nobles, Larences, Hendersons, Batysons, Sympsons and Lyttles, "lawfull and leige subjectes of Scotland,"—that the original offenders being slain and justified, the innocent "unberne when the quarrell begane," cruelly murdered, and so on from generation to generation, contrary to the laws of "Godd and nature and all other politticke lawes," the above surnames, considering their duty as professed Christians and loyal subjects for pacifying their feuds, submitted them to the "arbytrament, order, dome and judgment" of Sir John Forster, knight, lord warden of the Middle Marches of England, who after due deliberation, hearing, &c., decreed that all blood feuds should cease, and offences hereafter by one nation on the other, should be referred to the decision of four "indifferent" gentlemen, two of each nation, chosen by the parties, &c. [*with other minute provisions*]. The award in two parts indented, one remaining with the surnames of Scotland, is subscribed the 1<sup>st</sup> day of March 28 Elizabeth [1585-86], the other part remaining with those of England subscribed same day.

John Forster, Robert Elliot, Martin Elliot, Will'm Elliot, Gawen Elliot, Jhon Elliot, Edward Lorane, Gilbert Lorane, Georg Armstronge, David Elliot, John Elliot, Arche Elliot, William Elliot, John Elliot, Heary Nixon, Georg Nikson, Georg Simpson, John Henderson, Gilbert Forster, John Henderson, John Noble.

2 pp. *Broad sheet. The signatures all in one hand. Indorsed*: "Martij 1595. Coppie of an awarde made by Sir John Foster warden . . . betwixt certain surnames of the Englishe and Scottishe borderers, for the appeasing of deadly foedes arisen amongst them."

March 3. 229. RICHARD SWIFTE TO BURGHELEY.

Praying his consideration for the heavy charges incurred in providing Berwick, through the great haste and dearth, which last he hopes will shortly cease, as it shows signs of abating. *Signed*: Rich. Swifte.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

\* Huntly and Erroll.

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March 6. 230. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

On receipt of your honour's letter of 10<sup>th</sup> by one Robert Simpson, in his behalf for 2 packs of cloth, stayed by the searcher here, I summoned the searcher and mayor, and in Simpson's presence, ordered the searcher to deliver the goods as commanded in your letter shown to him—which he refusing, or even to show them to Simpson, who offered bond in treble value to redeliver them, if "convinced by lawe," I caused the mayor to ward him in the "Tolebooth," till your farther pleasure—which is no satisfaction to Simpson, who by this "obstinate delay" is forced to repair again to your lordship, to his great loss, and the discouragement of other merchants. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signed.*

March 10. 231. EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I entreat your favour, for your father and some of the Council's letters to the wardens of the East and Middle Marches for succour of some poor tenants of Tindale (some her Majesty's some mine) who had a very great loss the last great rode of the Scots into England "ten" years past. Part was answered under the bands of some English gentlemen of the East March, to satisfy on behalf of the Scots—M<sup>r</sup> Lawson, M<sup>r</sup> Wallis, and M<sup>r</sup> William Wallis—but the rest is not, for the warden of the Middle March, where the "bouties" were done, cannot arrest, it is alleged, those under government of the East, though there are contrary precedents. But this is a device to hinder these poor men's claim on the Scots, for I am sure these gentlemen have good bands from "Baucleugh and Ceesford," who will not suffer them to incur danger for their sakes. I refer further particulars to this bearer, who is the chief prosecutor of the cause. How necessary and righteous my demand is, I leave to your judgment—it is not for my own sake only, but for her Majesty's subjects, and the restitution will come from strangers to our own people. Petworth. *Signed*: Northumberland.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 10. 232. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

"I received unspeakeable comforth" in her Majesty's princely acceptance of my doings, humbly beseeching your lordship "to present my humble and loyall service." Her gracious remission of Sir John Forster "his greate inexcusable falte," I trust will enable him to assist me in her service, and labour to repair the decay here, though he never can make satisfaction.

As you think the 1*sd*. *per diem* too much for the light horse here, since the Queen allows no more for the demi-lances in the Low Countries, I humbly move for 1*sd*. if thought good.

If a muster here were made about Easter, and the defects supplied about May day, you would remedy the defects in time. Bucleugh has gathered his forces and strengthened his houses at Hawick and Armitage—labours peace and seeks grace with our sovereign. How he stands with the King I cannot "justifie"—some say the King envies him for Bothwell's faction, himself and his followers vaunt his favour—and that Cesford's hostility causes his musters—for most or all of Liddesdale are joined with him "by oathe and scripture." Yet I can get no redress of bills from him either before or since his entry. He looks for a day of truce "being keper of Lyddesdale, as if he were the warden." I beg to know her Majesty's direction herein, having hitherto forborne to meet him in public justice.

Sir Robert Carr again, is made of the King's Council, highly graced with favour, has reconciled certain feuds of his own name, by the King's assistance. Lord Hume as is thought, aids him by the King's command against



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Buccleuch. The King himself is hunting in the Merse with Hume. Sir William Kerr is either dying or dead. Sir Frauncis Drake is said (in Scotland) to be straightly beset or likely to be, by the Spaniards: God send him as happy a return as "hath been in his proceedinge." Robert Moor, Bothwell's agent, is now back at Newcastle, and lies with the Laird of Netherie. Will your lordship have him winked at or apprehended? Buccleuch works strongly by him. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

*Postscript*:—Your lordship addresses my letters to the postmaster of Morpeth to be forwarded. I have been but one night there, when I conferred with the gentlemen about as to service.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 11. 233. SIR JOHN FORSTER TO BURGHEY.

I give your honour most hearty thanks for your letter of 3<sup>d</sup> instant. Where it is said by the report of the late Earl of Huntingdon, that the miserable state of the Middle Marches was through my misgovernment and negligence (his death being supposed to be caused by his grief thereof), and there were but 136 horses and 8 petronels therein: I assure you this is not the "4 parte," for at the time the muster was taken, one half the country was not warded, and the weather and waters were so tempestuous and outrageous that the men could not get to the places appointed. And it was credibly reported to me that at the coming "of my honourable good frende the Lord Eure to Hexham," he was met by 300 able horse, saying he did not think there had been so many in the Marches—who I hope will affirm the same, if required by you. And if her Majesty pleased to have a new commission, I trust there will no such decay be found, provided they allow such horses as hitherto considered sufficient for our border service.

I must sue your lordship for her Majesty's leave for my return to my own country, where I shall be ready to answer all charges. My stay here is neither good to the country, but great loss to me—for since I came to Durham, the Scots have stolen divers "dryftes" of sheep: this last week no less than 200 or 300 at one "dryfte," which were followed and rescued 5 miles within Scotland. I have sent this bearer M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Felton, to attend your honour for my dispatch from this. Durham. *Signed*: John Forster.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Forster's armorial wafer signet.*

March 13. 234. EURE TO BURGHEY.

It has pleased the Council of York, the sheriffs, &c., to allot 70 horse out of Yorkshire and 10 out of the Bishopric. The Yorkshire men to be delivered to Raiphe Mansfeld my captain of Harbottel on the 18<sup>th</sup> instant at furthest, the other 10 on the 20<sup>th</sup> before Lady day.

I hear the Bishop intends to sue your lordship to exempt them from these 10, pleading their privilege only to serve on the borders with their levies on their own charges for 14 days, and then take the Queen's pay if they stay longer. So if it pleased you, these 10 might be taken from Yorkshire, and the Bishopric to furnish 20 under their said privilege.

The men coming I divide thus—20 about Hawtwissell and Haydon briggs, 20 about Simondburne castle and Chipchase and Bellinghame, 20 at Harbottell, and 20 at Alnhame. I want horsemen "to plante" about myself here, unless the bishopric furnish the 20. Alnhame and Harbottel are the weakest places, for Liddesdale and Tevidale lie most open to them—and Cesford's people have made many inroads in Cookdale since my entry. By the gentlemen's certificate there are no fit horse there, but there are above 200 Scotsmen, Scots women married, and Scots servants hired.

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dwelling there. Awaiting your opinion on the division of the men. Hexham.  
*Signed: Ra. Eure.*

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*

March 13. 235. EURE TO BURGHEY.

Sir John Forster now having my letter to her Majesty in his behalf, is a suitor through your lordship for her favour, acknowledging his fault. I trust he will now cause his tenants now "defected," to muster by May day next, and I pray you to enjoin him not to cross any service now in hand, though contrary to his old practice—and use his old familiarity with Scotland and here, to procure justice by March law and the Queen's, not after "the rude maner" of Northumberland.

Praying your remembrance of the decayed gaol here and also Harbottel, whereof the bearer M<sup>r</sup> Felton surveyor of the Queen's lands and woods, will give a true report, for speedy repair next spring, and also declare the state of the country without excuse of Sir John Forster. Hexham. *Signed: Ra. Eure.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 18. 236. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHEY.

My slackness in writing is only for want of matter, for I have now nothing to do with country affairs, as my brother Sir Robert Carey is captain of Norham and deputy warden to "my lord." Of late the King startled us a little, for on Saturday last the 13<sup>th</sup>, he set out from Edinburgh, reaching Dunglasse, Lord Hume's house, that night, where he lay all Sunday night. Whereof I heard, and that he was coming a hunting this way, and set divers horsemen "seuring abroad in the Boundes." On Monday he left Dunglasse hunting this way, and by 9 A.M. he was spied very near the Bound road, with not more than 10 or 12 horse. Presently he joined his company, who were in the fields till that night. The Duke, the Earl of Marre, Lord Hume, Sir George Hume and others, went with him that night to the Laird of "Beeleys," 6 miles from Berwick, neither laird nor lady being at home. I sent out horsemen, one half all night, the other all day, to watch the bounds and know what became of him. On Tuesday he went from Beeley back to Dunglasse, meaning to go to Spott, and so to Edinburgh. But as he is still at Dunglasse, I mean to hold on my double watch and ward, till I hear he is in Edinburgh, "being loath under couller of hunting, he shoulde catche a haire so neare us." He neither sent to us nor we to him, but the gunners were all ready, and other things if he had come into the Bounds; which he neither desired nor did. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signet.*

March 18. 237. SCROPE'S REPORT OF BUCCLEUCH, &C.

A breviat of part of Buccleuch's dealings with me since he became keeper of Liddesdale, in justice touching the borders, and the taking and detaining William Armstronge *alias* Will of Kynmont.

Buccleugh's messages and letters, extant with me, carried always "in there front, a note of pryde in him selfe and of his skorne towardes me," as is seen in their intitling and method—a backwardness to justice, except that kind that he desired, which was solely for the profit of his own friends, and showed his disposition to disquiet the frontier, and disturb the peace between the princes. Which may be better proved by his incursions and

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outrages in this office, which I am informed he has procured to be done, besides those said to have been made by himself in person, "as once, to have apprehended Geordies Sandie, to have theirby not so much made his owne amendes, as quenched his mallice against the partie, and geven the bravado unto my selfe, by riding within myne office contrarie to the treatie—as also afterwards he did agayne, when he was in person as I harde, at the herishipp of William Grame *alias* Ritchies Will."

At our first meeting for justice, he refused to receive for the bill an offender on whom he had complained, contrary to law and custom of the March, because he could not have the "accessarie," a man to whom he bore malice, and therefore delayed justice, till of late a meeting was fixed for redress and delivery, between two gentlemen (one from him, the other from me), which day he refused to keep, because it happened that Will of Kynmont was taken and brought to me before it. How Kynmont was taken will appear by the copy of the attestation by his takers, which if true, "it is held that Kynmont did thereby breake th'assurance that daye taken, and for his offences ought to be delivered to the officer against whom he had offended, to be punished according to discretion." Another reason for detaining him is his notorious enmity to this office, and the many outrages lately done by his followers. He appertains not to Buccleuch, but dwells out of his office, and was also taken beyond the limits of his charge, so Buccleuch makes the matter a mere pretext to defer justice and do "further indignities."

The above day for redress and delivery was the 17<sup>th</sup> of this month—which night Kynmont was taken and brought here, where I detain him, thinking it best to do so till good security be given for better behaviour of him and his in time coming, and recompense of damages lately done to the people here.

1 p. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed as tittle, and by Burghley:* "18 Martij 1595."

March 19. 238. PROVISIONS FOR BERWICK.

Statement by Vernon and Swifte the victuallers, of provisions remaining on 19 Sept. 1595 (735*l.* 1*4s.* 4*d.*), and those bought since (2647*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*); freights, charges, &c. (490*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*); amount now remaining (1038*l.* 1*4s.* 4*½d.*), monies received and expended, &c.

2¼ pp. *Written by their clerk. Indorsed.*

March 23. 239. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

On Saturday night the 20<sup>th</sup>, I received the 70 horse from Yorkshire, and as soon as furnished with "armor," they shall be stationed as I wrote. I trust you will allow me the pay of the other 10, with which I mean to levy 20 horse here, who will be content with half pay, which will be a help to them, being already bound to serve. And I mean every 14 days, to relieve the 20 with a like number, and thus in four months from the 21<sup>st</sup> instant, I shall run through 160 horsemen if found here, thus breaking the kindness many have with the Scot.

"Since Sonndaie last was sennight beinge the xxj<sup>th</sup> of Marche, there hath been in Tyndaile three severall herrishipes, great ones: the first was on Thursday the 4<sup>th</sup> of Marche," by the Ellotts, &c.; and the day before on Buccleuch's promise, my keeper of Tyndale met at "the bounde roade" with him for justice. On my letter complaining of this foul fact—they took 60 head of cattle from Rowland Melburne of the Came—he answered he would do justice for it "condicionallie," if I delivered those who lately stole goods from Will Elliot of Larrestone *alias* Harskarth. These I learn were depasturing unlawfully in England, and were taken by some Tyndale men.

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The Scots keep numbers of sheep and cattle so feeding, to her Majesty's loss, but God willing, I mind to recover the English ground again, and not let these thieves keep it.

Yet after this fair answer, on Sunday after being the 14<sup>th</sup> March, "comes" 60 horsemen out of Annersdale and Ewesdaie, under Lord Maxwell's rule, warden of the West March, passed through Liddesdale, spoiled what they could on the fair day in Bellinge, a place in Tyndale, and though most part of the goods were rescued, they got away with some horse and household stuff. The above Will Elliot with 80 horse and foot, lay in Liddesdale to receive them, as I hear. Thus you see how cunningly they deal with me.

The third fray was on Friday 19<sup>th</sup> March, by some of the Scots of Jedworth forest. They took 20 head of cattle from Widow Milburne of the Heighfield in Tyndale, and the poor widow prisoner, with her children and servants. The fray rose, and the country followed, but for want of horse to go nearer, they stood on a hill and saw the Scots dividing their goods, but were not strong enough to set on them. They passed another way to that forest, and on their return, being not above 8 horse, the rest foot, they brought away 60 head of "beastes," although the Scots, horse and foot, rose and "fronted" them for 3 or 4 miles, but fought not. I ordered this "pune" to be divided among them to buy horse for the Queen's service. I trust her Majesty will not be offended at her subjects' act in self defence.

I wrote on the 7<sup>th</sup> March to the King signifying my appointment by her Majesty, and being unknown to him, presumed to present to him 3 or 4 couple of hounds "for the hayer," requesting his royal commands to his wardens and officers to correspond with me in justice. On the 14<sup>th</sup> March I received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes the ambassador, signifying the King's pleasure that "perticularities" demanded by her Majesty's wardens or officers, should be delivered to him in writing, that he and his Council might deliberate and take order therein. For meetings between wardens and keepers, he wished that I should meet "Baclugh" as hath been used, alleging that the keeper of Liddesdale was a public officer, and it was Buccleuch's inheritance. On the ambassador's reply, that the Scottish wardens must therefore meet the keepers of Tyndale and Redesdale, he respited the matter to further consideration. He likewise agreed that order be taken to redress former offences before the present wardens took office—to be settled by her Majesty and himself and their councils. Other particulars imparted by M<sup>r</sup> Bowes to him, which I gave the ambassador in passing, he assented to, and if his officers do as much, this country shall flourish more than ever it did.

But under your favour as to Buccleuch's exemption by "inheritance," the like may be said for the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Ogell, myself, and many others, who have lands "chartered" in this March, and estates equal, if not some better, than Buccleuch; yet their tenants answer to the warden only, not the inheritor. Nor does the "large and honorable chartors free them from the obedience of her Majesties officer." Hexham. *Signet*: Ra. Eure.

3 pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 24. 240. VERNON AND SWIFTE TO BURGHELY.

Petitioning him to take order for payment of victuals delivered to the garrison and works at Berwick for half year now ended (1640*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*), and the surcharge 19<sup>th</sup> September—19 March 1595-96 (1115*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*), in all, 2756*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*; and for provision till Michaelmas next.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Written by their clerk. Indorsed*: "The humble petition of Robert Vernon and Richard Swifte."

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Inclosed with same :—

(Book referred to.)

Specifying the amounts delivered to the governor, officers, pensioners, horse garrison, works, &c., for the half year as above [*names all given*] 164*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*

4 *pp.* *In same writing. Indorsed.*1596. 241. PAY AT BERWICK.  
March 25.

Reckoning of the pay made by M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Bowes for his father Robert Bowes esquire, treasurer, for the first half year ended at the Annunciation 1596.

The "interteynementes" of the lord governor Lord Hunsdon, the several officers, military and civil, garrison, pensioners, &c.,  
in all, . . . . . 6,648*l.* 19*d.*  
The treasure received and balance of last year, . . . . . 6,096*l.* 11*s.* 3½*d.*

The payments thus exceeding the receipt by . . . . . 551*l.* 10*s.* 3½*d.*  
Besides works and other extraordinary charges.

Due M<sup>r</sup> Vernon, to be paid out of Michaelmas receipt, 611*l.* 14*s.* 2¼*d.*

2¼ *pp.* *Written by Sheperson. Indorsed.*

March 26. 242. MUSTERS AT BERWICK.

Defaults of same taken before the deputy governor John Carey, esq. Absentees with or without passports, from the companies of John Carey, Sir William Reade and 4 other captains—[Captains Carvell and Twyforthe being at Carlisle]—foot, gunners, pensioners, &c., in all 50. *Signed* : John Crane.

2½ *pp.* *Written by Crane. Indorsed.*

March . 243. VICTUALLING AT BERWICK.

Rates paid the victualler by the soldier *per diem*.

From Midsummer till 23<sup>d</sup> December 4½. From 23<sup>d</sup> December till 23<sup>d</sup> June, 5½. On fish days (five rates), from 3¾*l.* to 4¾*l.*

1 *p.* *Written by the victualler's clerk. Indorsed.*

March 29. 244. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO BURGHEY.

I must still be a suitor for the repair of Norham. I greatly desire it more for the good of the country, and the benefit of the "Queenes poore ones" under my charge, than to profit myself. For, on my credit, I can keep house in Berwick "better cheepe" than here, by 300*l.* or 400*l.* a year—but regard this not for "the credytt of the place."

Truly my lord in the bishops' time, such care was taken and sufficient men appointed, that their housekeeping in the castle enriched the neighbour hood, and strengthened the Border. It were a pity that "beinge exchanged from the Bushopp to the Queene," it should be in worse state. I desire but a competent house, and then I will do my best "for my countreys good, and my princes service."

If you think 800*l.* too much, set down what rate "yow think the Queene wyl best be drawne to," and it shall be ordered proportionably. And if the whole sum cannot be had in one year, then in two, three or four, as you think best. But "(good my lord)" let some house or other be built. The disorders are so great, that if it stands long thus, the country will hardly be brought to its former good order. Berwick. *Signed* : Rob. Carey.

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Postscript: \*—I hear there is one gone to London to get a lease from your lordship or "my cosen Fortescue" of some coal pits within my charge. They have been always "incident" to the captains of Norham under their patents. My patent is as "lardge as any of theirs," and I pray you not to suffer such a lease to pass.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a swan slightly differing from his brother's.

April 1. 245. EURE TO BURGHELY.

This day I received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes the Queen's ambassador, acquainting me with information given to the King against some of my March, for a breach of the peace. The charge is this—that the keepers of Tyndale and Reedsdale lay in ambush, purposely to intrap the Scotsmen, when they followed the sheep, 1000 or more, driven out of Buccleuch's office by some of the Mylbornes, Charletous, Robsons, and Doddes on Friday last the 26<sup>th</sup> March.

I assure you "uppon myne honoure," there were neither flocks nor flock of sheep thus taken, nor were my officers abroad with force—"a stirr" as we call it, but in private with their friends. I wrote to you before of three roades in one week upon Tyndale, and in following, some Tyndale men on their way home took 60 beasts from Jedworth forest, for which Sir Andrew Karr laird of Fernherst made suit for redress, respited to the next truce day. But having notice meantime of intended revenge on my March, I ordered some about me to watch my "frontes" in arms. They were under 100, and, "with sorrow I speake yt," not 30 able horse—and the Scots not appearing, these men returned without service, or entering foot in Scotland, which I forbade. The keepers of Tyndale or Redesdale were neither present nor privy—but it chanced that night unknown to that company, that some of Tyndale near to the Bells, took in English ground "15 score" of sheep, for which I since hear, Liddesdale threatens revenge with fire and sword. If your lordship looks at the treaty in the Queen's time, of pasturage, parkage and poundage, the Scots are absolutely forbidden to do so, and the owner of the land, the warden or deputy, &c., may seize goods depasturing in England, above 6 hours in one day. Yet this little stealth, unknown to any English officer, is made as heinous as if all their flocks were "touched," and by the intolerable custome allowed the Scots in my predecessor's time, the poor hungry thieves of our country may not retaliate, but we are straightway threatened with breach of peace, "and darred with loss of lyfe."

I am taking all means I can with the principal gentlemen of the country to join in putting down this practice, and seize all the flocks unlawfully depasturing on our ground,—praying your pleasure therein. Hexham.  
*Signed*: Ra. Eure.

2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Quartered wafer signet.

April 6. 246. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Nothing has happened since the King's late "hunting viege into these quarters," except on his going home, he made a new Earl of Atholl and sundry knights. There is little news, the Spaniards being "all deade," or at least forgotten among them.

I send the defaults of last musters. The works to be taken in hand, "staves," through M<sup>r</sup> Treasurer and M<sup>r</sup> Vernon not taking order to pay the poor labourers, though promised presently: when the "Cowe gate" and taking down the old wall shall go in hand. I dare not complain, having had much displeasure already, but would remind your lordship to see

\* On margin lengthwise.

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this town victualled before next winter. Many corn ships come to the port, but few to the palace. These few are freighted, some with 10 qrs. for the palace, and 100 qrs. for the market, others with 20 or 30 qrs. for the palace, and 8 or 10 score qrs. for the market. What does come is ill used for lack of a chief officer. There are only servants, and all do the best for themselves, not being sure of their master's stay. "They doe like the good steward nomydated in the Scripture." I write truly, and have displeasure, but I am here to please no mau but do the Queen true service. Berwick.  
*Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

April 6. 247. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

There is a piece of common lying between Tweedmouth and "Skymirston," which parcel of ground M<sup>r</sup> Lawson of Brouche holds as his inheritance belonging to Skymirston: and I challenge it for the Queen, as belonging to her town of Tweedmouth. There has been much controversy heretofore between M<sup>r</sup> Lawson and my lord's officers of Norham. He is wilful, and I not willing the Queen lose her right. So I pray your lordship to send an injunction to put me in quiet possession for the Queen till the law decides it. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 10. 248. EURE, &C., TO BURGHLEY.

The gaol delivery for this country was held here before us, M<sup>r</sup> Cuthbert Pepper and others, and continued three days, from the multitude of prisoners, factions, favour to gentlemen offenders, &c., hindering all good service. We think such deliveries should be held oftener. Under her Majesty's commandment to us and other justices of "oier and terminer," we have appointed the 13<sup>th</sup> instant for musters of light horse, and taken order as to the footmen. We have charged an inquest of gentlemen of this country with fit articles for the service, and a like one for the bishopric at Auckland on the 15<sup>th</sup>, whereat we Humfray Purefey and John Ferne, purpose to be present with the other commissioners. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure, Humfrey Purefey, Jo. Ferne.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Eure's quartered wafer signet.*

April 10. 249. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I send some more particulars than in our common letter. M<sup>r</sup> Purefey and M<sup>r</sup> Ferne with M<sup>r</sup> Pepper, came here on the 3<sup>d</sup> with the general commission, under which they and 2 justices of this March, M<sup>r</sup> Dallavaile and Claveringe, held the sessions on Monday the 5<sup>th</sup>, with great appearance of the most worthy gentlemen of the county, of whom two juries of the best were chosen for trial of life and death. But contrary to expectation, we found great slowness of service; for when a prisoner was to be arraigned, if allied, or a servant or tenant, to any of great name, we found it most hard to arraign them, or get a verdict; so the session by this only, lasted three days.

The prisoners committed, and appearing on bail, were 59, whereof 9 found guilty and executed; 6 "clarkes saved by there bookes," and two principal men of M<sup>r</sup> Wooddrington, after being indicted by the "graund jurie," escaped from prison and are not recaptured. One called William Shaftoe, was deputy bailiff to Sir John Forster in Bywell lordship, and so used it, that there are not 6 able horse there. I removed him just before the sessions, "for his well doeing." The other, William Lawsons, was Shaftoe's deputy

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officer. Both were chief malefactors for theft, burglary, taking Englishmen prisoners to Scotland and ransoming them. They are accused of being among those that spoiled the town of Ivestone in the bishopric,—how they escaped I cannot yet inform you—but beg you to listen to no suit for them, without better desert. These are of “the gentlemen theves that the poore durst not name, or call in questione for there stoutnes and greate alliances.” I trust their former friends will respect her Majesty’s service, and forget their friendship. But I must tell your lordship that “packinge with theaves” is too common. I must “with feare and trimblinge” say that direct evidence is not regarded as it ought to be amongst Christians, and “othes” but little. Another hindrance to justice is—“the theife accused as theie tearme yt, by a tayles man uppon whose worde the wittnes dothe absolutelie swere to his accusatiōe, but bringeth not forth the tayles man, which accusatiōe occasioneth devisiōe with the jurie and sometymes the sheddingge of innocent blood.”

The warden court was held on Thursday the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, and though as many prisoners were at the bar as at the other court, 3 only were found guilty, and one Hearon a gentleman, by report a notable March breaker, and his father likewise. The father “sicke” and not at bar; “but the sonne was so much befrinded by the jurie, that that daie and night, and the next daie att night, noe verdicts would be geven—that for saiftie of the gentlemen health I was enforced to drawe the prisoner from them, and receive there half verdicts of those theie had agreed on. The jurie rested withoute meate and drinke accordinge the custome in like case, almost to there undoeinge.” It grieved me much, and I did in my discretion by advice of the Queen’s learned “councell,” though not agreeable to the common law. The ruin of this country by the “inveterated irreligion and barbarisme” is grievous. You will find by the certificate of horse that it is declining not rising. I humbly beseech your advice in the matter unjustly invented against me to the King of Scots. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 12. 250. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Your lordships have been from time to time made acquainted with the unndutiful carriage of the “surnames of the Grames,” never in my opinion so able or inclined to evil against the Queen’s good subjects, than at this day. And hoping that it will please your wisdoms to have tender consideration of this border, suffering under the “tyranny” of them and theirs, if you would write to me “a straight” letter, commanding me to send up to you those of the surname named in the note herewith, without letting them know before hand the cause, and on their appearance commit them to “the Fleete” or other prison, till it pleased her Majesty I came up: I doubt not at my coming I should show proof of such matter against them as deserved due punishment, to the common benefit and quiet of all these parts. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

¾ p. *No address. Indorsed.*

April 14. 251. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

I thought it my duty to acquaint you with “the proude attempte” which the Scots have made on this her Majesty’s castle and chief strength here, praying you to move her Majesty for such redress as may stand with her liking. The ground of it proceedeth from the cause which I formerly advertised, and will now be imparted to you by my Lord Treasurer, to whom to avoid tediousness, I refer you. “Yesternighte in the deade time thereof. Water Scott of Hardinge, the chiefe man aboute Buclughe, accompanied with



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"500 horsemen of Buclughes and Kinmontes frendes, did come armed and appointed with gavlockes and crowes of iron, handpeckes, axes and skallinge lathers, unto an outwarde corner of the base courte of this castell, and to the posterne dore of the same—which they undermined speedily and quietlye and made them selves possessores of the base courte, brake into the chamber where Will of Kinmont was, carried him awaye, and in their discoverie by the watch, lefte for deade two of the watchmen, hurt a servante of myne one of Kynmontes keperes, and were issued againe oute of the posterne before they were discried by the watche of the innerwarde, and ere resistance coulde be made. The watch, as yt shoulde seeme, by reason of the stormye night, were either on sleepe or gotten under some covert to defende them selves from the violence of the wether; by meanes wherof the Scottes atcheived their entreprise with lesse difficultie. The wardinge place of Kinmonte, in respect of the manner of his takinge, and the assurance he had given that he woulde not breake awaye, I supposed to have bin of sufficient suretie, and litle looked that any durst have attempted to enforce in the tyme of peace any of her Majestys castells, and a peece of so good strength. Yf Buclugh him selfe have bin therat in person, the capten of this proud attempt, as some of my servantes tell me they hard his name called uppon (the trueth wherof I shall shortly advertise), then I humbly beseech, that her Majesty wilbe pleased to send unto the Kinge, to call for and effectually to press his deliverie, that he may receive punishment as her Majesty shall fynde that the quality of his offence shall demerite, for yt wilbe a dangerous example to leave this highe attempt unpunished. Assuring your lordships, that if her Majesty will give me leave, yt shall cost me both life and lvyng, rather then such an indignitie to her highnes, and contempt to my selfe, shalbe tollerated. In revenge whereof, I intend that somethinge shalbe shortly entreprised against the principalles in this accion for repaire thereof, if I be not countermanded by her Majesty, whose gracious favour hearin I awaite." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

"I have written to M<sup>r</sup> Bowes herin."

1 p. *Addressed*: To the Privy Council. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signed as before*.

April 14. 252. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

"To th' ende your lordship maye the better understande the originall cause of this which followeth, I have chosen to inclose the copies of those thinges which I had formerly sent app, to have bin informed to her Majesty: contayninge some fewe heades of the proceedinges betwixt Buclugh and mee, and the manner and cause of Kinmontes takinge and detaininge, not doubtinge but your lordship hath bin er nowe made acquainted therewith. The which copies when your lordship hath perused, I praye yow to imparte them unto the lordes of her Majestys most honorable privie counsell, to whom I have thought meete to write this inclosed lettre to advertise the proude attempt by the Scottes againste this her Majestys castell, her cheifest fortress in these partes, the manner wherof is as followeth.—Yesternighte, in the dead tyme therof, Water Scott of Hardinge (the cheife man with Buclughe) accompanied with 500 horsmen of Buclughes and Kinmontes frendes, did come armed and appointed with gavlockes and crowes of iron, hand peckes, axes and skallinge lathers, unto an outwarde corner of the base courtes of this castell, and to the posterne dore of the same, which they undermined speedily and quietly, and made them selves possessores of the base courte, brake into the chamber wher Will of Kinmont was, caried him awaye, and in their discoverie lefte for deade two of the watchmen and hurte a servante of myne, one of Kinmontes keperes, and were issued againe oute of the posterne before they were discried by the watch of th'innerwarde, and er resistance coulde be made. The watch as yt shoulde seeme, by reason

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"of the stormie night, were either on sleepe, or gotten under some covert to defende them selves from the violence of the wether, by which meanes the Scot atcheived th'interprise with less difficultie. The wardinge place of Kinmont (in respect of the manner of his takinge, and the assurance he had geven that he woulde not breake awaye), I supposed to have bin of sufficient saftie, and litle looked that any durst have attempted to enforce any of her Majestys castelles, and a peece of so good strengthe. If Buclugh him selfe have bin heare in person, the capten of this proude attempte, as some of my servantes tell me they harde his name called uppon (the truth whereof I shall with certenty advertise by my nexte), then I humbly beseech that her Majesty wilbe pleased to sende unto the Kinge to call for and press his deliverie, that he maye receive punishment as her Majesty shall fynde that the qualitie of his offence shall demerite; for it wilbe a dangerous example to leave this attempt unpunished. Assuringe your lordship, that if her Majesty will give me leave, yt shall cost me both life and livinge rather than such an indignitie to her highnes and contempt to my selfe, shalbe tollerated. In revenge wherof, I intende that some thinge shall shortly be enterprised against the cheife actores for repaire of this faulte, if I be not countermaunded by her Majesty. And regardinge the myndes of the Lowthers to do villeny unto me, havinge bin assured by some of their owne, that they would do what they coulde to disquiet my government, I am inducued vehementlye to suspect that their heades have bin in the devise of this attempt, and am also perswaded that Thomas Carlton hath lent his hand heareunto; for yt is whispered in myne eare, that some of his servauntes, well acquainted with all the corners of this castell, were guydes in the execution hearof. I shall do my uttermost to bringe the trueth to lighte in publique, that due punishment maye be inflicted." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

"Postscript:—Before the insealinge hearof, the contentes of this other note of the names of the principall persones was broughte me, and confirmed by others of creditie: so that it appeareth that Buclughs beinge at the fact is not to be doubted. Besydes the executioners, I am informed that the Lairde of Johnston laye with an ambushment in one place and the Goodman of Bonshawe with an other, on the paille of Scotland, to have given defence to there owne and resisted the pursuers, if any had followed so farre.

"This other sedule towchinge the Grames, if your honour uppon perusal, fynde it worthie to be proceeded in, then I beseeche your lordship to putt yt into the lettre of myne to the lordes of the counsell, which I have so sealed that your lordship maye open and put yt in and so cloase yt upp againe." *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Names of the principal assailants.)

"These names were taken by the informer at the mouthe of one that was in person at the enforcinge of this castell."

The Laird of Buccleuch; Walter Scot of Goldelandes; Walter Scot of Hardinge; Walter Scot of Brainxholme; [ ] Scot named Todrigges; Will Elliott goodman of Gorrombye; John Elliott called of the Copshawe; the Laird of Mangerton; the young Laird of Whithaugh and his sou; three of the Calhills, Jocke, Bighames, and one Ally, a bastard; Sandy Armstronge son to Hebbye; Kinmontes Jocke, Francie, Geordy, and Saudey, all bretheren, the sous of Kinmont; Willie Bell "redcloake, and two of his brethren; Walter Bell of Godesby; three bretheren of Tweda, Armstrongs; young John of the Hollace and one of his brethren; Christie of Barneglissh and Roby of the Langholm; the Chingles; Willie Kange and his brethren with their "complices."

"The informer sayeth that Buclugh was the fift man which entred the

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"castell, and encouraged his companie with these wordes—'Stand to yt, for I have vowed to God and my prince, that I would fetch oute of England Kynmont dead or quicke, and will maintaine that accion when it is donn, with fyre and sworde against all the resisters.'"

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

April 14. 253. SCROPE TO HENRY LEIGH.

Instructions to M<sup>r</sup> Henry Leigh for his "travells" with the Lords Treasurer and Hunsdon or with the Queen in matters concerning her Borders.

On delivery of their letters to the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Chamberlain, let each of them understand the manifest danger at present of a breach of peace on this frontier, giving these reasons:—

That Buccleuch has ever been the chief enemy (and still is) to the quiet of the border.

Before he was officer, he was principal at taking Captain Belles \* and "hewinge in peeces" divers of his soldiers. Afterwards at the killing some of Captain Bestones' soldiers at Hexham, and some of Captain Ellice on this March.

Since he was officer, he was in person at the murder of some of the Queen's subjects on the Middle March—has caused many "herishipes" in this West wardenry, once in person at that of Richies Will, another time in the house of Geordies Sandy Graime; to have carried him off, and lastly at the assault and enforcing the Queen's castle and officer. He has now got all or most of our Grames to join him, and is working to bind more of them. He brags "that he hopeth to be the man that shall make the first roade into England in revenge of the death of the Kinges moother."

You shall earnestly press that her Majesty be moved "to deale roundly" with the Scottish King for immediate delivery of Buccleuch's body without condition, to receive due punishment and exemplary justice.

Touching the Grames:—

They have been and are "pernitious members," and very injurious instruments in breaking peace in the March. Since they grew stroug, they never did nor do show sound allegiance to the Queen, or obedience to her officers, unless compelled by fear of their livings, or think the time serves not.

In Lord Dacre's time, when he meant "justice" on some of them, they pricked at him returning from a day of truce, "hooved after" him over Eden bridge, and took 8 of his company prisoners between it and Carlisle.

In the late Lord Scrope's time, they attacked him in the field, chased the steward of Burgh, unhorsed the bailif and took his horse, hurting many of his company.

In contempt of myself on taking office, they held the house of Rob of the Faulde, against Sir Robert Carey and Sir William Bowes, gathered their English and Scottish friends, and were only defeated by the valour and discretion of these two gentlemen. No officer here can purpose anything ever so secretly against an evildoer of England or Scotland, but the Grames hear of and prevent it. They also ride with Scotsmen against the lieges here. They or the most of their principals, were privy and acted with Buccleuch in the surprise of this castle and loosing Kinmont out of it. And it is public that at Buccleuch's horse race long before, many of them were asked for their consents thereto, and being "premonished," let him ride forward and back through them, without shout or hindrance. "Also the sonne of one of them brought Buccinghes ringe to Kinmonte before his losinge, for a token for his deliverance by him, and one of them knowne to be in the castle court with Buccleugh."

\* Bellasis.

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They are so strong by intermarriages in Scotland and England, and united by the amity concluded among them of late by Richard Lowther, and new marriages promoted by him, that they are able to trouble the peace of both countries far beyond their former power.

Few gentlemen can keep their goods safe unless matched with them, or have them as tenants, or pay "blak mayle."

REMEDIES SUGGESTED :—

If banished to Scotland, they would do more harm here than ever, unless the King's officer "coulede and woulde" deliver them up.

I think therefore that either they and their friends opposite should be "removed" and their lands given by both princes to others more honest from the "inlandes" of both realms. Or else that the Lords of the Council would call for the principal Grames whose names I sent up in my last letter, and for Hutchons Andrew, and young Hutchon called Richies Hutchon, to appear before them, and not "returned" till they found good security for past and future spoils and offences. Also one of them to be made chief officer over the rest under the warden, who should deliver a pledge under condition, if their offences were not redressed or offenders delivered in a "prescribed" time, the pledge should suffer death, and the chief officer be dismissed for another Grame. Also the principal man of every branch to send like pledges to Carlisle or York castles, &c., under a like penalty.

"Be yow earnest" with their lordships to take these proceedings speedily, that I may more privately and safely take revenge on the chief actors in the opposite realm. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

2½ pp. *Indorsed by Burghley* : "14 April 1596. Henrie Leigh his instruccions from the Lord Scroop."

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254. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELEY.

"Having no newes of any worth to send you out of Scotland, save that the King is at Starling with his younge prince, the Queene is att Edendbroughe, with her great belley," and all here quiet. What the news of the Spaniards having won "Callis" will alter, I know not, but thought good to remind your lordship, that seeing they have taken it so quickly, and being so near neighbours, will likely trouble us before summer is over, elsewhere, I have viewed and inclose a note of our store here, that some better supply be sent down for next winter's provision.

I must also remind your lordship that care must be taken for the Holy Island and other places here about. "For Sir William Read is now almost throughe age growne ympotente, so as he can hardlie either heare or see, and is even clean donn, and his sonne a man verie unfitte by reason of many ymperfections in him, to have the truste of so great a chardge as the Holly Iland and the reste of those ilandes be, so that if they should by any meenes be of a sudden surprised, it would be a great hinderauce and daunger to Barwicke." I pray your pardon for speaking of things I have nothing to do in, more than I am as an Englishman bound to signify what I see in danger. Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Seuen wajor signet.*  
Inclosed in the same :—

Notes of stores in the Palace at Berwick, 14<sup>th</sup> April 1596.

Wheat, 63 qrs. ; meal, 10 qrs. ; malt in the "loftes," 234 qrs. ; in the brewhouse, 18 qrs. ; beans and pease, 6 qrs.

Oxen, 10 ; sheep, 135.

"Mudde" lings, 360 ; "islande" cod, 660. *Signed* : John Crane, Rob. Yaxlee, Will<sup>m</sup>. Acrigge. These viewed the store.

¾ p. *In Crane and another's writing.*

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April 17. 255. EURE TO THE QUEEN.

Under your Majesty's commission bearing date 28<sup>th</sup> March last, I as your warden of the Middle March with two of your highness's learned council of the north and other honourable persons knights and gentlemen, did take a view of the horsemen there on the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, and finding the decay so great "(with humble pardon on my knees I crave it) I adventure to geve your Majestie knowledge" of our labours, before the certificate under all our hands be delivered to the lords of your privy council.

The light horse fit for service on this March was 71, including "the whole stable" of the best gentlemen, viz. the Lord Ogell, M<sup>r</sup> Dallavaide, M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington, and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick, and some of these would not be allowed in other countries. But we had to do it in hope of better amends. Of horses of "lower stature fit for petronels," 31 were allowed, in all 102.

The men are able (as men) but impoverished by the long spoil of the Scots without redress; the spoil procured by thieves who make the Scots colourable principals. If I claim redress from the opposite warden, he treats it as it were a "noveltie," imparting this to his secret friend. So the Scottish borderer is enriched with English sheep and cattle, and the poor Englishman can not steal from them again, for want of horse, and the gentlemen "consonable" forbear.

The dearth this year prevents many keeping horses; and besides this, some bailiffs and officers have consented to the spoil of their charges "and participated thereof, a most horrible and unnaturall acte;" whereof there was a case at this last gaol delivery, when William Shaftoe, deputy bailiff of Bywell lordship, and William Lawson his deputy, broke prison before judgment and fled, showing their guiltiness.

Another most grievous decay is "want of knowledge of God," whereby the better sort forget oath and duty, let malefactors go against evidence, and favour "a partie" belonging to them or their friends. The churches mostly ruined to the ground, ministers and preachers "comforthles to com and remaine where such heathenish people are," so there are neither teachers nor taught.

I fear this weakness is over all the Marches—"for prooffe, on Mundaie last xij<sup>th</sup> of Aprill, the Lard of Mangerton and other suche like, and as it is thought the Lard of Baclughe keeper of Lyddesdale, with a few horsemen, not fouertie as I here, came to Carlell and forceable breake the place where Will of Kinmonth, Scott, a notable offender against England, honorable taken by the Lord Scroop, was taken away and carried into Scotland." This makes me fear they well know the weakness of the March or durst not have attempted such an action.

The footmen of this March shall be presently mustered, and your Majesty may be assured to find numbers of "able serviceable men naked and on foote, yet valiant and obedient."

The numbers of Scots crept in and tolerated on the March, some married, some received as "hirdes" and tenants, by those who greedy of gain and safety of their goods, prefer a Scottish to an English tenant, is a great mischief.

The private taking of bonds of Scottish prisoners, by the English, not to the warden, is a dangerous hurt, for the private gentleman is secure from that Scottish clan, while the rest of the March is spoiled. This I labour to break.

The wrongful depasturing on our March is also a hurt, for the Scots "stafehird" on our ground, and complain of me to the King for taking their sheep trespassing. But with your Majesty's aid, my March shall "sheild with" their goods and defend the "auncyent bounders" as by treaty is commanded.

If your Majesty were pleased to allow pay for 200 horse of Northumber-

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land, it would be a means in time to recover the losses and restore our strength.

The foot might be charged to find muskets and callivers according to their ability, and this March in time be as strong as the others. The Earl of Northumberland might be commanded "to inhale" his tenants, Tinemouth especially, for horse. And if all three Marches joined in assisting one another, the subject should shortly be bettered.

Craving pardon for presumption, "not darringe to behold the bright glistringe beames of your royall wisdome." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

*2 pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Fastened with pink floss silk, and two wax seals (as before).*

April 17. 256. EURE TO BURGHEY.

Though I have acquainted the ambassador with my answer to the unjust complaint, and he has certified the King, yet I hear Buccleuch and Fernihirst prepare for revenge on me, and though I do what I can, we have not strength to resist them coming with 300 horse, more than we can gather on a sudden. The muster was taken on the 13<sup>th</sup> and the certificate will show you our weak state, grieving me more than I ever was before, after so long peace to see the alarm at our door, "in a manner by noe ryders only, but myghty invaders."

The number of light horsē was 71, with the Lord Ogell and other's whole stable; of petrouells 31; "and noe nycenes of choyse, but what myght serve for a man anyway armed, was allowed;" so you may judge where the "gallant companie" of 300 horse that met me, was! But there is no truth in this March, "but rather mallice, pride, and deepe disdayne."

Lord Scroope on Monday last 12 April, "had forceably tayken from out of his pryson att Carlelle, Wille of Kinmonthe, Scott, from before his doore, and not rescued."

I will not intermeddle with more than my own, but I fear East, West, and Middle, are greatly decayed. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

*1 p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 24. 257. ANONYMOUS TO SCROPE.

"Right honorable lord, pleaseth your lordship to ken this the truth of the takinge out of Kynnmont, whilk mony thinkes your lordship hes received ane great displeasure in the doinge of it, and thur that was the devisors of it hes made your lordship a great falt, whilk I thinke should be evell to forgett; and specialle Englishmen dwelland within the ground of Eagland quha was counsell and causers of it, and never thinkes to grant it. Albeyt the Layrd of Buckclnghe tooke the deede on hand, there is others that sarvis mare blame. The dischardginge of Thomas Carlton of his office hes helpit your lordschip to receive this schame, with helpe of Richey of the Brakonhill; and others of the Grames quha was led by their counsell, hes done what they could to breake the countrey ever san Thomas was dischardged his office, whilke your lordship may ken nowe by thur thinges that is done. The countrith kens howe Buckclnghe lyked of Geordeis Sandey Grame his parte of this last journey; there is sondrie that kens it, he did nothing but that whilk Thomas Carlton his good brother caused him to doe. And for Willy Redcloke, he did nothinge but that Richey of Brakonhill caused him to doe. He was with him on the Fryday at nighte before, and caused him and his freindes to lye to slea Hob Foster on the Saterdag after, and left three of the Fosters for dead; and Riche of Brakonhill cam to Carlell to gif his test, and on the Monday at nighte he appointed with him whare he should meete Buckclnghe, whilk he and Ebes Sandey was the first that ever brake the hole and

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come in about Kinmont, whilk Redcloke avowis in playne; and for Willy Cange, he is Buckclughes owne man, yet he is Huchens Andrewes brothers sonne. He come that Monday in the morninge and spake with Andrewe and Huchen and Willy of the Rose trees, and toke their counsell howe they should do at nyght, and made them foresein of Buckclughes comminge. There was never a turne done formenttes the loswing of Kinmont, but thur men was all counsell to it and causit Kinmontes wyfe, quha is Andrewes sister, make it all with Kinmont within the howse. Huchens Androwe raid the same Monday to Cokpoule to the Layrd of Carmychell, to make his test and bald his hand cleane, and Carmychell and he lay that night speakand of the purpose howe Kinmont might be lowsed. I can assure your lordship, thur and monie mea of Esk, was all counsell to that night warke, or els it had never ben provit; yet thur is the Scotsmen that was there—Buckclughe with xxiiij Scottes and Ellottes quha lay that night in the Lange holom that it was done or the sonne yeede to. There came frae the Langholm with him younge John and Kirste his brother, Kirste of Barngleis and Rob his brother, with foure of the Kanges, and Willy Kang met them on the night, foure sonnes of Kinmontes and iiij of his men—Mangerton and Whitbaughe was viij men, Abes Sandey and ij with him—Willy Redcloke and John his brother, and Robbe Bell, thur come out of Annerdell. John Bells horse tirit, and he come to Fargus the Plumpes on the night, and bade there, while on the morne Willy Redcloke spake with Willy of the Rose trees that same night, he is his sisters sonne, and tooke his counsell. Your lordship may easilie ken that he wald schout his sisters sonne in the morninge when his horse was tirit. This is the truth of our of whilk I sall make you ken mare at length. \*I desire your lordship to read this and ryvet it, or els I thinke your lordship falce to me." *No signature.* [From "Richies Will" No. 285.]

1 p. *Addressed to Scrope in same writing. Indorsed partly by Burghley:* "24 April 1596. Advertisement of the losinge of Kinmont and manner thereof, with the counsellors or rather conspirors thereof."

April 30. 258. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

As I find on any occasion, that the townsmen of Carlisle are most forward and willing for their own defence and border service, yet insufficient for their want of furniture, "as upon an occacione of late offered yt did most plainly and pitiously appeare": might it please you to grant warrant to the master of the ordooance here to deliver to them such munition out of the store at Newcastle, as in the inclosed schedule. They will most willingly answer her Majesty's prices for some part, and with the master I shall take good bond for the balance in reasonable time, or to redeliver the munition. Carlisle. *Signed:* Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*  
Inclosed in the above:—

Schedule of munition wanting and needful for the better defence of the castle and town of Carlisle.

Corne powder, 1 last; muskets furnished, 30; pikes, 50; black bills, 200; bows, 100; sheafs of arrows, 200; Flanders corslets complete, 50; horsemen's staves, 50. *Signed:* Th. Scroope, Rychard Musgrave.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p.

259. THE PARSON OF MIDDLETON TO BURGHLEY.

"Your orator Leo[nard] Pykyngton person off her Majestes kyrke

\* On margin.

† i.e., tear.

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of Mydleton in Teisdale in the countye of Durham," prays your letters to "M<sup>r</sup> William Bowes esquier in mye behalffe, that ayther he wold quietlye with favor suffer me to resave the tend ure\* within that perysshe which ij of mye late predecessors hadd in their possession, or elles to compounde with me for the same so resonablye to mye contentacion, that his worshyppe may have the same xli. under the valor thereof at mye handes"—both which requests have been denied to me by M<sup>r</sup> Bowes himself before and since last Michaelmas. For redress whereof, "affore I shall attempt anye snte in lawe, esspetyally agaynest anye towards your honour in servyce," I thought it my part to pray your honour's letter to move him either to conclude with me, or that I may have the "ure" due me, without further suit.

I also beg your honour's warrant for "20 tymber trees such as the workman maye lyke off, in her Majestes woddes off Wharwoodd," to build and repair the decayed barn and parsonage house, which I found much decayed, and have partly well repaired them and the "chancell off that kyrke, which cost me at the poynte off 40*l*," and the rest to be done I am not able to deal with without help, timber being "so ferr off, yll to gett, and so charge-abyll booth to worke and carye." The benefice is of the Queen's patronage, and therefore my trust is in your honour. *No signature.*

1 p. *Holograph. Indorsed*: "D. Pilkington, for . . . the tith of the lead ewre within his parish," &c.

May 1. 260. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

M<sup>r</sup> William Vernon chief officer under M<sup>r</sup> Robert Vernon, sent to-day, requiring me at once to certify to your honour, "in as earnest manner" as possible, the scarcity of our provision here, which the gentleman porter and the other captains and officers thought should also be sent to the whole privy council, for greater care to be had: and having so done, we have sent it to Sir Robert Cecil. By the officer's own confession, there is not bread corn to last above 14 days at farthest, and they know not where to look for more, having already done their utmost. So we can but look to you for relief from the south. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

May 1. 261. JOHN CAREY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

To the same effect, with their joint letter to the Council, begging his assistance in procuring relief. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

Postscript:—"The fear withe grefe that my lord your father is not so well as I wold gladley he wear, makes me thus to presum to sertefey the honorabell lordes of the counsell of ouer wantes hear, beinge glad to shone anye occasion of unconveniens to this towen, and for that I have sinderey teymes befor sertefeyed, and yet feynd ouer wantes nothinge lese then befor."

1 p. *Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

May 1. 262. JOHN CAREY, &c., TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

In similar terms, inclosing certificate by Vernon's officer of the small store of provision left, and urgently begging relief, as there is neither money nor corn either in town or country. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, Will<sup>m</sup> Selby, John Crane, Robart Carvill, Antonye Tompson, Rob, Yaxley, George Baryth, Jhon Griffyn.

1 p. *Addressed to the Council. Indorsed.*

\* i. e. tith ore.



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Inclosed in the same :—

(1) Remaines of provision in the palace on 30 April 1596.

Meal in the bake house, 33 "boles;" wheat at the mills and in the lofts, 33 "boles"—in all, 33 qrs.

Malt in the lofts, 216 qrs.; at the "Island," 54 qrs.—270 qrs.

Beans, 3 qrs.

Oxen, 6; sheep, 120.

Lings, 360; "Island" cod, 660.

*Ex. per Will'm Vernon. Signed: Thom's Clark.*

c. May 2. 263. SCOTTISH NEWS.

"George Stephenson a Scottishe banished man, abydinge in the howse of Robert Browne in a village of England called Horkley, was on the second Maye 1596, forcible taken oute of the said Brownes howse by the Larde of Readebrayes,\* accompanied with 20 horsemen, caried to Dunse a market towne of the Easte Marches of Scotland, and their executed to deathe in Scotland."

*In a contemporary hand. Indorsed: "Scotland."*

May 2. 264. SCROPE TO THE COUNCIL.

Brief note or extract of Lord Scrope's letter to the Council.

First.—Lord Scrope, the Bishop of Carlisle and John Midellton justices of peace, on 2nd May, did examine "one Andrew Grame and one Thomas Armestronge as concerning the breekeinge" of Carlisle castle, and they both being sworn, do affirm that "one Thomas Carlton, Launcelatt Carlton and Richie of Breckenhill with others, did agree and sett doune the plott how the castell shoulde be brocken, and that Thomas Carlton did undertake to make the watchmenn of the saide castell shewre."

Further, Andrew Grame deposeth "that he had worde sennte him from one Laingtowne otheir wayse Brecenhills, that exceptt hee denied all that which he had affermed agaynst the Carltones and him selfe, saying that hee nor anye of his shoulde be left a live. Aboute x days after, a brother of the foresaide Armestronges one of theis examanetes, was murthered, at which murther was one 'Stowe louges' and divers other Scottche men being Breckenhills sisters sonns and coussons, and followers of Carlton, and the murthered mann was dispitfeullie brought to the castell of Carlile by Carltons menn, and upon his one horse." Carlton and his followers being as they said, protected by letter from your honours. My lord desires leave to prosecute these murderers both English and Scots, as accustomed in like cases.

*1 p. Indorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

May 5. 265. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

On the 2<sup>d</sup> instant, the 10 horsemen were sent by the Bishop of Durham well appointed. Here are some fruits of our labours—I have taken two headsmen of the Davisons, great spoilers under Cesford, and taken them bound to answer all injuries done during their lives by their kinsmen or friends.

I have since met Sir Robert Kerr, well inclined to justice "(a stepp of grace)," who promised to obey what the King commands. His quarrel with Buccleuch is a means of peace with us, who he fears may join his adversary.

\* On margin in Sir R. Cecil's (!) hand, "this Readebray is a Hume."

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Liddesdale has lately fired 5 or 6 houses in Tyndale, and threatened to salute me at Hexham as they did Lord Scrope, not to rescue prisoners, but in mere glory: so in requital I have taken one Nixsonne belonging to Will of Harskarth, and keep him prisoner as a pledge for his name.

Bucclench as is reported intends to leave the country, why I know not. The time would thus fit to move the King by the ambassador to appoint one absolute warden. He is I hear "indifferent" to Bucclench, who is every way "malitious, proude of nature mimitating the Spaniard, I wishe he be not one in harte." If the ambassador laid open to the King his outrages to Lord Scrope and here, he might be removed.

Sir Robert Kerr and I have agreed as to the shielding in accustomed places, and to hold a day of truce on 2<sup>d</sup> June. He is poor and forced "to make much of his bad followers for defence of his broken state," yet fears to displeas her Majesty and may be gained to her service by our ambassador "as I presume." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet as before.*

May 11. 266. SIR JOHN FORSTER TO BURGHLEY.

I give you hearty thanks for many courtesies, especially the pains your lordship took in getting me leave to come here, where I remain. Two of the Council of York have been here, before whom I thought I should have been called to answer the informations preferred against me, but I heard no more of them. I would ask you to continue so much my friend as to move her highness to let me return to my own house, where I shall be always ready to answer all things laid to my charge. I have great reason to be thus importunate, for there is of late, "a marvelous and straunge sicknes" happened in this town, many persons infected and many dead. "The manner therof this bearer can make knowne to your honor at large." Newcastle. *Signed*: John Forster.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: an armed right hand holding the truncheon of a spear.*

May 18. 267. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Detailing still more fully the weakness of his March—the unwillingness of the gentlemen and disobedience of the common people, and their inconvenient trafficking with the Spanish faction opposite them, &c.

Sir Robert Kerr is apparently inclined to do justice. Bucclench, however, though he appointed one or two meetings, still practises some treason or other. "For I sent my cousine Heurie Bowes this gentleman," with full instructions to confer with him before our meeting, but instead of that, he scorned to speak with him and gathered his forces, "and if my said cousine had not wiselie foreseen and taken tyme to have cuned away, he had been staid him self. Two severall messengers weare sent from Baclugh from oute his compaign that were in the feild, post to have stayed him and those that weare with him." Not long since some of his name having stolen in my March, my men following their trodd lawfully were stayed by his officer of Armitage, their horses taken, and themselves escaped on foot. The gentleman himself will fully acquaint your lordship how I stand here. The combinations made by Sir John Forster's consent with the Scots have greatly weakened this country and I doubt how to break them without your aid. Mr Fenwick the keeper of Tyndale hath long been in league with them, and is slow to break it, whereby his district hath been overthrown as it is.

If your lordship commanded all such to be made known to me, and no assurance allowed without my consent—fends between the gentlemen to be likewise referred to me, or themselves sent up to you with certificate thereof

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—and if the Bishop would place among us “good readers and cause oure churches to be roofed that men might resort to the church with some delight,” I hope God’s grace would in time bring us to amendment. Hexham.  
*Signed*: Ra. Eure.

2½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Armorial wafer signed.*

May 18. 268. EURE TO BURGHELY.

I pray your lordship bear with my continual outcries on behalf of this wretched March, and vouchsafe your aid.

The only means we have to raise horse is partly by the Queen’s and subjects’ freeholders. And I have charged every such man before Michaelmas at furthest, have a sufficient light horse and armour for service, or forfeit their estate to the Queen and lord: the copy holder also, whose estate can bear it. By the Queen’s leases, I find the tenants are bound to maintain horse and armour—but many leases are so “taverned” that the “fermor” cannot provide horse, the parts being so divided.

I myself viewed the footmen in the most part of the country “(which veive dothe greatly discomferte me)” —the person of the men reasonable to be liked, though starved, unarmed either with shot or bow, or any warlike weapon. What they have at home I know not, but at the muster some bring a steel cap and light horseman’s staff, most without cap, or “oughte els” but a staff—and so is the country furnished.

A proportion of “shotte” might be allotted, as in Haltewisell 20, Haydon bridge 12, Hexham 30, Bellingham 8 or 10, Morpeth 50 or 60, Alnwick 80 or 100. Others in the country might be bowmen, others with halberds, lances or pikes—all here wanting,—and if the price were set down at 13s. 4d. or 15s. “a callyver, me thinckes” the country with your authority should in time be furnished. †

Tyndale has a custom, that on a farmer or owner’s death, every man child has an equal part of the lease or land, whereby beggars increase and service decays, for neither elder nor younger can keep horse—Redesdale claims the like, wherein I crave reformation. Tyndale hath neither horse nor bow among the commou people, and Redesdale not much better.

Our soldiers have stood us in good stead during the incursions, but two months of the time you allowed is already expired. I pray they may continue 5 or 6 months longer, for if their horses are turned to grass after midsummer, the riders will begin again. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed as before.*

May 18. 269. EURE TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

It comforts me to inform your honour of the spoils in this March by the Scots, which now amount to above 12000*l.*, the redress for which is so “cunninglye” delayed, that the Queen’s service is ruined. Your favour in procuring commissioners for redress would greatly help us—also extra horsemen out of Cheshire and other countries bordering on Yorkshire, to remain till this country is bettered, though I know her Majesty’s need of money for other causes in hand. I beseech your favour for my kinsman the bearer, who will if you vouchsafe, acquaint you with the “perfecte estate of this decayed Marche.” Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

½ p. *Flyleaf with address lost. “Ro. Cyeçyl” at foot of page.*

May 24. 270. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Yesterday morning I sent from this town towards your lordships, the Grames named in the inclosed schedule. I was forced to send them from

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sheriff to sheriff, for otherwise I have no security for their appearance before you—and some of them would never have come “by the gentle meanes prescribed me.” I have nothing yet against them more than I sent by Harrie Leighe, but “am gathering more proofes,” of all which I trust to inform you myself with certainty, if her Majesty please to allow me to come up, leaving all things here in good order. My hearty desire is that immediately on their appearance “they maye be comitted to some closs warde, and barred the conference of such as maye assist their craftie wittes” to scrape themselves of charges: and so keep them till my coming. The least favour shown them, will not only augment their pride, but encourage their surnames here to give new trouble, and keep this wardenry from the quietaess I hope to bring it to shortly, “if any sharpe and rounde course” be known to be taken against the chief Grames uow sent up. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

“The names of those cheife Grames which were delivered heare by me to the shirifes to be broughte to your lordshippes:—

Walter Grame of Netherbye, William Grame of the Mote, Richard Grame of Braconhill, William Grame of the Rosetrees, John Grame *alias* Willes Jocke, Hutchin Grame *alias* Richies Hutchin.”

*Written by Scroope's clerk.*

(2) Another copy.

May 31. 271. PUREFEY AND FERNE TO BURGHEY.

As commanded by her Majesty's letters of 28<sup>th</sup> March, we with the advice of Lord Eure, made choice out of the commission of *oyer* and *terminer* for Northumberland and Durham, of M<sup>r</sup> Edward Talbot, Sir Robert Carey, M<sup>r</sup> John Carey, Sir William Reede, Robert Delavall, Robert Claveringe, and Henry Anderson, esquires, also Captain Selbye his “assistant,” to take the musters of the horse and foot of the Middle March. The muster of the horse was taken by four of these commissioners, accompanied by us at his lordship's request. But the foot muster being taken after our return here, and not yet sent us, we know not which of them took it, but have written to his lordship for the same. The certificate of decays in Northumberland we have expected long from the jurors there, who were charged on their oaths, and had the articles, but we hear nothing of it; and therefore send herein-closed the certificate of decays for the Bishopric, which we have kept back 15 days waiting for the other. And as the neglect of this last is in the jurors, who have not so much as conferred or met thereon, as Lord Eure writes and we hear by the general report of the country, though we reminded them of their duties by letters of the 15<sup>th</sup> instant—we inclose their names, that order may be taken as seems good. York. *Signed*: Humfrey Purefey, Jo. Ferne.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Names of the jurors charged and sworn at Hexham on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1596, to inquire into the decays of the Middle Marches.

William Fenwick of Wallington esq.; Henry Woodrington of Woodrington esq.; Francis Radcliffe of Diston esq.; Edward Graye of Morpeth castle esq.; Thomas Collingwood of Eslington esq.; Alexander Fetherston of Fetherstonhaugh esq.; Mark Errington of Ponte Iland, gent.; Thomas Midlton of Belsey esq.; Martin Ogle of Tritlingtoun, gent.; Robert Lisle of Felton esq.; Edward Charlton of Heselide, gent.; Raffe Errington of Bingfeild, gent.; Nicholas Whitefeild of Whitefeild, gent.; Cuthbert Rateliff of Blanchland, gent.; William Carnabye of Langley, gent.; Thomas Ogle of

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Bedlington gent.; Josua Delavale of \* esq.; John Horsley of Scimwood, gent.; George Fenwick of Brinkborn, gent.; Henry Delavall of Callerton, gent.; Nicholas Thornton of Witton, gent.

1 p. *In their clerk's writing. Indorsed.*

May . 272. PEDIGREE OF THE GRAMES OF ESK.

Appendix  
No. 1.

Tabular sheet showing their origin, marriages, &c.

June 4. 273. THE GRAMES' LANDS IN CUMBERLAND.

Note of lands in the baronies of Burgh and Gillesland, late the possessions of Leonard Dacre attainted, whereof the Grames are tenants, "made according to your lordshipes lettre."

"BARONIA de BURGHE"

MANOR OF WEST LIMPTON.—Richard Graime holds at the lord's will after the custom of the manor, 12 acres arable land, and 9 acres meadow, paying yearly . . . . . 7s.  
 Justie Graime "similiter," 41 acres arable and 1 of meadow, paying . . . 25s.  
 Andrew Graime "similiter," 18 acres arable and 2 of meadow, paying 13s. 4d.  
 John Graime "similiter," 16 acres arable and 4 of meadow, paying 13s. 4d.  
 John Graime son of William Graime, "similiter," 26 acres arable and 4 of meadow, paying . . . . . 19s. 4d.  
 John Graime "similiter," 13 acres arable, and 5 of meadow, paying . . . 9s. 1d.  
 Richard Graime "similiter," 12 acr. arable, and 8 of meadow, paying 6s. 8d.  
 William Graime "similiter," 14 acr. arable, and 6 of meadow, paying 13s. 4d.  
 Richard Graime *alias* Markes Richard, "similiter," 16 acres arable and 8 of meadow, paying . . . . . 8s. 2d.  
 Simo Graime *alias* Gares Simo, "similiter," 19 acres arable, and one of meadow, paying . . . . . 13s. 4d.  
 THE VILLS OF WHITRIGGE AND WHITRIGLEAS :—  
 Andrew Graime "similiter," 20 acr. arable, and 2 of meadow, paying . . . . . 13s. 4d.

THE MANOR OF ROWCLYFFE :—

Richard Graime "similiter," 28 acr. arable, and 12 meadow, paying 19s.  
 George Graime "similiter," 30 acr. arable, and 11 meadow, paying 19s. 6d.  
 Arthur Graime "similiter," 30 acr. arable, and 8 meadow, paying 19s.  
 Robert Graime "similiter," 12 acr. arable, and 5 meadow, paying 6s. 8d.  
 William Graime "similiter," 10 acr. arable, and 1 of meadow, paying 3s. 4d.  
 William Graime "similiter," 1 "cotag" paying . . . . . 8d.  
 George Graime 5s., George Graime 7s. 6d., Richard Graime 2s. 3d., Richard Graime 2s. 3d., Arthur Graime 4s. 6d., George Graime 2s. 3d., George Graime 13s. 4d., George Graime and Richard Graime *alias* Gares Ritchie, 13s. 4d., hold "similiter," certain parcels of fishings, paying *in toto*, . . . . . 52s. 8d.

"BARONIA DE GILLESLAND."

MANOR OF LIVERSDALE :—

William Graime holds at the lord's will after the custom there, 11 acres arable and 6 of meadow, paying yearly . . . . . 9s.  
 John Graime "similiter," 8 acr. arable and 5 meadow, paying . . . 9s. 1/2 8d.  
 Jenken Graime "similiter," 12 acr. arable at the rent of . . . . . 12d.  
 Andrew Graime "similiter," 12 acr. arable, paying . . . . . 12d.

MANOR OF HAYTON :—

Edward Graime "similiter," 4 acr. arable and 2 of waste, paying 9s. 3d.

\* Blank.

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Richard Graime "similiter," 2 acr. arable and meadow, paying . 3s. 5d.  
 Anthony Graime "similiter," 2 acr. arable, paying . . . 2s. 5d.  
 "Edrus" Graime "similiter," 1 acr. arable and waste, paying . . . 8d.  
 MANOR OF FENTON.—Thomas Graime "similiter," 2½ acr. paying . 4s. 1d.  
 MANOR OF ASKERTON.—Richard Graime "similiter," 12 acr. arable  
 and 20 of meadow, paying . . . . . 13s. 4d.  
 Fergus Graime "similiter," 12 acr. arable and 12 meadow, paying 10s. 2d.  
 MANOR OF CUMWHITTON.—Anthony Graime "similiter," a parcel of  
 land there, paying . . . . . 12d.  
 "The said tenantes hould the severall landes and tenementes aforesaid by  
 a customary estate, which they call and claime to be, 'Tennant right.'  
 2 pp. *Latin. Indorsed by Burghley and his secretary:* "4 Junij  
 1596 . . . xvj Greams the Q. tenantes in the manner of Rockliff."

June 7. 274. SCROPE TO BURGHEY.

The notifying of her Majesty's pleasure in your letter of 31<sup>st</sup> ultimo, "hath brought me into a gret amaze or dilemma." So, as one wholly trusting to your regard, I implore your assistance in managing all matters to make my government "contentinge" to her Majesty, honourable to myself, and "commodiouslie peaceable to this frontier." This chiefly consists in redncing the Grames to loyalty to her highness, obedience to her officer, and peaceable behaviour to her subjects. How this can be done without "cohercion" and security, I refer to your wisdom, as not ignorant of the lenity towards them hitherto, and the fruits thereof. Though I cannot send up any man so fully instructed as is fitting, and as I should be myself, yet to satisfy her Majesty and you, I dispatch this bearer Henry Leigh herewith, to assure you of the truth of the general heads of the instructions which on his last journey he delivered to you, but also that I have found proof "that Richard Graime of Brakenhill, Will of the Rosetrees, and Hntcheon Graime *alias* Richies Hutcheon, were all privie unto and complotters of the entreprize by Eucingh against this castell." Brakenhill stands indicted and outlawed for the murder of George Graime *alias* Percivalls Geordie: though he has agreed with the wife and young children, yet the Queen and her laws are not answered or satisfied for her subject lost. There are also charges of "koyninge," taking blackmail for protection of men and their goods, subornation or maintenance of theft and murders, to be brought against him. Whereof as I have good proof, I trust her Majesty will be pleased to give me leave to come up, not "minding" to do so till I have taken some honourable revenge upon some of the principal Scots offenders at this castle, and put my office in order to permit my absence for a little, to satisfy her Majesty in these Border causes, and touching those who seek to cross me both here, and also with some of your honourable personages. And as my good government here solely consists in bridling the insolencies of the Grames, and "counterbuff" of such as cross my doings, "I am the bolder to assure your lordship, that if the Grames be not nowe very sharplie handled, both by imprisonment and otherwise," her Majesty must not expect that I or any other hereafter shall be able to do her service to her content, his own honour, or the peace of this office. I had rather her Majesty commanded me to prison, if I am not countenanced against such as disturb the peace of her highness's faithful subjects. I leave the amplification of these matters to her highness and the Council, as your wisdom finds best. Committing some matters therein, to the report of the bearer to your lordship only. The King's proceedings for redress of Buccleuch's offence I leave to the report which M<sup>r</sup> Bowes has sent. Carlisle. *Signed:* Th. Scroope.  
 I pray you haste the bearer's dispatch and return.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley. Wafer signed.*

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June 9.

## 275. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Things are apparently quiet here, but great troubles expected by some, unless the Spanish great preparations are altered by the Queen's "great armye by sea." The King of Scots intends about the beginning of August to go in person with a great host to put down the Highland and Island men of the north of Scotland, but it is feared some of his courtiers will stay it, "who are to be gratified therefore." A secret matter was sent me yesterday by a friend, though I cannot say for its truth, but he had it from the mouth of their privy council, that the Kings of Spain and France are confederate with some of the "Octaveyans" of the secret council. Their names are "M<sup>r</sup> John Lynsey and M<sup>r</sup> James Elveston . . . The one of them hath a brother with the Kinge of Spayne, and the other hath a brother with the Kinge of France." Thus they have great store of Spanish gold, and it is feared will help the banished lords to do harm in Scotland ere long. Others of the Council are very willing to hurt England as they may. I send this just as it comes, not doubting you have it more certainly from the ambassador, yet rather prefer to incur censure than to be counted negligent.

The works of the Cowgate, the bridge and the old wall are very forward, and the like has not been done for these 20 years here, with such good husbandry, but the labourers have neither had meat, drink, nor money, save on the credit of the comptroller and surveyor, whereby everything has been nearly double the charge to her Majesty, though such good work has never been done for so little cost, considering all things.

I beg your honor's remembrance of the soldiers' pay at Midsummer, and your warrant in time, for we are in such a case, that if it come not at the day, "our money rysets streight iij<sup>s</sup>. or iiij<sup>s</sup>. in the pownd."

I pray you to conceal these things, for I have not written so fully to my lord my father, and he being "apt therto," may take some displeasure with me. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Inlorsed. Swan wafer signed.* ¶

## 11 June. 276. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

As directed in your letters I have called before me such witnesses as Jeffraye Bell produced against Richard Grame in the matter of blackmail, and with the assistance of George Salkeld, John Mydelton, and John Southaik esquires, three of her Majesty's justices of peace for the county, have examined them on oath, put the same in writing, and send them signed by myself and the justices, hereinclosed. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

½ p. *Addressed. Inlorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Examinations referred to.)

Examination of witnesses produced before the right honourable Lord Scrope of Bolton lord warden, &c., on behalf of Jeffraye Bell against Richard Grame, &c., by virtue of letters from the Privy Council, taken in presence of George Salkeld, John Midelton, and John Southaik esquires, her Majesty's justices of peace in the county of Cumberland 11 June 1596.

Rowland Robson of Allonstead in Gilsland 30 years of age or thereabouts, depones on oath, that he well knows many of the tenants of Leonard cost<sup>t</sup> and others have paid blackmail to William Hayer servant to Richard Grame and one Thomas Hetherington demanding it for Grame's use, that is to say, John Hetherington and Christofer Wilkin both of Sandiss sike, Christofer Hetherington, John Hetherington *alias* Wills John, James Hetherington

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Edmund Tayller, Nichollas Crowe, John Crowe, and Jeffray Hetherington, all of Walton, and others there whose names the "examynent" does not remember, and also Thomas, Hewchy, and George Hetherington, all of Waltonrigg, Peter Atkinson and Rannold Barnfather of Thornnay more, and many other tenants of Leanarcast, and of her Majesty's in that country of Gilsland "to the number of thrie score or above." Also that the said William Hayer as Grame's special "facturr," gave evil speeches and threatenings to the above to make them pay, also to those that would not pay. He also deposes that he this "examynent," Jeffray Bell of the Parke noack, 4 of the Queen's tenants of Dassoglen and all the tenants of Burthalme belonging to Leanarcast, saving one Widow Smyth there, who paid blackmail, had all their goods spoiled and carried off by the nephews and kinsmen of said Richard Grame, Scotsmen, for refusing it, and is rather moved thus to depose, for he knows that these Scots kinsmen, before the robbery, inquired where the widow who paid blackmail dwelt, and then harried all the rest, except her; also shortly after, he came to Thomas Carleton land sergeant of Gilsland then in company of said Richard Grame, and asked him for some help in his loss, who replied that he could do him no good, whereon the "examynent" said, that if he had known that, he would have paid the blackmail to Grame, as others did. Thereon Grame asked him why he did not pay? To whom he said that he thought the Queen and the Lord warden "was above his booke of blackmayle," and if he found it not so, he would go to the Queen and Council, and show them he was not able to pay both Grame's blackmail and her Majesty's rent.

He also deposes that the said William Hayer and Thomas Hetherington otherwise called "the merchant," rode about and viewed Jeffray Bell's and his own houses a day or two before they were broken and spoiled, "and had no manner of good or lawful busyness to do their." He also deposes that it is very credibly reported that Grame by his said servant Hayer, published the names of all who paid him blackmail, "which he had entred in a boke or rental,"—both in the parish church of Arthreed in England, and Cannonbie in Scotland.

Examined, whether Richard Grame or any of the other Grames since the above robbery, resetted any of the principal "facturrs"? deposes that said Richard and Willye of the Moote, resetted them all "then famylyer."

Also deposes, that the goods robbed from the "plentyve" Bell were worth 60*l.*, and from himself 10*l.*

William, Davye, and Rowland Bell, and Richard Burthalme affirm on oath to same effect as Rowland Robson. *Signed*: Th. Scroope, George Salkeld, John Middleton, Jo. Sowthaike.

3 pp. *Inlorsed by Burghley in part.*

June 11. 277. PROVISIONS AT BERWICK.

Particular note and value of these . . . 1,448*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

"Memorandum.—There ys since the said remaine one moneth and xij daies expended."

1 p. *Written by a clerk. Inlorsed.*

June 11. 278. PROVISIONS, &c., AT BERWICK.

"A hreefe declaringe the provisions mad for the garrison of Barwicke with other chardges and paiementes."

From 29 September till 11 <sup>th</sup> June 1596 . . . . .	4,855 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>d.</i>
Payments—freights, wages, &c., therein . . . . .	716 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <i>d.</i>
Sum total. . . . .	5,572 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>d.</i>



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Provisions issued in same time . . . . .	2,575 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
"Surchardge" therein according to the rates . . . . .	1,554 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>
Remain on 11 <sup>th</sup> June of provision at "mediun" prices, which will serve the garrison till Michaelmas . . . . .	1,448 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Sum total, . . . . .	5,579 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>d.</i>
Received by M <sup>r</sup> Swifts out of Exchequer . . . . .	3,128 <i>l.</i>
Paid for victuals and charges thereon . . . . .	5,572 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i>
"Surplus the somme of" . . . . .	2,444 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i>

2 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *In same clerk's hand. Indorsed: (as title).*

June 11. 279. EURE TO SIR R. CECIL.

On Sunday night or Monday last, in a wood of Sir John Forsters, some Scots of Tevidale, "by and aboute sixe or seaven houres at night afore sune was downe," took from a town of the Earl of Northumberland called Dennickle on the East March, bordering on mine, most or all of their labouring horses, driving them through my March. Thomas Pearcy constable of Alnwick under the earl, rescued them and shot one James Burne a chief man and great rider, quite through the back with a petronell, who is dead thereof. "The gentleman was weakelie accompayned not with x horsemen, and the Scottes were xij<sup>r</sup> or more, but this acte is imposed as a foode to him and his companie that then weare with him."

The earl's tenants and the county are so weak and but foot men, that they fear to assist him, and there are not 30 horses there fit to follow fray; so your help to continne the small aid I have, I must humbly entreat till we are better furnished. I boldly present these "toyes" to your grave wisdom. Hexham. *Signed: Ra. Eure.*

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed: "To . . . Sir Robert Cycill knight," &c. Indorsed.*

June 14. 230. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Sending him "such stuff" as he receives from his friends in Scotland, "hereinclosed in the owne kind as it came." He can neither affirm nor deny its truth, but it comes from a very "honest man and one that knowes much of the secrettes of Scotland." Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 15. 231. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO LORD HUNSDON.

I have already written twice of Border outrages, and now acquaint you that the Scots never leave riding day nor night. On Wednesday evening last the 9<sup>th</sup> instant about 6 o'clock, the Carres, Younges and Burnes took away from Hethpoole 40 "kyen" and oxen, and killed one man shot with a "peice." The same day a "byar" broken in West Lilburne, and 10 head of "neat" taken, by whom yet unknown.

On Friday night the 11<sup>th</sup>, John Selbye a gentleman dwelling at Pawston, was slain there by the Burnes and Younges, defending his cattle. The same night taken from Sir John Forster's "heardes" in the Trowburne 80 sheep and "followed with a dogge" towards Awtonburne. These incursions so early begun have so frightened those near the border, that they have driven their cattle from their usual summering, and if order be not taken, the country will be laid waste. I know not whence their "hartnyng" comes, but there was never at this time of year such riding seen as on the Middle March and this. However, "in spyte of Casforlus teethe, or he that should say nay to

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it," I would take redress and keep your wardenry quiet with a very small charge to the Queen—"but a noble a day." Lord Eurye is allowed 80 horse at 12*d.* yet I hear of little amendment. My noble I would bestow on 20 horsemen of your garrison, "that by adding a grote a daye to there paye more then thei have," I would lay them in fit places on the March, and donbt not soon to get amends. None of the garrison can lie abroad without increase of pay, but the 20 horse as I chose them, would do the country more good than 100 foot. I think my Lord Treasurer would be willing if you "motion" the matter to him. If not, you must send for your soldiers from Carlisle to defend your own Border. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

Postscript:—I forgot to say I ride this day to Alnwick to meet my wife and children, who I hear last night are there in good health.

\* I have done little or nothing "in contrary of" these wrongs since I came, hoping for justice. But if they continue and no justice had, "cum of it what will, I will at wans take a thorowe revendge for the whole, and will make them as fast complayn for blood, as I dooe nowe for goods."

2 pp. *Addressed*: "To . . . my very good lord and father the Lord of Hunsdon," &c. *Indorsed*: "M<sup>r</sup> Ro. Carey to the Lord Chamberlen." *Swan wafer signet*.

June 16. 282. ANSWER BY WILLIAM GRANE OF MOTE.

He denies spoiling any of the Queen's tenants "on Liddell side about the Riddinges." Jo. Tailor never was the Queen's tenant, but being a bastard, his father's brother, on the father's death, sold the tenement whereon Tailor now dwells, to "the now defendantes father," and afterwards gave better assurance in law to the defendant, who is in peaceable possession. For the woods: he saith he hath cut down "elders" on his own ground, never on the Queen's. William Lambe has not served the defendant "these 7 yeres, but almost these 2 yeres," he has lived in Scotland amongst "the theves of the Herlaw." Davie Richeson is the Queen's tenant and the defendant's "neighbor," but not servant, nor can he answer for his thefts, nor was ever charged by Lord Scroop to bring Richeson to answer the law. For the murdering and "heriing" of Richeson, he refers himself to the report of the party aggrieved; but confesses he was that night at Askerton, and for three days before and three after, and in the fray coming there, this defendant "with 20 persons, rose to the following and did their best to take the offenders. Wolsey is a Scot and never served him. *Signed*: . William Graym of the Mott.

1 p. *Indorsed by Burghley*: "16 June 1596."

June 19. 283. EURE TO BURGHEY.

In my letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> I reported to your lordship how meanly the Queen's store at Newcastle is furnished for "shoott," &c., as certified by the deputy officer there. You "proporcyled" 200 calivers and 300 bows, pikes and halbards thence for this March, but I humbly pray as there are but 90 serviceable "musquettes" † there, you will give me warrant to make up the number "otherwhere." As I have appointed a day of truce with the opposite warden Sir Robert Kerr at the Stawford on 20 July, and hope for justice, the rather if my men are furnished with armour, horse, and weapons to show him our strength both for defence and offence if need be, I humbly pray for "these musquittes" that my foot be properly furnished.

The Scots secretly expect 25000 Spaniards presently to arrive in their Northern islands, and many of the opposite border prepare to join them. The ambassador M<sup>r</sup> Bowes can better satisfy you of "Baclughe his fath-

\* Remainder holograph.

† Burghley notes "90 callyvers."

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fullnes in releygyone and truthe. I am boule onlie to deliver my jelious concepte of him, grounded onlie of surmise of his actions." His secret friends say he is a papist; his surest friends in court are papists about the Queen, and labour his grace with the King. He strengthens himself much of late, and secretly says he will not stir till some certainty of the Spaniards' arrival. "To England he is a secrett enemie, mightie proude, publishing his dissent to be from the house of Angua and laboreth to be created earle, and claymeth his bloode to be parte royall. His poverty greate, all which concurring with his pryde and Spanishe relegione, I leave to your honorable wisdom to censure." He has of late promised assurance to my March, and forbiddeth those in his office to "sheilde" in our ground, which appears gracious if it hold. And if the Queen's people were armed as they should be, it would ensure continuance of this course.

I humbly thank her Majesty for continuing the soldiers' pay here for 3 months longer, and your lordship for procuring the same. In your letter of 18<sup>th</sup> March your pleasure was I should have 130*l.* monthly for their pay and 20*s.* a piece for coats and conduct money. I beg your warrant to M<sup>r</sup> Skidamore for the same monthly, and the 80*l.*, not yet fully received.

In answer to your inquiry—Whether at a day of truce, the peace endures from sunrise that day to sunrise of next day, or only till sunset of the day of truce, and whether a subject of either realm can enter the other to recover goods during the truce? It is usual for both wardens to agree at their meeting for a truce to begin and endure while the business in hand requires. By the words of the treaty in her Majesty's time, they are not by custom to be limited "from sonne to sonne," except specially agreed between them. Therefore usually when they remain but one day, they take assurance from sunrise of the one day till sunrise of the next, that every man may likely be returned safe to his dwelling as he came to the place of meeting. Therefore this question between Lord Scrope's deputies and the laird of Buccleuch's, will be decided according to their assurance. If "general," it includes both safety of goods and men, and all actions tending to breach of peace. Therefore "me thinkes" it agrees with the law of treaty that in either of their governments, the wardens shall take general assurance "for all the marche left att home as for the companie then in presens, and if anie offence be committed to the breache thereof of eyther partie, it is commonlie tearmed to be under assurance, and so held hatefull and unlawfull." This question of Lord Scrope for Kinmothe may arise with any other warden, and your lordship may now take occasion to prevent future "harmes." Lord Scrope by his assurance, "is tyed in honor" to answer for his whole March—Buccleuch for his office only, an unequal assurance. If any, either of the west or east of his office, with whom Buccleuch is in kindness, do ride, his assurance is not broken, yet the warden in whose wardenry such acts are committed is justly moved to revenge. So if your lordship would hold that warden should answer warden only, not an officer, and for the like circuit, or else that the opposite warden should at least grant assurance for the whole March, for the time agreed by the officer.

I would crave the loan of such books of watches as you can help me to. From the multitude of offences through hunger and poverty, I shall be at Morpeth on Monday the 21<sup>st</sup> and Alnwick the 28<sup>th</sup> instant. I shall send my servant for the same and return it safely. If you review a book of articles, &c., with my letter of 8<sup>th</sup> February touching decays here in Sir John Forster's time, I trust you will require no more on the ruin of this March. Hexham. *Signet*: Ra. Eure.

2 pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.

June 19. 234. EURE TO SIR R. CECIL.

"The Kings of Scottes is displeasid as yt is thought, that the Queen

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threatneth to withhold her pentione from him in regarde of Baclugh his layte acte to my Lord Scroope." Divers of his Council are earnest papists, and work on the papist lords' behalf and for toleration if not alteration of religion. [*Buccluch described as in last, and the expedition of the Spanish force.*] I would entreat a Council letter to the Bishop of Durham to send me 200 well appointed horse for my assistance on the day of truce appointed for the 20<sup>th</sup> July at Stawford, without which letter I doubt having much aid there.

I also ask a letter from their lordships to the Bishop and judges at next assise, to reprieve one Gabrill Emerson, now in Durham gaol on suspicion of horse stealing. I ask his life to do the Queen better service in discovery of more notorious persons. The man is poor yet serviceable, young and never detected before. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

[c. June 19.] 285. SCROPE TO BURGHELEY.

"Perceiving by letters from my lord chamberlen of the xiiij<sup>th</sup> herof," that further matter than I had already sent your lordship is expected from me against the Grames, and there is no disposition in her Majesty to give me leave to come up myself, I have therefore for the satisfaction of her Majesty and Council sent this "breife inclosed of the particuler crymes which I hold meete and think sufficient to tax them worthy of what I have by my former letters desired might be done unto them, at least of more roughe usage then I heare is hitherto extended towards them, or for any thinge I can perceive is ment unto them. I verily hoped my former advertisement of their dealings in the entrepryse at this castell might have motyve sufficient to her Majesty and your lordships to be satisfied of their disloyalties to her highnes, and dispositions to proceed in their accustomed courses for the spoyle of her Majestys better and true subjects: but seinge the small accompt of that, your lordships shall receive these articles inclosed. By the fyrst wherof, the presumption is plaine youghe to prove against them their privitie unto Buclungs attempt. Yf they deny that article, this wholl countrey is able to avouche the truth therof—yf they acknowledge it, then I doubt not but her Majesty and your lordships will see them fowle and judge them gultye in that pointe which I hold for the most material: but for farther prooffe of the same, as lykewise for thos other articles against Richie Brakenhill, Wills Jock, and Will of the Mott: yf their lordships will procure their chardges to be geven them at their cominge downe and protection of them and theirs afterwards—I shall then sende up to their lordships fyve or six credible witnesses who will truly prove to their lordships whatsoever I have in this breife put downe against thos thre and the tenants of Water Grame. That Will of Rosetrees and Ritchies Hutcheon were of the practice for this castell, th'informacion of Richies Will which I sent your lordship may give further and plaine prooffe. And for the matter of the castell, I have besydes this against them all, the relation of Richies Will, Robert Grame of the Fauld, and thre Scotsmen: but I think meete for avoydinge of evil hereafter, and praye that the names of Richies Will and Robert of the Faulde may be kept secret from the knowledge of those Grames, to whom yt is not meete to make th'accusers names knowne without strong protection of them in tyme cominge. Whereas I have bin blamed for followinge the opinion of the Musgraves and some others, I am sorie their intencions to do her Majesty service is so slenderly regarded, and my choysse of them there beinge so fewe to do her highnes acceptable service here, so prejudicially sensured." How unquiet this office was, while I employed some who were officers in my father's time, and how quiet since on trial of others, as it is public, and may be thought "a glory" in me to say, I refer to the country

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and those in it not my professed enemies. I protest that no man ever took office with greater desire to please and do his duty, than myself, and therefore if I be not better countenanced and comforted than yet "it semeth I shalbe in this matter of the Grames," I shall most humbly beseech her Majesty to take this burden off my shoulders; and give me leave to serve her elsewhere. "For I assure your lordship, yf the Grames be returned withoute severe punishment at this tyme, her Majesty may as soone comaund and have my lyfe as stake me downe in this service so discontentinge to her highnes and dishonorable to my selfe."

Let the former quiet here be considered, my own time of government " (this attempt at this castle blotted out)," understood and known, and it will be found the country was never in such good order, or I could resign it with greater honour than now. Therefore I beseech you acquaint her highness with my "greved mynd," and "hard estate if my ease be not tendered and justiciarie accions both allowed and countenanced." Desiring to be ever continued in her Majesty's gracious favour and good opinion for my services, without which I desire not to live. Carlisle, "in hast." *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

In respect of hast, I beseech your lordship to acquaint the "body" of the Council with so much hereof as is necessary, excusing my not writing if expected from me.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed partly by Burghley. Wafer signed.*

Inclosed in the same :—

Articles to be charged against the Grames before the Lords of the Privy Council.

The day before the breaking of this castle all those Grames who are gone up and most of their friends, dined with Buclugh at the Langam with the "goodman" there young Johu Armstrong, and were all with Buclugh at a horse race on Ewes water the very same day the castle was broken, after the fact was done. Not one of them either "shouted" Buclugh, or any of his company neither as they came in nor as they went out, though they came through even by the doors of some of them.

Brakenhill \* hath beggared the Queen's tenants of Whyte close near Leaven, *viz.*, Richie, Cleny, and Bartie Stories, and the rest there, who now pay no rent to the Queen, but to him, with a black mail of 20s. yearly, and makes them serve him with "carr and coope" of late, where before they served the Queen with horse and gear. He hath kept a "coyner" at work in the top of the tower of his own house and "in Georij Marks sheyld in the myllers howse end."

He resetted within this twelve month, 12 or 13 stolen horses and mares, and has yet 2 about his house and 4 with his servants or tenants.

Micle Rowye his man, was met on Stainemore about Tuesday before Palm Sunday last, with a "browne beld stage of 3 yeres old," stolen about Richmond.

Brakenhill also stands indicted in the King's Bench of 3 or 4 murders, and is outlawed therefor.

William Grame of the Mott spoiled John Taylier a Queen's tenant on Lyddell side about the Rydings, cut down the Queen's wood there, and keeps as servants one William Lambe and Davye Richieson, commen and notorious spoilers of the Queen's subjects. About Michaelmas last, Willie of the Mott was at the "herishipp" of one Richisou of Barnehurst upon Kinge water, when he murdered a Richison. Lambe, Davye Richison and Wolsay were with him, and that night he lay at Askerton, Thomas Carleton's house.

\* "Richard Grayn" noted by Burghley.

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William Jock murdered Sime of Medop, shooting him through the head with a "dagg" on the moor beyond the Brades Robes about two years past. Sime cried out to Jock to be a good brother, as he had saved his life in the last chase they were in, but Jock shot him suddenly, and then threw down his "dagg" crying "Alas! I have lost England for this."

He was also with Brackenhill at the murder of Pearcivalles Geordy Grame.

Also when Wills Jock took a notorious Scots thief, whom I ordered him to bring before me, and "he offered to take upon hym Hectors cloke" if he did not, yet he let him go, and another thief whom Captain Carvell "willed" him to bring before me.

He resettled daily, against my command, Dick Urwin and Runions Davye, in his house at Scalebye, and had them openly at his son's marriage, in presence of M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther. They are notorious spoilers and murderers, one a Scotsman, the other an Englishman.

The tenants of Water Grame have spoiled divers of her Majesty's tenants in Lucknes, both before his going upp, and since, twice within this week. The offenders' names are Dick and Eky Bradbelts. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

*2 pp. Notes on margin by Scroope and Burghley. Indorsed by Burghley and his secretary.*

June 20. 286. RICHARD GRAME'S DEBT.

CUMBERLAND,—Manor of Askerton.

Richard Grame gentleman, bailif there, on the close of his <i>comptus</i> 37 Eliz. for the past issues of his office that year . . .	15l. 10s. 8d.
For perquisites of court falling 32 Eliz. . . . .	3s. 6d.
For fines and grassums due 33 Eliz. . . . .	8l. 2s. 8d.
For perquisites of court at other courts 32 Eliz. . . . .	29s. 6d.
For the like " " 33 Eliz. . . . .	10s. 8d.
For other fines due by him . . . . .	25s.
For perquisites of court 35 Eliz. . . . .	25s.

Total debt 28l. 7s. "besides" 13l. 4s. "for the moitie of the rent of the said manner due at Whitsantide now last past."

*½ p. Latin. Indorsed by Burghley: "Ric. Grayms dett for Askerton."*

June 23. 287. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

The "miserable estate" of the poor garrison forces me to remind your honor of the warrant in due time, who shall make their pay as usual.

Seeing I cannot have her Majesty's leave to come up to see her, or to settle my estate, &c., I have thought good to send my wife for these causes, and to settle and place her children, left hitherto in very ill order; humbly praying your honor, that if she, having a womanly care of her husband's estate, and desire to provide for her children, "comonlie the mothers care," be a suitor to her Majesty for any thing reasonable in your judgment, it will please you to further her therein. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*¾ p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 23. 288. JOHN CAREY TO SIR R. CECIL.

On behalf of his wife in same business. She "is a verie ill suter," praying him "not to discourage her in her first sute, she beinge one that will sone be snybed." If her suit be reasonable, then to assist her—if unreasonable, then to let her know it at once, to save himself trouble. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*¾ p. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan ucajer signet.*

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June 26. 289. EURE TO BURGHELEY.

According to the Council's letter, on 20<sup>th</sup> instant I conferred at Morpeth town with most of the gentlemen of Morpeth, Castle, and Tindale wards, acquainting those present with the contents, who subscribed a book charging themselves proportionally with light horse. Great want of appearance of gentlemen, but in time an increase will be had. The country is so negligent in service, I cannot work as I would; "God mend us."

I intend to be at Alnwick on Monday 28<sup>th</sup> instant, and hope following them to their houses will avoid all excuses.

I would be glad to know if her Majesty's commission will redress bills before my entry, before meeting Sir Robert Kerr on 20<sup>th</sup> July as appointed. He is "harde bent" against redress before his entry, which was when I entered, for his father was warden before—and if you think good to refer all unredressed bills before our entries to a commission, it would give an open passage to justice.

The like with Buccleuch, with whose deputies I have consented to a meeting by his own appointment about the beginning of next month—not having met him myself because of his untowardness of late—to try the true meaning of his faithful assurances.

I would remind you of Harbottle, and what portion it would please you to repair, for the surveyor was partly directed by Nicholas Forster. I hope you will grant a larger proportion, even though not so much as needed, and as I wish it appeared to your view.

The gaol here is a danger to the whole town, from its want of repair, the multitude of prisoners, and dangerous sickness. Now is the season for building.

I thank you for continuing the soldiers, whose service is most needful. As yet I have none of the "callivers," &c., from Newcastle. M<sup>r</sup> Masgrave tells me the Queen's prices are, callyvers, 20s., barrel of powder, 5*l.*, a bow, 3*s.* 4*d.*, sheaf of arrows, 2*s.* 6*d.*, pikes, 3*s.* 4*d.*, all very high for this country, and I pray for some mitigation. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Inversed. Wajer signet.*

June 26. 290. JAMES SWINO TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

"My lord Hume caused me ride to Hume with him, for that he had directed the Lard of Wetherburne and his secretarie to ride to Wetherburne, where he hath written to the Kinge of your proceedinge, as also these lettres inclosed for you, all which were brought this morninge to him to peruse and signe." One of these is the copy of that he sent to the King word by word. "I found by him a great discontent with Sesford and Bockclugh doings, and I hard they sent to my lord upon his returne to you, to have taken his horse and come his waies, thinkinge thereby you wolde have followed with force, and thereby broken the peace." My lord said he would not, but he would put his honor and life on your word. Whereby he gathereth they would have brought him "in the laps" of their disobedience, and made some public invasion. "Pardon me Sir, I trouble you with these idle lynes. God preserve you." James Swino.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Inversed*: "Coppie of M<sup>r</sup> Swinoes lettre to Sir William Bowes June 26."

June 30. 291. D. FLETCHER TO BURGHELEY.

I have talked with and taken the Graymes' answer to this effect. They were drawn to the "patronage" of the tenants of Lanercost [Leonard coast] by the old Lord Scroop in default of their landlord M<sup>r</sup> Christopher Dacres. Touching blackmail "(which as they define it is nothing ells but

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a protection money or a reward pro clientela," they deny receiving any but in satisfaction of money they laid out in redemption of the tenants' goods with their own consents, which could be recovered no other way for want of a warden in the Scottish Middle Marches. They protest earnestly "(and it semeth trulie)" their innocence of abetting the Scotsmen that harried the tenants, saying it is the false suggestion of Jefferie Bell and Rowland Robson, who are men of "verie bad qualitie fiet to bee suborned for very small reward." I have sent you their answers at large if it please you to be troubled perusing them. On inquiry, as directed in your letter, what lands they hold of her Majesty? I find that none but Richard Graym, holds land of her in the barony of Gilsland; he that holds of the barony of Burgh is another Richard Grayme. Many are of the same "forename," and if their "distinction" had been set down in the note, and their dwelling places, they could have answered for most of the rest, what lands they hold in either barony. They humbly crave their dismissal or trial, for since they came up the Scots have harried their tenants. "They promise to praie for" your lordship, and to do good service if occasion occurs. I note in them some "splene" towards Lord Scroop, as if his accnsation had wronged them, and if your lordship bestowed on them some "grave admonition" when they are discharged, it might do good in making them observe their duty to his lordship. London. *Not signed.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary:* "M<sup>r</sup> D. Fletcher to my lord," &c.

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) Answer of Richard and William Grayms to the deposition of Rowland Robson, &c., on behalf of Jefferie Bell.

Richard Graym denies the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>d</sup> articles touching blackmail, and only received such money as he had expended in redeeming the tenants' goods. The old Lord Scroop drew him into the matter thus—M<sup>r</sup> Christopher Dakers, being "a very weak man" suffered the Scots to spoil his tenants in Lanercost. On their complaint to Lord Scroop, "their saied master or landlord fledd out of the country and removed himself to another place 30 miles distant from the Scottish borders." Whereon Lord Scroop told them so soon as a warden of the Midle March of Scotland or keeper of Liddestale was appointed, they should have redress under March law. But as they could not endure till then, they begged Lord Scroope to send for Richard Graym to be their defender. On Lord Scroop's letter directing him to come forthwith, Richard came, not knowing why he was sent for, and on his lordship's request to him to assist his poor neighbours, agreed to do what he could, though it was too much for him to undertake, and appointed 2 servants to watch, and watched himself at divers times. Lord Scroop of himself, offering to give 20 nobles betwixt the 2 men—which continued during the lives of Lord Scroop and M<sup>r</sup> Dakers. After which the Scots made great invasion and spoil on the broken March, and the tenants again complained to the deputy warden, and hearing he could do nothing for want of an officer opposite, they were forced to return to Richard Graeme craving his defence again, which he did, and so continued till "called for by the now Lord Scroop," aiding and rescuing them to the uttermost he could on both sides of the March.

To the 4<sup>th</sup>—the spoil on Jeffery Bell and Rowland Robson—he was no way a party or "witting" to it, or knew of it till Bell himself told him 8 days after. Nor thinks any of his "kinred" were actors in it, save one Hector Armstrong and one Paton Armstrong, who is his great enemy as my lord warden knoweth, only for his service defending the Border.

To the 5<sup>th</sup>—he saith his servant William Haier who was one of the watchmen appointed by the "old Lord Scroop, rode with one Thomas Hetherington to the house of Richard Hetherington near adjoining to Rowland Robson's



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house, to make their account for wares bought and sold between them, and for no such cause as suspected.

To the 6<sup>th</sup>—Denies that he ever had such a book or rental of blackmail or published it in Arthuret or Cannonbie, or elsewhere.

To the 7<sup>th</sup>—The said Richard and William Graime utterly deny that they consented or conversed with the actors in said disorder, and offer to stand trial before Lord Scrope or any other.

To the 10<sup>th</sup>—They know nothing of the value of the goods taken from Bell and Robson, or if they lost anything—except from these parties' own report.

2 pp. *In same hand as the letter. Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

(2) Lands held by the Graymes of the Queen in the baronies of Burgh and Gilsland.

Richard Greym says he holds no land in Burgh, but only in Gilsland barony (where he has borne the office of bailiff these 20 years) he holds as in the note, *viz.*, 1 tenement with 12 acres arable and 20 of meadow, for which he pays the Queen yearly 13s. 4d. to the auditor M<sup>r</sup> Bradell. For her Majesty's rent for the manor of Askerton, he confesses there is "beebind" unpaid as in the note, 28l. 7s., which he has never received through the poverty of the tenants, and continual spoil of the Scots, leaving nothing to be "distreyned." He craves your lordships' direction what course to take for recovery, and offers his services to the uttermost. He has given orders for the payment of the "moytie" of the rent of said manor due at Whitsunday last, being here at London at the time it should have been paid.

*Signed*: Richard x Greym's mark.

William Greym holds no land of the Queen in either of said baronies.

*Signed*: William Grayme.

Walter Greym and John Greym hold no land at all in either of said baronies; if any rent be behind to the Queen, they suppose it rests in the hands of the steward Henrie Lee, or other officer. *Signed*: Walter Graime, J. Graham.

William Greym of the Rosetrees and Hutchin Greym *alias* Ritches Hutchen, likewise affirm they hold no land at all in either of said baronies, but only in Eask. *Signed*: Wyllime Ghrayme of Rostreis, Hutchen x Greym's mark.

2 pp. *Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

July 2. 292. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

M<sup>r</sup> William Fenwick of Wallington has suddenly given up his office of Tynedale upon some report of my dislike of his ceasing kindness with Cesford now opposite warden, without my privy—which I trust your lordship will think no sufficient cause. Since then, the Wooddringtons have likewise "taken conceipte of greife withoute cause." I mention these things, not for your lordship's public notice, but in case of any secret complaints against me.

I have appointed as keeper of Tynedaie, one William Fenwick a kinsman of Wallington's, as deputy, which I hope will be to the Queen's better service.

Sir Cuthbert Collingwood my deputy warden, has also given it up, and removed out of the March, another withdrawal from, though not opposing of service, as you may see.

I found great backwardness in the gentlemen at Morpeth on 20<sup>th</sup> June, as to furnishing horses, yet hope time and continual calling on them and their tenants will improve matters. They are like a "barbarus companie" long without rule, each man "laboringe to rule, few or none contented to obey, everie man clamorous of there losses, few or none carefull or capable of there remedies."

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I expect justice with the opposite warden, or else you shall hear in my next. The dearth causes great "stealth" by our own people, yet I cannot get the gentlemen to keep watch, or "skowre the waistes" with their tenants and neighbours in "plumpe watche," but hope for amendment.

The gentlemen also dislike my order, that prisoners taken on the March be bound to the warden to answer the Queen and her subjects within the March "generally," not the particular taker—alleging that they do not hazard their lives to benefit others not at the capture—and though my answer is, that captures in peace time are for the Queen's honour in justice, not for ransom or private profit, and I join the apprehender in the bond with the warden, to have liberty to call on the prisoner with the warden's privity, without which it is March treason—yet they are discontented with this course.

Therefore I pray your lordship's opinion and approbation herein, for the inconveniences of the private bond are great, causing neglect of a neighbour's losses in a Scottish foray, and ending in deadly feuds, if that gentleman to whom he is bound, or his tenants, by chance rise and strike or slay the Scot. Vouchsafe to read this form of bond, and "reforme" it at your pleasure.

I also beg your pleasure as to the day of truce with Cesford, and if you could procure me two or three bands of the Berwick foot to attend me, it would show how I stand with my countrymen. If my lord chamberlain will favour me now herein, I will assist him and his deputy with the force of my March again.

I present to you a book of treaties, not so perfect as I wish, as appears "by interlininge and blottioige," but beg you to hear with the "rewdnes" of our country, and the faults of the writers, "blusheing" that I cannot send the work "coverte," for the country will not afford it, and craving pardon for "the yll pollishing thereof." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

I humbly remind you of the allowance for Harbottle castle and Hexham gaol both falling to great decay.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed as before.*

July 2. 293. EURE TO [SIR R. CECIL].

Your last letters in favour of Emerson, have engaged me more deeply than I know how to describe.

I beseech another letter in your own name to the Bishop of Durham, to forbear to levy a fine of 10*l.* from M<sup>r</sup> John Fetherstonehaughe a justice of peace for the county palatine of Durham, for absence from the last quarter sessions at Easter, which the bishop labours with great severity to do, and will no way be pleased at my entreaty to spare him. The gentleman is honest, just, and serviceable, and helps me greatly here for the bishopric, and I would that his absence hereafter on lawful occasion, were also remitted while with me—the bishopric receiving no hurt but much good thereby.

The King of Scots is reported to have sent for Hume, Cesford, and Buccleuch, some think to reconcile the two latter—others that it is to settle better justice on the border, and if the Council appointed commissioners to join for the Queen in redress, it would be to the comforts of the needy people here.

I humbly pray for your opinion as to dealing with the bills before and since my entry, at the truce day. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Flyleaf with address wanting.*

July 2. 294. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO SIR R. CECIL.

"I heare by my father how your favors finde me out though I be far of, and that you spare not to speke to her Magesty better for me then I can deserve . . . Ther rests no more in me but acknowledgiment and thankfull-

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ues . . . for other requitall I am no way able, for I am poore, and far from you, and have no manes to shewe my love, suche is my hard fortun, and woo is me therefore! But dare Sir, as I may, you shall well knowe I will be very houist to you, which in your favor I hope you will accepte, beinge my best, and mesur me by my meinde, not meanes to dooe you servis . . ."

I have written to my lord your father of the spoils and murders in this March since my coming, and the small redress. At your pleasure you may look them over, though it is troublesome, as I find myself, "beinge macht with a subtle desayfull and begerly poeple . . . but it shalle please me, becaues so pleasinge to her Magesty, and heare will I dooe her my best servis till she think me worthey of a better fortun. Thus for the teyme I will leve you, but never leve truly to love you." Berwick. *Signet*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 3. 295. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Since I came down, I have had but trifles to report, and thought it unfit to trouble your lordship. But now matters "growing to a head," and it being likely we shall have a "waking wynter" by our unruly neighbours of Tyvidale and "there unworthy offyceer, Sir Robert Kerre," I think it my duty to report the spoils since my coming—my dealings with Cesford, and how "delatarye and doublye" his are with me. I inclose the spoils, which are many, and have got nothing but fair words from him. The ambassador, M<sup>r</sup> Bowes, has often sent me word that he expects nothing at his hands. He is subtle and deceitful, respecting not the general cause but his own particular—so justice is laid to sleep, and not likely to be wakened, while his rule lasts.

My father tells me lately that her Majesty's pleasure is I shall have 20 of the Berwick horse garrison to attend me, with 4*l.* a day extra pay. It will be some help; if I need more I shall speedily report.

If I had a country house, I could do more good in rising to fray or following, than lying here. It would comfort the country to see their officer amongst them, and encourage their rising. No house is so fit as Norham, and if your lordship but grant me timber from Chopwell wood and 300*l.* in money, I will build a "poore cotage" within the walls, for me to lie in—though not as it should be, being the Queen's castle, and the chiefest strength on the borders, if war broke out with the Scots. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Note of slaughters, "stoulthes and reafes" since my entrance to office.

*Extracts.*

Nicholas Bolton of Mindram slain in daylight at his own plough, by Sir John Kerre of the Spielawe and his servants.

Thomas Storie of Killam slain there by night by Sir Robert Kerre and his servants.

John Selby of Pawston slain by the Burnes defending his own goods in his house there.

John Ewart of Carham slain on English ground at the rescue of Englishmen bringing their own goods.

"Reafes"—in Hethpoole in daylight, by the Davisons, Yonges, and Burnes of 40 kyen and oxen, and hurting Thomas and Peter Storye, &c., in peril of their lives. Another there in daylight by the Kerres, Yonges and Tates, of 46 head of neate, shooting John Grey with a "peice" in peril of death, and hurting one of the Brewhouses following, and taking his horse. In West Newton, in daylight, by James Davison of the Burnyrigge, &c., of

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5 horse and mares; another there at night, taking up 2 houses, 20 neat and insight worth 20 nobles.

On Thomas Roulidge of Killam, at night by the Yonges, of 30 kyen and oxen. On Adam Smyth of the Brigge mylle at night by the Kerres, Yonges Burnes, &c., of 20 neat, and 5 horse and mares. In Cowpland, by the Yonges, Burnes and Kerres on Gilbert Wright, "by cutting up his doores with axes," of 30 neate, 4 horses and mares, and insight worth 10*l*. In Haggerston, by the Yonges, Halles, Pyles and Aynsleyes, "by cutting up their doores with axes," of 30 neate, 5 nags, and hurting 4 men in peril of death. On Raphe Selby of Westwood, by the Yonges, &c., "by breaking his tower," and taking 3 geldings worth 60*l*. sterling "and better."

"Stonthes."—at Pawston, in daylight, of 5 neat: at night, 2 nags of John Davison's. In Learmouthe at night by the Pringles and Davisons, of 14 kyen and oxen. Of the tenants of Fenton 12 kyen and oxen, and a follower hurt and lost his horse. At East Lilburne 10 kyen and oxen. From Sir John Forster's "heardes" in the Trowburne 80 sheep, and one following hurt in peril of death. From the tenants of Mindram since St Andrews day last, of 35 score sheep. From Raphe Selby of Weetwood, at night, 4 score sheep. From George Ourd of Longridge by the Burnes, &c., at night, breaking his tower, 2 horse. From Shorswood in daylight, 3 kyen. From Berwick bounds by Thomas Pringle son to Dand Pringle of Hownam, John Dawgliise of Wydeopen, &c., 5 geldings and 1 mare worth 60*l*. sterling. From William Davison of Camma mylles, by the Tates, 18 "yewes great with lamb." From George Reed of Horeckley, by John Hume of Blaketer, &c., 3 kyen. From Cowpland at night, by the Yonges, Burnes, &c., 10 head of neat. From Felkington at night, 5 neat. From Raphe Selbye of South Charlton and neighbours, in daylight by the Burnes, 5 horse and mares. From William Cowert of South Charlton by the Yonges, 2 nags. From said Raph Selbye a "soard" gelding and a mare by the Burnes—also 6 neat. From Thomas Taylor of Lesbury, 50 sheep. From Robert Adamson of Long Houghton, 3 score sheep. At Warck in daylight by James Davyson of the Buryrigge and the Yonges, 6 kyen Richard Favor's, master gunner there, &c. From Fettes of Mindrum, 6 neat. From Berwick bounds from Raphe Phennick by Jock Pringle, a gelding worth 10*l*. sterling. From said Raphe, and Thomas Pigg the elder, &c., by Jock and Saunders Lamb, 30 sheep. From Richard Ferrer at Horkley, 40 "yewes and wethers." Besides many more "stoultis" since my coming not complained of to me.

4 pp. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary, with note of the totals—"kien," &c., "296—geldings, mares and staggis 43, sheepe 1055."*

July 3. 296. SCROPE TO HUNSDON.

To prevent the envious detractor from making the accident worse than it is, I have to report that Thomas Musgrave captain of Bewcastle, having made me privy to his design of revenge for injuries to his office, and been warned by me to see his men were in sufficient strength, and to prevent straggling—with the assistance of the soldiers, entered Scotland this night, and finding only empty houses, returned homewards "over carelesly," allowing his force to separate. Himself with only 10 men, fell into an ambush of the Scots near Bewcastle, was chased to the house of Brackenhill, where he hoped to take refuge, but those within shut the gates against him "(such good services do the Grames to her Majesty)!" and is taken prisoner to Scotland. "Yt was a thinge which God would have done," for besides my admonition, my man John Musgrave his own brother, urged him not to leave the company, for he heard an ambush was laid for him, but he refused advice, and was so taken.

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I cannot omit signifying receipt of your letter of 28<sup>th</sup> ult. whereby I see the Grames "flatly and resolutely" deny all my charges against them before the Council. Seeing the "great meanes they have in that place (non or fewe standinge for me except your lordship, for which I holde my selfe deeplie beholden unto your lordship)," and that it is not meant to punish them, I think it "frivolous" to produce further proofs. Also seeing that those who cross my government, get more countenance in their "evill," than I for my services to her Majesty here, I earnestly entreat you "in some good tearmes" to acquaint the council with my "discontentednes" herein, and also, relating as much to her Majesty, "to entreate her hignes on my behalfe, that forasmuch I can neither fynde myne acciones for her services defended outewardlie, as maye better appeare to your lordship by the inclosed, of the contynned workinges of Buclagh against me—neither inward emongst her owne subiectes," that she will be pleased to take this office from me, and appoint another—in procuring which you shall bind me for life.

Though I see not that the Grames shall receive severe punishment, yet I send you copies of the proceedings in law for murder against Brackenhill and Willes Jock, inclosed, that their lordships may see I have grounds for my charges against them, and by their nntreue denial of this part, how little credit is due to their denial of the rest. But if I hear that the Grames shall be dealt with and punished, as the proof shall show them to deserve, I shall then send my proofs of what I have advertised, "with this proviso," that the approvers' charges be defrayed, and protection of their lives and goods given them thenceforth, as I wrote before. Otherwise I see no reason to disclose their names, or imperil themselves, or to trouble the Council farther. Praying you to acquaint the rest of the Council with these indictments against Brackenhill and Wills Jock, and further my other desires. Carlisle.

*Signed*: Th. Scroope.

I have advertised my Lord "Thesaurer" of Thomas Musgrave's taking and the inclosed concerning Buccleuch.

2 pp. *Addressed*: "To . . . my verie good lord and fater in lawe the Lord Hunsdon lord chamberlen," &c. *Indorsed*.

Inclosed in the same:—

Articles against William Jock.

*Another copy of inclosure in No. 285.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

July 3. 297. SCROPE TO BURGHEY.

[*Informing him in similar terms of Thomas Musgrave's capture.*] As I wrote formerly, I inclose a "note under his owne hand of the thinges moving him to the last roade against those of the Hollace," also the last advertisement I have from Edinburgh. Trusting your lordship "will stand my honorable good lord," both in Buccleuch's matter and that of the Grames, I think it long till I hear from you. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 3. 298. JOHN CAREY TO HUNSDON.

On Friday the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant the day of our musters, I delivered to my brother Sir Robert, 20 of the best of the horse garrison chosen by himself, as commanded in your letter of 24<sup>th</sup> June.

In case of complaints out of Scotland to the Queen and council against me, I desire to make you "foresene" in this matter. The Scots have done many injuries to me and the town, by stealing out of the "Bowndes" and otherwise. Part I have revenged, part I have "sat: withall." On Candlemas eve last, 1<sup>st</sup> February, four Scots, John a Daglisse of Wydeopen in Tyvydale, Robyn Daglisse and John a Daglisse of Lynton, both brethren.

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and one Tom a Pringle of Howname, came to the Bowndes and took out of the Snooke and Mawdlen feilds 6 horses, only one of them mine. On my making great inquiry, they sent their friends the Lairds of Grenehead and Corbett, to ask if I would take the horses back without further trouble? I stood out long, but in the end, seeing little chance of justice or getting them "fyld" at next day of truce, I agreed to receive the horses, if in as good case as when stolen, protesting to their friends, if I were not satisfied, "I wold have some of there lyves." But to this day I have remained unsatisfied, till taking advantage of the musters, I sent 50 horsemen from the field, who broke open John a Daglysses house at Wydeopen, "and cutt himself all in peces," and came off, the country being "up at the cryes, and being within a myle and a half of Sesfordes owne gates." I deferred thus long, wishing to have got all four together, but as they lived far asunder, some in very strong houses, I took this man as the chief of them, and a "landed man," to make ourselves "quyte of his comber," he having promised to be with us again when the nights grew longer. Thus I thought my duty to inform your honor, if the King complains, that I may not be condemned unheard. Berwick. "Your honors most obedieut and dutifull sonne."

*Signed* : Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 10. 299. ANSWER OF JOHN GRAME TO THE COUNCIL.

"The defender" refers to his former answer. "He never hurt the for said personis, and dothe schau to yowr honouris the said Gorg Grame being hurt one blow on the lege, the solderis poisoned the wound, being perswaded by the Musgraves that all the Gramis being for this inditted shuld either die for it if they came in, or els flie the countrie; and that the soldiors shwld have all Eske to themselves. Craving yowr good lordschipis to consider this owr hard cais what malleis hes bene schauin owt touertis ws, and what los we have had in owr cowntre be the heirschip of owr powr frendis in the tyme of owr absens." *Signed* : J. Grame.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. (?) Indorsed partly by Burghley* : "10 Jul. 1596. The answer of John Grame *alias* Willis Jocky."

July 11. 300. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

The "novelties" of the Borders since the capture of the captain of Bewcastle, are the slaying of Daglishe Scottishman, in his own house for stealing 2 horses of M<sup>r</sup> Governor of Berwick. The King I hear is displeased, and does not countenance our ambassador as before.

Harbottle "criethe for help," and Hexham gaol is in great need, "as the shorte season geveth me good cause of remembrance." If you afford me 400*l*. for the castle and 100*l*. for the gaol, I will repair them to your approbation, or lose my credit.

I presume to beg at your hands "the wardship of Albanie Fetherstouhaughe, whose father is latelie dead, and the younge man wanteth onlie till Christmas of his full age." I humbly renew my suit and crave your pleasure. Hexham. *Signed* : Ra. Eure.

I am ashamed to say the time I spend at Alnwick Morpeth and eisewhere, for horse or "government," but "attend Godes good will."

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*

July 15. 301. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I have fortunately attached again William Shaftoe who escaped at the last gaol delivery here, and have him in custody in my own house, not in the gaol, lest he escape again. These are the charges against him :—the

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chief is by one Alexander Ridley, for conspiring with the Scots to spoil the town of Ivestone in the Bishopric, not as principal but an accessory. The examinations were with the last Lord President, and I cannot obtain them to sift out the truth. One George Carr accuses him of bringing 20 stolen sheep to him to be kept. He is also accused of reset of 60 sheep stolen by William Lawson his deputy bailiff of Bywell, and John Lyttle his servant, from the tenants of Thomas Myddleton of Belsay. Also by the confession of "one Rowland Pattensone, whome I have in hold," of conspiring with English outlaws and Scots, and taking one Rippon of Rappeth in Lancheater parish, "of some wealth," dwelling as a prisoner in the bishopric, off to Scotlaud, and ransoming him for 42*l*. "and some odd money."

I pray your advice if "the confession of this Pateson" a principal actor in the business, if brought as a witness against Shaftoe at this Durham assise, were not the best course for his trial there—the other felonies being smaller in law, and pardonable by "the booke." I humbly pray your letter to the judges and the Bishop of Durham who sit at this assize on the 24<sup>th</sup> instant.

The day of truce between me and Sir Robert Kerr is put off by him till 17<sup>th</sup> August. The borders are "tickell," for since my last, some steads in Gilsland have been burned, besides continual nightly riding on the West March.

Your pleasure as to obtaining Albanie Fetherstonhaughe's wardship would much bind me. Not doubting you respect the small time before his full age "with the smale revenew of his land." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

The book I sent your lordship for the treaties, I got from a friend of mine who had it by means of Doctor Emannell Barnes who got it with other of the Bishop's books at his death.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 15. 302. SCROPE TO BURGHEY.

I have received your last of the 8<sup>th</sup>, where it appears "besydes the Grames denyall of the rest of the articles, they have lykwise peremptorily denyed with othes to have had conference with Buclugh aboute the tyme of the act at this castell." But it is notorious that they had, and I will produce those who will depose it, "uppon the condicions in my former letter declared to your lordship and my lord chamberlen." But seeing by your letter her Majesty's indisposition for any sharp dealings with them, I forbear urging the same, yet must let you know that the spoils which they say have been committed on their friends since they came up, have proceeded merely from their owne "knaveries and accustomed most devilish devises," to procure favour and pity for themselves—for these spoils have been made by their owne friends and allies in Scotland! "They have also in grett glory and triumphant manner written to their frendes what favour they fynd above." Two of these letters have been sent to Buclugh, and I am promised copies, which if I get, you shall see. Since these came, their friends first spoiled 4 of "Mistris Dacres" tenants, fired 2 of her towne and 2 of her Majesty's, carried off 400 nolte in a day foray, and "lye quiet never a night." These and other like are the fruits of their gentle usage, and seeing there is no intention to proceed with them "in that rigorous course which were meete for the brydlynge" them, and safety of the Queen's subjects, whom I am bound in honour and conscience to regard while I hold this office, I earnestly entreat you to procure her Majesty's favour to leave this charge, where seeing the better credit and countenance given to my adversaries than to myself, "I neither will nor can lyve," but unacceptably to her and with dishonor to myself. Leaving to her highness' "most princely discerninge and your lordshipes wisdom, to consider" what service, I can do here, after being discourtenanced in my actions in her service, when my "most malicious adversaries and the utter and most notoriously

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knowne spoylers of the wholl countrey ar rather graced and maintained against me." You will ever bind me if you procure my removal from the burden of this office with continuance of the Queen's favour. You ask my opinion on your hope that "those Grames" may be more peaceful hereafter. "I assure your lordship I can expecte no good services from them so longe as I contynue officer here, and the rather also because within this twelvemonth I have hanged fyve or six of their surname for their offences, lyke as they worthly deserved; the which together with my severe charynge of them selves, I knowe they will kepe in memory to requits as their conninge heades can espye fitt oportunity for. What they maye be drawne unto, by placinge of another officer in my roome, I am not able to saye, but referr yt to graver wisdomde and triall of tyme—onely I saye yt maye prove a myracle for a leoperd to alter and change his spotts!"

In answer to your inquiry if I had taken some who were at the breaking of this castle, an attempt was made this night, but the men employed found only empty houses which they burned, bringing back 3 or 4 Armstrongs prisoners "not of the greatest accompte"—yet some requital for their burnings and taking prisoners every night this week in Gilsland. Captain Thomas Musgrave to-day came home on bande. He was much with Bucluch, who openly says the King has freely remitted his deed at this castle as good service to him and his "comune wealth." Musgrave says Buclugh threatens his worst against this office, whereof I advertise you that provision be made by her Majesty, and I will meanwhile defend it as best I may.

I commend to you the wrong sustained by Thomas Lancaster "by some who (as this countrey sayeth) have intrest in M<sup>r</sup> Stanhops favour to worke what they list . . . therefore and to th'end that my adversaries the Lowthers, the embracers and maintayners of that broken title against Laucaster, may not have their wholl hartes desier for my crosse (though their sinister suggestion of my affectinge particularities make me thus unfortunate), I most hartely intreate your lordship that Lancaster may yet by your lordshippes meanes have the further examinacion and triall of his other causes (now referred to commission) stayed and put over untill the next tearme, to th'ende he maye then be better furnished with evidence." If your lordship be pleased to send to me with expedition your *supersedeas*—for the commission otherwise will sit in 9 or 10 days,—the poor man shall be bound to pray for you during life. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

"Jok Armstronge of Munkhurst, onne who was at the breache of the castell, hapened to be slayne in this nights roade."

2½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*

July 15. 303. [SIR ROBERT CAREY] TO JAMES VI.

Complaining of the wrongs done to the East March since he took charge—that Sir Robert Kerr delays redress and puts off meeting him—begging that straight commandment be given to that officer, or such other course best pleasing to his Majesty, may be taken for redress. Berwick.

1 p. *Written by his clerk. Indorsel*: "Copie of a lettre to the King of Scotts."

July 16. 304. D. FLETCHER TO BURGHLEY.

I have extracted from the writings sent by your lordship concerning the six Grames, so much as touches Richard and John. They protest their innocence of George Graime's murder—the truth whereof cannot appear from these bare accusations and answers. As they are matters done long ago, in so remote a place, it may not be unmeet to refer their trial for these and other matters to the next assizes at Carlisle the beginning of next month. Thus your lordship will be eased of the trouble of perusing these writings.



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and my Lord Scroope of the envy and offence which the Graimes might conceive, if the matter was remitted to him to proceed as their judge. If they should be found guilty of these crimes, which they say are revived by some of that country at feud with them, they may afterwards find mercy by her highness's clemency and pardon, making them more modest and obedient hereafter—which agrees with your lordship's grave advice, not to make them desperate, being so great a number, and able to do great hurt on the border, yet keep them in awe and good order, and in duty to Lord Scroope, &c., with whom it were good they were reconciled. Craving pardon for rash boldness in uttering my fond opinion. London. *Signed*: D. Fletcher.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(1) Notes as to the six Grames.  
Of their intermarriages with the Armstrongs, Bells, &c.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *In Burghley's writing.*  
(2) Articles against Brackenbill.  
Similar to those in No. 285.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Burghley.*

(3) Answer of John Grame *alias* William Jock.

"The defendent saithe he never killit nor schot no souche man as Sime of Medop nor never hard of no suche man killit in all our countre within the space of foure yearis passt. If it maye stand with your good lordschippis pleisser, apone xv or xvj years past in the tyme of the ould deidlie feidis amongst the Gramis, one Sime of Medope was killit amongst othirs. It is knowin I never tichit him for he whoe did commit the falt maid satisfac-houne for the same. This was done in the tyme of the ould deidlie feid whiche was takin up be the ryght honorabill Lord Scrop and agreit, as his lordschip tould to us at the command of hir Magesteis most honorable counsel—the parteie is satisfeit and none plantive. I have sens bene in all the plaissis whair justeis is to be most ministerit in our hole countre, and nothing objectad against me.

"The defendent doth anser, that he being in the ryght honorabill Lord Scropis servis, whoe ristis with Good, at Eddinbroughe, so couminge home to my hows at nyght, taking my journaye to Carlell on the morrow accompaneit bot ouleie with my on man, seing one number of pepole assemblit in the heic waye, came to thayme, and so doing all the good that laye in my power to do, and saving dyvers as was in danger, the parteis being partit, held on my journaye to the ryght honorabill Lord Scrop, and delverit my letteris, and tould his lordschip of all that was hapnit. I never was troublit with the mater, nor fled no whair, bot kept kirk and market and al the syssis and quarter schesschouns whair justeis was.

"The defender saithe one Scottis mane being takin by me, whoe had stollin one mair from me as I allegit, having him at my hous, me Lord Scrop sent to me, and so I come to his lordschip. He schew me his honour would have him; I was willyng to the same and anserit I would bryng him. His lordschip said I schowld not troubill myself, he would send his mane for him. This being on the Saterdaye being Eister evin, prolongit the tyme antill Mondaye nyxt, so the pour knave seing his self in danger, breik of the loke of the schalmer down and so desperitlye leip over the tope of the cassill wallis, whiche is on greit hight of l. fout and mor, with the fall he brissit his self so sore that he could do nothing; so some of his frendis attendyng on him careit him awaye, and as God schall be my judge, he gat awaye contraireie to my will and without my knowledge. As tuching one other theif, I never had none, and as I beleve, Captaine Carvell will saye he willit me never with none suche, for he cainst saye no otherwayis and saye the truth.

"The defendent saithe as tuching Dick Urwin and Ramons Davy, I never

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"reset nother of thame, nor Ranons Davy came not in my hous nor was not at my sonis mariage, nor came not in the presence of M<sup>r</sup> Richart Louthier to my knowlege. As for Dick Urwin, he was under my lord Scropis soonerance, and within 2 deies befor the marige he was at Carlele and thaire appeached by Englishmen and dischargit be the lord Scroope, being under his lordschipis assurens." Beseeching your lordships to consider that we are hardly dealt with, and for our old deadly feuds past so long since, we submit ourselves to the grace of the Queen. Not doubting your honours will consider our poor tenants and "smale frendis" are spoiled in our absence. Signed: J. Grame *aleias* Willis Joke.

1½ pp. *Holograph (?) Indorsed by Burghley*: "16 July."

(3) Note of the Grames' friends for whom they humbly ask favour.

"1. Alexander Graym of Kyrkanders *alias* Geardes Sande," proclaimed an outlaw by March law, at the complaint of the Laird of "Buckleigh" his mortal enemy, more than a year past. 2. Fergus Graym son of Ryches Will, now prisoner in Carlisle castle, "upon suspect, as we are heere." 3. John Graym *alias* Jokye John, a prisoner there. 4. Leonard Graym "at disobedience for his brothers imprisonment." 5. John Hetherington of Bletteren prisoner there "more then a year past." Signed: *Ex. per* Th. Smithe.

½ p. *In a legal hand. Indorsed.*

July 17. 305. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

After receiving your letter of 9<sup>th</sup> I sent the King a note of the Tyvidale spoils (sent you in my last) and inclose copy of the King's letter.

Your lordship writes that the Queen has given warrant for 3 months only, of the 4*d*. a day for my 20 horse. They began on 24<sup>th</sup> June, so a month is nearly gone, and the other two will end before the winter time, "the theves harvest." The border is so broken, Tyvidale especially, "there officer there cheafest animator to evil," that before we get quiet we shall need not only 20, but 200 horse! For yesterday at one in the afternoon, 50 horse of Tevidale took away the "hariadge" of Carham. And this day, an hour after sun rise, 20 horse took three score kye and oxen from Mindram and killed a man.

I will sit no longer with these wrongs, but will right myself as well as I may. If it come to further extremity (as likely it will) I hope your lordship will take order for assistance.

I am sorry at troubling your lordship so much for Norham, but it was my duty and not hope of gain that caused me. There ought to be a house for the officer, who can do best service there to the country.

Your lordship says "the Queens resolute answer" was she will give nothing for Norham, saying "my lord" should build up the house, considering "the great commoditye" he had by it. The Queen and yourself have been wrongly informed, for my lord has no more "upon my credytt," but under 150*l*. a year, of which he pays her Majesty 58*l*. yearly. "The remayne wold hardlye buyld a howse and make my lord such a gayner as hathe bene infourmd." I leave it to your lordship's "better" consideration. Berwick. Signed: Rob. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 17. 306. SIR R. CAREY TO HUNSDON.

[*Relating same events—the cattle at Carham were rescued, but 6 horses were carried off—at Mindram, the "hariadge" of 60 kye and oxen is named.*]

I would you commanded me in your next to take "James of the

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Coave" into my own hand, and deliver him or not into Scotland, as I think fit. "Ther wilbe never end made els betwene the Selbyes and the Grayes."

You have a piece of meadow called "Lumsdons Anna," coming to about 100 "trusse" of hay. I pray your warrant to Cuthbert Armorer for my mowing it for my horses. I can ill keep them without it.

While writing, he came and showed me a letter from a friend in Scotland, with these words "verbatim, that followes—Capten Hambletons newes if thei be trewe, is but litle to your contentment of England. Ere yt be long you will hear further that wyll mislyke you." When I hear the meaning of this I will inform you. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1¼ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 20. 307. SCROPE TO SIR R. CECIL.

I hoped my former letters would have convinced the Council of the Grames' guilt of foreknowledge, and of the act itself done at this castle by Buccleugh; "pregnant circumstances servinge where probable matter is wantinge." Yet I choose to repeat for truth, that the Grames were in Buccleuch's company at the horse race "before the fact, as Hob Forster will witness, and Will of the Rosetrees hath him selfe confessed unto me. That they were all with Buclugh in the howse of the Langholme in Scotland (except Richies Will who was in some trouble there, though after Buclughes cominge from that house, he had as much conference with him as any of the rest) a brother of Water Grames then also present, and Rob of the Faulde, have confessed to my selfe. That Richie of Brakenhill had his hand in yt, yt is playne by his practise with Will Bell 'red cloake,' who (as appeareth by the lettre from Richies Will to me, and sent to my lord Thesaurer) was with Brackenhill the Frydaye before the fact, and appointed with him on the Mondaye at night where he shoulde meete with Buclugh." Their letting Buccleuch come and go through them, without stop or shout, proves them in my opinion guilty of the conspiracy. But I scruple either to confront them with my witnesses, or let the accusers' names be known except to her Majesty, their lordships or yourself, for my former reason. I did not doubt protection, but the parties themselves will not endanger themselves or theirs without better assurance than my "bare promise" in the Queen's behalf. They have "a freshe memorie" of a like promise from her Majesty to Percivalles Geordie and others, who they say, was for giving like evidence "stricken to the earth with the butt ende of Brakenhilles speare," and cruelly murdered by them of Medop, "and nothings hitherto done to the falters by her Majestie, but the parties lefte to their owne amendes."

I see well enough how the Grames are befriended and in better credit than her Majesty's officer, even if their "letters of bravinge" to their friends since, did not "palpable" demonstrate this. Their lordships think I need not doubt their severe punishment if found guilty, but my lord your father's letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> satisfies me—for he writes of her Majesty's dislike of sharp dealing with them for his reasons there given.

I would therefore cease troubling their lordships farther, her Majesty's pleasure being "a lawe unto my desiers," but as I have already written to your father, I now "insiste to entreate" that her Majesty would be pleased to appoint another to this office. Your procuring whereof would be a greater favour to me, "than to hange any of the Grames," whose deaths I desired not but rather their reformation. But as the case stands, so soon as they return, I shall leave the government here to those in better credit with her Majesty, laying at her sacred feet, not only this office, which is her own, but also my person and life, which are my own—a sacrifice happily dedicated, if it be for the safety of herself and her people. Whatever she resolves on, it is needful that Henry Leigh return to his charge with speed, and likewise, "till this storme raised by Duclugh and the Grames be over-

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blowne," if only for a month or six weeks, some horsemen as my Lord Eure has on less occasion. Praying your good offices for my recall, and to acquaint the Council with such part of this letter as you think expedient. Carlisle.  
*Signed* : Th. Scroope.

*2 pp. Closely written. Addressed* : " To . . . Sir Robert Cecyll knight principall secretarie to her Majesty," &c. *Indorsed*.

## July 21. 308. PROVISIONS AT BERWICK.

Detailed monthly account of provisions issued between 29 September 1595 and 11<sup>th</sup> June 1596, and their value.

Total, . . . 2,575*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*

*2 pp. Broad sheet. Clerk's hand. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

## July 21. 309. PROVISIONS AT BERWICK.

Detail of provisions made, issued, and remaining between 1<sup>st</sup> October 1595 and 11 June 1596, and their cost, &c.—

	Cost,	4,855 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 5½ <i>d.</i>
Rate at which issued, and amount		2,575 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
Remain on 11 <sup>th</sup> June at "medinm" prices		1,448 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>

*2 pp. Broad sheet. Same hand. Indorsed partly by Burghley's secretary.*  
(1) Detailed note of the first item.

*2 pp. Broad sheet. Same writing. Indorsed partly by Burghley's secretary.*

## July 23. 310. QUESTIONS TO THE GRAMES.

Specially to Grame of Brakehill and Will of the Mote.

1. What monee they know has been paid by the Dacres' tenants in Gilsland, "for their defence (as the Greames doe terme it) but by them that paid it, named a black maile"?

2. Where is William Hare, Riche Grame's servant, and what money has been paid to him by any of the Queen's or the Dacres' tenants?

3. By whom was Geffreie Bell and 4 of the Queen's tenants of Dassogline and Burntholme spoiled, said to be the nephews and kinsmen of Richard Grame?

4. "To will them to awnswear, whither if yt can be proved that theie weare with Bucclugh at dinner at Langham the same daie before the castell was broken, theie owght not to be charged directlie with the privitie of Bucclughes act done the next daie followinge? And likewise whether theie will stand npon it, that theie weare not the daie after the castell broken, or soone after, with Bucclugh at a horserase uppon the water Owse?"

5. To name what pledges they can put in for their good behaviour hereafter, who may be changed from time to time for their more ease. *Signed* : W. Burghley.

*1 p. Written by his secretary. Two pages follow with notes by Burghley as to the Grames' connexions, &c. Indorsed by Burghley* : "23 July 1596. Questions to be answered by the Grayms."

## July 24. 311. THE GRAMES' ANSWER.

"Specialle of Brakenhill and William of the Mote, to the pointes and articles objected."

1. Brakenhill as before, denies taking blackmail, only the money paid to redeem their goods from the Scots with their consent, "and at the intreatie of the last Lord Scroope."

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2. Of William Hare and the two Hetheringtons, he knows not, "but he left them in good health in the countrie at his depart thence."

3. The truth about Dassoglin is, "that Mr Thomas Carleton landsergeant of Gilsland," took 2 Liddesdale thieves to Lord Scroope, killing a third thief. In revenge, the Laird of Mainegerton spoiled Dassoglin; and though Brakenhill has small reason to answer for his Scottish "freindes," yet to show his innocence he affirms that if any nephew or "so neare" kinsman of his was there, he will confess himself of counsel thereof.

4. "Touching their conversing with Bucklughe," the Grames say that if either they dined with him at Langholm the day before, or met him the day after Kinmont's taking out of Carlisle castle, or ever since, "they will confess themselves guiltie of the previtie therof."

5. Touching pledges, they humbly pray your lordship to consider their estate, "at whom malice hath shot his last dart, and yet breakes no skinne" —for since no ill action that they ever did is omitted in the articles, and no one thing proved to impeach their loyalty or credit, they hope by clearing themselves of these "hayanous" offences, to be rather in better state, than greater "thraldome." They have never offended the state, or ever been absent from "Caerlell" when summoned by Lord Scroope, and humbly pray for like privileges as other subjects, and not to be made "byespeches and a laughing stock" to England and Scotland. "They and their ancesters having alwaies bene trew and serviceable to their liege princes the Kinges and Queenes of England, for which twoo of them enjoy princelie rewardes of her Majestie and her ancestors at this daye, and under correction, we thinke that your great wisdom and the honorable policie of this state, will not thinke it meete to aske pledges of so meane men as us, as though the Queene cold not otherwise suppress us with her owne forces, or that the state can be endangered anie way by so meane men as ourselves." Referring ourselves wholly to your lordship's "honorable censures." Signed: Walter Grayne\*, Williame Grayne of Mott, Richard Graime of the Brakenhill†, Johne Graime‡, Wyllyme Ghrayme of Rostreis, Hwchinc Ghrame.

1½ pp. *Indorsed by Burghley*: "24 Jul. 1596. The answer of the vj Grames to certen questions."

July 26. 312. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I send inclosed copy of the King's answer to my letter, wherein he seems desirous that justice go forward. But the best way to keep them quiet is "to doe one evill turne for another," and "crubbe" them with a sharper bit. Some little experience persuades me of this, for having allowed some of my March to revenge the late spoils at Carham and Mindram, they have been quieter since. I would gladly have warrant from her Majesty so to use my discretioo, when I cannot get redress otherwise.

Cesford is not yet "comde" from Edinburgh. When I hear from him I shall advertise your lordship. Berwick. Signed: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(James vi. to Carey.)

Acknowledging his letter with note of complaints, but that there as many to be made against those under Carey's charge, if his officer took the same care to make them. Being desirous of justice, he has given express order to

\* "Of Netherby" added by Burghley.

† This signature by the writer of the answers.

‡ "Alias Willis Jock" added by Burghley.

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Sir Robert Ker his warden to redress these complaints, and seek the like for those of Scotland. Falkland, 22<sup>d</sup> July 1596. James R.

1 p. *Copy by Carey's clerk. Indorsed.*

July 27. 313. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

On "the 26 of this instant, I reseed your honers of the xxj<sup>th</sup> of the same," with her Majesty's pleasure for my coming up, hoping thereby I should have had a "happy seyghte" of my lord my father. Whereon I made ready, delivering the charge of the town as commanded, to my brother Sir Robert Carey and the gentleman porter, coming away myself that day and reaching Newcastle same night. By 9 A.M. next morning I arrived at Darnton, where I received your other letter of 22<sup>d</sup>, finding therein "my misfortunes so great and grevous that I nether could have the favor to see him befor his deathe, he leyinge so longe sike as he ded—nor the fortun to doe him that last servis wich is afforded to most men, not to bringe him to his last fewnerales." I was perplexed, being so far, whether to go on or return, but seeing by your letter it was her Majesty's pleasure and command I should remain still for a time, "that served for a lawe to me, if my life and all that I have had leyn on it," so I came back here that night, and mean "betymes" to be at Berwick to attend her farther pleasure—trusting after she appoints another governor she will give me leave then to come up, having many great businesses to attend to, or I shall be undone without your favour when occasion falls out. Newcastle. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 30. 314. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"Nowe that yt hath pleased God to call my father to his mercies," my authority from him for government of the East March is extinct. This place has great need of an officer, and the country will go to ruin if some fit man be not presently appointed. I will do my best to keep order till I hear further. Berwick. *Signed: Rob. Carey.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley. Swan wafer signet.*

July 30. 315. JOHN CAREY TO SIR R. CECIL.

"Your knowinge my miserable fortune, and hard estate by my late losse, makes me the boldelier to offer myself to be patrenished under the shadow of your wings, praying you to . . . frend and helpe a poore fendles man . . . protestinge ever to knytt that little tallant that God will allott me, in the eande of your napkyn." My present suit is your being a mean to the Queen to appoint a lord governor here, honourable, wise, and discreet, for the place needs such a one after the governor's long absence. And besides "because he shalbe matched with the most perverst and proude nacion in the world, and yet such a people as will sone find what is in him," he must be an honest man, for the good or bad of the town and country lies much in the governor's hands. I will also ask your honorable favour, for some things in my father's time detained from me, and wherein I may sustain great loss, if I find not friends. There is no news from Scotland worth writing, they are so fickle and uncertain "like themselves." Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 30. 316. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I will not seek for anything that was my father's, though I know he had many good things—for since I had nothing of him in his life time, I

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will not desire to be bettered by his death—"thereby to be tormented with continewall remembrance of my too grevous a losse." All I desire is there may be an honourable man placed in his room, for "yf I may speke without offence," the place is worthy of such a one as hath "honor, wiesedom, discrecion and good understandinge, for he shalbe matched with the craftiest, proude, and most deceitfull nacion this daie in the world." My care for the place makes me thus presume on your "honorable paciencia."

We are in the middle of haymaking, and if no care is taken of the governor's hay, he cannot keep his horses. There should be order taken with the "growndes" whereon his horses will go, and if now appointed, it were good he sent some officer to see to this, and I will look after laying in the hay.

My only suit at present is that it would please you "to patrenishe me with the honorable tytell of a father," who shall be as obedient and loving as to my own father—expecting no protection in any bad or dishonest matter. "Do not think my good lord, that this desier proseedes of preid, but of affectionate love, not grownded of a smale tyme, but roted as well in the happynes of my cuntry as for my owne good."

We are only to-day beginning the pay, for the treasurer came no sooner. How it will end, "God knowes," for there is 1000*l.* short of the full sum.

Thus praying your honor to be careful in choice of a governor and to send him quickly, that I may thus have leave to come up for my own business, I cease further trouble. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 31. 317. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Your letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> July "came to my hands the last of the same." I see you have again referred the examination as to "blackmeale" to me. I remind your lordships it was so before, by your special order, but as I found the truth "overborne by the awfulness of the Grames (against whom non here dare give publique accusacion and testimony of evil)," I thought it my duty to transfer it again to your "more powerfull decidinge and orderinge, as M<sup>r</sup> Knevet I thinke remembreth," to whom I advertised my proceedings, as well as to your lordships. I shall never be able here to get at the truth in that matter, which I would not have returned, to your lordships' trouble, if I could get men ready to speak the truth according to their consciences. And must humbly beseech you to regard the cause, and "put order thereto before the accused be dismissed from your lordships."

For the 2 Grames who excuse themselves by the special charge given them by my father, to defend their neighbours—their disposition then was the same as now, *viz.*, neglect of the defence and safety of their neighbours, by letting the Scots riders come and go through them to spoil others—and practising with the Scots to undo those "to whose persones or lauds they caried mallice or quarrell." This is not my suspicion only, but known to the whole country, though none "dare avowche yt openly."

These two, and the rest, deny intelligence with Buclugh: but I thought my information being her Majesty's officer solely for her service and good of the frontier, without malice to them, might have been of more credit than the impudent denial of known murderers and robbers—"consideringe also they pleade their owne cases, wherin I think no man can expect that they will make a true confession to accuse themselves." And though I see her Majesty likes not a rigorous course against them, yet I will recall to your memories, what I have said to others, "and to assure, that for the Grames beinge at the horsrace before the breach of this castell (at which tyme th'enterprise for the same was resolved upon, Buclugh then declaringe his intencion for the settinge oute of Kinmont, and demandinge at the Grames howe many of them would take his parte therin?): and also that they were

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"with Buclugh at the Langham, as is advertised—besydes the brute of this wholl countrey, William Grame of Medop, Will of the Rosetres, Hob Forster, Robert Grame of the Fauld, and a brother of Water Grame, with thre or foure Scotsmen, have confessed to my selfe; besydes the testimony given me by the lettre to me sent from Richies Will, which lettre I sent to my very good lord the Lord Thesaurer,"—their suffering Buecleuch to ride through them to and from this castle "without showte or let," makes all more manifest. But seeing her Majesty's indisposition to sharp measures, and as these witnesses fear the malice of these Grames hereafter, without better protection from feuds than some of them have found in times past, I forbear to press them, and they make difficulty either to confront the accused, or have their names disclosed to any but myself. As for the Grames' complaint of the Scots spoiling their tenants in their absence, those proceed from their own "knaveries and accustomed most divellish devises" to procure pity: for these are done by their own friends mostly. If her Majesty tolerates indignities to herself, and disgraces to me her officer, by forbearing "severe and sharpe handlinge to those caterpillers . . . (I meane those Grames), I must think my case the most unfortunate of all mens, to fynde myne owne dishonour in those services of her Majesty, which I hoped (at her Majesty bestowing this place upon me) should have made me happie." I assure your lordships what I have done against these Grames, has proceeded from my care to do acceptable service to her, and honour to myself, by freeing this office from "the miserable oppression and cruelty" of them and their friends. Carlisle.

*Signed*: Th. Scroope.

*2½ pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 31. 318. SCROPE TO BURGHELEY.

"I have received your lordshippes chidinge lettre of the xxij<sup>th</sup> hearof, which in all due thanckfulnes I acknowledge to have proceeded from your more than fatherlie love towardes me, that accept and interpret the same no less freindlie then your lordship hath ment yt." But give me leave to recal the true cause which first moved me to beg that the Grames might be sent for before your lordships—which was not from malice or desire to take their lives, but for the quiet of the country, to have them chastised, bring them to better obedience to the Queen and her officer, and to be more peaceable among the Queen's subjects, who have these many years been (and still are) "a praye unto them and theirs, howsoever with brason faces they can denie the same." These considerations, and no other "hnmour," moved my desire to have them sharply dealt with. For my sending up, as your lordship expects, such good proof as I have, my witnesses, seeing the light account of the testimony already given by some of them, and fearing the malice of these men hereafter, shown by the not forgotten death of Percival's Geordie, it is not their protection promised in your letter for their coming up, that they stand upon, but what security they are to have "for them and theires in tyme to come when their services in this behalfe shalbe slipped oute of the memorie of her Majesty and counsell?"

Your forbearing to impart to her Majesty my desire to resign, I hold to proceed from your lordships "good will and lovinge regard," yet seeing my useful service here crossed, "and my crossers to be graced by my discountenance," I must still entreat your lordship in such sort as your wisdom sees best, to move her Majesty for my leave to surrender it with her good liking, that her highness may make trial what obedience these Grames will give under another, being assured they will do nothing under my government. But if her Majesty will not let me leave, "nor give more sharpe chastisement" to the Grames, she may be pleased "to kepe Brakenhill, Rosetrees, and young Hutcheon, the cheife persons in the practise against this castell," and let the rest home with fit security, to try what good service



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they will do, though I conceive little likelihood of it. "Assuringe your lordship, with whom I make bolde to be plaine—the Grames shalbe all no sooner returned hither withoute sharpe handlinge before, but I shall theron leave this office, and comitt my life and livinges to her Majesties disposinge—choosinge rather to die honorablie, or leave my'countrey, then to lyve in place where I must be subjected under the mallice of those whom once her Majesty helde me worthie to governe, havinge for myne owne parte hitherto done nothinge that maye justly occasion the deminution of that her first good opinion of me."

The nightly burnings, &c., here by means of their friends and Bucclench, since they wrote of their gentle usage, hath forced me to call down 200 men from the inward part to lie nightly on the frontier—"an insupportable charge" to the country, which I must keep, till otherwise ordered or relieved by her Majesty, or these storms are "overblowne." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

\*The inclosed in reply to the Privy Council's letter received to-day, I pray you "cause delivered."

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 31. 319. ARTICLES SIGNED BY THE GRAMES.

To be bound with sureties, men of "livelood" in Camberland, to observe the following:—

(1) To keep the Queen's peace to her subjects, and if any provoke them by word or deed to use violence, they shall complain to the Lord Warden or deputy, who shall punish the offender.

(2) They shall neither directly nor indirectly aid a Scotsman, or English outlaw to rob or burn in England, or harm the person of any Englishman.

(3) If they hear of any such design, they shall not only inform the Lord Warden in time, but also watch at passages and otherwise do their best to apprehend such persons.

(4) If such attempt is made before they hear of it, they shall repair with able men of their blood or alliance, to the place, or attack the offenders returning, and assist the owners to rescue the spoil, within 6 days after offence, as ordered by treaty.

(5) They shall attend the Lord Warden or his deputy when summoned, and all warden courts unless dispensed with by him.

(6) They shall deliver "bookes" of their servants and children able to ride or use weapons, to the Lord Warden, and be bound for their keeping the peace, &c., as above, or deliver them up for punishment.

(7) They shall be ready with horse, armour, and weapons to defend the Border, under penalty of distrainment on failure so to do.

(8) They shall take no money or goods for defending any Englishman, unless the giver before 2 or 3 "honest" persons, confess his willingness to recompense their "paines and charges."

(9) If the Lord Warden secretly purpose a roade in Scotland, none of them shall warn any Scotsman by letter, message, or other token.

(10) They shall choose one of best value of their name and blood, to keep peace among themselves, "to be yearelie and newelie chosen," and presented to the Lord Warden, before whom he shall take a corporall oath to the above effect.

(11) They shall submit to the Lord Warden to be ordered and governed according to Border law, as others are in the wardenry. *Signed*: Walter

\* The P.S. holograph.

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Grame, Will Grayme, Richart Grame \*, J. Grame, Willen Grame, Howchane Grame.

3 pp. *Written by Burghley's secretary. Indorsed by Burghley: "Ul" Jul. 1596. Artycles to which the vj Grames ar to be bound."*

(2) A draft of the same.

2½ pp. *In Burghley's hand. Indorsed by him: "Copy."*

July 31. 320. ANSWER OF THE GRAMES TO THE ARTICLES.

Touching the articles of their bond, they say that they are reasonable for every good subject. Yet under correction, that "it is hard either by vowe to bind a Christian to doo all dueties that ar to be doon towards God, or by bond to tye a subject to perfourm all vassalages towards his prince," for by malice a small suspicion may serve to forfeit a bond, and they are loath so to endanger themselves by bonds, "especially to my lord Scroop," whom all the country fear by his last proceedings, is not friendly to us. "But wee six Grames who ar hear present," offer to put in sureties that we, our servants and families, shall be answerable either to the common laws of the realm, or to the "marshall lawes of the Borders," which we take to be as much as her Majesty can require. Yet we submit ourselves to your lordships' direction, offering, if thought meet, to be bound with sureties to observe the said articles. *Signed: Walter Grame, Will Grayme, Rychart Grame†, J. Grame, Williyme Ghrayme, Howchane Grame.*

1 p. *Indorsed by Burghley: "Ul" Julij 1596. The answer of the vj Gramys to certen articles conteaning ther submission with some pretence to be forb. (?) for ther othes."*

July . 321. BOND BY SCOTTISH PRISONERS.

Recognisance in presence of Sir Ralph Eure knight, lord Eure lord warden of the Middle Marches on July 38 Elizabeth, by "A.B. de W." Scotsman, and "R.V. de B." in the county of Northumberland gentleman, as his "manuaptor." Whereas the said A.B. was lawfully appended on the above day by "T.C. of C." in the said county, without lawful occasion to be there, he binds himself as lawful prisoner "hale man and fear," to enter himself to the said lord warden, to answer all trespasses, burnings, murders, spoils, &c., done by him or any of his name or kinsfolk, whenever called for; also to enter himself as lawful prisoner to the said T.C. for any spoil by said A.B. or his foresaids on the said T.C., or any of his tenants, followers or servants inhabiting the said Middle March, within 20 days after warning given at the "now" dwelling house of the above bounden R.V., by the message or warrant of the lord warden, or lawful demand of the said T.C., provided that the said T.C. shall acquaint the lord warden with his demand before he shall give notice to the said R.V. for entering the aforesaid malefactors challenged by T.C., viz. the above bounden A.B. or any of his house, being of his clan or kindred. "That then this recognizance to be voyd or els, &c."

1 p. *Indorsed by Eure: "A trew coppie of a bond taken by the lord wardaine of the Midle Marches of England versus Scotiam, of divers Scotemen laytlie taken presoners."*

July . 322. SCOTTISH OUTRAGES IN THE EAST MARCHES.

1. 3 poor men in Woller slain by Cesford himself: also another Englishman, Will Storey.

2. An honest yeoman called Boulton slain by Sir John Carr while driving his plough.

\* This, and the last two signatures, are by one hand.

† This and Hutcheon's signature in one hand.

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3. The same Sir John fetched 2 protected Scots out of England, drowned one and hanged the other.

4. Certain Scots broke into Mr John Selbies howse of Tyndall and "cutt him in peces," without known quarrel.

5. Young Mr Haggerston, Thomas Burrell, &c., "was extremely hurt and mangled." Divers towns laid waste.

6. Her Majesty's "skowte" twice shot in danger of death under the walls of Berwick, and Mr John Carey's cattle taken there.

7. Afterwards cattle taken out of the "Coningrees," a privileged place.

Jack Dowglass:—

1. He came to the Snoke and the "Mawlkyn feildes," accounted as close as within the walls, and took 6 horses.

2. A time before, he took 16 kyne and oxen, and 2 nags of the garrison's, out of the castle feildes.

3. At another he took some of Mr Vernon's wethers out of Gaynes Lawe.

4. And with the Pringles he carried off the "harrage" and cattle of Rugley.

1 p. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary and himself.*

July . 323. REPORT ON DECAYS OF THE BORDERS.

[Drawn up in tabular form with the names of the defaulters.]

*Abstract.*

"EASTE MARCHES:—

Northumberland.—The decays and causes thereof since anno x<sup>mo</sup> regine Elizabethae."

By negligence and wilfulness of owners and farmers, 152 horses; converting tenements to domains or pasture—dividing or conjoining, 48 horses; excessive fines, improved rents, services or oppressions, 188 horses; by Scots not denizens occupying lands in England, 13 horses; by Scottish spoils and ransoms, 139 horses—total 540 horses.

Value of Scottish spoils, 6,876*l.* 6*s.*

"MIDLE MARCHES."—

Northumberland.—By the like causes, and murder of English subjects, 1,245 horses.

Value of Scottish spoils, 15,876*l.* 11*s.*

BISHOPRIC OF DURHAM.—

By the like causes, 257 horses, 2 halls, 20 mansions, houses, &c.

"WEST MARCHES."—

Cumberland.—By the like causes, poverty and decays "not perfectly expressed," 146 horses, 11 footmen, "3 houses of strength."

Westmerland.—By the like causes, 95 horses, 19 footmen.

The reporter sums up the causes under two heads.—(1) The disorders among the English, and (2) the insolence and rapine of the Scots, with suggestions for remedies by treaty, act of parliament or order from her Majesty. He defines deadly fend thus—"Deadly foed, the word of enmyte in the Borders, implacable without the blood and whole family distroied, whose etymologie I knowe not where better to fetch then from Spiegelius in his *Lexicon Juris*, in verbo 'feydam': he saith it is an old Teutch word whereof is derived by Hermanns Niroranus (?), *faydosum*, *Hostis publicus*: 'foed' enim, *Bellum significat.*"

He also points out among other drawbacks to justice, that the Scottish wardens, being native borderers, are "extraordinariely addicted to parcialities, favour of their blood, tenants and followers," and that none such should hold office. He recommends the practice of blackmail to be put down by act of parliament. It is taken and given both by Scots and English. The Borders

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being in great "pennrie" of silver, pay rent in meal, corn, &c. "See that this bribege they call Blackmeale, in respecte that the cause for which yt is taken is fowle and dishoneste: (accordinge to the sayng of the civil lawe: *pacta turpia sunt quae turpem causam continent*) and is paid in meale corn or victuall." He recommends an enactment that felonies in Northumberland and Cumberland be tried elsewhere, from the difficulty of getting convictions in these counties (especially the former) if the felon is of any surname, as appeared at Hexham gaol delivery 1596. Those of Northumberland to be tried in the bishopric, and of Cumberland in Westmorland—for the people of these inland counties (though "not cleare") are less given to factions, and more willing to justice on felons.

He advises, as the wiser men of these parts think, that her Majesty should order her castles to be repaired, and small garrisons of inland men placed, towards which the country might contribute, on assurance of defence, as it would save them paying blackmail.

Finally, as the wastes on the English border are very great and spacious, "without people, especially in Tyndale, and the Scottish partes populous, therfor that upon passadges and fordes, there might be habitacions, and if it might be soe thought convenient, some colonies to be transferred thether, from other partes of the kiugdom, where yt laboreth of the abundance of people. It is enformed that in King Edward I. time, the crown received 1700*l.* yerelie rent in thos partes of Tyndale; and that nowe her Majestie hath but 30*l.* A rental hereof is said to be in the custody of Nicholas Rydley of the Eales in Tyndale."

17½ pp. *Indorsed*: "The decayes of the Borders towards Scotland, and the causes thereof." *Added by Burghley*: "Collected by M<sup>r</sup> Fern."

Aug. 1. 324. PROVISION AT BERWICK.

The "remain" in the Queen's store on 1 Aug. 1596.

Wheat, 180 qrs.; rye, 81 qrs.; meal, 26 qrs.; malt, 333 qrs.; beans, 40 qrs.

Oxen, 9; "kyne," 1; "weathers," 72.

Butter, 14 firkins. Island cod, 100; Wardhouse cod, 400.

*E.c. per* William Vernon, *signed*: Thomas Clark.

½ p. *Indorsed*: (as title).

Aug. 1. 325. THE SIX GRAMES TO BURGHLEY.

Declaring their innocence of the crimes whereof they were accused before the Privy Council, while thanking their lordships for the justice they have received. Though they can never requite his favour, they will answer the same to him and his by hearty prayers to Almighty God, and all other services which men of their sort shall be able to perform, preferring to show their innocence rather by deed than word or promise. Also hoping to satisfy Lord Scrope, who has conceived displeasure, rather by the suggestion of their adversaries than of his own knowledge. London. *Signed*: Walter Grame, Will Grayme, Rychart Grame\*, J. Grame, Wyllyme Grayme, Howchane Grame.

¾ p. *Addressed. Corrected and indorsed by Burghley*: "Primo Augusti 1596; a lettre of vj Grayms to the Lord Tresorer."

Aug. 2. 326. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I have received your letter with her Majesty's warrant for me "to contynew her officer here till she shall please to appoint an other warden."

\* This and the last signature in one hand.

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I will do my best while I am able. "But (good my lord), being thus placed by her Majestie, and the countrey esteamyng me warden, it wilbe my discredytt to be displaist without cause"—wherein I beg your good favour.

As directed, I send you the spoils for this twelvemonth. But I hear Cesford has commanded all under him to bring in all spoils against this March for 10 years past, and means to present them to the King to acquit my complaint.

I am right heartily sorry to hear from your lordship my father is found so far in the Queen's debt. But surely he has spent it in her service, "for I cannot learne he hath purchased any land for his children, and I feare I shall be a feeling wytnesse to my self therof; for the rent of Northam I assure your lordship, hathe bene allwayes paid to the receavour of Yorkshire, as by his acquittances dothe appeare, which I have to show your lordship." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Note of "stoulthes reafes," &c., committed by the Scots, presented to me this year, and number and value of goods stolen, except horses, which are not priced, but referred to the owners' oaths, as agreed by the Commissioners of both realms—which horses will come to far more than all the rest.

*Extracts.*

From John Strother of Killam gentleman, by Stephen Burne of the Loughe, Jock and Gilbert Burne his bretheren, Watty Yong of the Knowe, &c., at Martinmas last, 12 kyeu and oxen, 1 young horse and a mare.

From Nicholas Hooke of Killam yeoman, by the goodman of Elysheughe, Tom Young *alias* Tom "with the stowers," Jocke Yonge *alias* Jock of the Blackhall, &c., about Lammas 1595, 6 kyeu and oxen.

From Robert Read of Dunston about Michaelmas 1595, by James Yonge *alias* James of the Coave *elder*, Thomas Yonge his brother, and said Tom of the stowers, 4 oxen, 3 kyeu, 1 nag, 1 mare.

From John Fynech of Twysell house gentleman, by George Tate of Bareasse, David and William Tates, his sou and brother, &c., at Lammas, 8 oxen.

From John Muschamp of Lyame hall by Jock Brewhouse of the Narrow *elder*, &c., about 17 July 1595, 40 "yewes."

From William Strother of Kirkenewton esquire, by Robert and Symond Hall of Heavysyde and John Hall of the Sykes, &c., at Midsummer 1595, a grey horse and a mare.

From same by Androe Ellet of the Burne grainge *alias* Andro "the woer," Martyne "mend the kayle," &c., in 1595, 92 ewes and wethers.

From William Hall and Symond Vaughe of West Newton yeomen, by Rayphe and William Aynsley, &c., in 1595, 3 kye, 2 oxen, and insight worth 20 nobles.

Sir Robert Kerre the warden of Scotland came with 60 horse 8 miles into Engle to Woller, and slew 2 men there at night, "sounding his trompett in the towne gate while they were a killing, and all the way home." And same night slew another man in a town called Killam.

All these were committed in the half year before my entrance to office. And more will be presented, if the county heard of some days of truce to be holden.

Breviate of the above and valuation as rated by the Commissioners of both realms.

Oxen 74, value 148*l.*; kine 61, value 91*l.* 10*s.*; horses, nags and mares, 43 [*not valued*]; ewes 163, value 48*l.* 18*s.*; wethers 119, value 35*l.* 4*s.*; insight gear 28*l.* Men slain by the warden, 3; men "laymd" by other Scots, 2. The whole, exclusive of the horses, is 351*l.* 12*s.*

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[The note of these done in his office since he entered, is similar to that inclosed in No. 295.]

"I have not set downe the names of many of the Scotsmen that have of late committed sondrye of thes stoulthes, for that thei ar not perfectlye knowne as yet who thei are."

Breviate of these slaughters, &c., since my entrance, and valuation of the spoils.

Oxen, 162, value 323*l.*; kye, 184, value 276*l.*; ewes and wethers, 1098, value 329*l.* 8*s.*; horses and mares, 49 [*not valued*]; young neat, 17, value 8*l.* 10*s.*; insight gear, 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The whole sum, besides the horses, is 954*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*

Men slain, 5—one by the warden, one by Sir John Kerre, the rest by others.

11 *pp.* *Indorsed partly by Burghley*: "A note of the spoils done in theast Marche by the Scottes sence the beginninge of the yeaere of our lord 1595. England."

Aug. 2. 327. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Bucleuch's "unkindenes" with Lord Scrope furthers roads in that March, chiefly Gilsland, which weaken this March for resistance. There was some kindness between me and "Baclughe" for general justice, which I labour to continue, knowing our weakness is not yet repaired. But I fear when the corn is off the ground, and their horses bettered, the roades will be more "spightfull and noysome" to us all. Cesford is displeased with Sir Robert Carey for killing "of Dagleashe."

Johnston is in high displeasure with my March, for that William Fenwick of Wallington in following certaiun Scots come to steal his horses, slew two of them, one an Elliot, the other a Johnstone.

This is our state—Cesford in terms with me, and unkind with the East. "Baclughe" in terms with me, and not with Lord Scrope. Johnston "newlie made warden of the West," in kindness with Lord Scrope, in "collor" with my March. This course is not safe for the Queen's subjects, and I pray your consideration.

The truce day deferred from 20 July to 17 August is like to hold.

I pray your opinion for continuing the same and as to meeting with Bucleuch. I send you a note of the spoils and fires in the West March since Midsummer "by common brewte." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 *p.* *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before. Inclosing No. 330.*

Aug. 2. 328. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

"Geve me leave with your lordship favoure and honorable assistance humblie to intreate your lordship good meanes for the place at Barwicke which my lord Chamberlaine enjoyed, I maye obtayne at her Majesties hands: in which place my father formerlie served with his princes favoure and good lykeinge. My selfe not worthie, yett desiorus to ymitate my ancestors in truth dewtie and service. Yf your lordship vouchsaifed me favoure and countenance, I shall comforth my selfe heerein, and withoute yt be by your lordship honorable means and lykeinge, I will neyther further crave nor desier the same; restinge onlie upon your lordships honorable love and not ells." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  *p.* *Holograph. Address (holograph). Indorsed*: "Lord Eure to my lord. For the captineship of Barwick." *Wafer signet as before.*

Aug. 2. 329. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I have thought good to answer your letter of 26<sup>th</sup> July in every

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point, "so nere as God shall geve me grace. Toichinge the death of my lord my father, I can say litle, but for that he was a man, therefore he died, and so shall all men, and I must beare my parte in his losse, as many others must doe. God in heaveu make us all redy to dye and quietlie to beare our bordens."

Your honor writes further that the Queen commands me to take care for the government of this town, for which you say I have authority as Marshal—"whose veri name shall ever make me to leave wief and children and all that I have in the world, with adventuring of many lyves, yf I had them, to do her service without further question, save onlie her name." I was but my father's deputy, whereon my authority is now "seased," yet I would have taken such care of the town, till her Majesty appointed another governor or called me away. The case stands thus—as my father's deputy, I was to do what he commanded me, and he to answer therefor. His death has clean cut off my authority. Your letter of 23<sup>d</sup> July was sufficient to make me stay and attend the Queen's pleasure here. Your letter of 26<sup>th</sup> gives me no further credit or authority than I had, but as I have to do both with Scots "(who are a subtil and a conynge generacion)," and with many here who will "skan" and soon find out what power a man hath, and if it is "not verie good, they will soon growe to contempt, and from coutempt to tumulttes and mutenies," regarding nothing once they find authority weak. Wherefore let me have such reasonable authority, if I stay here with the Queen's pleasure, that "I may boldlie commaund and they dare not disobey."

You write of her Majesty's "mislikinge of the slaughter of Jock Daglisse," being "verie barbarous and seldom used emonge the Turckes." I am sorry to displeas her Majesty, but if the slaughter of 3 poor men her subjects in Woller, by Cesford himself, with 80 horse and "trompett sounded," and another subject Will Storie likewise slaughtered, with near 100 horse "and trompett sounded;" all this begun "but for one shepe hogg that was taken from Sesfordes sheppherd, so highlie was Sesfordes honor toiched therein! Nor if the slaughter of a verie honest yeoman subject to her Majestie, going at his ploughe without intent of hurt, being slayne by Sir John Carr, who came first to the poore mans wief, and askt where he was? who showed him where her husband was, going at the plowe, emonge manie others, and Sir John asking among the poore men which was Bowlton? came to the poore man him self where he was, and asked him his name, whereupon the poore man in good manner put of his hatt, tould him his name was Bowlton: presentlie Sir John verie valientlie drewe owt his sword and cutt him three blowes upon the head, and left the rest of his companie to cutt him all in peces." This Sir John soon after fetched two protected Scotsmen out of England, drowned one crossing "the water," and hanged the other in Scotland. "Nor if the comming afterward of certen Scottes into a gentillmans house of good name, and bothe stowt and honest, called Mr John Selby of Tynedale house, into whose house they brake, and murdered, cutting him all to peces, without any quarrell knowen either to him or his frendes, save that he was a man that loved not theves—besides the wonderfull and extreme bloody hurting of yong Mr Haggerston, Thomas Burrell and manie others hir Majesties subjectes, most cruellie mangled, besydes destroying and laying wast of divers townes of her Majesties borders, will not serve for the killing of one thei?"—then let me be punished as her Majesty pleases.

But to satisfy your honour in all points, that you may better answer it—the truth is, at my first coming here, her Majesty's "skowt" was twice shot by Scots, under the walls in danger of death, which I certified and would fayne have had leave to revenge—cattle were taken under the castle walls, and also out of the Connygares, a privileged place, too great a dishonour "to carry," but I saw the Queen's dislike of "troubles."

This last Candlemas eve, this Jock Daglisse and three friends, seeing things

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thus passed quietly, "came into the Bowodes, no, he came into the Snake and into Mawdlyn fildes, where never Scottesman came so nere us before"—for we thought it as close as within the walls—and took 6 horses. I knew in 3 days where they were, and sent both to him and his friends, but only got ill words for satisfaction. Whereon seeing things getting worse and worse, I thought best to give them some "suuffle" and make them afraid, ordering the garrison to go to his house and bring him to me, who chanced to be killed in its defence. The King called him "a sackles gentillman," yet before this he came and took 16 kyne and oxen and 2 garrison nags out of the castle fields, whereon M<sup>r</sup> Bowes now ambassador in Scotland, laboured and spent much money and got no redress—also he took M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's wethers out of Gaynes Lawe, a place for the Queen's store, and with some Pringles, he took the "harrage" and all the cattle of Ruggeley, and though delivered for the same, was afterwards "borrowed\* home againe," the most of the bill being still unpaid. This is the King's "sackles man," and if any punishment be due for his slaughter, it must needs be to me who ordered his death, and am ready at the Queen's pleasure.

M<sup>r</sup> Bowes' son is here making the ordinary pay—he is "veri honest and carefull," and if there is any want, it will be "for lack of money which he should receive," but he hopes to satisfy all, whereon I shall report in my next.

I have the note of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's you sent, and have returned another to your honor under his officer's hands, showing what remains in store Berwick. *Signed:* Jhon Carey.

3½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Inclosing No. 324.*

Aug. 2. 330. SPOILS ON WEST MARCHES.

The burnings, &c., by the Scots on the West March since the taking of Kinmonth 1596.

*Extracts.*

Between 19 June and 24 July—cattle stolen, 1061, horses stolen 98.

List of between 25 and 30 steadings, &c., mostly in Gilsland, burned, &c. On 29<sup>th</sup> June—Robin of the Lake spoiled of 185 cattle and 20 horses. On 7 July—Richies Wills Grame, of 12 horses. On Monday 12 July—Rinniou hills, West Garth, Trocrossett, Mooer gardes, spoiled at a day foray by the Nixsons, Crosiers and Ellots of Burnheades, of 400 cattle, and 6 horses.

1½ pp. *Written by Eure's clerk. Indorsed by Eure.*

Aug. 2. 331. ARTICLES SIGNED BY THE GRAMES.

Answer of Walter Grame, &c., to the articles proposed to them by the Lords of the Privy Council—"for performing whearof they yeald themselves to enter bond to the Queens most excellent Majestie, and doo testifie the same by their subscription to every article."

[*In same terms as No. 319. They sign each of the eleven articles.*]

*Signed:* Walter Grame, Will Grayme, Richard Grayme, Wyllyme Grayme, J. Grame, Howchane Grame.

*On a broad sheet. Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

Aug. 3. 332. SCROPE TO SIR R. CECIL.

Lest the envious should detract from the truth, I certify the "true evente of Sondaye nightes trouble on the Border," thus. Some of the Queen's subjects here put their cattle "to grass and sommerringe" with Robert Grame,

\* Released on pledge.



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otherwise Rob of the Lake, who depastured them within Scotland among his own and those of his friends. It fell out, after those Grames with you wrote of their hopes of favour, some of their friends and allies, with the Elwoods, reft and carried off all these cattle. But this is mere cunning and policy as I wrote before, to move her Majesty and the Council's compassion, and let some of "those above" come down to defend their neighbours. So I called Grame before me, threatening if he caused not restitution to the poor men of the goods taken by his "knaverie," he should lie in prison till they were satisfied. Whereon he apprehended an Elwood, who was there, and made show to hold him for payment of that bill. Yesterday there should have been a "traiste" between the Grames and the Scotsmen for satisfying the goods—but to prevent this, and cheat the poor men, and "give the Grames with you occasion of newe complaints and moyanes of favour," the said Rob let himself be taken prisoner to Scotland, in the hope it should seem, "to have a Rowland changed for an Olliver, one knave to free another." The presumptions that his taking was voluntary are—the very day before his capture, those in assurance with him, gave it up, and warned him 3 several times they would seek to take him that night. But he neither fled his house nor defended it, though he had guns, powder, and bullet, by offering shot at the assaulters, nor warned his neighbours the Grames, or if he did, they helped him no better than for the rescue of the last goods taken by the Scots from Gilstand on Friday last—where 60 Grames met 20 foot driving goods, but neither offered to stop or rescue. And though they can raise 300 men, yet not 16 were seen to rise to come to his relief.

He was taken in this manner—"the Laird of Buclugh in person, accompanied with the Scottes of his own surname, and the Elwoods, with the Bells and Carliells, to the number of 400 men, with his trompettour and two banners (as they tearme them) which I take to be giddons or pencilles for horsemen) assaulted the howse which was stronge, but with fyer to the dore had smoked him oute before the men which I sent from hence so soone as I gott word therof, coulde come to releive him. Buclugh takinge prisoner awaye with him, 3 of the Grames of Meddopp, whom I holde in as litle danger as him selfe." Thus her Majesty may see Bucclench's mind to justice for injuries, taking such "fashions of warr."

Last night intending the apprehension of some that were at this castle, and recover the above prisoners, we made an incursion in Buclughs office—but missing the men sought, they brought off 14 score kye and oxen, 400 sheep, and some horses, firing their houses, as they do ours almost nightly. If those burnings go on, tolerated by both princes, the frontiers will both be laid waste, and her Majesty must needs send some horse to defend this March. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

I shall keep the gentlemen of the country here for their advice and help, till her Majesty resolve to send relief.

I had prepared the inclosed to be deposed before the two judges here, and the witnesses were ready to swear, but the judges not being directed, made some scruple to be privy to it. But I send it as it is, for you to acquaint their lordships with it.

2 pp. *Marginal notes by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

"At Carliell the third daye of Auguste 1596 befor her Majesties Justices of Assize whose names ar underwritten:—

First—Robert Grame otherwise called Rob of the Fanlde witnesseth upon his othe, that the daye of Baclughes horsrace, before the breakinge of this castell, Richard Grame of Brakenhill (as he thinketh) was on the feilde. But he knoweth that William Grame called of the Rosetrees, yonge Hutcheon Grame, Walter Grame, William Grame of the Mote, Richies Will and Wills Jocke were there, and all did speake with Buclughe. And that yonge

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"Hutcheon mett Buclughe that daye eight myles above the Langham, who also (as one upon the feilde that daye hath tolde the said Rob of the Fauld) was the first man which moved Buclnghe to make the attempte at this castell. Also he saythe that Water Grame, yonge Hutcheon, and Rosetrees did all dyne the same daye with Buclughe at the Langham. And that at Buclughes cominge to this castell, there was a man, whom Rob of the Faulde cannot name, which came oute of the howse of Will of Rosetrees to Buclughes hoste, and that Watt Scott and Will of Kinmont with halfe a score in companie, as they went from this castell, called Will of Rosetrees oute of his howse, and openly demaunded to borrow his dogges.

"Also Robert Forster of the Stainegarthisyde, in like maner witnesseth that at the abovenamed horsrace him selfe was on the feilde, wher he also sawe Walter Grame of Netherby, William Grame of the Rosetrees, Richies Will, Will of the Mote, yonge Hutcheon Grame, Rob of the Faulde, and his sonne Will. All these were carried unto Buclugh one by one, by Willy Kange, and had conference with Buclughe. Rosetrees, yonge Hutcheon and Will of the Faulde dyned the same day with Buclugh at the Langham. Sithence which daye, there hath verie grett truste and kyndnes contynued betwix them and Buclughe, who hath hitherto caused all their nolte which have bin taken from them, to be sent home againe to them, and maketh greate meanes for their nagges in the handes of the Trumbles."

1 p. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Annotated and indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 6. 333. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I can now satisfy your honour that the half year's pay is fully made without complaint—for this day the trumpet sounded to know if any man could "challenge" anything, and for ought I hear, all are satisfied. Young M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Bowes himself is gone to Scotland for 4 or 5 days to see his father.

I would remind you of my "ould sewte" for the appointment of a lord governor here, that I may have some liberty to go about my own affairs, "which do ymport me greatelie,"—besides the state of the town and country requires reform by a man of authority. Yet if the Queen's pleasure be to continue things as they are, I shall do my best for her service. But she must needs establish me in some place and authority by her warrant "publiquelie known," and I trust your honour will consider that it is not 240*l.* a year will defray the charges of a chief magistrate here, and if her Majesty will have me stay till she "have considered better of it," that it will please her of her "grations goodnes," to give me out of the governor's fee, "which is verie nere 1100*l.* a yere for his governorship and his wardeny, but onlie 200*l.* a yere that is allowed him by the Quenes benevolence: which will make me be the better hable to kepe a better porte and countenance." I would it might please her also to give me leave to come up for six weeks to dispatch my affairs before Michaelmas—my brother Sir Robert Carey being here, ready to supply my place if it please her. This done, I shall remain here for life if she so command, but I have so very great business for this present and would gladly see my other friends yet left alive, before either I mv self or some of them die, that I hope you will consider my case rightly. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed, faint.*

Aug. 7. 334. PETITION RICHARD AND JOHN GRAIME TO BURGHLEY.

Representing that themselves and 24 of their name and kindred stand outlawed for the death of Percivalles Geordie—that though their indictments contain apparent errors, the copies they took are not authentic, and without "copies of credit" they cannot procure their writ of error;

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praying his lordship to give them the copies in his hands, that the Queen's counsel may be satisfied, and their own estate relieved. *Not signed.*

*1 p. Addressed (at head). Indorsed partly by Burghley: "7 Aug. 1596. The humble petition of the Graims, for copies of ther inditments anno 26 Elizabeth."*

Aug. 9. 335. R. VERNON TO BURGHLEY.

Begging his lordship to consider his petitions, yet not desiring to press him farther than her Majesty is "tied" by her grant to pay him, or to relieve him of his losses incurred by the want of it. That whatever she now pays, will be expended on victuals, thus benefitting herself. Prays early consideration. *Signed: Robert Vernon.*

*½ p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 10. 336. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Your letter of 3<sup>d</sup> came to me this day. "By which amongst other things, your lordship desiereth to be satisfied in the manuer of the takinge of Kinmonte, and cause of his detayninge. The first I verilie hoped that the paper mentioned in your lordshippes lettre, together with my lettre therewith, would have satisfied your lordship. Th'other, namely for his detayninge in prison afterwarde, it will better appeare by this inclosed, the copie of my lettre to her Majesties ambassador, at such tyme as the Kinge called upon th'ambassador to cause Kinmonte to be put to libertie. Also I had th'opinion of some of good accompte and longe experience in Border causes, who thoughte Kinmonte to be a lawfull prisoner, if a Scotsman in tyme of peace maye be a lawfull prisoner, as the Scottes use to make such Englishmen as they can gett into their handes. But thonghe he had bin both unlawfallie taken and unjustlie detayned: yet besyds the reformacion therof by the course of the Marche lawes, I my selfe offered before Buclughes attempte at this castell, that two might be sent from me and Buclugh, to laye before the Kinge and our ambassador that either of us had wronged other: and that theron I woulde repaire what was faultie on my behalfe, so that I might fynde the like from him, as more at large maye appeare to your lordship by the said copie of my lettre herein inclosed to your lordship. So that Buclugh had no just cause to do such indignitie to her Majestic as he did in his proude assault and breach of this her highnes castell—the matter cheifly to be regarded." If I have pressed the matter more than is fitting at present, it has proceeded from my regard to her Majesty's honour, which I thought blemished, if such an offence went unpunished, "Buclugh beinge a publike person set in his place to punish, and not to comitt offences." Let me recount some of his offences before he was officer—first, in person, taking Captain Bellas prisoner and killing many of his soldiers at the "East hand." Soou after, taking and killing some of Captain Beston's soldiers in the Middle Marches—after that in person, at killing some of Captain Morisoie's "horsband," and Captain Ellice's foot band on this March. Since he was officer, in person "(as is sayed)" at killing 4 of the Queen's subjects in the Middle March,—also at the house of Geordies Sandies in this March to take him prisoner—at Richies Will's house, where he took a great spoil, for which Richies Will compounded with him—then at the attempt at this castle. Lastly at besieging Robert Grame of the Lake in the house of David Grame of the Banckhead, taking said Robert and 3 or 4 Grames of Medopp prisoners, as I advertised to Sir Robert Cecil in my last—though but a plot, as his release and their coming home, "doth approve." Lastly on Friday night last, he was ready with 3000 men ou "the border syde" to invade us, but seeing by our beacou fires, I had warning, retired without more damage than

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his forayers had done by firing a house in Gilsland, soon "quenched." Yet this man is thought fit by the King and Council to be still officer!

The Laird Johnston is made warden of the West March, and has let me know he will stay all incursions till the princes resolve on justice, on receiving the like from me—which I have promised to do, though I think it will be dispensed with on the coming home of some of those Grames with you. My mislike both of them and Buclugh "their capten at this castell," and my reasons therefor, I pray you not to be offended if I refer you to the review of my former letters to your self and Sir Robert Cecil. Carlisle.  
*Signed* : Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 10. 337. WILLIAM SELBY (SENIOR) TO BURGHELY.

According to my duty I inclose your honour a certificate of the state of the town gates.

It having pleased God to call the Lord Governor of this place to his mercy—as your honor has always had a singular care of this place, may it please you to be a mean to her Majesty to appoint a successor who will be always present and repair the decays, which are more than I am willing to speak of, not wishing to offend any.

Mr John Carey sent out the garrison to kill a Scotsman called Daugleash. I knew nothing till I saw them on horseback, and then he only told me he was to employ them, but not where or to what intent. "Yf yt be well, I desarve noe thanks, yf yt be yll, I desarve noe blame," but as I am thought a chief actor in it, I thought good to signify my part to your honor.

"I am and wilbe ready to geve my advice in anything when I shalbe required according to my place." Berwick. *Signed* : Will'm Selby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet, faint.*

Inclosed in the above :—

Survey of the iron gates of Berwick by the gentleman porter, controller, surveyor, &c.

First.—The Mary Gate, next Scotland, is all worn and wasted from age—the bars not only almost consumed, but the iron hooks whereon it hangs are so decayed, that if not soon mended, that side of the town will be in danger.

Secondly.—The 2 iron gates at the bridge over Tweed, are in like decay—"especiallie that iron gait at the keape or tower upon the bridge, is altogether consumed bothe in the crosse barrs, hendges, and hookes thereof, as it can neither be shut nor opened but with great danger of hurtinge the porters and shouldiores of the warde . . . so as if it were not for the drawe bridge, the enymie mighte att their owne pleasure enter and take the bridge, and approche to the towne walls without any impediment or lett."

Thirdly.—The shore gate next the river, where the ships arrive—the lower part is in great decay.

Fourthly.—The "Masendewe" gate is in great decay, and some of the "hendges" quite consumed. *Signed* : Will'm Selby, John Crane, Will'm Acrigge.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

Aug. 11. 338. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Having received your honor's letter of the 5<sup>th</sup>, I have taken order for "inning" the lord governor's hay, with him who looked to it in my father's time: also for the fields and other grounds being preserved for his use, whosoever the Queen bestows it on.

Tonching Captain Walkar "his shute" to be restored to his place, wherein your honor requires satisfaction, with my opinion. The general good opinion

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of my father was such, that he would dismiss no captain without great cause. And I assure your honor of my own knowledge, that if in 3 years continual warning of his abuses, and friendly admonitions, would have served him, "he had not bene putt owte." For my lord so favoured him, that when any soldiers came up to complain of his notorious abuses, "he wold punishe them, and lay them by the heeles," so unwilling was he to disgrace him. So at my first coming down, I was daily pestered with the complaints of his poor soldiers, sometimes the whole company, sometimes 30 or 40 coming, so that I could "never a daye" leave my chamber without hearing them, and fearing worse to come, certified my father: who then displaced him, putting in his room an honeste and more sufficient man; Captain Bowyer—whom Walkar hath ever since persecuted to his almost undoing, and not long since sent a bill of complaints against him to her Majesty, whereon Bowyer was sent for to London by my father to answer these, where he remained to his great costs and charges, from "Shrovetide till within viij daies afore my lord died."

My father sent these articles down here to be tried by the council, captains and other officers, whether true or not: meaning if true, to have replaced Walkar, but finding on our report that they were but slanders, dismissed Bowyer home again.

The causes why Walkar lost his place were these—detaining soldiers' pay, —spending it himself "in ale and aquavita, and chopping, changing and sellinge the Quenes souldiours under his chardge, for the mayntenance of his licentions lief, as your honor shall find by a breif note hereinclosed under his clerkes owne hand: wherein your honor may find what he is indebted unto his poore souldiours perticularlie, everi yere by it self, besides manie outrageous and vile usages, dailie usinge of his souldiours as countinge them dogges and his villaynes, instead of their satisfacion." I leave it to your wisdom whether this man should be restored, and displace a far worthier man, dishonouring "my lord now beinge dead." He also accused me to my father of taking "bribes" from Captain Bowyer for getting him the place, which being proved a slander, he acknowledged "with shame enoughe" he had done wrong. If the man had been worth anything, "he would in these three yeres space . . . a thrust himself into some place, where he might (by his service) a deserved some favour, and not a iyen contieuwallie in an ale house, as he doth, neither regarding his owne estate, nor caring for his wief and poore famelie, who live here in veri poore case." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

\* Your honour says in the end of your letter "that the Quenes Majestie dothe amongst all the sewters for this offes of Berwike continewe her gracyus good mynd to my Lord Willobey as she did in my lord my fathers tym; wherof I ame verey glad, so he maye be a frend to your honer, wherof I had sum dowet befor his goinge over. But if he maye be fownd a ferme frend to youe and yourers, lose no tyme, nether geve opertunetey to other menes fortunes. I dare not be to boueld, your honer is weyse enofe."

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 12. 339. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

I have nothing to trouble your honor with, but "sneche stouffe" out of Scotland as I send hereinclosed. "If thes be trewe, then shall we have a steeringe life of it agayen, for if Bodwell be come, whoe I have hard befor this is ded, he will shewer be steringe. Your honer maye beleve as you se caues." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

I pray your honor if iny wife have any occasion "ther" where you may do her good, hasten her away with some dispatch as best pleases you.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

\* What follows, holograph.

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Aug. 14. 340. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I send you such news as I have this day received from Edinburgh, though I know you are more speedily informed by others there. These will show you how Buclugh abuses the King and Council by alledging his own innocence, and informing against us without cause. He has licensed the evil men in his office to continue incursions, who may "steale a roade" before I can make relief, but I trust not without speedy revenge. The other inclosed is the warning given to Robert Grame of the Layke, who with the other prisoners "ar returned" to their own houses—showing his capture was merely a cunning device of the Grames, as I said to Sir Robert Cecil.

From your last, it seems the Queen and Council have resolved to send the Grames down. I therefore remind you of my former suit to yourself and Sir Robert, to procure her highness's leave for my surrender of this office, for I assure you, if the Grames are "so let home," on their return "I will leave this charge and be gone."

The Laird Johnston now opposite warden, has written promising the stay of those under his rule, till the princes take order for bypast and future offences. So I am in good hope of better peace ensuing. I desire to hear from your lordship. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: ". . . Received at the corte at Grenewich the xx<sup>th</sup> of the same."

Aug. 19. 341. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I beg you will not interpret my meaning "in my former lettre to your lordship and the rest of the counsell, then in this other to your lordships I have in simple trathe acknowledged." I still entreat that my charges against the Grames "maye not be taken as procedinge from any intencion in me to have their faults punished with death (as it semeth her Majesty and counsell do yet hitherto conceive)," but rather to have had their "ndutifulnes and pride" reformed by some "sharpe chastismente," as her highness in her clemency, and your lordships' wisdom, should have thought convenient. And give me leave to assure you that the course hitherto taken by your lordships will be of little effect, and rather "imbolden" them and theirs, to bring in short time "the state of the borders into the nature of an anarchie or populer government, by their dispising of the princes lawes, which on both sydes of the border at this hande is alreadie over slenderly regarded." Yet having in discharge of my duty shown your lordship the true state of things here, to acquaint her highness therewith, "I must still (though in best humilitie, yet most earnestly) importune your lordship so to respect me, that the handlinge of the Gremes with you, give not juste occasion of tryumphe, in sorte as hitherto bothe themselves and their frendes here have made over me. . . Thus awaytinge your honorable assistaunce in this cause, and comfortable lettre either for my countenauncing therin from her Majesty, or of her gracious favour for leaving this office". . . Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.

Aug. 19. 342. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

As her Majesty directed, I called the gentlemen of the country before me, and declared her pleasure. They are earnest with me to have days of truce for justice. For which I have written to the King, and many times to our ambassador, and though assured by both, that I shall have meetings with Cesford for justice—nothing will serve him but a thorough revenge for "Dauglise" death, before he meet me. So except order is taken, ruin will follow.

I hear by those of experience, that when such a case has occurred, as the

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wardens stopping justice for private causes—the princes have appointed some special man to join with these officers to further justice. And if your lordship approves, the country and myself think M<sup>r</sup> Bowes the best man to be thus joined with me. Berwick is the usual place of meeting, and if your lordship signified this course to the King, I think he will consent. Either this, or some other more to your liking, must be speedily taken before the “dead of wynter,” for this March is the weakest of England, and “that against us” the strongest in Scotland, and the Queen may be put to great charges for soldiers if nothing is done in time. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

*I p. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

.91 guA 343. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I report to your lordship the effects of the meeting at Stawford with Sir Robert Kerr on the 17<sup>th</sup>. To prevent any breach of the peace in the present state of the Marches, we agreed to sever our main “trowpes” from each other, and a selected number not above 300 each to be guards to our persons, and that no intermeddling should take place, “these onlie to be in vewe and noe more.”

The bills filed in Sir John Forster's time were to be promised delivery, and bonds then recorded “foule,” to be satisfied in like manner; new bills and attempts since my entry were to be called and redressed under the treaty, by a “vower and assyse,” and if justice was hindered by that form, then some other “by fylling of honor” should be used. I had with me some forces of the bishopric, and my “dearest frendes adjoining” with the force of my own March, and some of the east with Sir William Read and his band of Berwick.

In drawing out the 300 to attend me, “by reasone of the infeit disorder,” the Berwick band came too near the place of meeting, which offended the Scots, Sir Robert Kerr refusing to proceed with business, unless they were discharged the field, which could not be yielded with honour, nor were they till my own departure, but joined to my other troops of horse. But the day was thus so speat that even had he been inclined, nothing could be done and divers about me were so “forward” to break the peace, that he and I appointed to meet on the March “instaatlie,” with 10 men each, to conclude our business. So on Tuesday next at Cocklaw our deputies are to attend and do as was agreed we should in our own persons. Thus I dismissed my company without any service done “save restrayning and preventing of evell.”

If I may give your lordship my “concepts” of Sir Robert Kerr—“Of his naturall dispositione he is wyse, quicke sperited, perfecte in Border causes, ambitious, desyrous to be greate, pooer, not able to maynteyne his estate to his greate mynd: attended by beggars and lowse persons, whose maynteynance is by thefte supported by his countnance, against whome if anie acte be done by anie Englysheman to the hurte or prejudice of them, presentlie Sir Robert Kerr joyneith his force with his auctoritie to make revenge.” His disposition being “proan” to such courses, and the malefactors rooted in their wickedness, and nothing done to make them “labonresome” or industrious, but idle and villainous, what justice can the poor English subject expect?

If instead of “avowers” who are rarely got in Scotland, your lordship thought it better that the wardens should “speare fyle and deliver absolutlie upon honor,” and that commissioners saw that the wardens gave “cawsyons” to discharge the same truly, and the King granted his warden some small pensiou to prevent his consent to evil or support of “badd persons,” then I hope in time honour would make him do justice—but to expect it for

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conscience sake, will not I fear be obtained "in one age att the leaste." I recommend these considerations to your wisdom.

I have had assurance and fair promises for justice with the Laird of "Baclugh," which he has kept in some measure, though on bad terms with Lord Scrope, whose people on the border of my March are so wasted that many have fled, and thus the Queen's subjects "in a manner" by the Scots' incroachments be removed from their shieling and summering if order be not taken. For the harm of one March weakens the other though never so strong. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

2 pp. *Closely written. Noted by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*

Aug. 19. 344. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

It is not one of the least of my "greifes" that your lordshippes should by my last letter gather "so much as the shadow of a thoughte in me, to charge your honoures with the overbearinge of the truthe: which I protest never entred into my thoughte, who have alwaies carried and still do beare a verie dutifull and reverend regarde of your lordshippes wisdomes and accions." My meaning was but this, that I found the truth overborne before myself by the "awfullnes" of the Grames, when I had them under examination under your directions: "as I truste also that the coherence of the sentences by conferece of the wholl subject and matter of them together, maye make more manifeste to your lordshippes, howsoever the matter of that one sentence seme doubtfull to interpretacion." I humbly beg the same may be construed by my true meaning, and not "by the ambiguitie of sence."

Your lordships write you have hitherto had no proof of their concern in breaking this castle. If Buccleuch's open demand to them at the horse race—how many would join him to loose Kinmont? their private conferences, one by one, with him,—his coming and going through them without challenge—his being joined by a horseman from one of their houses where they called before his assault—be not pregnant circumstances to warrant their sharp handling as privy thereto, I must humbly submit my self and proceedings to your censures. And as I cannot, in duty to her highness, and conscience to her subjects here, stand "as an idle beholder of such barberous and unbridled ontages as the Grames have made and will committ, and still as it were in contempte as well of her Majestie as her officer in this place, eatinge upp the life and livinges of all to whom they beare mallice, unpunished for the same: and forasmuch as the lettres which they have sente downe to their frends by John Smyth and the Lairde of Newbie and others, have so animated their allies and partakers in these partes, that heare they forbear not allreadie in open speeches to boast what they will do in revenge of the accensacion after those Grames above be once come into the countrey:" I therefore humbly pray your lordships to move her Majesty for my surrender of this office with her good liking, intreating that my desire may not be interpreted a contempt to her, before whom "with moste loyall harte, I freely prostrate both my life and livinges: or for feare of the Grames mallice to my selfe: or yet to turne my backe to any troubles which maye happen on this frontyer: where (I thanke God) there hath bin good quietnes sithence the last incursion that our people made into Liddersdale to revenge the insolent and warlike assaulte made by Buclugh at the howse of the Banckheade, before advertised of by me—but the rather, as the truth indeed is, because I see and knowe what unpleasaunte and dishonorable services to her Majestie and discountinge to my selfe, I shall be constrained to undergoe if I contynue officer still." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*



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Aug. 20. 345. ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

The Queen being advertised of a similar proclamation by the King of Scots, commands all her subjects on the borders of England to keep peace towards Scotland; and signifies her intention of appointing commissioners to meet those of the King of Scots for redress of a multitude of bypast offences not revenged by force, as they might have been. "Manner of Greenwich."

*Black letter. A broad sheet. Printed by C. Barker. Indorsed.*

Aug. 22. 346. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Finding by your letter of 15<sup>th</sup>, you desire to know my "liking or mislike of the articles wherennto the Grames have submitted themselves"—it is my duty to assure you that I look for no performance of their promises, but from my experience "rather the contrarie," holding it certain, that when they are dismissed by your lordships and returned here, they will observe them only till they find opportunity to do a similar disloyal act to this last—seeing they have so easily escaped punishment. And I have no hope to govern them with honour to myself and contentment to her Majesty, unless they undergo some sharp chastisement while they are in your hands: also in my opinion, whoever succeeds me in this office shall find them worse than before.

My desire was to know what your lordship thought of my motion in my letter of 31<sup>st</sup> July—that Walter Grame, William Grame of the Mote and John Grame, be let home, and to commit or keep the other three, the principal persons in the attempt on this castle, till the behaviour of those let home showed what might be expected of the others, when released also. I am still forced to remind your lordship that they have adhered with those who have always done their uttermost to cross and disgrace me since I came to this office—entreating this may be considered.

As to Buecleuch's complaint of the Musgraves' unlawful entry with great forces into Scotland, I long since wrote to our ambassador in reply, that our lawful "trodes" for recovery of our stolen goods, have been so troubled with ambushments, &c., by the Scots, we were forced to have an "extraordynarie" number for our own safety. At the same time I wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Bowes "that Kinmonte did neither dwell within Buclughes office, nor was taken prisoner within the boundes thereof, but dwellinge and beinge taken within the Weste Wardenrie, that officer, and not he, was to demaunde redress therein. So that albeite Kinmonte were on the feilde in companie of those Scotsmen with Buclugh, sent that tyme to the days of trews, yet Buclugh as it should seeme coulde not by the direct course of the treaties have demaunded satisfaccion for that offence if yt were any: but he made that onely a matter to pyke and fynde further quarrell betwixte him and me, as by my lettres therin to M<sup>r</sup> Bowes more plainlie will appeare."

Johnston advertised me long since of the King's proclamation mentioned in your letter—but notwithstanding the same and Johnston's promises, the Armstrongs of Harlaw and Kanges, &c., broke into Gilsland immediately, and I got but excuses from Johnston in answer to my letter for redress. There have been some small "filcherics" since, and I beg to know her Majesty's pleasure for the redress of these, and any others that happen after the proclamation which your lordship writes is shortly to be sent hither—as I have forborne revenge of late, not to infringe the amity, which appeared from the King's proclamation, to bring good accord. Awaiting the Queen's pleasure for myself, "and resolution for the Grames sharpe chastisinge, or other manner of releasinge." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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Aug. 23. 347. EURE TO [SIR R. CECIL].

Complaining of the great weakness of his March on the side next Gilsland, from the late spoils of Liddesdale opening a free passage "for the wicked"—also the former spoils done by "the Scottes of the water of Reede, in Riddsdale, of the head of Tyne water, in Tindale," so possessed by them since, that the English rarely summer there, and never winter—and this he fears may ensue in Gilsland. Thinks if some "Rowlande Scotishe" were advanced at a small charge to her Majesty, the feud between Sir Robert, Kerr and Buccleuch, whose reconciliation is "not yet perfect," might be easily renewed, causing one of them "so wrecke the other," make the warden of Scotland\* a strong faction in the court and country of Scotland, and bind him firmly to her Majesty. Thus giving her subjects time to recover their losses, and furnish themselves with horse, armour and what else they need. Sir Robert Kerr is "ambitious, proud, bloody in revenge, poore and easylie framed to anie purpose in courte or country." Craving pardon for treating in so high matters, and recommending the bearer, who was officer in Gilsland and can satisfy him of its former and present state, and the imminent danger of the Middle March adjoining it. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Flyleaf with address, &c., gone.*

Aug. 26. 348. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

I have your letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> instant wherein I find what greatly troubles and grieves me—that there should be so much ado for killing a notable thief—and that the Queen and your lordship should hold so hard an opinion of me for it. Humbly beseeching "you both to censer your hard judgements," till you hear both parties. I must answer it both before England and Scotland, and knew this before I did it: and "if it do prove to be the best dead and most honorable to the Quenes Majesti, that was donne here this many a yere, then have I had a hard measure and yll incorragment for the attemptinge any service hereafter . . . And my good lord, for your honors better satisfacion, that it was not so barbarouslie nor butcherlie don as you thinck it to be, it should seeme your honor hath bene wrongfullie enformed, in sayinge he was cutt in manye peeces, after his deathe—for if he had bene cutt in many pece, he could not a lived till the next morninge, as them selves reported he did—which shewes he was not cutt in verie many peeces! but if your honor will beleve all the Scottes clamerous speces, they will say much for themselves. They had not had such a snoffle these many yeres, which makes them angrie, for feare they should have more," and be forced to live quieter.

Your honor also says the Gentleman porter has sent you a letter on the decay of the gates, signed by the controller, surveyor, and himself, without mentioning my privy.

These decays are very true, and the danger to the men who shut and open them, great. But I forbere speaking of them, for great charges have been spent on the Cowgate and bridge, bringing in some parts "of the old wale and earthe," such a piece of work as has not been done this 30 years, and I fear has taken great part of the "remayne" this year, leaving no money to do any more now. Besides unless "verie great husbandrie" be used, the gates will be "wonderfull chardgable," and before they are taken in hand, your honour must send a commission to the controller and surveyor to give an estimate, and if it please you to join me in the commission, or it may be they will favour the gentleman porter's fees too much—for his fee is to have the old gates, which will cost the Queen 500*l.* more than it might.

\* Kerr.

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Therefore you must write that the iron of the old gates must serve again, and those gates that can be any way mended, must be so used. There is very great need of those reparations, which if taken in hand next year, it were well done.

Your honour also says, I discontinue Scottish news. It is so, and yet if any news of worth come I send it—but hitherto too uncertain to rely on. However, "false or trawe," I will henceforth send only such as I get "from verie good men, as from some of the Kinges Octaveyans and such like." And inclose some to begin with.

I pray your honour not to condemn me before hearing my answer in any thing. I will never do what is dishonest to myself or dishonourable to the Queen. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 28. 349. EURE TO BURGHELY.

Since my last of the 19<sup>th</sup> Sir Robert Kerr has kept by deputies the day of truce at Cocklaw on the 24<sup>th</sup>, where the business was duly done. He promises to meet at any time on the March for further redress, at towns elected by each of us "interchangable" in England and Scotland, to which with your advice, I would "rather yeald unto." For by my experience at Stawford on the 17<sup>th</sup>, my labour was chiefly to "temper" my people, instead of getting our business done. The King is thought by divers Scotsmen to "temporise," with little care for our good here. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 28. 350. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

I have been many times a suitor for leave to come up—but must now be a "more earnest shuter," for while I am here, such violent courses are taken "in the extremest manner, againste those litell things which I have in the Southe," that I must either come up for 6 weeks to settle them, or be utterly undone. Hoping the Queen will give me leave, seeing my brother Sir Robert Carey "is a farr worthier man" than myself to take charge till my return.

I have been hardly dealt with as follows—being a poor tenant of the Queen holding her manor of West Harlesey in lease, paying her 50*l.* a year, truly paid ever since I was tenant, this day the poor tenants under me have come complaining that the bailiffs and other officers authorised by the high sheriff of Yorkshire came to the said manor, and drove away at night 113 oxen and kyne, with 21 horses and mares of their proper goods, to a town 3 miles off, where they "prysed" the cattle at 120*l.* on a bond or recognisance of 2000*l.* of Leonard Dakars late attainted. for the discharge of certain arrearages, due furth of the late lands of Sir James Strangwishe knight, dated 24 November in the 2<sup>d</sup> year of her Majesty's reign "that nowe is"—which goods and cattle my said tenants could not get back till they paid 17*l.* to the under sheriff and his men—giving bond further to pay them on 5<sup>th</sup> September next, 144*l.* more—a great "extremitie" I think, that I should pay the Queen 50*l.* a year, and my tenants have their goods thus driven "and fayne to buy their owne!" If order be not taken, I shall be ill able to pay the Queen's rent, for all the tenants are fled with their cattle, because the sheriff's men threatened them they have not done till the 2000*l.* is paid. The other tenants of Harlesey for whom I pay 200*l.* a year out of Leonard Dakars lands are so afraid, that they dare not leave their cattle abroad, and have sent me word, that when this year is past they will have it no more—so 200*l.* a year is likely to be wasted, for none will dare take it. The Queen has been ever taken for "the best landlady." but it will be otherwise now if

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she send extents out upon her own leased lands. It was never heard of before! I pray your honour cause the sheriff redress this matter, or few tenants will hold Leonard Dakars lands. There is much land of the "Dakarses" in other men's hands, and the Queen should not need extend upon her own. If you order the sheriff to release these poor men's bonds, I will send a solicitor between this and Michaelmas who will satisfy the Court herein.

There are many other causes wherein I am mightily wronged by some of my own friends, and I pray your honourable care that I be not utterly undone. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Aug. 23. 351. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I have received your letter of 21<sup>st</sup> with the proclamations, which I will publish as you direct. They may well stay our few thieves here from troubling the Scots. But the King's proclamation made on the Border 3 weeks ago, does little good, for the next night after my Lord Eurye should have kept days of truce (put off by Cesford's delays) the Scots came to Alnwick "the strongest towne in all Northumberland"—took their watches, broke open stables, and carried horses and oxen clear away. And in following the fray, M<sup>r</sup> Claveringe a justice of the peace, one of the "sufficientest" men on the whole border, was stricken down and left for dead, "and it is thought he will hardly escape it." Since my last, many petty spoils done, but "not such a thing" as redress from Cesford; and the sooner commissioners meet, the better.

The 3 months allowed for the 20 horsemen is almost expired. If we get by commissioners redress for the past, and security for the time to come, "wee shall better want there helpe"—if not, we shall need them "and manye moe." I refer this to your consideration. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 23. 352. EURE TO [SIR R. CECIL].

Signifying that Sir Robert Kerr by deputy had kept the meeting at Cocklaw on the 24<sup>th</sup>, "where good justice was done mutually," that a day is proclaimed for another meeting in 14 days, and as often as required, within towns on either border, to avoid the risk of breaches of peace by meeting "in the feldes,"—asking his opinion thereon.

Hopes for continuance of good justice, the rather if Sir Robert Kerr might learn her Majesty's approval of his doings. Hexham. *Signed*: R. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Flyleaf with address gone.*

Aug. 29. 353. SIR ROBERT KERR TO EURE.

I have thought fit to make known to you the cause moving me for "the releife of my man James Younge of the Coif," unlawfully taken and kept prisoner—rather than some malicious informer should—for as you know, there are "that doe besie there wittes to brangle the peace." On his taking, I dealt with the ambassador to insist with the Selbys his takers for his relief, and informed Sir Robert Carey by his servant William Armorer, if "I was not repaired" I must take revenge, but got no help. In the end I dealt for meeting Captain Selby, but ineffectually, and they put him privately out of the part of their own March, where I took him, "in the handes of my eninies by ane allowance as I trust given by your lordship to the Witheringtons, who received him out of the handes of the Selbies for uttering

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there malice the more highlie against me," by their unreasonable restraint of him. "As I trust the gentleman M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Graye to whom he was coming, being put on by him for discharge of his bonde, will sufficientlie maintaine." So do not mislike that I "lowsed" my man, without hurting my enemies, though I had cause—to show my good mind to the princes' will in keeping the peace, which I take to be preferring it to private revenge. Therefore since neither the prince is dishonoured, nor your country prejudiced, nor extremity "extendit," let me not be censured beyond cause; for your lordship was more highly "contemoit" by the Woodringtous, who by your allowance dared to receive him from the Selbies, than "in any sort touchit be me, be making triall of there follies." Craving excuse "for sa langsome discourse . . . I take my leave." Cesford. Sir Robert Kerr.

1½ pp. Copy by *Eure's clerk*. Indorsed partly by *Eure*: "Vera copia. Sir Robert Ker his lettre directed to the Lord Eure lord wardaine."

### 354. ENGLISH ATTEMPTS, &C., ON MARCHES.

"A note of suche slauchteris, stouthis, refis and oppin oppressionis as have bene committit be England upoun the Wast Merche and Midill Merche."

*First*.—2000 men led by the Musgraves and Captain Carvell by Lord Scrope's special warrant, assaulted Auchinbetrig in the Debateable land, "a hous of ressonable strenthe," but being valiantly defended, they drew off, and "farraged" the bounds, driving away 200 nolt.

*Item*.—8 days after led by Carvell, &c., under Lord Scrope's order, they "farraged" the most part of the Debateable land, burned 6 or 7 "onsettis" and drove away 500 kye and oxen.

*Item*.—The Captain of Bewcastle, with 500 men of the Middle and West Wardenry, came 6 or 7 miles within Scots ground, and carried off 300 ky and oxen, and 24 score sheep, "pertaining to Johnne Armstrang of the Hoilhouis."

*Item*.—Shortly after, 500 of the West Wardenry burned 5 or 6 "onsettis" at the Harlaw and Cannabie.

*Item*.—On the 25<sup>th</sup> or 26<sup>th</sup> July, 200 of the Middle Wardenry broke into Liddesdale, "they being at thair scheillis, lipning for no harme," and carried off 30 score ky and oxen, 30 score sheep and "gait," 24 horse and mares, and all their insight, "and woundit twa puir men to the deid."

*Item*.—Last of all, Captain Carvell with 2000 "waigit" men, by Lord Scrope's special command, burnt "sex myle of boundes" in Liddesdale, "tuik sindrie puir men and band thame twa and twa in leisches and coirdis, and that naiket," taking them prisoners to England, foraying the hail cuntrey, "took away 1000 ky and oxen, 2000 sheep and "sex scoir of hors and meiris, to the great wrak of the puir subjectis."

2 pp. In a *Scottish hand*. Indorsed partly by *Burghley*.

### 355. CESFORD'S ROLL OF WRONGS.

"A note of the slauchters, stowthis and reiffis as hes bene committit be the inhabitantis of the Eist Wardanrye of England, upoun the inhabitantis under Sir Robert Kerris office."

#### *Extracts.*

1. John Dalgleishe of Wydoppin slain by Josua Dalivell, David Armorare, John Selby of Grededoun, Lyell Struthers, son to Clement, Cuddie Johnstoun, &c., of the Berwick garrison, in his own house of Wydoppin at night, and insight goods worth 1000*l*. Scots taken.

2. Robert Pringill son of Thomas P. in Halden, slain in plain daylight following his own goods on Scots ground, by Thom Ewart in Wark, John

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Johnstoun in the "Yet" (?) of Leirmouth's two sons, Alexander Clerk in Wark accompanied by the Constable of Wark and whole inhabitants of the barony of W., who left said Thomas Pringle and "ane dusane of personis in Halden lyand deidlie woundit in dauger of thair lyffis."

3. George Chesholme "hird" to Sir Robert Ker slain by Thom Storie in Killame, Thom Armstrang "boutfate," Jame Armstrang "how neif," his brother, in plain daylight.

4. Thomas Myddilmist in Grubet slain at night by Peter Pott and Jok Pott "the bastard" &c., in his own house there.

5. Dandye Dalgleishe in Lempetlawe slain by Albany Rutherford in Myddiltounhall, Hary Rutherford, &c., in the "nycht season," and 8 score sheep reft.

6. A reif on the tenants of Yettem in daylight by Rodger Gray "ballive" of Berwick, and the rest of M' Raulf Grayes household men, 20 persons, of 24 horse and mares.

7. Dand Tate in Bairers, made prisoner in his own house in B., and taken to Berwick, his "onsett" spoiled of insight gold and silver rings, &c., worth 500l. Scots carried off by Thomas Gray constable of Wark and the rest of the barony of W., "viz. James Johnston son to Alexander Clerk thair, and Thom Ewart callet Wester Thom."

8. Reif by Ninian Rowtlage, John Brewhous and Robert Moffett, all in Killame, from "the Guidman of Gaitschaw" at night out of his boundes of Lurdeulaw, of 10 score "yowes and woddors."

10. A reiff against Dand Daviesonn in Hoislaw and George Young there, in plain daylight by Alexander Davesoun of Killame, &c., of 18 kye and oxen.

13. A reiff against Dand Hoppringill in Hownam and Jame Pringill in Clifton, by Roger Struther in Caldintoun, Jame Struther in Bucktoun sou to Mathew S., of 5 score ewes and wethers in daylight.

15. A reiff against the laird of Mow by George Ker of Crukehalme, troubling John Mow of Mow mains, &c., his friends, of a "trod" of 20 kye and oxen in daylight.

16. A reiff against William Sym in Yettem by Jerie Selby brother to the Laird of Panstoun, &c., for taking at night 6 ky and oxen and 30 "auld scheip."

17. A reiff on Sir Robert Ker the warden, by Nicholl Day of Killame, &c., for 50 ewes and wethers.

19. A reiff against Sir John Ker of Hirsell by Rodger Gray "ballive" of Berwick, and others, M' Ralf Gray's household men, of 24 score "yowis and woddirs."

30. A reiff against George Tait in Bairers by William Wilkesoun in Chat-toun of 6 ky and oxin in daylight, reset by the ballive of Fentoun.

35. A reiff against said James Pringill by Hector Diksoun of Hammyltoun and his son, of 17 kye and oxen out of Duncunhauch at night.

39-42. Reiffs against said Sir Robert Ker by John Rutherford son to Adie R. in Yearle, John Scott son to Gilbert S. there and others, of 180 "yewis and woddirs."

44-46. Reiffs on the Guidman of Gaitschaw by the young laird of Pawstoun, of 50 ewes and wethers out of Hownamgrange at night—by Will Storie in New Etall out of Hayop of 40 ewes and wethers—by Jame Rntlege "raik schaw," thence, of 40 ewes and wethers.

48. 80 men of Berwick garrison in plain daylight came to reive the goods of Altounburne township, but being "schowtit" they returned, but came to the town of Blackdane and took 24 ky and oxen.

49. "Mair—ane oppin reiff in plaine daylycht" on the laird of Greinheid and his tenants of Redden, by one Harbottle a garrison man in Berwick, &c., of 40 kye and oxen.

6½ pp. In same Scottish hand. Indorsed partly by Burchley: "Copy of Cesfurdes roll of the wrangis done be England 1596. Scotland."

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## 356. SPOILS ON THE ENGLISH MARCHES.

On the East Marches half a year before Sir R. Carey's entry—Valuation of cattle sheep and insight 35*l.* 12*s.*; horses, nags, and mares 43, not valued; men slain—by the warden 3, by other Scots 2,—5; spoils since his entrance, besides horses and mares, 95*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; horses and mares—49; men slain,—by the warden, 1; by Sir John Ker 1; by others 3—5-5.

Spoils by Buccleuch and his procurement on the West Marches:—

June, Robert Grayme, 100*l.*; July, Thomas Grayme, 100*l.*; Aug. 1, David Graym, 400*l.*; July, Richard Armstrong, 400*l.*; July, William Grayme, 100*l.*; Aug., Leonard Corbett, 100*l.*—1200*l.* July 12, Anthony Hetherton, 100 neat; John Hetherton, 20 kye and oxen, not valued.

Spoils procured by him since the attempt of Kinmont.

July-August: Fergie Grayme, 100*l.*; Anth. Hetherton, 100*l.*; George Hetherton, 200*l.*; tenants of Walton, 200*l.*; tenants of Thornby, 100*l.*; tenants of Whitehill, 200*l.*; Blanch Foster, 20*l.*; in all 920*l.*

William Armstrong, 30 kye and oxen; Malle Blaikmore 24 kye and oxen; Robert Foster, 20 kye, 30 sheep, 20 "gait," a mare—all unvalued.

Total goods valued, . 3,426*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

2 pp. *Contemporary—official hand.* Indorsed: "The valuation of the spoils committed upon the East and West Marches of England."

## Sept. 1. 357. EURE TO BURGHELY.

"Understandinge that within these two daies the person of Simmonburne within three myles of Hexham . . . is departed, and not doobteinge your lordship care that a godlie and learned man may be placed there for the better instruct of the people, whoe standeth greate need thereof," I beg the presentation, which by the "valew" is in the Queen's gift—for M<sup>r</sup> Crackenthrop my chaplain, "a Master of Arte in Oxenford of the Quens Colledge, and is a devoute godlie and learned man," as Doctor Robinsone and Doctor Reignoldes can assure you. He is my son's tutor, and I would keep him beside me.

Also that I may have the sequestration of the "meane profyttes," till the "presentor" is admitted by your favour, which "will doe the man muche good at his first entrie towards the payment of his furst frutes." Hexham. Signed: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed.* Indorsed.

Inclosed in the above:—

"vij. Septembris 1596 anno regine Elizabethæ, &c., xxxxiij."

*Dunelm.—Symondesborne rectoria per annum clare vult xxxxiij. vjs. iiij. Decima iule lxxiij. vij. ob.* Signed: J. Tailer, deputat. Edw. Stafford.

## Sept. 2. 358. WILLIAM SELBY TO BURGHELY.

As her Majesty has been pleased to appoint me comptroller of the office of Ordnance in the North, I find she has been over charged, but I cannot act, for my power is less than Captain Erington's was.

In 1588 a proportion came down to Newcastle, of about 1500*l.*: and a year since munition from the Tower, amounting to 1841*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.*, came for this town, Newcastle and Carlisle.

As I ought to do every year, I sent a man to view the munition at Carlisle, with a letter to Lord Scrope, but he and the master of ordnance would not suffer him, without first seeing my authority. I have drawn up

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the inclosed instructions, which if you approve, and subscribe, I will proceed Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Small armorial wafer signed.*

Sept. 3. 359. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Sir Robert Kerr after his "fayer showe" at Cocklaw on the 24<sup>th</sup> August, in person with sound of trumpet and 200 armed men, on Friday night, the 27<sup>th</sup>, broke into Swinburne a house of Henry Woodrington's, took one James Young *alias* James of the Coave, whom Ralph Selby of the East March committed to Woodrington—"the same man for whome the controversie was between Raphe Gray and Raphe Selbie when the lord Hunsdon lyved"—also Roger Woodrington, Henry's brother, "tying him to his enterie by promise of his hande."

Woodrington detained "this Scot" without my knowledge or leave, and this, with a private quarrel between him and Kerr, begun in Sir John Forster's time, is the alleged cause of Sir Robert's act, without demanding justice of me.

I think for this act he ought to be entered to her Majesty, being warden. The breach of the house, though showing malice, yet caused no blood, and I am doubtful what the redress should be. But taking Roger Woodrington, and his promise to enter, is "meare unlawfull," and his absolute release ought to be demanded, as against her Majesty's dignity.

The offence to myself, is breach of assurance, and to the "gentleman" disgrace and despite, &c. But these are so common in that country, I must mend them "as I maye."

Woodrington's fault is detaining the Scot not lawfully bound to himself, but to a man in the East March, having no complaint either himself or his friends, but out of private quarrel with Kerr, thus procuring "this contemptuous and insolent acte." Craving your pleasure, I have meanwhile acquainted her Majesty's ambassador therewith, that order may be taken with Sir Robert, to whom I have also written. If these matters do not offend her Majesty's proclamations received on the 29<sup>th</sup> August, then the course of peace will not be hindered. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

Sept. 5. 360. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Having some desire during the quietness here, "to spend some thre or fore dayes in huntinge with Sir Thomas Cecill, and aboute myne owne important affaires, at myne owne howse," Thomas Carleton landsergeant of Gilsland, took advantage of my absence, and set out for London without my privity or leave. I hear credibly that he comes to your lordships with complaints against me, and has procured letters of commendation to himself. If he came up "with such errandes" and without being sent for, your lordships will do me a "verie honorable favour" to stay him till I be allowed to come up and answer him, or at least till you understand "what manner of man he is." I send this with such haste, lest he be returned before you could hear from me. I published the proclamation as you directed. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 6. 361. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

As her Majesty will not let me come up for 6 weeks on my business, I am forced to be more troublesome. I understand by my wife that the Queen is "in sum good likinge" to renew a lease which I already hold of



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her for 3 lives. One of them is dead, and I hear she is pleased I shall renew it "for yeares"—wherein I humbly desire your favour and furtherance.

I am very hardly dealt with by my own friends, and if you could get me 6 weeks' leave, it would do me great good, my estate being in very dangerous order, and full of "contreverseyes." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph, as also address. Indorsed.*

Sept. 7. 362. EURE TO SIR JOHN STANHOPE.

I send you what I casually hear, which I pray you impart.

"It is feared and privately bruted that the love of the King of Scots is not so firme to her Majestie as her highnes haithethe worthely deserved, espynge all tymes to satisfy his malicious humors." Lately he and "seven of the Octaviaus" subscribed letters to the King of Spain, intercepted in France, of which her Majesty doubtless knows.

The convention at Dunfermline begins on 29<sup>th</sup> instant.

The Earl of Arrell arrived certainly in Scotland 10 dayssince. "The Queene haithethe mightely traveled with the King for Huntleys pardon and his, and had drawne the King very farre on, but so vehement are the ministers and burgesses againste them, that neither the King can nor may shew them that favor that willingly he wolde. There is a very harde opinion conceived of the Queene for lainge her self so open at this instant to be a worker in these actions." On Friday night last a post came from her to the King at Lithquo, that she was "very sicke," whereon he rode in great haste to Dunfermline. It is thought a mere device of hers to get the Earl's pardon at the convention.

Last week Angus Macconnell one of the "cheife of the Isles," came in on protection to the King at Lithquo—but not liking the composition offered him, "he stiped his way and toocke not his leave."

Much is expected when the convention breaks up.

On the Borders things are "tickle"—Lord Home, though in kindness with the warden of the East March, has granted assurance to Sir Robert Ker to pass through the Merse to annoy the garrison of Berwick, in revenge of blood late taken by Sir Robert Carey.

The Laird Johnston, warden of the West March, has taken assurance of Sir Robert Ker warden of "the Easte," and the Laird of Baclughe keeper of Liddesdale, to pass through their offices to annoy me, for "blood taken by justice." Thus cunningly is her Majesty dealt with by the King's privy.

I shall think myself beholden in return, for some of your occurrents. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

Postscript:—If the office of Berwick which the late Lord Chamberlain had, be not "bestowed," I would willingly sue to serve there as my ancestors have done, if you and my other friends think I may attempt without offence: I pray your advice.

1½ pp. *Holograph: also address*: "To my honorable good freinde Sir John Stanhop knighte at the Courte . . ."

Sept. 8. 363. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Though there are "no newe novelties or state matters," yet I must inclose a note of the victuals in store, brought to me this day by the chief officers of the palace, who also signify that though they have written monthly to their "maister," and M<sup>r</sup> Swyite, of the low stock, they hear of none coming, and fear great scarcity. They say, and I know, unless it come from the South, it will not be got here, so doubtful is it if we shall have any harvest, the weather is so unseasonable. Wherefore I pray your lordships' help in these straits—"for everie puft of wynd, or yll wynters day, puttus us in a ferefull perill of our lives . . . for I assure your honor upon

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my faithe, the pallice faylinge us, I do not knowe, yf our lives lye upon it, and the losse of the towne, where we should gett xx<sup>u</sup> quarters of corne, to serve us one weke, in all this countrey, so scarce and skant it is." I also pray your honor "that yf my poore wief, who is but a bad shuter, and will sone be checkt," have any request, you will grant her your assistance, finding her reasonable. Berwick.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed; ". . . received the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of same at Greenwich."

Inclosed in the same :—

(Note referred to.)

Remain of victual within the palace or office of victual 3<sup>d</sup> September 1596.

Wheat, 78 qrs., 6 "kenn"; rye, 38 qrs., 7 "kenn"; meal, 17 qrs., 4 "kenn"; malt, 231 qrs., 3 pecks; beans, 50 qrs.; oats, 2 qrs., 1 "kenn," 1 peck.

Oxen, 23; kyne, 9; sheep, 97.

Salt fish, 110; butter, 4 firkins.

½ p. Indorsed.

Sept. 8. 364. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

[*In similar terms, and inclosing a like note of provisions.*] There is "alredie a great death growen by reason of darthe and scarsetie in this countrey." Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed.

Inclosed in same :—

(Note referred to.)

Same as in last No.

Sept. 9. 365. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I have received your letter with the King's complaints against the East March. The copy I had from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes before, and answered him as I now do your lordship. I had them read before the country, who desired that many should be referred to days of truce. Many I myself know are untrue and can be so proved before "indifferent bearers." But suppose them all true, what are they to the calamities of this March, daily spoiled by Teviotdale. All through the pride and insolence of Sir Robert Kerr, and so long as he shall be officer " (say what he will to the contrarye) " it will be no better with us!

Your lordship knows the state of the Middle March, and if there was any honesty in him, it should be very quiet, after the meetings between my lord Eurye and him, and great protestations of friendship, kindness and justice on his part, "but all is one . . . for his theves have libertie and thei take the spoile of eyther Marche as there occasion ys offred." No justice will be done while "this wicked man beares office." He must be removed or compelled to keep days of truce which he has not done for 3 or 4 years.

The 20 horsemen can be ill spared, and I beg your resolution by the 26<sup>th</sup> instant, when their three months end. Berwick. Signed: Rob. Carey.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed.

Sept. 9. 366. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"Havinge this viij<sup>th</sup> day received your honors of the first," I am greatly bound by your honourable acceptance of mine of 26<sup>th</sup> ult. And for

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answer of the 49 complaints of slaughters, &c., in the East March, "enformed to her Majestic by M<sup>r</sup> Addam Fowndes—the informacion is like the informer, most false and untrew, and onlie to serve their owne tornes." For the first and chiefest complaint, which only touches me, if there was a penny or penny's worth of goods taker from him\*, I will lie in prison for my life, and pay 100*l*. for every pound taken away. For although the men there saw 2 of my stolen horses in his house, they would not bring them away, being ordered to the contrary by me, much less any goods of his. For the other complaints, Sir Robert Carey being in charge, will answer more largely. I wonder that the King and Cesford should make such complaints and threaten this town and country as they do. To show their honest dealing, two days after the 17<sup>th</sup> August, when Cesford and Lord Errie kept a day of truce, a band of Scots with some of Cesford's own household servants, came into the "middest" of Alnwick, thinking to have found two gentlemen at supper, and to have killed them by shooting in at the windows: which purpose failing, they broke open an honest man's house in the town, taking his goods and cattle. And the fray rising, they hurt to peril of death one M<sup>r</sup> Clavering a justice of peace and others. Cesford himself came 30 miles into England to M<sup>r</sup> Henry Woodrington's house of Swynborne, taking away a prisoner in his keeping, and some gentlemen in the house prisoners also. "And so sownding his trumpett upon the topp of the house, when he had taken his pleasure, went his way." They have also taken my lady Selbie's sheep and shepherd into Scotland, and hurt the man—also goods from Gryndon rigg a town of "one M<sup>r</sup> Selbies"; and from the towns of Downeham and "Eglingham," killing one man and hurting another at the latter. "Yet we must still suffer." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

† I humbly pray your continued goodness to the tenants of "Harlese, that theye maye be no moer trubelid withe extentes."

1¼ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Sean razer signet.*

Sept. 9. 367. THOMAS MUSGRAVE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

"Uppon the retorne of the pouermen of Bewcastill from your lordshippes," I received your letter, that if no justice could be had otherwise, I might recover the worth of their goods as "I cane." Wheron with my kinsmen and friends, I took from John Armstroog of the Hollus, "the leder of thes incurcions, sonne vj or vij scor of cattill," and made restitution to the poor men. Your letter of command will be my discharge, presuming to remind you of the same. Carlisle. *Signed*: Tho. Musgrave.

½ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept [10]. 368. EURE TO BURGHELEY.

I fear that my divers letters to your lordship of late may have miscarried, having had no answer.

The "mutahillitie" of Sir Robert Kerr still continues, in tolerating roades by his people, and the country hopes her Majesty will appoint commissioners to enforce redress.

I pray your favour in continuing these soldiers this winter, and as their time draws near an end, a warrant on the receiver of Yorkshire for their future pay.

I humbly remind you of my suit for Simmonburne parsonage for a learned preacher to be resident there, in my letter of 26<sup>th</sup> August. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

\* The slain Dalglissh.

† Holograph.

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I would gladly know what hope I may have in continuing my suit for the place at Berwick, or to "surcease" it.

*2 p. Addressed. Indorsed partly by Burghley. Waiver signed as before.*

Sept. 10. 369. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Having received your letter of 2<sup>o</sup> with the book of complaints delivered by the King's agent to her Majesty, I have as directed, considered the same, and send for answer to the agent, these inclosed of the outrages done here and in Bewcastle by the broken men of Scotland. As there was no appearance of redress from the King (with whom I had "travelled" but got nothing but words), and he left the opposite wardens long without an officer—Buccieuch also being more inclined to lay our frontier waste than do justice as his place requires—I could not restrain her Majesty's subjects from taking what amends they could get, or prohibit their incursions, rather than bear the indignities now of late by Buccieuch's procurement, a copy of which our complaints I lately sent to our ambassador in Scotland—these being the very occasions of our doings which are expressed in the King's agent's information herewith returned. If your lordship meant me to certify the true number of our incursions, and the value of the "scathes" done by us, or if there were as many as the agent alleged, I pray you understand the practice of the border is—"for one pound loss, to make their bill to the prince or warden of twentie; and when twantie men ar seen in a roade, to suppose and informe of a hundred"—standing good till it comes to swearing—so the warden has great difficulty till then, to know the true value.

I write this in case the prince intend to cause redress of any particular bills, &c., that care be taken in exchange of "bill for bill" a bill of 1000l. be not paid with a bill of 20l. "prised equal" with the other in the eye."

I inclose the Captain of Bewcastle's letter as to his incursions, showing by what warrant he acted. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

*2 p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 10. 370. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Give me leave to be a suitor in behalf of my kinsman M<sup>r</sup> Raiphe Gray of Chillingham, for the treasurership of Berwick. Though he has the "willing consent" of M<sup>r</sup> Bowes now ambassador in Scotland, he determines not to deal with "my cousine" Bowes, without your countenance.

The office would be much strengthened by his getting it, seeing the force he has at hand ready to do her Majesty service—his honest mind for true dealing with the soldiers, his experience in council, judgment and loyalty—"and his estate of lying awaile, redie to be answerable to anie defaulte shalbe layd upon him." Hexham. *Signed*: Ed. Eure.

*2 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Waiver signed as before.*

Sept. 14. 371. SIR J. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"This night being abroad with the xx<sup>o</sup> garrison men allowed me, a watching, it was our good happe to mete with iiii<sup>o</sup> of the Burnes, the principallest thieves of Lyvidale, with goodes drying before theme which thei had stolen. Wee kill twoe of theme furthright, tooke the third sore wounded before he woude yeald, and the fourth, the night being darck, unhappeye scape awaye." Before the winter passes, I expect many such morning works, if I continue here, and this small packing is allowed me, and will either weary them of night stealing, or they me of watching.

The country dare not kill such thieves for fear of feud, which the garrison men care not for—and I hope that this "poore groate a daie" may be con-

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tinued to them for this winter. Since my coming I have hanged 4 notable thieves, and will hang this fifth man, unless his life may do more good than his death. I hear the King and Sir Robert Kerr will write for his life (for he and the other slain were his household servants), and will offer any conditions that I desire. They must be for the benefit of the country, "or he shall goe the waie his fellowes went before him." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Marginal notes by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Sept. 16. 372. R. VERNON TO BURGHLEY.

Petitions him (1) to note on the margin what sums shall be allowed him, and procure the Queen's warrant. (2) As the dearth continues, that he may be allowed new rates. (3) To order the treasurer of Berwick to pay over 600*l.* in his hands, to make farther provision. (4) That the garrison on Michaelmas next, take their supplies only from him. (5) That her Majesty would grant him a lease in reversion, "to countervaille" his great losses in her service. (6) That he may have a "anpersedious" to discharge the "prosses" against him and his sureties, that he may put in others in place of those dead. *Not signed.*

1 p. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed.*

(2) Another copy. *Noted by Burghley. Indorsed*: "Mr Vernons request."

Sept. 17. 373. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"The theefe last taken I have caused to be hanged. He hath bene a great spoyler and undoer of this poore countreye (as by his owne confession appeares) for besides many spoyles and outrages commytted by him (the number of theme being so great, he could not remember the one half of theme) he confest he had commytted fyve severall murders with his owne handes at severall tymes upon innocent Englishemen that had never offended him. So that I think your lordship wyll saye I should have offended God, my prince, and countrey, if upon any condicions I should have suffred so wicked a man to have lyved." But if I am not maintained, there will be great trouble here, for the pride of Sir Robert Kerr is so great, that though as chief officer he should give a good example, he is determined on revenge for "this his man whom he so dearly loved (as a fytt instrument for anye his delivish enterprises)," that he has given up kindness with all in this countrey, especially the Armorers and their friends (as they were chief actors in the late action), and made all the surnames of Tevidale do the like.

This countrey has become almost slaves to the Scots, and dare do nothing displeasing to them. If the countrey rise upon them when they are stealing in England, and either kill one by chance, or take him "with the bloody hand," delivering him to the officer for execution, "if they be but foote lownes and men of no esteame amongst them," it may pass unrevenged: but if he is of a surname, "as a Davyson, a Younge, a Burne, a Pringle or Hall or any thei make accompt of," then he who killed or took him is sure himself, and all his friends (specially those of his name) is like, "dearly to buy yt," for they will have his life or of 2 or 3 of his nearest kinsmen, in revenge of their friends so killed or taken stealing here. So there is hardly one gentleman that dare take or kill any of them, even "if at any tyme thei be able to be there maisters." I will set your lordship one example of one of the chiefest gentlemen in Northumberland, that you may "gesse in what estate the meaner sorte is. Sir Cuthbert Collingwood now lyving, upon a fray, rose him self with his household servantes and tennantes, and commyng where the theves were drying his neighboures goodes, did his best to reskew them:

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and ere thei parted one of the theves was slayne, which was a Burne, brother to this man I have now hanged." For whose death thus honestly done in defence of prince and country, he has had 17 of his tenants and servants slain, and himself driven to leave his house and live in the bishopric.

I must ask your lordship to let me have authority from her Majesty to revenge such wrongs as they are offered, which will encourage the country to do their duty, as they will if maintained, "or els for Godes sake," appoint another in my place to do so by other means—but I see none other than revenge for revenge and blood for blood, as "the only waye to breake the necke of this evill custome,"—wherein the officer must be maintained by her Majesty.

It was never heard of before that the warden himself dealt in such matters, but only the friends of the thieves slain or executed. But this man not only means, but openly gives out he will have revenge, such as never yet has been, and his devilish mind is such that he will procure it.

I cannot prevent him, for he will do it suddenly and close in the night. And I fear before you receive this, we shall hear news of him.

The country and my 20 horse are not a force sufficient to oppose him. I have two requests to make—the first is for 100 foot to place on the border this winter. Lord Scrope has little need of the 100 at Carlisle, his March being now quiet. I would you caused my brother to send for them home, and I shall see to placing them. We shall have great need of them. My second, is her Majesty's warrant for my "security to revenge" if Cesford or any for him, spill the blood of an Englishman for the hanging of this man, or killing or hurting the others. If this be not granted, I have a third suit, that I may be recalled, as I cannot live where I am disgraced and my country undone, which will both happen, if my second request is refused. Berwick.  
*Signed*: Rob. Carey.

3½ pp. Annotated by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signed.

Sept. 17. 374. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELEY.

Two causes "ymportunes" me to write now: The one is to remind your honor of our want of victuals, which will not serve us past Michaelmas, and no prospect of more—whereby we live in great fear of distress.

The other is an "accydent" presently fallen out, through the many "reftes, stelhths" and murders, since your honor sent down the proclamations. My brother Sir Robert sent out on Monday night the 13<sup>th</sup> instant, some of the horse garrison to watch the country, who chanced to light upon some thieves driving stolen sheep; in the fight to rescue the goods they killed one thief, hurt two who escaped, and brought another to Berwick. Being taken with "the bloody hand," my brother caused him to be arraigned next day, when he was condemned on his own confession. He said he was "worthy to dye," for he had done five several murders with his own hand, besides so many other murders and "stelthes" he had been at, he could not reckon them. So he was adjudged to die. And this Thursday morning being the 16<sup>th</sup>, he was put to death: whereon his master Sir Robert Kerr has not only given up all kindness with our garrison and their friends and surnames, but also he and the surnames of Teviotdale have given up kindness with those with whom they were in friendship, and bid them look to themselves, I fear to the great danger and trouble of this country.

I think we should have our 100 men at Carlisle, home, that border being now quiet and strong, and I dare not put out any more, looking to the safety of this town. Therefore suffer me to recall them, for I fear mischief for the death of this notable thief, who was Sir Robert Carr's chief man.

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What justice can be had from the master of such servants? Berwick.  
*Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 19. 375. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Two or three troops of Scots, 14 and 15 in a company, very early this morning, were riding in Norhamshire, with intent to get revenge for the Burne I hanged—Sir Robert Kerre himself lying in ambush with 100 horse for their rescue. They took sundry men in many towns, but let them go as they took them, not being of the surnames they looked for, which are the Selbys, Armorsers and Ourdes. They came to Norham town and divers gentlemen's houses about, "but as God would," they seeing them so bold in day time, doubted the worst, and kept their houses. So they drove away some cattle about 11 a.m.; hoping some would rise to the fray "that they desyred." When they came to Sir Robert Kerre, he ordered them to drive the cattle back again, as it was not goods but blood he desired, and he would be revenged "ere he had done."

They hurt 2 or 3, one in peril of life, but as they were "men of no accompt," they left them "unkild." It is thought he will not break up this company till he gets some lives, for my "doing justice upon a notable murdering theefe." I commend our state to your consideration for speedy assistance. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 19. 376. ARTHUR GREGORY TO SIR R. CECIL.

"The uttermost cover containeth a request only to M<sup>r</sup> Bowes to see the inclosed conveyed with speede to his brother."

In his brother's letter he writes of some "knavery" in Hunter's bill of 400*l.*, as it was sent back not protested as "use is." And he had prepared satisfaction by other means than "the Kinges money."

He writes further that "the longsome dodging out of miserable" 3000*l.* has somewhat stayed full satisfaction of his brother's affairs, but fears it will breed greater mischief "in irritating his Majesty and counsell, 'but' (saith he) 'I have no witt: for I have ben no lesse miscourteous to crave, then they impudent and shamelesse to deny. I hope his Majesty upon good consideration shall runne a better course both for his honnour and commodity.'" This is the substance of the letter, wherein he writes he means to see him shortly.

I humbly desire your honour to pardon "importunacy," and to be assured that no man will more patiently attend your leisure, or gratefully acknowledge your favour. "Only I wish her Majesty (making difficulty) might know that if my pencion were a poore lyving, I would serve still and crave no more. But this is profitable to her and a satisfaccion for all that which I shall ever be able to do." *Signed*: Art. Gregory.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of small wax signet.*

Sept. 21. 377. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Reminding him that he had often written to himself and Sir Robert Cecil, of their want of victuals, hoping for speedy relief. That they are now suffering famine followed by disease and death, and he did not know what would become of them. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "... the great darthe at Earwick." *Swan waxer signet.*

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Inclosed in the same:—

Note of victuals at Berwick on 21<sup>st</sup> September 1596.

Wheat, rye and meal, 75 qrs., 6 "kenn"; malt 177 qrs., 3 pecks; beans, 50 qrs. Oxen and kyne, 46. Wethers, 76. Lutter, 3 firkins. Salt fish, 70.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Marginal notes by Burghley of the weekly consumption. Indorsed.*

Sept. 24. 378. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

After writing "this other" to the Council, the Grames arrived at this town, "in gret flant," and hunting by the way. And my self not being "very well at ease," and also credibly informed by a gentleman "of accompt," before they came to show themselves to me, "that as well by the waye before they came to the towne, as when they were alighted from their horses and at dynner in the towne, they ntered verye lewd and disdainfull speeches of me": I have not let them come to my presence, but sent them to their own houses, till I am perfectly certified of the truth of this: which if I find untrue, I shall willingly receive their submission. Carlisle. *Signed: Th. Scroope.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 24. 379. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Acknowledging their letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> signifying the Queen's pleasure to send commissioners to decide controversies on the Borders, and directions to him to prepare complaints from his wardens before hand, to prevent delay—giving his opinion that the time from which redress should begin ought to be first agreed on between the princes—suggesting that it should be either from his father's death, or his own entry on office (with certain exceptions, Falkland, &c., and late roads for which he had warrant). Awaits their farther direction. Carlisle. *Signed: Th. Scroope.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 25. 380. SUBMISSION OF THE GRAMES TO SCROPE.

We all jointly and severally submit ourselves to be commanded by your lordship as warden under the Queen, our sovereign lady—that neither ourselves nor any with our privy shall hold intelligence with any Scotsman or English outlaw, but resist their inroads and aid in recovery of goods stolen by them. Humbly beseeching your lordship to withdraw all offence justly conceived against us, and restore us to your favour. We willingly subscribe this and shall be ready to affirm it with our oaths before any justice of peace in this wardenship.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Contemporary copy. Indorsed: "Submission subscribed by the 2<sup>d</sup> Grames."*

Sept. 27. 381. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I received your letters of the 18<sup>th</sup> yesterday, wherein you noted my oversight in forgetting the day of the month in my last, for which, as also my "distrustfullnes" of my letters reaching your lordship, I crave pardon.

Your favour for Symmonburne greatly binds me, "and eyther shall the worthines of the man, whose suite I humbly present, being a batchelor of divinitie, merritt my honorable Ladie of Warrwick her good oppenione, as a worthy member of the churche and necessarie in this cuntry, with all honorable condicions, to the other yonng batchelor of arte M<sup>r</sup> Ewbancke and assurance of future advancement in due tyme, fitting his proceeding in



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learninge,—or els submitt my self to her will, whose honorable favoure I doe desyer and will deserve."

Before I was thoroughly acquainted by the Woodringtons of Sir Robert Kerr's true proceedings at Swinburne castle, I had messages and fair words from him, and particularly a relation which he desired to be sent to the Privy Council: which I forbore till now, in the hope he would release his claim on Roger Woodrington, not yet done.

As to my fault, inquired of by you, in allowing a Scots prisoner to be committed and kept without my privy, I briefly admitted it in my last, but will now enlarge it more.—[*Here the question whether this is capital and march treason, or only penal and contemptuous, is discussed, his delay in making either charge, being caused by awaiting the Scots' proceedings. The manner how Young was taken from his lawful captor Ralph Gray, by Ralph Selby to Berwick, and redelivered by the late Hunsdon's order to Selby, who took him to Swinburne castle, is related.*]

In answer to your inquiry for fit men in Yorkshire to join the Queen's commissioners for March controversies, the Bishop of Durham, Sir William Bowes and Doctor Colmor—"the three knightes be aged, I knowe not whether M<sup>r</sup> Vaughann hath ever attended the like service or noe, I remember well M<sup>r</sup> Richard Goodricke did once attend with the Earle of Rutland and my father . . . at Barwick. In this county and in Cumberland, the perfectest I knowe of, is Raphe Gray, Richard Lowther and William Selbie, porter of Barwicke."

For your satisfaction—"Sir Robert Kerr is sonne to Sir William Kerr, the father yett lyveinge, and is tearmed the younge Lard of Cesford; his father enjoying his possessions and landes."

[*Here follow his views on the difficulties in proving the English claims by "voters," advice as to doing so by the warrlers' honour, and the date from which claims should be made before the commissioners.*] Hexham. Signed: Ra. Eure.

2½ pp. Closely written. Noted by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed. Wajer signet as before.

Sept. 27. 382. EURE TO BURGHELEY.

I pray your lordship to take pity on this poor gentleman the bearer, whose fault I will not presume to excuse, but present his humble petition to you and any whom his fault doth concern. Craving to make known to your lordship his "good vertnes" in Border service, "for his peun or collections of lawes, customes, and observaciones, are worthie imbraceinge, whereof I have partelie tasted—and otherwaies hath manie good partes, and drowned with one oversight of layte committed to his good lord the Lord of Durhame, not willfully or contemptuouslie, but which cannot be denied, overtaken as souldiors be sometimes, the myd hower of that daie overpast, did wortheilie offend his lord." He has offered submission and every satisfaction, and being ordered to appear before you, humbly desires you to hear his offence, and vouchsafe your ear for his public confession. He is my kinsman, descended out of the house of Taylboies of Lincolnshire, which causes this my humble suit for mercy, not as justifying him, but till now his service in the bishopric has been always acceptable without offence to his neighbours or his lord. Hexham. Signed: Ra. Eure.

¾ p. Addressed. Indorsed: ". . . In the favour of M<sup>r</sup> Talboys."

Sept. 28. 383. SIR R. CAREY TO SIR R. CECIL.

In reply to the Council's letter desiring bills and proofs to be prepared against the commissioners' arrival: reminds him of the old difficulty of get-

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ting Scottish "vowers" of English bills, from the risk of deadly feud. While the Scots get "Englishmen ynowe to fyle" theirs, the gentlemen of the country say they cannot "for every twentythe bill procure a fyle" and if not remedied, they were better not to meet. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Received at Nonesuche, 3 October."

Sept. 28. 384. SIR R. CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

To the same effect as preceding letter, and praying them to provide a remedy. Also recommending the date for claims to begin since last meeting of commissioners 8 or 9 years before. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 28. 385. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHELY.

To same effect, referring to his letter to the Council as more "at lardge."

Requests the Queen's pleasure for his 20 horsemen, as he continues to pay them himself, though the 3 months for which he received pay "is owt." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Sican wafer signet, good.*

Sept. 29. 386. WORKS AT BERWICK.

Brief note of works done in the year ended 29 September 1596.

*Extracts.*

Works by the Lord Treasurer's and Governor's warrant:—

The new Cow gate called "Carey porte," and bridge over the "stanck" there, 49*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

Making a long "pen" or vault going under the new made "rampier," for carriage of ordnance into the flanker at "Bedford mounte," 89*l.* 15*s.* 3*½d.*

Removing a great hill of earth "which dide cloye and stop the passage to the newe gate and rampeire," 21*l.* 13*s.* 7*½d.*

"All thes above reperaciones have byn dun in my knolege and verey nedfull." \* *Signed*: Jhon Carey, John Crane, Will'm Acrigge.

Works by order of others:—

By the comptroller and surveyor.—Repairing of the "greate lighte and other smaller boates, for the service of the bridge," &c., 113*s.*

By Sir Robert Carey's order.—Repairing the powder house at Norham castle, 54*s.* 9*d.*

By Sir William Reade.—The fort and houses at the Holy and Fern islands, 44*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* Locks and keys, &c., for the town gates, by the gentleman porter, 24*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* Sum total of the whole works, 1843*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*

*Signed*: John Crane, Will'm Acrigge.

$2\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Indorsed.*

Sept. 29. 387. PAY, &C., AT BERWICK.

Account of Christofer Sheperson for pay of garrison and charges at Michaelmas 1596.

Receipts:—From the receivers of Lincoln, 2000*l.*, of York, 5000*l.*, of Northumberland, 2000*l.*, in all, 9000*l.*

\* Holograph.

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Payments:—Balance of pay at the Annunciation, “nowe clerod,” 551*l.* 10*s.* 3½*d.*; the Lord Governor, and other officials, garrison, horse and foot, pensioners, gunners, 8 captains, &c., in all, 9,835*l.* 6*s.* 4½*d.*

“So in surplussage” these payments over the receipts 835*l.* 6*s.* 4½*d.*

2 pp. *Written by Sheperson. Indorsed.*

Sept. 29. 388. SURCHARGES IN VICTUALLING BERWICK.

Provisions bought by R. Vernon and R. Swift for a year since 29<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1595, 5,457*l.* 10*s.* 3½*d.*; freights, &c., 1093*l.* 14*s.* 5¾*d.* Sum total, 6551*l.* 4*s.* 9¾*d.*

Victuals delivered to the garrison, &c., within said time, 3775*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* There remain of victuals at the prices they were bought for, 649*l.* 12*s.* 11¾*d.*

“So the surcharge for the whole yeare ended the laste of September 1596, ys”—2,126*l.* 0*s.* 5½*d.*

1 p. *Indorsed.*

c. Michaelmas. 389. VERNON AND SWIFT TO BURGHELY.

It appears that by note in Sheperson's hand inclosed, we had only received from him in the year now ended, 2,533*l.* 17*s.*, and “in all the yeere before,” only 80*l.* ready money, and 910*l.*, expended by the receivers of York and Lincoln on former provisions delivered to the garrison by his lordship's order, but nevertheless charged on us, by “Mr Auditor.” Also that the auditor demands besides our oaths, certificates by each captain, of provisions delivered to his company; for which we have sent to Berwick. We have brought as commanded the Book of Provisions for the garrison since Michaelmas, amounting to 3023*l.* 8*s.* 2¼*d.*, with freights and charges of not less than 400*l.*; to meet which we have in hand no more than 1020*l.*—though “Mr Auditor” makes it 120*l.* more, and have disbursed and stand indebted in 2300*l.* more than we have received, and though this were paid, nothing will remain for new provision.

We therefore beseech your lordship, as we shall receive nothing from the treasurer till Midsummer next, by which time we shall have borne a whole year's charge of not less than 6000*l.*, and only get one third thereof from him, that we may have a supply of money to discharge what is already due by our bonds: for without ready money we can get nothing in this time of dearth.

1 p. *Written by Swift.*

Mich. 390. PROVISIONS AT BERWICK.

Note of money “defalked” by the treasurer of Berwick for victuals delivered to the garrison and works, for the year ended Michaelmas 1596.

For first half year ended 24 March 1595	1,640 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
For second half year ended last of September 1596	1,925 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 3½ <i>d.</i>
Total,	3,565 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 5¾ <i>d.</i>

½ p. *Indorsed (as title): “28 of March”—in another hand.*

Sept. 29. 391. MONEY DUE R. VERNON.

Due him as surveyor, for victuals delivered as charged in his book given to Mr Treasurer, for the half year ended at Michaelmas 1596, and for works done for the year

2,533*l.* 17*s.*

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Whereof assigned to Mr Offley for provisions bought  
of him and sent to Berwick . . . . . 290l.  
So there is clearly due to Mr Vernon . . . . . 2,243l. 17s.  
*Signed: Ex per Chr. Sheperson.*

He has a claim against the Lord Governor of 27s. for his "poore," this half year, and for victuals formerly delivered to himself, 591l. 3s. 9½d., in all, 592l. 10s. 9½d.—and prays allowance of what is due the Lord Governor this half year.

1 p. *Written by Sheperson. Indorsed.*

## 392. VERNON'S RATES FOR PROVISIONS.

Rates at which he is bound to serve the garrison.

On flesh days from Christmas to Midsummer—and from Midsummer to the 1<sup>st</sup> January.

Showing that with the charges of all sorts and losses and casualties by sea and land he is a heavy loser.

1½ pp. *Contemporary. Indorsed.*

## Mich. 393. SURCHARGES IN VICTUALLING, &amp;c., BERWICK.

Brief abstract of the account of Robert Vernon and Richard Swifte esq<sup>rs</sup>, showing the surcharge arising both on the provisions issued by them to the garrison, &c., and other payments "growing" thereon.

[The prices of purchase and of issue of all kinds of provision are detailed—with the loss or gain on each—and the surcharge arising thereby is brought out as 2,211l. 2s. 5¾d., for the year 1596.]

1 p. *Large broad sheet. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary: "10 Ang. 1597. The surcharge for the victualinge of the garrison at Barwick for one yeare endinge at Michaelmas 1596."*

## Mich. 394. VERNON'S BOOK OF VICTUALS.

Book showing what is due R. Vernon victualler of Berwick for the half year ended at Michaelmas 1596—and balance due him for the half year ended at the Annunciation last—also the debt of the Lord Husson late lord governor, for victuals from the Queen's store.

[Amounts delivered and their value in detail, to the Governor, officers, pensioners, horse and foot garrison, &c., for the above periods, with each man's name, in all, 3,127l. 18s. 3¾d.]

6 pp. *Written by Vernon's clerk. Indorsed.*

## Sept. 395. MEN AT BERWICK TO BE VICTUALLED.

The number to be victualled by us is the whole number in pay, and the workmen there not exceeding 500. Besides the workmen, which were many this last year, there are not usually less than 900 men in pay.

The rate per man is 13s. 4d., a month, granted on the captain's warrant to the surveyor for his company at that rate.

The money "defalked" from pay for victuals so delivered, was last year, but 3,557l. 8s. 5d.; whereas, if every soldier had drawn what he might have had, the money "defalkable" for 900 men would have been 6,288l. 15s.

Your lordship will please understand that the time of many payments I am bound for, is come, and the parties here in town daily importunating me,

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and some ready to molest me, so I am likely to be much endangered and disabled from doing service unless I have order for the money due for provision made since Michaelmas, which is no more than the amount of this year's surcharge.

1 p. *In Swift's writing. Indorsed.*

## 396. NOTE OF NON-PERFORMANCE TOWARDS VERNON.

*First.*—He was to have had Sir Valentine Browne's stock, and an imprest of 2000*l.*—a great part of which for certain years has never been paid him "till this day."

*Item.*—He was to be paid half yearly for his victuals delivered, but has not been.

*Also.*—The Queen was to bear losses by the enemy or by fire, which has not been performed.

[Here follow the rates of provisions to the garrison—his fees and the heavy expenses and charges defrayed by him.]

1 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Contemporary. Indorsed.*

Feb. 3–  
Sept. 30. 397. WARRANTS FOR EURE.

A privy seal to direct the receiver of Yorkshire to pay 130*l.* monthly for 4 months for 80 horse under the warden of the Middle Marches, besides 20*s.* for coats and conduct money. *On margin* :—They entered on pay 21 March and the 4 months ended 11 July 1596.

15 June 1596.—A letter to the Lord Treasurer as warrant to continue their pay for 3 or 4 months longer. *On margin* :—These 4 months ended 30 Oct. 1596.

"Ult. Septembris 1596."—A privy seal to continue the payment 4 or 5 months longer. *On margin* :—"Thes 5 monethes shall end the 27 Feb. 1596."

1 p. *In two hauls, one Buryhley's secretary. Indorsed.*

## Sept. . 398. SIR R. CAREY ON THE SCOTTISH COMPLAINTS.

Declares that so much of Sir Robert Kerr's complaint to the King, sent on to her Majesty, as is "untruth," shall be now declared.

[Answering 15 heads only of the 49 articles of the complaints.]

*Extracts.*

1. When John Dawglise of Wydeopen was killed, there was not "so much as one groate" taken away, "but one pistoll which he had in his hand." This of my own knowledge.

2. As to Robert Pringle's death. A man of Learmouth having 7 oxen taken by Scots, and hearing they were on the border side, got his friends to go with him, and finding them pasturing among Scots cattle, drove away his own only. Pringle and others pursued him, and though urged to let them pass quietly, the English being "a farre overmatche," would not yield, but was the first to shoot his "pece or pistoll," killing one John Ewart of Carham, whereon himself was slain and some others hurt. This also of my own knowledge.

3. George Chisolme Sir Robert Kerre's "heard," was his chief guide to Killam and Woller, and was killed on English ground returning, by the brother of a man killed by his master that night.

4. There are no men in the East Wardenry called Peter Pott and Jock Pott "the bastard."

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5. Dandy Dawglise was slain 16 years ago, but not by Albany and Henry Rotherforth.

6. The horses of the Yettam tenants were lawfully taken in English ground carrying away wood. This of my own knowlege.

7. If Dand Tate of Bareasse was taken, it was before the Commissioners last met.

11-12. There are no such men or towns in the East March.

15. The complaint by the Laird of Mōwe "was done six year agoe comme Mertinmesse next," and found by assise before the warlens to be no "troblance."

19. Roger Gray and Bewick are not in the East March.

27. Butler of Aykeld charged by William Kerr of Hayopp for stealing 24 ewes, &c., "is already hanged by the Scottes."

43. The town of Middleton is not in the East Marches.

48. This charge against the garrison is "altogether untrewe" to my own knowledge.

49. The goods were restored by my order to the Laird of Grenhead and his tenants of Redden.

As for the rest of the complaints in the note, to which no exception is taken, the general opinion of the gentlemen of this March, &c., is that they will easily be answered at a day of truce. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

4 pp. *Indorsed partly by Burghley.*

June - 399. WEST MARCH COMPLAINTS AGAINST BUCCLEUCH, &c.

Sept.

July.—William Grame "Richies Will," upon the Lairds of Edgerton and Bedrulle with 20 men taking 24 horse and mares and 100*l.* sterling, insight.

19 July.—Anthony and Clement Hetherton of Torcrossett, Robert Reydome, &c., upon Geordy Simpson, Will Elliott of the Steile, Anthony of the Benks, with 100 men, on a day foray on Kinge water, took 100 milt.

John Hetherton of the Cair, upon same, with Arche Elliott *alias* "doge pintle," for taking 20 kye and oxen.

August.—Leonard Corbett of the Orchard howses, upon Arche Elliott of the Hill, his 2 brothers, Arche "doge pintle" and his 2 brothers, for 12 kye 2 nags, burning 4 houses and 100*l.* sterling insight.

"Mondaye the vj<sup>th</sup> of August."—Alane Hudson and Robert Storer of Castle Carrock upon John Nixon of the Higheshies, &c., for 20 kye and oxen taken from Geisdalle.

8<sup>th</sup> Sept.—The wife of Andrew Routledge *alias* Leatche, in Bewcastle, upon the Armstrongs of Whittleye for wilful murder of her said husband.

June.—Robert Graime of the Laike upon Watt Scott of Harden, Wille Elliott of Lairston, and the young Laird of Whithaugh with 60 men, for taking from the Leabecke at Wilkinskarre 300 kye and oxen, 20 horse and mares, spoil of 2 houses, "golde money" and insight worth 100*l.* sterling.

July.—Thomas Graime of the Croftehead, upon the Laird of Edgerton with 50 men taking from Carwinley 12 score kye and oxen, 20 horse, &c., spoil of 4 houses and insight worth 100*l.* sterling.

Aug. 1.—David Graime of Bankhead, upon Sir Walter Scott laird of Bucleuch, with his trumpeter and 500 men, for coming to the "stone howse of Banckheade upon Eske," forcibly bursting and burning the door, and the "irone yeat," taking prisoners Robert Graime of the Laike, William Graime of Logane, and Davide Hellydaye, a browne gelding price 20*l.* and household stuff worth 400*l.* sterling.

Richard and William Armstrong, &c., the Queen's tenants in Gilsland, upon said Watt of Harden, young Whithaugh, John and Gib Ellotts sons to Martine, with 400 men "arrayed in most warlike manner," running a day foray, taking 300 kye and oxen, 20 horse, &c., burning 20 houses, taking and

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burning gold money "apperrell," &c., worth 400*l.*, and mutilating many of them.

The tenants of Whitehill, lately Christofer Dacres esquire, now his son's her Majesty's ward, upon Sime and Joke Armstronge *al'z* "Calfehills" Pawtie of Harelawe, Ekie "braidebelt," Willie "of Briggomies," Willie "Kange," with 100 men, for burning 6 tenants' houses, and stealings, with goods worth 200*l.* sterling, and taking the six tenants prisoners.

Aug.—Robert Forster of Allergarthe, &c., upon Willie and Geordie "Kange," James Elliott *alias* "todde," with 20 men, for 20 kye and oxen, 30 sheep, 20 "gaites," a "younge meare," and their insight.

Wedowe Malles Blackburne of Dormontstead, upon George Graime of Lameclewghie, Riche and Hobbe Graime sons to "Priors John," and Jamy Elliott "todde," with 20 men taking 24 kye and oxen.

Wedowe Blanche Forster of Allergarthe, upon Jamy Elliott "todde," and 12 men, for 20 nolte, and spoil of her house 20*l.* sterling.

William and Jamy Armstrong and Thomas Crawe of the Leishills, upon "Armestranges Christie," young Bowholme, "nebles" Geordie with 30 men, for 30 kye and oxen, burning divers houses, &c.

Fergie Graime "Wills Fergie" upon Will Bell "read clooke" with 20 men, for taking 200 kye and oxen from Sarke, 10 horse and mares, spoiling houses of 100*l.* sterling.

The said Anthony Hetherton, &c., upon the younge Goodman of the Hollowes, Willie Yrwen "Kange," with 200 men on a day foray, for 200 kye and oxen, 20 horse, &c., burnt 10 houses and stuff, worth 200*l.* sterling.

George Hetherton of Hawehills, Roger Hetherton, &c., upon Jocke of Monkbehirst, Simes Arche, Pawtie of Hairelawe, Jocke and Sime Armstrongs of Calfehill, Willie and Geordie Yrwen *alias* "Kanges," with 16 persons, burning his houses and insight worth 200*l.* sterling, taking 40 kye, &c., 10 horses, &c., 40 sheep and "gaites."

The tenants of Walton, late Christofer Dacres esq., upon said Sime "Calfehill," Pattie Harelawe, &c., with 200 men, for taking 80 head of cattle, 20 horse and "naiges," and household stuff worth 200*l.* sterling.

The tenant of Thoraby more the late Christofer Dacres', upon said Sime and others "last above written" with 100 men, who burned 10 houses of habitation, 20 out houses, goods moveable and unmoveable, taking some prisoners and detaining them, with 4 score kye, &c., 20 horse, &c., and insight worth 100*l.* sterling.

4 pp. *Double broad sheets. Inlorsed partly by Burghley: Attempts by Buccleuch, &c., on the West Marches of England.*

Oct. 2. 400. COMMISSION TO BISHOP OF DURHAM, &c.

Appointment of Tobias bishop of Durham, Sir William Bowes knight, Francis Slynghesby esquire, and Clement Colmer doctor of Civil Law, or any three (the bishop or Sir W. Bowes to be one), commissioners to meet those of the King of Scots, and decide all border questions between their respective subjects. Under the great seal and sign manual. Westminster 2 October 38<sup>th</sup> year.

2 pp. *Latin. Double broad sheets. Inlorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

Oct. 3. 401. EURE TO BURGHEY.

In reply to his of 26<sup>th</sup> September, received 2<sup>d</sup> instant, wishing to know the time for which the 80 horsemen were allowed: that they entered on pay, Sunday 21<sup>st</sup> March, continuing for 4 months ended 11 July. They were continued for 3 months, ending 2<sup>d</sup> Oct. instant—and a month longer if needed, ending 30<sup>th</sup> instant. Beseches they may be continued during the winter, and that he may have warrants for their monthly pay of 130*l.* besides

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80*l.* of arrears, the receiver of Yorkshire having only paid him 120*l.* monthly for their past service. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Noted by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed. Signet as before.*

Oct. 3. 402. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

Two packets from your lordship have reached me to-day, one for myself, another to "M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Colmore." I see her Majesty has appointed me, "a man most unworthie, and manie waies unmeete," to join with the Scots King's commissioners for redress on the Border, and shall be ready with "my praiers and endeavors" to help forward so good a service, when I hear farther from you, or from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes her highness ambassador, of the time and place of meeting. "And albeit I am verily persuaded, that upon some prejudice without cause, I am of all men lest acceptable to that nation, and therefore least likelie to obtaine justice or reason at their hande: yet I shall hope that her Majesties authoritie chiefly, and the dexteritie of myne associates, will partely prevaile with them to yeald to the common benefite and peace of both the realmes." Only, knowing their malice to myself, and their sleights in satisfying outrages on the border, I most humbly beg, "that being a man not of the sworde, I maie not be drawn further then Berwick or Carlisle; if that my supplicacion, not proceeding so mutche of feare as of doubt, maie seeme reasonable to her most excellent Majestie, and the lordes and others of the most honorable Previe Connsell, and not otherwise."

When I learn where M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bowes the younger is, "I will not faile to imparte unto him the contentes of that parte of your lordshippes other lettre which concerneth the difference between M<sup>r</sup> David Fowles and him. I perceave the great commission ecclesiasticall is renewed, but so altered from the former, and in the most materiall pointes so abridged of all authoritie in this my diocese, as I assure my selfe this countrey shall reape thornes therby in steade of grapes!" But more of this hereafter when my lord Archbishop of York and I may certify you "in more perticular."

Beseeching you to acquaint the lordes and others with this my answer regarding the Border service. Bishop Awkland. "Your lordshippes most humble in Christe." *Signed*: Tobie Duresme.

1½ pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed. Wax signet: quarterly, 1 and 4 a lion rampant; 2 and 3, 3 chevrons.*

Oct. 5. 403. SWIFTE TO BURGHLEY.

About 20 days ago, finding no fall in prices, I sent men with ready money to Cambridge and Lincoln shires, and went myself to Yorkshire. Found no old corn left anywhere, and none of the new yet thrashed, so "was driven" to send off what I could get, viz., 80 qrs. of "white Danske rie," and 30 qrs. old wheat, which with 10 "wey" of cheese, 20 firkins butter, and "ten hundred of Iseland codd," I shipped from Hull on 25<sup>th</sup> September, and hope it was at Berwick in 4 or 5 days. I bought 40 qrs. more wheat, leaving a man at Hull to make it up to 100 qrs., when thrashed, and send it off.

In Cambridgeshire 150 qrs. wheat is bought, I trust by this time thrashed, and ready to be shipped: with ready money more might be had, and I hope there is no cause to fear present want at Berwick. In these and other provision since Michaelmas 1595, we have spent and owe almost 3000*l.* more than is yet in our hands.

I humbly beg your lordship to consider my great burdens, "continually through the yeere in bondes and credit," now for 1000*l.*, now for 1500*l.*, and at present for more than 2000*l.*, besides no small sums paid of my own;



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and that the receivers pay what is due for the last and this half year, for provisions supplied to the soldiers, that I may discharge great sums due in less than 16 days. *Signed*: Rich. Swift.

1 p. *Holograph. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Note of these purchases of wheat, 40 qrs. at 40s. the quarter, and 500 "come," or 300 qrs. to be delivered between St Andrew's day and Christmas, at 32s., to be paid for at "Hollantide" next. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Swift's shipments, noted at foot by Burghley and his secretary. Indorsed.*

Oct. 6. 404. SIR R. CAREY TO SIR R. CECIL.

Having at large informed my lord your father of our late "accorrence" here, I need not write therof. I humbly beseech your honor to think of me and my manner of living. By Cesford's pride I am in much trouble, the uncertainty of my stay makes men afraid what course to take. I have no assurance of friends, things are done doubtfully, and there is a contional "stagaringe," and will be while my stay "is as it is." I humbly entreat for your effectual dealing, either to establish me "absolut," or get me dismissed to attend to my own affairs, now altogether neglected.

This warderney will not be governed well without an absolute warden. I am indifferent whether I have it or have it not, but desire to know the end, "and good sir, obtayn it for me," and at your leisure bestow a line or "tooe" on me, "for it gretly comforts me when I heare from thos that I knowe loves me." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Rec. at the Strande the xij<sup>th</sup> of the same."

Oct. 9. 405. WILLIAM SELBY TO BURGHLEY.

I received your letter with the Council's instructions as to the Ordnance office, which I shall carefully follow.

I sent you a certificate of the decayed gates here, whereon M<sup>r</sup> John Carey told me he would also write. It is now time to bespeak iron "at some iron mills," which must be "fashioned," thus saving labour and charges.

Knowing your care of this country, I presume to certify the weak state of this March, and unless some order is speedily taken, the likelihood of great murders and spoils.

There have been 8 murders in little more than a year—4 by Cesford himself, the rest by his servants,—and two or three times in these 20 days, his forces have entered this March "(and verry apparantlie him self covertlie with them)" to murder the Queen's subjects—which is intolerable.

There has also been taken within this year or little more, by his servants, &c., above 2000*l.* worth of goods, a heavy loss to this small and poor country.

"With pardon," except some noble man of wisdom and courage be sent here, great harm will be done. I mean to offend no one, but merely to discharge my conscience.

"Sesford and his crew" labour to effect their "mischevyous" intentions before the commissioners meet. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Small wayer signet: shield barry.*

Oct. 10. 406. THE QUEEN TO SIR R. CAREY.

Understanding his complaint of want of authority to requite injuries

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by the Scots, authorizes him as her deputy warden to use his discretion in taking such course as he finds meet to uphold her honour, but to beware of taking any action to hazard the same, or encourage the Scots by miscarriage therein—and if it be possible, to forbear till the commissioners meet; but yet leaving it to his discretion, and authorizing him to do as he shall have reason to lead him. Nonesuch.

1 p. *Contemporary copy. Indorsed:* Copy of her Majesty's letter to Sir Robert Carey "having charge for the time of the East Marches."

Oct. 11. 407. SCROPE TO BURGHELEY.

Your last of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant answers several of my former letters. And as you desire a further declaration of the roades of Stirling and Falkland, mentioned in my last, and of the debateable grounds; Stirling was about this time 11 years past, when the Earls of Angus and Mar and others banished, returned to possess themselves of the King's person and favour, dismissing James Steward then Earl of Arran, and other courtiers unfriends of theirs—who had assistance of many of our borderers, who are to be charged with all the spoils (very great) committed by them and the earl's forces—but that bill is not yet delivered. When the late Earl of Morton lord Maxwell, was opposite warden, he sent the bills for Falkland and the debateable ground, to myself, and to avoid prolixity, I send you the true copies for your information.

I hear credibly that some go about to obtain her Majesty's grant of some of the best things left me in my leases from her, although I have 16 or 17 years unexpired. As the principal things which I held of her Majesty are already taken over my head, as you know, though you sent your mandate to the offices to stay the granting out of any particulars of things demised to the Lord Scrope—as I have been told—and to prevent the like in the rest, I am desirous to prefer a suit to the Queen for a lease in reversion of those things left me—wherein I wholly rely on your favour and help, and to be guided by your advice and pleasure. Praying a line from you thereon. Carlisle. *Signed:* Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed as before.*

Oct. 14. 408. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELEY.

I have received your letters of 2<sup>d</sup> Sept. and 5<sup>th</sup> October (the second only yesterday) with notes of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon and M<sup>r</sup> Swift's preparations of victuals for this town. I inclose note under William Vernon's hand of all that is arrived, trusting for a better supply. Also the musters taken on the 12<sup>th</sup>—being forced on that day to send out 100 of our small garrison for the better safety of the March, against Cesford's daily plottings how to murder some, wherein thank God he has hitherto failed. But the Scots lie by dozens, and 20, sometimes 40, in secret places to murder any riding by themselves; so that no man dare go about his own business, or stay in his own house. Thus on the earnest desire of the country gentlemen I have laid 100 men in the country, which can be ill spared, with another 100 at Carlisle, not much needed now the country there is quiet. Berwick. *Signed:* Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*  
Inclosed in the above:—

(1) (Vernon's certificate.)

Received at Berwick, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1596, forth of the *Katherine* of Hull, Richard Pemperton, master, rye, 78 qrs.; wheat, 29 qrs.; butter, 20

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firkins; cheese, 10 "waye;" "dried codd," 1000. *Signed: Ex. per Will<sup>m</sup> Vernon.*

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Indorsed.*

(2) Defaults of musters on 12 October 1596.

Absentees with or without passports, from the companies of John Carey, Sir William Read and 4 other captains (Captains Carvill and Twyforth with their companies at Carlisle), gunners, artificers, horsemen and pensioners—in all, 45. *Signed: Jhon Carey, John Crane.*

3 pp. *Indorsed.*

Oct. 14. 409. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

My letter of 3<sup>d</sup> I trust reached you safely. Since then I have received the inclosed letter from the Queen's ambassador in Scotland. I am sorry there is no better certainty of the day and place of meeting, the days getting short and the weather worse. I would be glad the time were expressly fixed, that "I mought take order for suche sclender provisions for hospitalitie, &c., as I am hable to make accordingly."

I would also that my associates be certified "from above, or from his lordship rather than from me" of the time and place—except M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Colmore: for M<sup>r</sup> Francis Slingsby dwells somewhat far from this, and beside the post way: also I know not where Sir William Bowes makes his chief abode: "belyke at London."

I would beg your warrant under at least three hands of the Privy Council, for 6 or 8 post horses, in case any of mine fail, as also for help of carriages if need require upon some accident. I beg, above all, that as few material things as the service will permit, be left to our discretion, knowing my own inexperience best, and what "absurditie percase maie rebound therof," and that the instructions may fully contain what will be expected of us. And if your lordship added any private direction to me, it would be an especial favour.

I have acquainted M<sup>r</sup> Bowes the younger with your letters on the matter "controversed" between M<sup>r</sup> Fowles the Scotsman and him—whose answer is here inclosed, desiring your perusal and acceptance in good part. I hear not if M<sup>r</sup> Fowles is come this way yet. I received your letter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> on the 10<sup>th</sup> from the Durham post, and if he comes this way I will do my best to accord them. Bishop Awkland. *Signed: Tobie Duresm.*

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed. Seal as before.*

Oct. 18. 410. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

The "rooted ignorance" of those in my government, respecting more their "sensuall lustes," than the service of their country, has hindered my reply to your letter of 18<sup>th</sup> September till now. The complaints of my March are of two sorts—*viz.*, outrages by Scots, with English outlaws, the others by English outlaws or fugitives only. Of the first "or forraine attemptes," your lordship is already certified by a general inquisition from 1567 (10 Eliz.) till 1593 (36 Eliz.) by the gentlemen under their hands, showing their losses to be 12,394*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*—but neither the malefactors' names nor dates are perfect, and I despair of proof, unless by assise and the warden's honour.

Of the bills since 1586 in Sir John Forster's time, I have compiled as much as I could from that year, when Edward earl of Rutland and Lord William Eure my father sat as her Majesty's commissioners at Berwick. At which meeting, "Sir John Forster affirmeth," bills not then redressed "were quitted."

My people therefore humbly crave that redress may be claimed from April

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1586. The principal loss unredressed "without duple or saphie," is between 16,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* at the least—the particulars whereof shall be ready for the commissioners, and but for the negligence and ignorance of my March, I would have sent them to yourself now;

The wilful and cruel murderers, my March crave may be demanded to be punished for examples, and that those Scots abetting or present, may be bound by sufficient sureties to enter on 10 days' notice to the Queen's officer—to include all murders from 6 Eliz. till 1586.

All prisoners unlawfully taken, binding themselves by bond or promise by their hands, to enter "without cry of Queen or wardaine" as they term it, "which is as much to saye, to subject themselves to there takers will,"—to be released and their bonds cancelled, ransoms repaid, since 23 September 1563, the date of the last treaty, and such practices prohibited henceforth—is the humble prayer of my March.

As avowers are not likely to be had among the Scots, it were not amiss that the Queen's ambassador dealt with the opposite warden, to meet on a fixed day to agree on sworn assisers to inquire into and settle bills for the commissioners.

As the opposite warden is a native borderer, and the King allows him no "pention," his "meane estate of lyving" forces him to befriend his clan, overlook outrages, and support lawless men about him who serve him without charge,—it is craved that her Majesty's officer may take bouds of the headsmen of the clans for themselves, &c., not to ride in the Marches, but to satisfy stolen goods after inquiry by him; also that the opposite warden may give sufficient caution and hostages to her Majesty to do general justice to all complaints sent in by your lordship to the King. Also that her Majesty would fortify this decayed frontier, *viz.*, of Tynehead and Reede water, erecting in each a "bastile" or strong house, where an officer "stronglie attended" might dwell.

For the Scots have erected houses "even uppon the fronte," which before they did not approach "by a large myle and more." And they have erected "stronge tower houses," planting a headsmen of the clan therein, surrounded by the strength of his name, *viz.*, against Tynehead, Martin Elliott has erected a strong tower hard by the March, "within this twenty or some odd yeares, strongly vawted, att the head of Liddell, with open ventes for traynes of powder." Robert Elliott within these 12 yeares, has erected another called Laristone. John Elliott *alias* Jock Copshaw, in these few yeares, another called Blackstone lee. They take our good habitable grounds, and "chaise" us further into the land, making their entry easier.

"Aunempste the head of Read water, John and Robert Frissell hath erected houses." Phillip Rotherforth of Edgerstone, another house thereabouts. All very "noysome" to us: and should be defaced and ruined, if we get no redress for past losses or assurance of future justice.

Another annoyance complained of by my March is that English offenders to one March, are received in another, thus defeating justice, as in a "severall kingdom" as the Scots phrase it. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

2½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

(2) Extracts out of the same.

1½ pp. *In a neat clerkly hand. Indorsed.*

Oct. 18. 411. EURE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

To the like effect as No. 410, but more briefly. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

1596.

Oct. 18. 412. EURE TO SIR R. CECIL.

On same subject, and the impossibility of compiling bills from 10 Eliz. to 29 Eliz., for the offenders' names and dates are left out, and many of the plaintiffs dead—so "bygones" for "bygones." The inquisition from 29 till 36 Eliz. shall be perfected, and from 1586, for goods only, will be 16,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* sterling. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Lord Enre to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary."

Oct. 20. 413. ROBERT BOWES TO SCROPE.

On receipt of yours of the 13<sup>th</sup> by this bearer, "I have sent to seik spedye accesse to the King, departed yesterday from Dunfermling to Sterling to be a witnes at the baptyisme of th'Erle of Marrs daughter." And after audience, I shall write more at length. Meantime I shall seek to have the Scottish rolls delivered to you quickly. I see the King has been moved to licence Buccleugh to go to the country to make up his bills, rolls, &c., to be exchanged with you and others her Majesty's wardens and officers. But how her Majesty shall allow his enlargement on such pretence I know not, thinking that in her late letter to the King by M<sup>r</sup> David Fowles, she touched Buccleugh and his cause, and the King may thereby "have the better respect in graunt of further libertye to Buckclughe from his warde at S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes." I understand the Lord of Newbottle excuses himself from going with the other commissioners to the border, by late sickness, and some of the others sue earnestly to be discharged. But I therefore hasten my access to the King, not to hinder the commission, and will shortly I hope advertise you. Edinburgh. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Armorial wafer signed—indistinct.*

Oct. 21. 414. SIR R. CAREY TO SIR R. CECIL.

I have yours of the 13<sup>th</sup> and her Majesty's letters of authority, and hope to do nothing but what she shall allow.

If you or my lord your father wrote to my brother here to assist me with the garrison against "Tividall," he is of himself very willing to do so.

I find you mistook me in my last letter, "for therin have I chardge you with no unkindnes whatsoever: but to trewe it is, at that instant to my lord your father I did far overshout my self"—but I hope ere this he is satisfied, and I am truly sorry for any fault, and will no more offend.

It is certainly given out here that your brother is to be our governor. If true he will do himself wrong if he get not the wardlenry of the East March also, they have been long together, and separation will weaken both. You may think it strange I say this, but I doubt not if your brother come down governor and warden, to find such favour by your good father and yourself "wans er a yeare goe about, as I shall thinke my goodwill lardgley recompenst, and in that hope I would to God your brother wer upon his way cumming to injoy them bothe." Berwicke. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Rec. at Rychmond the xxviiij<sup>th</sup> of the same." *Seal wafer signed.*

Oct. 22. 415. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

I have received a "boxe faste sealed" from your lordship, containing her Majesty's commission under the great seal, with instructions, and your own letter to myself thereon. Immediately I wrote to the ambassador thereof, naming the 13<sup>th</sup> November next, being Saturday, for us to be at Berwicke, and to return answer hither with celerity, that I may forthwith send express

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notice to Sir William Bowes and M<sup>r</sup> Slingsby to repair hither accordingly. As my letter to Scotland went by the morning post on 20<sup>th</sup>, I may expect the ambassador's answer by the 29<sup>th</sup>, and may hope to have Sir W. Bowes and M<sup>r</sup> Slingsby here by the 8<sup>th</sup> November at furthest; and upon the tenth or xi<sup>th</sup> by Gods grace, to take our journey northward (*quod domini fallit fastidiosius sit*),<sup>2</sup> unless delayed by the opposite commissioners. When my associates and I meet, they shall learn her Majesty's bounty and your honourable regard for us. I am sorry M<sup>r</sup> Talbois takes no better way than by denial to double his offences. "But I feare least that his obstinat and unshamefast course will verifie that of Velleius Paternulus a verie wise writer, *Numeri significatione fortissimum mutare consistit, consilia corrumpit*. It were fitter ywissh for him to cry, *Omne nunquam sapientem*: or at least to saie and praye, *sit erranti medicina confessio*." Those who depose against him are all of honest reputation and some of "worshipp." I find myself in him and all things, most bound to you. Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

1 p. *Holograph*: as also address. *Indorsed*. *Was signet as before*.

Oct. 22. 416. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Acknowledging his letter of 12<sup>th</sup> received that day, with the Queen's commands to return the 100 footmen to Berwick: remonstrating against the order, and explaining that when he wrote for leave to come up, as his March was quiet and likely to remain so, it was only by means of these 100 men. That if Buccleugh is released from his "present easy restraints," and returns to the Border, he will again raise disturbances. Praying his letter to be laid before the Queen for her resolution, either for the continuance of these men, or some equal force in their room. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

1½ pp. *Holograph*, as also address. *Indorsed*.

Oct. 23. 417. REPORT AS TO RICHARD LOWTHER.

"Carlisle the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of October 1596. The reports of such as were in the castell chamber at Carlisle when M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther tendered in my Lord Scroopes name, his favour to the Grames if they would submit themselves generally for all former matters to his lordship."

Robert Briskoe gentleman, saith M<sup>r</sup> Richard did there intreat the Grames to submit and acknowledge to Lord Scrope they had offended him, and their sorrow, without "particularities as to be fowls or ciere of the roade of Buccingh." But the Grames refused their absolute submission, unless they might be held clear of that roade.

William Grames otherwise Riches Will says the like, and that they refused submission, unless absolutely cleared of Buccingh's roade.

George Bell, says M<sup>r</sup> Lowther willed the Grames to submit, saying if they would not, he would leave them to them selves. But they said it would be as much as their lives were worth, and would not submit "in generall" unless the roade of Buccingh might be excepted, or they received as clear of the same.

"John Mingsgrave and Francis Lucas with other of my servants witness to the same effect, and agree with the premises."

1 p. *Written by Scrope's clere*. *Indorsed*. "This was in the castell great chamber."

Oct. 23. 418. REPORT BY HENRY LEIGH AND JAMES HALL.

Oct. 23<sup>rd</sup> October, we were present when M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther delivered

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this message from Lord Scrope to the Graynes—“That whereas some had informed the Gyeneis that he would not accept their submission: yet they were now come to the same end, and would make theyre submission absolutely according to her Majesties pleasure, his lordship was ready to receive the same, and would be any other way when they would come altogether, and thereafter use them as the rest of her Majesties subjects, in hope of their good temperance.” This message was delivered to Richard of the Breckonhill, Wyll of the Rosettes, and young Huchen, with Richer Wyll being present. Whereunto Richard of the Breckonhill answered, they understood not what that word ‘absolute’ meant, for as touching the breaking of Carlisle castle, “they would never make anye submission: but as they had done to the lordes of her Majesties council, so would they ever justifie and excuse themselves therof so longe as they lyved.” Whereunto Mr Lowther replied, that it was not my lord’s meaning to make mention of any particular fault past, but only they should submit ‘absolutely’ in general for all faults past, and endeavour to be good subjects hereafter, wherunto he would receive and use them with honour. Then on persuasion of Mr Lowther and myself and others present, “they tooke leave to advise with the rest of their friends till that day seavight, and then to come all together and give his lordship a resolute answer, whereas his lordship desired Mr Lowther to be present. Signed, Ed. Leighe, James Hall.

i. p. *Written by Leighe. Entorsel.* “This was in the castle garden.”

[Oct. 23.] 419. SCROPE TO R. LOWTHER.

“Mr Lowther; at our two conferences aboute the Graynes, as we were sittinge together, and that you were a meane to me to take their submission, did not I tell you, that I never refused ye, but would take their absolute submission for all things past, and did make but a staye, all the pendencye of the journey might beare test to their proceedings and myne? And if your cominge hither I did confirme the same, you tellinge me that the Graynes would be heare this daye aboute the same occasion, and that they were readye in all inevitableness to submitt their selves, which I accepted; but in the end they would not unless I would free them of the fact at this castle, the which unless I should have betrayed my safe, I could not have done: and therefore you desired respect vnto Saturdaye. Her Majesty hath commanded me to give her an immediate answer, and therefore sent downe underneath your hande the tenor of the matter, which I am sure you will, because there be that will approve ye. And so I resta. Ever as you deserve, so am I.” Signed, Ed. Scrope.

“Send this yours owne leave, and your answers enclosed together by this bearer to me.”

i. p. *Entorsel. Also address.* “To my cousin Mr Richard Lowther.”

[Oct. 24.] 420. R. LOWTHER TO SCROPE.

“I received your lordships letter this morninge by your lordships foreman, which beareth so late. I remember when I was with you at Ascombe, “sittinge for my poore man that is in prison,” and also talkinge with you from thence, you told me you would accept the Graynes submission stoutly after your return, “yet they would absolutely submitt themselves, not speakinge of the breakinge of Carlisle castle.” On Saturday last, when I came to confirme my suit for my poore man, you confirme the same speech to me, willinge me to carry a message to them to the same effect, which I declared beeing Mr Henry Leighe and one of your servants. I told you I heard the Graynes would be in town this day, but only three of them came,

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"They answered verye dewtifullye, sayinge" they would submit to you and honour and obey you, and serve the Queen under you, as ever their ancestors or themselves did under any lord warden, but will never confess the breaking of Carlisle castle, and will always be ready to clear themselves, if you give them leave. They say you commanded them not to come to you, till sent for—and also say, how can they submit themselves, if you will neither suffer them to come, nor yourself come forth to them?

These as I remember were all the speeches I had with you or them. You ouce appointed "this present Mondays" to take their submission, willing myself to be then also at Carlisle as a witness. "But in regarde I tould your lordship that my yeares would not suffer me to ryde up and dowue betwixt Carlisle and Lowther, so ofte in so shorte space, your lordship was contente to deferr it tyll Satterdaye next." Lowther. *Signed*: "Your l. at your l. comandment, Richard Lowther."

I return herewith your letter as commanded, and have kept a copy.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 24. 421. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I received your letter with warrant for the soldiers' pay, and will write to the receiver of Yorkshire to certify why he detains the "olde" 10*l.* in each month's pay, hoping your lordship will then order it to be made, to the poor men's benefit this dear year.

I beseech your favour in procuring the Queen's grant of the parsonage of Symondburne for M<sup>r</sup> George Warwicke a Master of Arts of 6 or 7 years' standing, "of my sonne his acquaintance," and commended unto me by M<sup>r</sup> D. Robinson for his sufficiency in all respects.

As M<sup>r</sup> Crakenthrop whom I formerly commended, "haithe made refosall therof, deaminge his body unable to live in so troublesome a place, and his nature not well brooking the perverse nature of so crooked a people," I hope the said Warwick may be preferred, seeing "that M<sup>r</sup> Ubancke is already satisfied" and has made it known to my Lady of Warwick. Craving pardon for my boldness herein. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

Oct. 26. 422. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I present to your lordship the great necessity this country has for a "discrete" sheriff, not disposed to factions or to favour theft, as many do here. And give me leave to nominate such as I know are well affected, *viz.*, Raphe Gray, Robert Delavale, and Edwarde Gray, "good members and discrete." But if you allow the "yonge fry" as Wooddrington, the Queen will not be so well served, or the country benefited. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Lord Eure to my lord. For a good sherif for Northamberland . . ." *Wafer signet.*

Oct. 26. 423. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Besides the other herewith to the Council, I write this private to yourself as to my dealing with the Grames, under their lordships' letters of the 15<sup>th</sup>. On my seeing 3 or 4 of them "withoute the yate," I sent M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther, then with myself, to let them know that I was ready to receive their general submission for all things past, and themselves into favour to serve her Majesty as I had occasion. But on his propounding this, they utterly refused, unless I absolutely cleared them of Bnccleuch's roade to this castle—which I could not for my own honour and proceedings hitherto as your lordship knows. So they took respite to give fuller satisfaction on



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Saturday next, whereof your lordship shall hear. Praying, as her Majesty's officer, your honourable friendship as hitherto.

I also inclose this other letter from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes to myself, to show how unlikely it is that quietness in the country will continue, if the soldiers are removed and Buccleuch let loose in this the most troublesome time of year for thieves' roades. Praying your good offices herein and a line in answer of my last. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Inlorsed.*

Oct. 26. 424. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

I desired to have delayed the account of my proceedings with the Grames till all was concluded to her Majesty's pleasure, but doubting lest others misrepresent them, I send the inclosed, leaving you "to couceive, with what boldnes M<sup>r</sup> Lowther will advertise an untrathe unto parsonages who ar so farr remote from him as your lordshippes ar (where ratificacon or contradiction with due approbacion can not so readily be had)—when he will not shame to certify unto my selfe so nere him thus impudently, both that which in myne owne knowledge I know that he varieth from the truthe of that which passed betwixt him and my selfe in privat, and also do fynde by due examination of the persons present, when he did publiquly propound a pacificacion to the Grames from me: that the Grames used nor uttered not the wordes which by his letter (hereinclosed) he hath certified unto me under his hande that they did. For all which were present in the chamber and hard what was sayd both by him selfe and them, beare witnes to the contrary, as maye appeare to your lordshippes by their rehearsall severally of the effect of their speeches, which they will justifie upon their othes when they shall be requyred." But on Saturday next if they all come, as I think they will, and M<sup>r</sup> Lowther with them, our proceedings shall be set down in writing under "all hands, as well actors as spectators or herers, that her Majesty may the better discern to laye the blame where it is in deede." [*The message delivered by Lowther, and the Grames' reply, as in Nos. 417, 418, repeated here.*] The attestations of the several persons are inclosed to contradict M<sup>r</sup> Lowther's shameless assertion to the contrary.

That her Majesty may be assured I have not received all tales against them, your lordships will see from Henry Leigh's petition long ago against them, supported (as you know) by the Earl of Huntington's letter; yet he could not get me to meddle therein, nor till the heinous act against this castle, I never informed against them.

And seeing her Majesty is contented to pardon this act, I am as in all duty, ready to obey her herein.

Yet not from passion, but for the reasons expressed in my letters to your lordships of 19<sup>th</sup> August last, with all humility I still crave her Majesty's permission to surrender this place with her gracious favour, so it be not to her displeasure and indignation. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph; as also address. Inlorsed. Wafer signed.*

Oct. 29. 425. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHEY.

Referring to my answer of 22<sup>d</sup> to your letter of 14<sup>th</sup> with the commission, &c., and hope of meeting the opposite commissioners on 13<sup>th</sup> November—I conjecture, from my lord ambassador's letter inclosed (which I beg to be returned me if it so please you), that we are not like to meet the Scots so soon. Howbeit we shall be in readiness, as I have required D<sup>r</sup> Colmore and M<sup>r</sup> Slingesbie. He is very courteously come hither to look into the business, whom I find to be a wise gentleman of good experience as your lordship doth rightly "censure" him, and his service is the more necessary among us, for it is reported to me that the Scottish commissioners are "both

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skillfull and toughe, &c., I say not, partiall." I have had by me many treaties these many years, the chief I suppose of this country, "a coppie whereof, and percase of some other, M<sup>r</sup> Robert Tailbois bestowed on my Lord Eure, collected in Bishop Barnes his tyme, but unskillfully copied and depraved in manie partes." I have also some observations and notes left with me by M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Walsingham (at her Majesty's commandment, as he told me when in these parts *anno* 25 of her Majesty, after his negotiation in Scotland. But how to procure the Treaty in the year 1587 at Berwick, when Lord Hunsdon had committed to him the government of the Middle March, on Sir John Forster's sequestration from the same, we cannot conceive, unless it be sent us from above, or that M<sup>r</sup> John Carey will impart it. We shall also want the King's proclamation, inhibiting all hostility and revenge, &c., except the ambassador, to whom we shall write, can help us to it: "for upon the date thereof will muche depend the bould incursions of Sir Robert Car to be more or lesse advantageable to our treatie."

I have perused the paper of levies of money exhibited by M<sup>r</sup> Tailbois—"we must confesse them and avoide all falte in them." I cannot blame the discretion of my predecessors and the justices of peace in this county in any of these impositions, nor do I suppose any country in this realm is more moderately and warily taxed, considering the circumstances of our habitation, the "haviour" of those charged, and that there is no other way but by an equal proportion. So I marvel to what purpose "his exhibite tended." If to charge me for the 3 last levies, it is well known I never proceed but with sufficient consent: and that the first for the salt-peter works—the second for the 10 horsemen that attend the Lord Warden on the Middle March,—and the third for the day of truce—were all for the expedition of her Majesty's urgent and then present services: for the discharge of one of which three, the justices in general, and myself in particular, did intercede so far, that (if your lordship remember) we were all near to be "shent" for our presumption.

Hoping you will excuse us, notwithstanding these frivolous allegations, and thanking you for the warrant for our post horses and carriages. Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

2 pp. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*.

Nov. 1. 426. SCROPE TO SIR R. CECIL

I have sent to the Council the proceedings between me and the Grames on Saturday last and yesterday, with my letter to their lordships therein, hereinclosed, praying you to deliver both to them, and afford me such furtherance therein as you think expedient. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.

Nov. 1. 427. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL

According to my last to your lordships, 5 of those 6 Grames which were before you, have been with me on Saturday night and yesterday. Knowing the readiness of some to certify "over largelie" without regard of truth, I thought good to set down in writing under my hand, and those of M<sup>r</sup> Lowther and the rest subscribing with us, my willingness to receive the Grames' submission for all things past, &c., according to her Majesty's pleasure and your directions to me, as may appear by the inclosed note under all our hands. But they refused, as at first, to submit, unless cleared of the roade of Buccleuch to this castle "before myselfe," since it pleased your lordships "so to conceive of them, as" they have put down in their submission inclosed under all their hands, presented to me by one of them in the presence of the subscribing witnesses.

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This manner of submission, "which I rather holde as a justificacion," I could not accept, for it would have made me appear as a false accuser, and published myself as rather submitting to them! This I am sure is neither her Majesty's pleasure nor any of your lordships' meaning, so far as I can gather by your letter of 9<sup>th</sup> September, sent with them when they came down—which contains, "That your lordships have not in your judgements declared them free from th'offences wherwith I had charged them: or lyke-wise by your lordshippes of the xv<sup>th</sup> of the last monethe, declaringe that her Majestie was so respective of me her officer, that she did not dismiss the Grames, but with plaine condicion to submit them selves to me: shewinge her pleasure also therewith, that I shoulde (uppon their submission) put in oblivion former misdemeanoours and accusacions: and so to shew to them my owne disposicion to pardon any former errour. By both which lettres, I collect that her Majesties meaninge and your lordshippes is, that they shoulde submitt them selves unto me for offences past, and for their services to come." This I am ready to receive, as enjoined by her Majesty, and to use them hereafter as I find they deserve. I will not trouble you with their "lewde speeches" since their return, what they will do in despite of me, and that "they care not a fig for me;" knowing these and the like are unpleasant to your ears, and dishonorable to myself, "yf her Majestie woulde not have me to sylence the same." Humbly recommending this to her Majesty's princely consideration, and your wisdoms to dispose of as fitting.

Yesterday I received your letter of 12<sup>th</sup> September either to release their 5 friends for whom the Grames were suitors when before you, as in the note inclosed in your letter and now returned—or to certify their offences. The truth is, that Alexander Grame *alias* Geordies Sandie, is outlawed by March law for contempt, and neither is nor was in prison therefor—but is a fugitive and refuses to enter, though I offered to remit his outlawry, if he would abide trial for his offence with Buecleuch at this castle at Kinmont's release. But he keeps out, and ever since is a common rider with Buecleuch, Mangerton and Whithaugh in their roads here. Fargus Grame is in prison, as he is known to be a chief instrument between Buecleuch, the Grames and Kinmont for the latter's loosing. His wife is one of Kinmont's daughters. John Grame *alias* Jockes John, is in prison indicted for murder of a subject of the Queen's. He was also at the murder of Lord Herries' brother, a Scotman; and has done many felonies, sometimes taken with "fowle hande" and remitted, and again an offender. He and Leonard his brother were long fugitives (till John was caught by chance) and Leonard still is fugitive.

John Hetherington of Bletteron was let out of prison long before your letters were written. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: ". . . The submission which his lordship requires at the handes of the Graymes: " (*by Cecil*): "To be shewed to the lordes. R. C."

Inclosed in the same:—

- (1) Note of the manner of submission which Lord Scroope will receive from the Grames, set down in writing under his own hand and the witnesses subscribing. Carlisle, last of October 1596.

"*Memorandum*.—That where her Majesties pleasure and her counsells direccions is, that the Grames accused before their lordshippes shoulde make their humble submission unto me the Lord Scroope her Majesties cheife officer in this place: accorlinge wherunto, this presente writinge and the persones subscribinge ar to witnes, that I the sayed Lord Scroope lord warden am willinge and readie to receive the submission of the said Grames for their offences paste againste the Quene and her lawes, and to remit the same if they will tender the same: and in hope of their good services hereafter, am contented to receive them to favour, and use there services for her

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highnes from hencefourth as I shall have occasion, agreeable with her Majesties pleasure therein." *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Witnesses—*Signed*; Richard Lowther, John Middelton, He. Leighe.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Written by Scroope's clerk. Indorsed.*

(2) (The Grames' offer to Scroope.)

"May it please your good lordship to accepte our offered service to your lordship in moste dewtyfull manner, as shall beste become her Majestie good subjectes committed to your honours charge and government under her Majestie. And although it hath pleased your lordship, uppon sinister informacion, and by us undeserved, as we hope your lordship will reste satisfied syuce it hath pleased her heighnes privye counsayle so to conceave of us: yett for your lordships further assuraunce hereof, we protesta by the dewtye we owe unto God, and by our allegeaunce dew to her heighnes, that we are altogether innocente of that detestable treasone of breakinge of Carlisle castell: and no waye consentinge to the takinge of Kinmonte out of the same — for the which your lordship conceived a harder opynnyon of us and our poore frendes, then we deserved, and therby drave us to a course more extreame then either we deserved or expected from your lordship. Yet in dischargde of our bownden dewtyes for the moste honorable consyderaacion it hath pleased her excellent Majestie and her most honorable privye counsayle use towards us, and especyallye for the moste gracious favour we have fownde from her heighnes moste sacred mouthe and persone: We humblye submitt ourselves, frendes, and livinges to your lordships commaundmente in her Majestie service, which in all humblenes we entreate your lordship to accepte, and to be ordered and governed accordinge to the lawes of the Borders, as all other subjects inhabytinge within the wardenrye are bownde to doe." *Signed*: Walter Grame, Will Grayme\*, Richard Grayme\*, J. Grame, Wyllyme Grayme, Hutchone Grayme.

Witnesses—*Signed*: Richard Lowther, John Middelton, He. Leighe.

1 p. *Addressed at head. Indorsed*: "The offered service of the Graymes to the Lord Scroope lord warden," &c.

Nov. 3. 428. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

The captains here having been refused pay for themselves and companies, by M<sup>r</sup> Clopton, who says he must have new warrant from your lordship, I humbly beseech the same, if they continue: if not, au imprest of a month's wages, as usual, to defray their victuals here and for conduct money, &c., to Berwick. Praying early answer hereon, and for her Majesty's resolution, as these captains earnestly press me. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*

Nov. 4. 429. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHELY.

There is nothing but ordinary stealing to report since receipt of your last. Cesford is in Edinburgh, where I am "made beleave" by M<sup>r</sup> Bowes he shall be sharply reproved by the King for his insolent attempts.

I understand from M<sup>r</sup> Lock late my father's secretary, who delivered a letter from me to your lordship touching the fee of the wardenry, that your answer was there could be no allowance for the place, except the patent was first given, or by a special order from her Majesty herself. Though he reported you had written to me to this effect, it has not reached me. Consider my estate, and get me leave to come to London something before Christmas, as I am greatly hindered in my affairs by my stay here. After

\*In same hand.

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the commissioners have met and settled things, my brother can as well govern the country as the town, and he will do it to pleasure me. After Christmas, if it pleased her Majesty to appoint me officer, I may return with the "pattent"—or at least know what to trust to. Berwick. Signed: Rob. Carey.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.

Nov. 4. 430. SIR R. CAREY TO SIR R. CECIL.

Referring to his request for leave to come up, and begging his furtherance. Hopes to hear from him that his leave is granted. Berwick. Signed: Rob. Carey.

¾ p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Nov. 4. 431. WILLIAM SELBY ELDER TO WILLIAM SELBY JUNIOR.

These are the spoils, &c., fallen out in this East March since your brother Raphe left this. On 12 October about 8 o'clock at night, the Scots attacked Wetewood \* tower till after midnight, and when they could not win it, spoiled the town of cattle, sheep, and household stuff, "lefte not a coate to put on any person in it; and turned a woman newly broughte to bed out of the clothes she laye in."

On the 20<sup>th</sup> they came to Downam † about 9 o'clock at night, hewed up the gates of the barnkyn with axes, "which helde them tyll cockcrowe in the morninge," but was so defended, that they got nothing; whereon they went on to Branxton ‡ and spoiled one of your tenants of 16 cattle and 4 score sheep. Within a week after your brother went to London, they took 43 kyne and oxen of his at Wetewood. On Friday night last they took 50 cattle and killed a man at South Charleton. About 10 days since they took 20 cattle from Fleetham and 20 from Neweham. Last night before writing this, they took 30 from Ellingeam.§ In short, there is no night without some spoil, and without some remedy they will lay the country waste. I am certainly informed if they cannot get any of your friends' lives, they will "steale fyre" in one night into your mother's, your own, your brother's, and the rest of your friends' stackyards.

"Sesford and his crewe pursueth the lives of no men but our name," and pretends it is because some of your friends, garrison men, were at the killing of Dawglese. But I think he is more angry in heart for the death of "Raphe Shortnecke, whome Richard Selbye slewe drivinge Englishmens goods which he had stolen, and for the hanginge of his man George Burne whome at the same tyme my man Glendowning tooke."

There was 100 footmen 16 days in the country, but now called home. None of your friends dare lie in their beds at night, but hide themselves in the fields, except such as lie in towers.

I offered to M<sup>r</sup> John Carey and Sir Robert, if they sent them, to go out with the horse garrison to watch, "but it would not bee." Cesford would be afraid of us if he saw the garrison out. I then desired Sir Robert to make the country keep "plumpe watche," but nothing was done. "Sellinge of payes continewe in this towne as hott as ever it did." The people here and in the country, are much discontented, as appears by their "throwinge abroad of libells." Cesford says he has notice of all my letters sent by post—"which I take to be true, you may gesse by whose meanes"—and that they have done him more harm than any others. Whatever he does in this

\* "Lady Selby"  
 † "Luk Ogle"  
 ‡ "Wm. Selby"  
 § "Luk Ogles hows" } notes by Burghley.

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March, none will resist, some for love, others for fear. They of Mindram pay him black mail, which grows too general—the people had better pay 6 subsidies in a year. I hear Sir Robert Carey has commission from her Majesty to take revenge—I do not think he will proceed. He came to my house on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, and “discoursing of the miseryes of the wardenrye, he protested before God, that if the office were offered him, he would refuse it, and sayde he had writtten in such sorte to my Lord of Essex. I thinke he spake as he thought, for a quieter place would fitt his humour better.”

Some about the King, to serve their own turn, make him believe Bothwell is in England, thus moving the King to labour a firm friendship between Lord Hume, Sir George Hume and Cesford, to resist Bothwell. Sir George “is all the upholder of Cesford in courte.” The King thinks Cesford will be a good “barr” against Bothwell, and thus tolerates him.

The convention in Scotland began yesterday, it is thought chiefly to order the Borders, as the officers of the Marches are summoned. If Cesford be not committed for these murders, &c., “surely then the Kinge winketh at him.” A Scottish gentleman assures me this commission will end in “tryfles”—the meeting is put off for a little, and if the Scots hold on as they have done this week, there will be nothing left in the wardenry when the commission meets.

To daunt the Scots—Cesford must either be dismissed, or kept in ward, or else her Majesty must send a lord governor. If meantime I had command of the 80 garrison horse (now led by 4 constables) and 40 or 50 foot, I would take in hand to stop these Tyvidale thefts here, let Cesford do what he durst: for I would pay well for intelligence. I am told by a Scottish gentleman who favours Cesford, and is in lawful kindness with myself, that Cesford would speak with me—“which to tell you my opinion,” might help to pacify these troubles, but as I take him for as great an enemy to her Majesty as any in Spain, I will not do it, unless her Majesty like of it, and give me sufficient authority—“you remember Sir John Forsters case.” Command me to your wife. Berwick. “Your very loving uncle.” *Signed*: William Selbye.

Postscript:—I have even now heard from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes. He thinks Cesford will either be discharged from his wardenry or committed, within 6 or 8 days—“I pray God it fall out so.”

3 pp. *Addressed*: “To the worshipfull my lovinge nephewe M<sup>r</sup> William Selbye, these—at London.” *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary*. *Notes by Burghley on the Selbys of Branxton, Twisell and Weetwood, Collingwoods, &c.*

Nov. 4. 432. EURE TO BURGHELY.

I have received your letters, “weakelie signed by your lordship.” I pray God send you health, that your friends may, with, and by you, “reape comforth.”

Humbly thanking you for continuing the 80 men, now more needed here than before,—for some of the gentlemen of my March rather labour to disturb the peace, than join me in the Queen's service.

“The ould factione of Sir Johu Forster is renewed and stronglie erected by the Woodringtons and Fenwickes, whereof I will more largelie partecipate to your lordship by my sonne at his cominge upp.” I will write to my lord of Durham as to the state of this country.

I beseech you to grant me the sequestration of the profits of Symmonburne personage, that the next incumbent be not defrauded,—and your furtherance in passing the personage to M<sup>r</sup> Warwick, since I have satisfied my Lady Warwick and M<sup>r</sup> Ewbancke who laboured for it, as I formerly wrote to your lordship. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signet as before*.

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Nov. 5. 433. OUTRAGES BY THE SCOTS ON THE EAST MARCH.

"Outrages murders and theftes committed by the Scottes in the East Marche since the death of Sir John Selby who dyed the xx<sup>th</sup> of November 1595, untill the v<sup>th</sup> of November 1596—as it is informed."

[Chiefly a repetition of the complaints drawn up by Sir Robert Carey ante, No. 326, and in the preceding letter of Mr William Selby senior, No. 431, with a few additions.]

*Extracts.*

April—From Laly Selby, 20 "bowles" of malt out of Twisell.

Out of Shoreswood town, the Dean and chapter of Durham's, 2 kine: the gentelman porter of Berwick is tenant.

September—Out of Barmoor wood, 9 "fatt" oxen. It belongs to Mr George Muschamp. From my Lady Forster, 9 oxen and 3 horses.

Sum total—Men slain, 5; men and women hurt, 20; horses stolen, 65; oxen and kine (besides those not set down), 600; sheep (besides those not set down), 1020. Also robberies of money, household stuff and corn not estimated. Many spoils since 5 November last, "not advertised particularly."

The Middle and West Marches of England in number of people and villages, far exceed their opposite Marches of Scotland—yet the Queen allows the warden of the Middle March 80 horsemen, and two companies of Berwick foot lie in the West March for defence.

The English East March is smaller and weaker than either of the others by two-thirds at least, and is bordered by the Scottish East and Middle Marches: "the least wherof farre surmounteth" it in people and villages; for the English East March contains but 120 villages and "steades" or thereabouts; while the Middle and East Marches of Scotland contain almost 400 villages and steads, "wherof divers ar markett townes and very popolous, and in all the East Marche of England not one markett towne."

Besides this, the other two English Marches are naturally defended from Scotland "all along the border by high mountaynes and waste groundes, wheras the Scottes doe invade the East Marche thorowe a plaine champian countrey very nere adjoyninge, and sometimes by the river of Twede, which is full of foordes." Notwithstanding this, and that it has been more spoiled within this twelvemonth, than "within the memory of any man lyving," yet the East March has no aid, and unless order be taken, will be utterly wasted.

The means to save it from spoil.

Mr William Selby by his experience and intelligence, is best able to defend it, and is willing, if he may have commaund of the horse of Berwick, and such of their officers as he may appoint in his absence—and this without pay or further charge to her Majesty. He also desires 30 or 40 "shott" of the Berwick foot—"suche as can mounte themselves, for a present service; none of theise to be from their place of garrison above 14 houres at a tyme." He offers his service to be only defeasive within England, giving the adversary no just cause of complaint, or breach of March law or article of the treaties. *Not signed.*

3 pp. *Contemporary writing. Inlorsed.*

(1) Two other copies, without Selby's offer at the end.

Nov. 8. 434. JOHN FERNE TO SIR R. CECIL.

Intimating that the inclosed letters to the Privy Council contain an answer by the Archbishop and Council of the North, of the levy of 376

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soldiers for Ireland under the Queen's special letters, &c., with the muster roll of the names and arms of the men. York. *Signed*: Jo. Ferne.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Mr Ferne secretary of Yorke to my master." *Wafer signet*: a garb (?) between 2 wings.

Nov. 9. 435. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Through Mr Vernon's negligence, I am sorry to trouble you again—I cannot now say how many days the store in the palace for the horse garrison will last, for "there is not any at all, neither otes, pease or beanes." As the men have but 8*d.* a day, they cannot keep themselves or their horses at present prices—the store failing them.

I pray your consideration, the rather that some of them while on watch in the country by Sir Robert Carey's order, took some Scots thieves who were justly hanged, and have thus incurred the deadly feud of Cesford the warden, who practises all ways to get hold of them, and they need to be better horsed and furnished than ever.

On receipt of your letter of 12<sup>th</sup> October, I sent it off with one from myself, to Lord Scrope, and marvel greatly that the 100 men are not yet returned. I pray your honor, if you have stayed them, to direct your letter for their return, as we have great need of them in town and country—"for it is said, and I think it be trewe, that Sesford is makinge of ladders of roopes in fashion as the tackle of a shipp, with iron hookes at the one ende, and plomettes of lead at the other: and for that they shalbe secrettly kept close, he doth make them in the head of his owne tower, where verie fewe of his owne servantes do knowe of them, fearinge they should be discovered. He hath likewise geven it owte, that he wilbe revenged of Barwicke, though he leave his head upon the wales." All these make me fear some surpris or disgrace to this town, which by God's grace I will prevent, to his shame if he dare come. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 9. 436. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHLEY.

Being ready, according to her Majesty's commission and instructions therewith, to meet the Scots commissioners on the frontiers, we have written to the ambassador in Scotland to learn what day the Scots will hold with us, and shall then certify your lordship. Bishop Awckland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm., Will'm Bowes, F. Slyngisbe, Clement Colmore.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet*: arms of the see impaling *Matheu's*: "1595" above.

Nov. 9. 437. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Captain William Selby has been here to view the munition and muster the gunners. But as the course is extraordinary, and I take not to proceed merely from your lordships' selves (with the intention of informing yourselves of my care or negligence of the Queen's store, or my regard to have the "cannoneers" here, on service or for practice as occasion should be: but rather moved thereto by Mr Selby, who in my opinion will be found rather to seek his own profit, than to benefit her Majesty's service thereby), I was bold enough to respite his survey and muster, partly till the absent gunners are here, but chiefly till I might certify to you my desire to continue this store in the warden's power as the need of the place requires, and has ever been the custom in my father's time and all wardens before him, without control "of any inferior person." I beg your lordships not to interpret this to dislike or opposition of your expressed pleasure, or the long custom implying more power in the warden, or that I am loth to have my actions



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looked into—but rather to show my willingness to obey whatever your lordships prescribe as fittest for her Majesty's service—and as of late the bishop and others were commissioned to survey and report on the munition here, so from time to time (by like letters) the Queen's store might be viewed and your lordships certified of the new supplies and how issued or expended. For the gunners, if your pleasure be to have them all resident here, and allow "half a barrell of powder" for their yearly practice, I doubt not they will be found "as fit and skilfull in their profession, as the checkinge of their payes by M<sup>r</sup> Selbie (for his profitt) will make them." Beseeching your pleasures herein and how many of those absent I shall forbear to recall, as some of them have your letters to me for their leave. Carlisle. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 9. 438. SCROPE TO SIR R. CECIL.

I doubt not you have heard from Scotland that Buccleuch is let home again to the Border, and the cause. As I am credibly informed he has brought more "muskettes, calivours, horsemens staves, and shorte Jedburgh staves for footemen," than betokens quietness, I suspect the worst, and therefore in duty advertise you. And if her Majesty's pleasure be to remove these soldiers here, I beg that others may be sent in their room, till the issue be seen; as I have of late often entreated my lord your father, without reply as yet. Craving you to deliver this other letter to my lords of the Council, and procure me answer to both. Carlisle. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Flyleaf with address, &c., lost.*

Nov. 10. 439. RICHARD MUSGRAVE TO BURGHELY.

On information to your lordship of the unskilfulness of some of the master gunners and cannoniers of this castle, "cittadell," and town, your lordship by letter, directed Lord Scrope and myself as master of the ordnance, to call them before us, staying the pay of such as were found "unmette" by us. Whereon we called as many as were in these parts before us, and found that all held their places by grant under her Majesty's great seal, though many of them were "altogether incapable," with power in their patents for deputies. Whereon we urged them to put in the ablest men we could find, and stayed the absentees' pay, reporting to your lordship that no more patents should be granted. Notwithstanding our care and pain, and report long since made to you, Captain William Selby, it appears, by some private information, under colour of controlment of the ordnance, by virtue of instructions from yourself and the rest of the Council, has "insinuated" himself not only into the lord warden's charge, but also intruded on my office, contrary to her Majesty's express words in my patent, without any cause or offence by me. Humbly praying, that as I was advanced to the place only by you, I may not be disabled, or the office dismembered in my time without cause. Carlisle. *Signed* : Rychard Musgrave.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 11. 440. STAY OF THE SCOTTISH COMMISSION.

At Holyroodhouse 11<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1596.

The King, with advice of his Secret Council, appoints the lord president and lord secretary to show to the lord ambassador of England, that the occasion of not resolving at this last convention upon the persons, time and place of meeting of commissioners for Border affairs, "proceedit upon the

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"notorious seiknes and infirmite of the Lord of Newbottle, quha was appointit to be first in commissioun, as alsua that the warden of the West Merche and keipar of Liddisdail for certane reasonable causis excusit thame selfis for thair not keeping of the said conventioun; suth that necessarlie ane new conventioun of thame and all the rest of the wardenis and borderaris is appointit to be the xvij day of this instant moneth. Befoir the quilk tyme alwayes his Majestie sall resolve and appoint ane uther lord of parliament in place of the lord of Newbottle with the tyme and place of meeting and uther thingis necessar." In the mean time his Majesty desiring to write to his dearest sister the Queen of England on sundry other affairs, desires the ambassador to supersede writung till his highness's own letter is ready. Extracted from the Book of Acts of the King's Secret Council by John Andro depute clerk thereof, under my sign and subscription manual. *Signed*: Joannes Andro.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Inlorsed.*

Nov. 12. 441. EGRE TO BURGHEY.

Give me leave, as I always have done, to rely on your sole favour, and vouchsafe secretly to relieve me as the case shall require, deigning to hear the inconveniences, &c., daily rising against me, "which I boldly by my soun (my secret self) do unfowld."

I have now been her Majesty's warden here 11 months, and find all my labours to bring the gentlemen into civil and orderly agreement, "meere in vaine," and therefore fear the neglect of service shall be hereafter imputed to my weakness, though their wilfulness is the cause, as I shall relate.

At my first entry, on conference with them, we concluded that Lord Wharton's order for watches as in his book, should be observed, and warrants and publication in churches were ordered; but nothing is done by them, the March furthest off me spoiled through their default, and they neither govern where they lie, nor follow as they ought, notwithstanding any severity of law.

Secondly—the inquisition commanded by your lordship into the decay of the country, to which the best of the gentlemen in the March "not then of the commission," were appointed jurors, is imperfect, I suppose from envy to me as officer.

Thirdly—the supply of horses commanded by your lordship as "a rampire," to be furnished by every gentleman and landlord, among his tenants, is neglected; and all fairs for this year being past, no increase can be got. Want of love to me as officer causes the gentlemen's slackness; for the country and their posterity would get the benefit.

Thus is her Majesty weakened, and as an officer without their love can be of no service, I boldly yet secretly and most humbly, crave your lordship to relieve me, and find some other more fit and "agreable to your loves" to govern them.

To show their love to me, "they have erected a faction of the Woddingtons against me, crossing my governmentt secretly, openly reviling, publishing libells against me, which your lordship knoweth in time will withdrawe harts from service, as my experience traceth it beginneth. Besids, thes gentlemen allied to the Caries procureth emulation and hartburning of ther part against me, wherof I partly do tast, the Lord Scroope jelious over me and withdrawne from me. How can I (hardly with Salomons wisdom) live so upright as love of so manie such ennimies may not tak just occasion to indanger my favour and grace with hir Majesty? Wherof I more jelious then fearfull, or respecting thir malice, do humbly besech your lordship as you may releive me, that dependeth on your lordship only, that my powre estate may continue with hir grace, and my conscienc not gauled by not performance of hir Majesty service.

"I labour not to complaine or to call anie before your lordship, having hir

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"Majesty authoritie (which by litle and litle I will justly exicente on malifactors) but bemoing my mishap, that in my sincere mind of service, I should prevaile so hardly amongst civill and English gentlemen, and presuming your lordships favour will admit me leave, bouldly to unfold the secret of my hart, and respect the estate of my powre house, which alwaies bath bene true to the croune and serviceable: therfor amaser<sup>d</sup> to serve wher I cannot prevail, for in pollicie, love with some severitie is to be adjoined, and an orderly course with law agreeth not in time of peace with such unorderly people." Hexham. *Signed: Ra. Eure.*

1 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Written by his son (?) Addressed in same hand. Indorsed; ". . . Lord Eure to my Lord. Browght by his sonne."*

Nov. 15. 442. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHELY.

I return as directed, to your lordship the six "shedules" of the late Lord Chamberlain's negotiation, which would have stood us in "the better steede," if we could have them with us, in case the opposite commissioners prove more "untoward to justice" than at that time. Yet it may be, Sir John Carmichael will credit the copies of the originals taken by your licence for our instruction.

Sir William Bowes having been here this "sennight," M<sup>r</sup> Slyngeby this "fornight," and D<sup>r</sup> Colmore with us every second day, we marvel at hearing no news from the Scots, and beg your lordship's advice how long we shall await their pleasure—or if we shall go to Berwick by such a day, calling on them to appoint time and place—or finally discharge our servants, &c., for the journey, if by a time fixed by you, we hear not of their purpose to proceed? Not that we are "awerie" in the Queen's service, but "the wiser sorte" I speak with or hear from, greatly doubt the Scots have no intention or desire to treat with us—the Lord of Newbottell being a near kinsman to Sir Robert Car and of his name, Sir John Carmichael his greatest friend and favourer, on whom he chiefly depends, and the Laird of Wedderburne a Hume by surname, being partially affected to Buckclughe, "if myne intelligence" from Scotland fail me not. I am thus particular, as one article of our instructions restrains us "(in some of our opionions)" from proceeding further, unless the Scots commissioners first give good satisfaction for Sir Robert Car's offence—which though "an insolent attemptate," yet I cannot yet learn how it is to be proved such a special invasion and open hostility, as alleged in that article. I durst not commit this matter "being of singular importance," to the post, but to this bearer M<sup>r</sup> Sanderson of Newcastle, of whose diligence on the Queen's secret affairs I have had good experience, and earnestly recommend him to your lordship's favour.

"The cause of religion laied chely upon my weake showlders by the saide instructiouns, cannot possibly be so promoted as it might, if the ecclesiastical hight commission lately renewed, were as large and effectuous as the former was. But being defective in three or fower late most materiall and necessarie statutes, whereun my Lord Archbishop of Yorke only is of the quorum, and my Lord of Carloli and my selfe excluded, contrarie to the commissions in like cases formerly graunted; howe we shall doe more good with lesse authoritie, I see not! his grace also not being likelie to be hable and at leisure to take paines often in these northe partes in person, as by the saide commission as nowe it is, were necessarie." I wrote hereon to your lordship before, partly as his Grace and secretary signified to myself and the "Register" here, that the commission was altered without his privity. But I shall follow her Majesty's commands so far as I shall be warrant and assisted by the wardens and "best affected" gentlemen; and have already intimated this "to my lord of Carloli by his chancelor M<sup>r</sup> Dethick."

These two notes of levies and rates in this county, I have "with some adoe," got from the clerk of the peace. To avoid tediousness, I have asked

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M<sup>r</sup> Sanderson to impart the cause of the variance between them, not doubting your lordship will cause M<sup>r</sup> Tailbois to name under his hand, the collectors, who "by his exhibite," have extorted more money than the rate, that they may be known and dealt with, or he receive blame for wrong information. I would remind your lordship "the whyle," that though he and his father, when a levy was to be raised, pretended it was chiefly to repair or re-edify bridges: they did so in ignorance, while "this last misdemeanour" was on wilfulness, "persuading that no money may for any other uses be collected but for bridges or by colour thereof; an absurde imaginacion and derogatorie to the wisdom and authoritie of her Majestie and most honorable previe counsell, as also to the discreiou of the lord lieutenant, lord president and justices of the peace in these partes, together with the justices of assises, whose allowance we crave in thinges doubtfull when they be here amonge us—as appeareth of recorde in M<sup>r</sup> Tailbois his office of *Custos rotularum*, and wherein (if I be not abused by credible reporte) M<sup>r</sup> Tailbois and his father wilbe founde as faltie as any, upon further dewe examination of the accomptes; whiche the gentlemen of the bench and other meaner persons would humbly crave might upon this good, or bad, occasion be sifted thoroughly." I had a letter of late hinting that some of our wardens hinder the meeting, which were strange if true; but if so, no marvel that the Scots put us off. I blame myself for this length, but hope you will pardon it. Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

3 pp. *Holograph*; as also *address*. *Indorsed*: ". . . By M<sup>r</sup> Sanderson."  
*Wax signet*: *Mathew's arms*.

Inclosed in the same:—

- (1) "An abstracte or note of levyes made within the countye pallatine of Durham by ordre of the justices of the said countye, registred and mencioned in the booke of their ordres remayninge amongst the rolles of the peace there, since the yeare of our Lorde 1565 being the 7 yeare of her Majesties raigne, untill this present xij<sup>th</sup> day of November *anno Domini* 1596."

The clear yearly value of all the lands and tenements within the county as estimated and rated for common assessments in 1565, amounts to 7416*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, making every assessment, if all levied and paid, to amount to the sums "lotted" as follows:—

*Extracts.*

*Temp. Jacobi episcopi*:—

1565.—Levy of 12 <i>d.</i> the pound for Tyne bridge	370 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i>
1567.—Of 8 <i>d.</i> the pound for same	248 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
1568.—Of 8 <i>d.</i> the pound for repair of divers bridges	248 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
1571.—Of 1 <i>d.</i> the pound for Crofte bridge	31 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>d.</i>
1577.—Of 12 <i>d.</i> the pound for Tyne bridge	370 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i>

*Temp. Ricardi episcopi*:—

1525.—Of 6 <i>d.</i> the pound for "the House of correccion"	185 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i>
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*Sede vacante*:—

1537.—Of 2 <i>d.</i> the pound for Darnton bridge	62 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
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*Tempore Tobiæ episcopi*:—

37 Eliz.—Of 1 <i>d.</i> the pound "for mayntenance of the salte peeter workes" <sup>14</sup>	31 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>d.</i>
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Sum total, 3,822*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*

1 p. *Indorsed by the Bishop*: "The higher rate of the levies in the countie of Duresme."

\* "M<sup>r</sup> Eaton in Dounham"—noted here by Burghley.

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(2) Another copy.

The clear yearly value for 1565 is stated to be 7,168*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, and the amounts are reduced accordingly.

Sum total, 3,692*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*

1 *p.* *Indorsed by the Bishop*: "The lower rate of the levies in the county of Duresme."

Nov. 18. 443. THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO SIR R. CECIL

I must entreat your favour in the same matter I have already done—the losses of my poor tenants in Northumberland, who have not yet got the redress, as you and the rest of the Privy Council directed "this last sommer." If you do not remember the particulars, I have sent one to inform you, "whoe as I take it, brought you my last request in the same cause." *No place or date.* *Signed*: Northumberland.

$\frac{1}{2}$  *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "18 November 1596 . . ."

Nov. 18. 444. WILLIAM ERINGTON'S ACCOUNT OF MUNITION.

An account taken of William Erington servant to Sir Symon Musgrave, then master of ordnance, 18 Nov. 1596, by virtue of instructions from the Privy Council, "of certaine munition and other habilimentes for warr," sent down to the Earl of Huntingdon in 1588—before M<sup>r</sup> William Selby comptroller of the ordnance in the north parts.

*Extracts.*

RECEIPT:—"Armors furnished," 800; pikes, 1000; bills, 1000; corn powder 2 last; "musketts with restes and bandilers," 100; corn powder out of the *Roebuck*, 1 last. Delivered by Lord Huntingdon's letters 26 Feb. 1588, and 18 May 1590, to Sir William Bowes 200 armours, and to M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Bowes, 100; by his lordships letter 20 Aug. 1591, to Henry Sanderson of Newcastle, 200 armours; stolen out of the storehouse, "yt being brocken thre severall tymes," 35 armours; still in my hands, 105 armours. Total 800.

Pikes delivered to Sir William and Raphe Bowes, &c., 460; still in my hands, 540—1000.

Bills; 10 remaining in Henry Anderson *elder's* house in Newcastle, for payment of 1*l.* "selleradg;" in my hands, 990—1000.

Muskets with rests and bandilers delivered to Edward Charlton of Hessel-syd by letter dated 21<sup>st</sup> March 1591, 6; remaining in my hands, 94—100.

Powder delivered to Lord Eure, Lord Scrope (the late), Sir Symon Musgrave, Edward Charlton, Mr Fetherston of Fetherstonhall, and Captain Stephen Ellis at Carlisle, by Lord Huntingdon's letters and commands, 19 half barrels; still in my hands, 2 last 5 half barrels—in all, 3 last.

Money.—Received ready money for 160 armours and 160 pikes sent to Cumberland and Westmorland, at 3*3s.* 4*d.* each armour with pike, 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Paid by Lord Huntingdon's order to Mr Roger Nicollson, mayor of Newcastle on his acquittance, 190*l.*; to my lord himself, 30*l.*; for buckles, oil, leather and cleaning 160 armours, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, 20*l.*; and cleaning, &c., 105 armours "ever since 1588," 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—in all 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

*Signed*: by me Wylm Eryngton,

$3\frac{1}{2}$  *pp.* *Indorsed.*

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Nov. 20. 445. WILLIAM SELBY TO BURGHLEY.

On receiving the Council's instructions, I rode to Carlisle and acquainted Lord Scrope of the cause of my coming, showing them to him. After reading, he gave them to the master of the ordnance, and they both conferred in a chamber, after which Lord Scrope replied, "that yt pertained to the lord warden of that March without comptrolement, for I could have noe vew of the munition." He made his clerk take a copy of my instructions.

I required to have a roll of the cannoneers, to muster them and see their skill. He said they were away, but had deputies there. I asked to see them, but he would not. There was no cannoneer to be seen there but "one Fealding," who is my lord's secretary, and has the master gunner's pay, and one William Southyck. Before I came to Carlisle, three gentlemen of good credit told me, that on occasion of a piece of ordnance to be shot to alarm the country, not a man could load "or bring hir to hir marke," but by chance a soldier of Berwick who was there performed it. The master of ordnance was greatly discontented, "as did apeare by his undiscret wordes (to me) in that place." I prayed my Lord Scrope "to conserder of a better answer," but he said he would answer to the Council.

As their honours write for my opinion, I think her Majesty is greatly overcharged with 24 cannoneers " (as I here say that ys the number)," not one of whom can "use a pece of ordnance, nor knoweth nothing that pertaineth therto." A skilful master gunner and 7 cannoneers is enough to manage all the serviceable ordnance I see there, and more than that " (in my simple opinion)" is a needless charge to her Majesty.

As some are said to have "pattentes," it were good these were seen, and they "injoynd to lie upon their chardg." When at Carlisle I prayed the master of the ordnance to send word to his deputies at Newcastle to have things in readiness for me—but when I came I found him there, telling him I would "vew the munition after the Crownation day, and I could not come before that time, for that I did meane to attend on my Lord Eure who did solempnis that day." But he rode out of the town that morning, leaving orders with his deputies not to let me see or take notes, or receive from me any munition into store. I refused to take this answer, till Lord Eure sent for them, when they repeated it before him. I send your lordship a copy of my instructions, and also William Erington's account, who had charge of the munition sent in 1588 to Lord Huntingdon at Newcastle.

It were well your honor sent to the Tower to see how much was then sent down, and to Sir Henry Lee "his offyce" to see what armours came down then, and to Jacob Whytton who I hear was captain of the *Roebuck*, to see what powder he delivered out of her, that it may be seen if he has fully charged himself or not.

As I am resisted, I surcease dealing further till I know your honor's pleasure. Newcastle. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafersigned: a Barry shield: leg. (indistinct).*

Nov. 24. 446. REPORT ON WORKMEN, &c., AT NEWCASTLE.

"Booke" with the names of the artificers, &c., and their pay, with all charges about the buildings, &c., in the Queen's manor of at Newcastle-upon-Tyne—beginning 2<sup>d</sup> August 1596, and ending 24<sup>th</sup> November next following.

*Extracts.*

Disbursed beyond the grant for last year's work, 27*l.* 3*s.* Day wages of clerk, 8 carpenters, 2 plumbers, 2 sawyers, 4 masons, at from 12*d.* to 10*d.*; and 6 labourers at 7*d.*; in all, 50*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* 2 men felling, squaring and topping 33 trees at 22*d.* the tree, 3*l.* 6*s.*; land carriage thereof done by the

1596. country, under a privy council commission to the master of the ordnance, from Chopwell wood to Blaydon stayth, 4 miles at 4*l.* a mile, 4*4s.*; Edward Swinborne for water carriage thereof from Blaydon stayth to Newcastle, 16*s.*; 2 men "crayuinge" them and laying them ashore, 13*s.* 4*l.*; 2 men carrying them from the shore to the manor, 33*s.*; glazing the windows in the house 70 feet at 7*d.* a foot, broken by the great winds and storms, 40*s.* 10*d.* Total works, 17*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Provisions:—*i.e.* lead, fir deals, lime, sand, slate, &c., &c. bought within said time—(including 3 fother lead at 8*l.* the fother, bought from Richmond, to cover "the great hall," and carriage at 2*s.* &c.), in all, 104*l.* 11*s.* Sum total, 199*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* Balance in hands of the master of the ordnance towards this year's work, 5*s.* 8*d.*

[Details of the repairs—gutters between the storehouses, the great chamber, and an inward chamber next it—a tower—a house on the shore—the out-walls of the manor yard, 457 yards "in compasse"—a pair of great gates into the street for drawing ordnance, &c., in and out—a gate from the yard into the house, doors, &c.] *Signed*: Rychard Musgrave, H. Anderson, Anthony Felton.

8 pp. *Indorsed*.

Nov. 27. 447. ORDER BY THE KING OF SCOTS FOR THE COMMISSION.

At Holyroodhouse 27 November 1596.

"The Kingis Majestie and lordes of his secret counsell understanding the great solempnetyes quhilk are comonly used and observed within the realme of England during the tyme of the nativity of our Saviour Chryste called Christmas, nowe shortly approching, quhairthrow the meeting of his commissioners and those for her Majesty the Queen of England, cannot "goodlye" take effect:—therefore with advice of his said lords has resolved that his commissioners shall meet with the others at Fowldon kirk on 12<sup>th</sup> January next, which his highness ordains to be intimated to her Majesty's ambassador here, that he may advertise her commissioners. Extracted out of the book of acts of the Kings secret council by me clerk depute thereof. *Signed*: Joannes Andro.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed*.

Nov. 27. 448. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

I have received your letter of 20<sup>th</sup>, with M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's answer to me, showing that M<sup>r</sup> Swifte and he have made some preparation for provision for us. Pardon me if I speak somewhat more plainly in discharge of my duty than you may think good.

M<sup>r</sup> Vernon is a very honest gentleman, and I wish him well, but 4 years' experience makes me say, that while he enjoys the office, "we shalbe fedd here onlie with billes and answers," for there is not a "whitt" of all this great preparation yet come, nor do we hear a word of it! Wherefore I pray your honor that there may be some reformation. For if the Queen mean to keep a garrison here, there must be better officers and better order, or all will be nought. Wherefore seeing mischief likely enough to follow, and fearing the fault may be cast on me, I desire for my own purgation, that if we have not present relief and better course taken by M<sup>r</sup> Vernon and his officers, I may then signify to the Queen herself or the whole body of the Council, that I may be "excusable"—which I would be loth to do. Yet "whilst M<sup>r</sup> Vernon remaines there in jollitie, havinge no want," and may reply to our "beggeries, with billes and such answers as he will in his wiesdom frame," we shall ever be thus, at the mercy of winter winds and storms.

I am also a "shuter" to your lordship for the half year's pay in due time—or it will be hard for the poor soldiers, already beggared by the dearth.

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I hear the King and Queen are at Edinburgh, where it is said that tomorrow Sunday, the young "prynces" shall be baptized. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Sevan wafer signet.*  
Inclosed in the same :—

(News from Scotland.)

"Even as I had packetted up your honors lettre, one brought me newes owt of Scotland, that the two papist earles, Huntley and Arrell, were upon Wednesday last, forfeited and proclaymed rebells againe at the Crosso in Eddenbrough, and their armes torne, and proclamacion made, for preparacion to ride upon them verie shortlie to putt them of the countre againe."

¼ p. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed.*

Nov. 28. 449. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

While here these 20 days waiting to hear from the Scottish commissioners, I have had some conference with Lords Scrope and Eure on the state of their Marches, and comparing this with my remembrances while on her Majesty's commissions in each of those four last years, I conceive our affairs in the order of our people at home, to be slowly mending—but in that part of March justice common between us and the Scots, in some points much worse; *viz.*, that Buckclugh and Sesforth, to make themselves greater at home, combine themselves with all "the ryding surnames" under their charges, so that on any occasion of feuds, they and their followers enter into and make it their own.

Hence the late unlawful surprise of Carlisle castle, and taking out Kinmont by Buckclugh, in favour of the Armstrongs—Sesforth's surprise of Swinburne castle and taking out James of the Cove in favour of the Youngs—feuds "entred by Sir Robert Caree and the bandes of Barwicke in favour of the Bournes," and some murders it is said by Sesforth himself on Englishmen in their own houses. And now Sesforth, in favour of the Youngs, detains prisoner Mr Roger Woodrington "second brother of the best howse of that name," taken in Swinburne castle, and as I hear carries him in his train at Edinburgh "in the publique meetinges expected." This untowardness of these opposite officers, promises little success to this commission, seeing these wilful faults are not from want of good laws or ignorance, "but meerely (as I take yt) by the unapnes of border-bredd persons to beare such offices." For our own Marches, I hear some sharp feuds with the Scots trouble the garrison of Berwick. In the Middle March some malcontent gentlemen hinder the service, and greatly discomfort Lord Eure. On the West March, displeasure between the principal Grahams, with Carletous, and Lord Scrope. There is also some offence working privily among the three wardens, promising no good, but this will more fitly appear hereafter than in this letter. By the experience I had during the Earl of Morton's regency when Archibald earl of Angus was warden general, there is no better mean for redress than some such officer on the Border, well affected to the amity. And (with pardon), if such instructions were given to a resident governor of Berwick or the president of the north, it might settle many evils that come not to her Majesty's or your knowledge till they are too great. As your lordship was sick when I touched some of these points in this month last year, in my letters, and the Earl of Huntynghdon died immediately after our certificate was given him, my occasions then and since detaining me in Derbyshire, I know not if you perused them, or if they satisfied her Majesty. I therefore send you a copy herewith, as also of another letter of the earl's making me his secretary about 3 years since, when on the commission for Border causes,—wherein he made such observations as my 7 years' service



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there had taught me—as it may partly inform your lordship of matters for the advancement of our service here. Awkland. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 29. 450. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Finding myself so long "unsatisfied" of her Majesty's pleasure as to the foot companies here, or your liking thereon, and seeing Mr John Carey's "importance" urging their return, and his sharp course threatned against the captains if they delayed, I let them go as directed.

Being left unanswered in this and some other matters, is no small grief to me, fearing your lordship hath taken some hard conceit against me, though I comfort myself by thinking that your wisdom will admit no information to divert your honourable favour without greater cause than I have yet given.

I must still beg to hear the Queen's pleasure, whether she will send some horse or foot to strengthen us here, which is very necessary.

A man of mine returned from Edinburgh, tells me that the sitting of the Border commissioners will be "put over" till Candlemas. That the Earl of Huntly shall be received to favour: whereon "the ministerie have used some extraordinarie publique speeches, which have so grieved the King, that he caused them to be cited before his Counsell, and hath discharged his owne ordinarie preacher Mr Patricke Galloway: and one Mr David Black a preacher also, is to answer an accusation for some unreverent speeches uttered by him against the Kinge and the Kinges mother." Also, "that the Queenes greate rebell in Irelande hath sent a messenger with lettres and credyt to the Kinge: but had not obtayned presence at his cominge from Edenburge. That the Erle of Arrells sister shalbe appointed keeper of the yonge princess after the baptisme; but the ministers ar anynded to excommunicate her as an obstinate recusant. That Buclughe hath bin with the Kinge, and is to make his presente repaire into Liddesdale." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 29. 451. SIR R. CAREY TO SIR R. CECIL.

The King and Council have now at last appointed a day for the commissioners' meeting. It is easy to see their drift is but delay, and I doubt when the day comes, they will find some shift or other to put it off again. They know they are too far "beforehand" with us, and till they hear something more to lay against us than they have now, will not willingly meet us. Seeing the day "is so long to" as the 12<sup>th</sup> January, I might very well have leave to come up—it "shall not be impertinent"—for I could make known to her Majesty and your honours of the Privy Council, the state of this poor country better than you are yet by writing. The King and Council would resolve on nothing till he had sent for all his Border officers, on whose allegations the day of meeting was appointed.

"Good sir, get me leave to come upp," it will do the poor country good by true information before your resolution. "I have busynesse of myne owne which importes me very muche; in good faythe as much as my undoing comes to—for that litle land which by fortune (not by inheritance) is fallen to my lott," I am like to lose by my absence. I may well get to London, and dispatch all I have to do in 3 or 10 days, and be ready on an hour's warning to return before the commissioners meet. My brother is ready to take my office if commanded. "Therefore, good sir, for my countryes good and my owne perticuler well doing, procure me leave to come upp," and I shall ever, as

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heretofore, acknowledge you as upholder of my poor estate, and be thankful while I live. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Nov. 30. 452. EURE TO BURGHELY.

"The disobedience of the race of Woddringtons," openly shown by slanders on myself as the Queen's officer, and their open "bravadoes," causes me to run a more quick course to punishment than I had determined—for on my first entry finding great spirit in Henry Woddrington, I hoped to win him by "employments, love, and favors," which turned to harm, he thinking his desert far surpassed them, contemning what I did—as the late Earl of Huntingdon, and Sir William Bowes now living, know. Their pride is so high, that now Roger his brother has submitted himself prisoner to Sir Robert Ker, and gone to Scotland without my leave, against my command, to her Majesty's dishonour.

I therefore summoned Henry by warrant to appear before me on the 25<sup>th</sup> instant to answer as to taking James Young *alias* James of the Cove. He refused until "restrayned," and I called him again on the 27<sup>th</sup>, when he confessed his dealing as to Cove, and in discourse (but not to me), his privity to Roger's capture. As Roger is not yet, to my knowledge, returned, I have written to the ambassador to demand it of Sir Robert Ker, and meanwhile make the facts known to you, in case of slanderous reports.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> instant Thomas Carleton land sergeant of Gillsland apprehended one Christofer Bell, a notable burglar, murderer, march traitor, &c., on complaints from me, and delivered him to "my folkes." Wherewith Lord Scrope is offended, and threatens to complain of me.

Your lordship sees how I am "tormented by home-neighbours and partly by forreiners," and the need I have of your favor and her Majesty's support.

It were well I think in all humility, that all the wardens were commanded to "runne one and selfsame course of justice" under the Queen's law, and malefactors in any ons March, on complaint of another, were apprehended and tried in the March where the offence was committed—and that no outlaw or fugitive from one of our Marches be received in another, but given up on notice by the officer whom it concerns—otherwise I see not how justice can be done. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 4. 453. EURE TO BURGHELY.

Certain merchants of "Ancerdam" have arrived at Newcastle in a ship called the *Seattrother*, laden with cable ropes and the like. Being leaky, she stayed, and the merchants have gone to London with an English interpreter. If you wish any of her cargo for the Queen's use, the Mayor of Newcastle can inform thereof.

"The Border groweth wyld and disorderlie since the delay of the commission, our bills increaseth, justice decreaseth, come fayleth, peoples hartes are gone, my discomforth in my charge followeth—these are the newes of the Borders.

"The minystrie in Scotland, by the Kinge discourraigned, the Papistes comforthed, Huntley is licklie to be received in favoure, the Countise graced by the Quen as a godmother in the baptiseme of the younge lady—this is the state of Scotland." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: a scallop shell held by 2 lions' paws.*

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Dec. 12. 454. EURE TO BURGHEY.

Notwithstanding "the crose befalling" him, declared in his last, begging him not to think him weary of serving the Queen or neglectful of duty—that his purpose in that letter was (1) to seek continuance of her Majesty's favour, (2) his lordship's honourable support, (3) to show the inconstancy of the Scots to justice, the want of support and divisions in his own March. That from secret intelligence, he fears a sudden blow from Sir Robert Kerr, that may injure the country, and blemish his service. Hexham.

*Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: quartered shield as before.*

Dec. 15. 455. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHEY.

Your lordship will "receave hereincluded the reporte of Sir John Forster touching the place of meeting of her Majesties commissioners from tyme to tyme with the commissioners for Scotland." If you return it, it will be some direction to us, if the meeting hold after Christmas. "But suche a Christmas reason did I never heare alledged in so serious a cause, especially where they kepe so colde Christmas, not observing so muche as the solemnizacion of Christmas daie!" But those that care not what they do, no marvel they care not what they say! Meanwhile the three other commissioners, unless we hear to the contrary, shall be here with me on 5<sup>th</sup> January, to set forward to Newcastle on the 8<sup>th</sup>, resting there the 9<sup>th</sup>, being the "Sabaoth," it may be seeing or hearing from Lord Eure, and reaching Berwick the 11<sup>th</sup>. Thence we shall send to confer with the Scots on the place of meeting, as I have written to the ambassador, wishing it to be at the Bound road, that we may see their commission at an "indifferent" place, before entering further on assurance, into the country.

I would that meanwhile by your lordship's earnest letters, the wardens of the West and Middle Marches sent us answer how we are to inform ourselves for the redress of "the great and grevous amisses" in their charges, as by our joint letters sent them "a good while sithence," a copy whereof I inclose. Sir Robert Carey has sent us his book of treaties, and book of complaints in very good sort. Thus beseeching your instruction how far we shall insist on Sir Robert Car's hostile invasion, mentioned in my former letter, as somewhat doubtful by the words of the instructions—and signifying that your last letter had been opened before it came to my hand. Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

*1 p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Two wax seals: Mathew's arms.*

Dec. . 456. SCROPE TO BURGHEY.

"Fyndinge the present quietnes on the Borders to geve me leave to make a step to myne owne howse, I entred my jorney hether thes weeke." Since coming, I have received your lordship's and the rest of the council's letter inclosing "the prescribed submission for the Grames," which I am ready to do as it is her Majesty's pleasure, and I fear your lordship has taken offence at me for deferring so long,—and shall perform it at my return from Bolton, if your lordship will so have it, and notify it by letter to me here, "where I will attend your answere till nere Christmas, if the quietnes of the Borders will so suffer me." But I would humbly beg your lordship to consider that if I accept the prescribed submission as it is, it would make me appear to have had nothing against them "but concept," and thus to have wronged them: which would redound no less to their glory "(who would be ready to burst with pryde)," than to my dishonour. So I would beg that the submission may be amended in one word, "namelye where it

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is written, to remit all offences 'which I have conceived against them'; it maye be made 'which I have *justly* conceived against them'—which your lordships may do with honour, considering of how many other offences they are guilty, and that I was ready to prove all my charges. If thus amended, I shall willingly "imbrace" the submission on my return. And I beg your lordships to write to M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther, who has been a chief actor therein hitherto, ordering him to bring the Grames to me on my return, and sending him a copy of the "reformed" submission, with injunction to see it straitly done in duty to her Majesty and respect to myself. Your lordships and all here know I have had many sharp letters: I pray you bind me by reforming the submission. M<sup>r</sup> Lowther confessed to me at Carlisle, before I came to Bolton, that he had wronged me much by false informations, and protested if I remitted them he would never do the like again—that he had made the offer to the Grames in form of the submission I tendered to them and certified to your lordships, "as lardgly as in honour I coulde," and they had accepted it, but Thomas Carleton "animated" them to the contrary. He asked me to keep it secret, as I do, except to your lordship.

I cannot but inform you, that about a month past after Harry Leigh had trusted them, Brakenhill and other Grames suffered his man, sent with them with my "studhound" to follow a fresh trod of stolen goods into Scotland, to be slain by two of the Kangs, though they were 10 to these 2 men—and let the murderers pass with the goods, my studhound, and Harry Leigh's horse ridden by the slain man. And I think if Leigh had been there himself, they would gladly have let as much be done to him. "For Brakenhill openly before the receivers and deputie auditour latly here, wished my mans hors in their bellies, if any of them helped any sent by me, and uttered other lewd speches, till M<sup>r</sup> Receiver wished him to forbear such unreverent tearmes, and sayd he marvelled that I would take them." I write this not for aggravation, but to let you know their behaviour, and shall notwithstanding, be ready to receive their submission reformed in the manner above expressed, whereon I beseech your lordship to let me have a line before I leave this.

Raffe Atkinson told me that you inquired of Emanuell Scroope, seeming to him willing to proceed in the "mache." As I offered him, being the only "juell" I have, to be at your devotion, and your letter at that time seemed to approve, I shall now be as ready to embrace the match as soon as you think expedient, and will not dispose of him till you "have given the denyall," though I have had some honorable matches offered me of late—but shall wait your resolution, thinking myself most happy if you accept of him, and that his education be such as contents you.

I was desired to acquaint you with a "supposall" of the Lowthers' intention to defraud the Queen of Graystock parsonage, and with this view desired the material points and state of title to be set down in writing. These I inclose, praying the informer's name kept secret, and on inquiry that you dispose as best for her Majesty.

I send a letter from Harry Leigh to me showing how my actions are crossed. It would be very commodious for this country to have 300 calyvers ready, and the men made fit for them, which would silence those "clamerous" persons; and I beg your directions to charge the gentlemen to receive "this furniture" as they were once willing to do.

As for Thom of the Esh, it is not the first wrong I have received from Lord Eure and Thomas Carleton: but I will be no further troublesome at present. Carlisle. Signed: Th. Scroope.

3 pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed. Fragment of wax seal.*

Dec. 30. 457. DECLARATION BY RICHARD LOWTHER AND GEORGE SALKELD.

*Copia.*—Whereas Lord Scroope, lord warden, &c., did by his servant Richard Bell send a message to Richard Lowther esquire, that he had re-

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ceived from the Council a submission to be made by the Grames, requesting M<sup>r</sup> Lowther to be then present, and to notify to the said Grames to attend with him before his lordship at Carlisle on Tuesday or Thursday then next: whereon M<sup>r</sup> Lowther presently sent Mathew Grame his servant along with Richard Bell to speak with Lord Scrope, who willed him to warn the Grames in the Queen's name to be at Carlisle on Thursday as his master had set down: whereon said Mathew went to the Grames and brought tack word to his lordship, that they would all (except two that he could not meet with, *viz.*, William of the Moitt and Riche of the Brakinbill), be at Carlisle the said Thursday to make their submission. Of which Grames however only two appeared and made and subscribed their submission, *viz.*, "Watter" Grame of Neitherbye and William Grame of the Rosetrees, which two "affyrme that the rest will likwyse come unto his lordship." Richard Lowther, George Salkeld.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Copy by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed: "M<sup>r</sup> Lowther and M<sup>r</sup> Salkeldes report of the message delivered to the Graimes."

Dec. 31. 458. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

On my return from Bolton I sent at once to M<sup>r</sup> Lowther to let him know I had received letters from the Council with the submission "prescribed" for the Grames, and to attend with them before me as a witness on Tuesday or Thursday last. He appointed to bring them "as yesterdaye," sending his man "by me" to give them warning, whom I ordered to tell them that the day was fixed by his master—as by the inclosed under M<sup>r</sup> Lowther and M<sup>r</sup> Salkeld's hands will appear. But four of them, *viz.*, Brakenhill, Will of the Mote, Wills Jock, and young Hutcheon, "verie contemptuousslie" refused to come, and rode with Thomas Carleton to the Lord Eure, as M<sup>r</sup> Lowther tells me. Only two, *viz.*, Walter and Will of the Rosetrees, came and subscribed the submission altered as your lordship will see by the "true coppie," which I made bold to vary in the point of which I wrote to your lordship. They found no fault with that, "but made some scruple at the seconde article" as set down by their lordships, touching intelligence with Scots, &c.; where it would seem that some word has been left out, or the sense is different from the words. And as these are not "to vulgar understandinge," I inclose the original as their lordships sent it, and the copy as altered by me, and subscribed by the said Walter and Will, that the sentence may be explained by their lordships: and if it please them, that the words in the next article, added by myself, may be entered and the submission "so reformed" returned to me with some "reprehensorie" letter to the other Grames for their contempt. You know I have received many, so "let them fynd som e check for their abuse."

I have written several letters to your lordship and Sir Robert Cecil, touching it also to the Council, to move her Majesty for some horse and foot to strengthen us, but had no reply till your last. The quietness which I had hoped for when I went to Bolton to dispatch some important private business in my own house, was chiefly through my own care in laying "plump watches" of 40 horse every night, which the country cannot continue for any time—an *d* from the weakness of Bewcastle and Gilsland and otherwise, such a reinforcement is very necessary at least till the 200 calivers are sent down, and it w as always allowed in my father's time during like necessity.

Touching Emanuell Scroope, Ralph Atkinson shall wait on your lordship "at after Christmas" to satisfy you on the point mentioned in your last. Thus awaiting a speedy reply from your lordship on these matters. Carlisle. Sighed: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed. H. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10.

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## Dec. 31. 459. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I have received "inestimable" comfort in your last letter conveying her Majesty's royal favor for my mean service.

The "tumultuous broyles" in Scotland, and their expectation of assistance from the Queen's "mighty enemies," so discomforts me, I must press for some additional strength. Buccleuch is not so conformable to justice as he was, and Sir Robert Ker wholly withdrawn from it, this March divided, and "the private Scots, I meane headsmen," defy the warden: this comes from the weakness of our own Marches. I would therefore beg your warrant for continuance of the soldiers, whose last month will end on 30<sup>th</sup> January "instant," and if you allow an increase of their number, the country has special need of it.

I humbly continue my suit for Symondsborne for poor Mr. Warwicke, if you hold him worthy: the country greatly needs such, and my Lady Warwick has surceased her suit for the "yonger man," and now favours him.

"The broyles in Scotland betwixte the Kinge and the church of God continueth still, God strengthen the church in the righte." Hexham.  
*Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

## Dec. . 460. ATTEMPTS ON THE WEST MARCHES, &amp;C.

A brief collection and estimate of the single value of the attemptes since the meeting of the Commissioners at Berwick in 1581—both of Scotland and England, for the bills given in and remaining on the roll—for the two West Marches of England and Scotland, and also for England against Liddesdale.

Estimate, "unsworne," of the spoils, &c., of the West border of Scotland on the West Marches of England, 8010*l.* sterling. Estimate, "unsworne," of the bills, &c., of the West Marches of Scotland against the West Marches of England, *viz.*, for the general bills 1300*l.*—for the bills of Fawkland and some others with them, 13,460*l.*—and for the Earl of Morton's bill for Kirkanders, &c., in that roll, 87,760*l.*; in all, "fyve skore, two thousand fyve hundredth and twenty pounce." Estimate of the "heireshipps" done by Liddesdale on the West Marches of England, 4,822*l.*

Since the meeting at Berwick, the English West Marches have little offeuded Liddesdale; therefore the keeper or inhabitants there have sent over no bills.

1 p. *A broad sheet. Marginal notes by Burghley. Indorsed. (as title) also*: "This brife estimate was collected 2 yeres paste, *viz.*, in anno 1594."

## [1596.] 461. PLEDGES FOR TEVIOTDALE, &amp;C.

The Scots pledges.

Thomas Aynsley of Clythaughe; Jocke Burne *junior* of the Coate; the Laird Frisell of Esteron; Will Hall of Heavyside; Raphe Hall of the Sykes; Dand Pringle younger of Hownam; Jocke Robson of Oseum; Richard Yong of Feltershaw; James Yong of the Coave; Dand Davison; Raphe Mowe of Mawe; Will Tate of Cheritrees; Richard Rutherford eldest son to William of Littleheugh; Raphe Burne of the Cote.

Pledges for the East Marches.

William Selbye of Pawston; Raphe Reveley of Aykeld.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Written by Carey's clerk. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

[1596.]

## 462. BILL TO STRENGTHEN THE BORDERS.

Articles for a new bill to strengthen the Borders towards Scotland.

*Extracts.*

"Surmiseis of the bill."—(In four articles).—The inhabitants of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and the Bishopric who were formerly freed from subsidies, &c., were bound to defend the frontier at their own charges, as also the inferior sort and tenants, who held on low rents, &c., and by "an ancient custom," called "tenant right," are now decayed and unable for this service—the landlords by laying down their lands in pasture in large farms, suppressing small holders, or letting to Scots,—the tenants by the heavy fines and greedy demands of farmers under the Queen.

"Remedies."—The Queen to have power to appoint as many commissioners as seems good, six of them to be named specially as of the *Quorum*, with full power to inquire and redress all causes of decay, grievances, &c., affecting her service as they shall deem requisite.

8 pp. *Draft by his secretary, revised and clauses added by Burghley. Not indorsed.*

## 1596. 463. NOTE ON THE EAST MARCH.

For 50 years the government of Berwick and wardenry of the East March have been supplied by one nobleman, undivided, with equal care of both: and when the wardens of Scotland were "ill justicers," defended the wardenry with the forces of Berwick. "As was sene in the times of the governmentes of the Lord Ewry, the Lord Gray, the Earle of Bedford, Sir William Drury, and the late Lord Chamberlaine in the first yeares of his government."

The means to save it from spoil.

[Here follows the memorandum as to Mr William Selby the gentleman porter—his fitness and offer to serve for defence only, with the horse of Berwick and 30 or 40 "shott" as in No. 433.]

¾ p. *In same writing as that memorandum. Indorsed.*

## Dec. . 464. BOOK OF PROVISIONS AT BERWICK.

Note of provision remaining 29 Sept. 1596.

Total value, wheat, malt, beans, oats, cattle, &c., 577*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.*  
Last item—"wettlinges" at 7*d.*

Provision bought for Berwick since 29 September.

October–December.—Wheat, from divers merchants, at London—Hull—Burwell in Cambridge—Barton on Humber—Ely—Grimsby, &c., at from 30*s.* to 44*s.* per qr., 455 qrs. 4 bushels—890*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

Rye.—Of Jo. Huetson "Skotchman," 80 qrs. at 30*s.*, and at Barton—Burwell—York, &c., at 33*s.* and 34*s.*, 185 qrs., 297*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* Malt—"of divers" in Reach, Barton, Burwell, Cambridge, &c., at 20*s.* to 25*s.* per qr., 481 qrs. 1 bushel, 578*l.* 10*s.*

Beans and pease—"divers" at Hull, Barton, Grimsby, &c., at 20*s.* per qr. 279 qrs.—288*l.* 6*s.* "Boefes."—In Yorkshire, &c., 41 oxen 2 cows, 196*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* "Muttons."—Oct.–Dec.—30 wethers from Jo. Selbie near Berwick, and 6 from Jo. Swan there, at 8*s.*,—14*l.* 8*s.*; of Cuthbert Richardson of [ ] in Northumberland, 25 wethers, 6*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*—in all, 92, 32*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* [*butter—cheese, &c.*]

"Hoppes.—Of George Emery of London," 2603 qrs. 2 lb. at 32*s.* the 100, 427*l.* 16*s.* Sum total 3023*l.* 8*s.* 2½*d.*

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7 pp. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary*: "Jan. 1596 M<sup>r</sup> Vernons booke of provisions at Barwick."

1596, 465. NOTE OF LOSSES BY VERNON.

*end of.*

"Roberte Vernon victueller of Barwicke his humble petitions."

*Extracts.*

Losses to be borne by her Majesty.—First, that all the bills and "spetialties" which he received from Sir Valleryne Browne as parcel of the Queen's stock, of which he never could get payment, may be taken into Exchequer and he satisfied, amounting to 429*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.* Also whereas the Lord of Hunsdon late lord governor of Berwick, was due him for victuals from the Queen's store, by reckoning "under his lordships hand," the same may be also taken into Exchequer being 591*l.* 3*s.* 9½*d.* Lost in service of the garrison in the year ended at Michelmas 1595, as appears by account, 1694*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* In cattle stolen at sundry times by the Scots, for which he could never get redress, 157*l.* 10*s.*

Total,	4,384 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> ½ <i>d.</i>
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Other losses, wherein he desires relief	4,610 <i>l.</i>
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Also that sundry debts due him may be taken into Exchequer, and he relieved "with profits from thence" for their recovery.

1½ pp. *Indorsed*: A note of sundry losses sustained by Robert Vernon in the time of his service as victualler.

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Jan. 1. 466. EURE TO BURGHELY.

"Sir Cathbert Collingwood appointed sheriff of Northumberland by her Majesty for this yeare, upon Wednesday last beinge the xxix<sup>th</sup> of December was buried." Beseeching you that one may be nominated in his place, who by staidness and experience may do the country good. Her Majesty this year before, nominated Robert Woodrington of Plessay sheriff, who did not take office, but left it in the hands of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bradford the former sheriff, and so is not accountable, as I wish he might be. The "plaige" is suddenly increased at Newcastle, which I fear will hinder our commissioners meeting there on the way to Berwick as they intended, and I hear of no preparation by the Scots, but that they laugh secretly at the delay, and hope the commission like others will be put off or do little justice. If so, I hope your lordship will procure liberty for the subject, "that they may doe as they are done to (*vim vi repellere*)," or the country will be ruined.

I humbly beg 200*l.* to repair the gaol here, "wherein the prissoners dye by numbers, and I feare the sykenes to be infectious . . . Harbottle castle is so ruyned, that the captaine of Harbottle is forced to remove this winter and lye att Otterburne." I pray what allowance you please, or a far greater sum will not rebuild it. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 2. 467. RICHARD MUSGRAVE TO BURGHELY.

In answer to your lordship's letter of 5<sup>th</sup> December received on the 28<sup>th</sup>, it is most needfnl that the ordnance at Tynmouth castle should be mounted and placed, for defence of the castle and haven, if there was a sufficient gunner resident there to attend them, for whom her Majesty allows 12*l.* *per diem* to the captaiu of Tynmouth, though there has been no such man in the place of late. I must not omit to advertise "how nakedly and daungerously" the town of Newcastle is at present, if the Queen's enemies intend harm on these coasts. And in these times of rumours of troubles, I thought good to send a note of the powder and munitions under my charge,



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referring its sufficiency to your honourable wisdom : also a particular estimate of the charge of repairing the ordnance carriages at Tynmouth. Berwick. *Signed* : Rychard Musgrave.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet* : Musgrave arms and crest.  
Inclosed in the same :—

(2) Note of powder in store at Berwick 24 June 1594—received since from the Tower and issued, and what remains this 1<sup>st</sup> January 1596.

The remain on 24 June 1594, 267 half barrels, making 11 lasts 300*lbs.* ; supply since from the Tower, 6 lasts—total, 17 lasts 300*lb.* weight.

Issued by warrants.—To the captains for training powder, 2500*lb.* ; defalked by the master of the ordnance 1300*lb.* ; to the castle mounts and flankers in Berwick, 2900*lb.* ; to Norham castle 150*lb.* ; to Wark castle 500*lb.* ; the fort at Holy Island, 200*lb.* ; for “exercysinge of the schollers at the greate ordenaunce 400*lb.* Total, iiij<sup>th</sup> c*lb.* which makethe the ij lastes viij<sup>th</sup> *lb.*”

Remains in store at Berwick 13½ lasts, 700*lb.* *Signed* : Rychard Musgrave.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

(3) A like note of serviceable munition, &c., at Berwick.

Callyvers furnished, in store, 395 ; pikes in store, 905, supplied, 200 ; expended by warrant, 24 ; remaining in store, 1081. Long bows, in store, 196, supplied, 100 ; expended by warrant, 2 ; remaining in store, 294. Lance staves in store, 620. Light horsemen's staves 922. Arrows, 96 “sheif” ; expended by warrant, 1 “sheif” ; remaining in store, 95 “sheif.” “Almayne corslettes” in store, 122 ; “Flanders corslettes,” 114. [Spades, shovels, pickaxes, iron, and long carts.] *Signed* : Richard Musgrave.

1¼ pp. *Indorsed.*

Jan. 3. 468. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Before Christmas the gentleman porter asked me to certify with him to you, the need of repair, &c., for the gates, which I was willing to do if he drew up a bill of the most needful, and an estimate of the cost—which he did, but on my finding it came to 360 and odd pounds (as I remember), I forbore signing, though he said it could not be less. But some of the workmen tell me it could be done “much better chepe,” and as the master of the ordnance has all the Queen's artificers under his charge, he might get it done 100*l.* and more “better chepe.”

I must still be troublesome in my distresses. My wife wrote to me before Christmas, that her Majesty has not signed my lease that she is “in sute for, and it should seme, by her Majesti, that I have had some back frendes,” who make the suit greater than in deed it is. Wherefore I humbly beseech your honor, as her Majesty granted it so willingly, when drawn by her learned counsel, and passing her attorney's and your honor's hands, confirming its reasonableness—that she will not disgrace me by refusing to sign it ; also to impart that “(as your honor knowes), I have a lease good inoughe alredie duringe my own lief and my brother Sir Robertes lief”—so it will not hurt her to grant me the reversion. It will please her also to remember she holds me here in a place of honour and thus of great charges, having no allowance to defray the same, and yet I have been as little troublesome for recompense as any before me.

Such news from Scotland as I have this morning of the ending of our “great warres” there, I send your honor in the original as I got it. Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

1¼ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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Jan. 4. 469. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

The laws of the Marches devised by our ancestors from the "antiant accustomed lawes of a campe," having been neglected or forgotten by the people, who "delight rather in a libertine or epicuriane course, desiorus to be freed of the Christiane boude of obedience, and laboringe to enjoye the loose reynes of emperiall commaunde," I boldly present to your wisdom such of those as are material for practice, both in peace and war time, t. t your lordship may approve or correct them as you think fit, and so authenticated by the highest in the State, they may be enforced without scruple.

Pardon my omitting to signify herewith the laws touching obedience in camp, &c., in war time, as your lordship knows these alter at the general or commander's pleasure.

I am forced to crave your early decision on the criminal or capital punishments under these: for some here factiously oppose them, thus touching highly the Queen's dignity; and to avoid tediousness, I send instructions by this bearer my brother. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Enre.

*1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet, quartered.*

Dec. 10. 470. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

As directed in your letter, I have, with M<sup>r</sup> Braddell her Majesty's general receiver, now here, taken all means to recover the rents and arrearages due to her by the tenants of the barony of Burghle. He has got part from some, and of others, mostly very poor men and willing though unable to pay, "distresses taken of their goodes and cattells, which were prised," and the money paid him. For the rest, named in the inclosed schedule, altogether unable, and with no goods worth distraining, they must either remain in prison, or "sequesteringe of thoccupacione of their tenementes," till the rents, &c., are fully satisfied. Wherein I desire your pleasure. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

*½ p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 10. 471. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

On receipt of your letter of 28<sup>th</sup> December, inclosing another to M<sup>r</sup> William Clopton, receiver of the Queen's revenues in the North, that he should imprest to the other commissioners and myself one month's entertainment "aforehand," from our entering Northumberland, which was on Friday last the 7<sup>th</sup>, viz., 40s. a day to myself, and 20s. to each of the rest, I imparted the same to my associates, who take it in very thankful and dutiful part. But as M<sup>r</sup> Clopton is not "commorant" in this Bishopric, as formerly, but sometimes in "Lancheshire" or Warwickshire, and his deputy John Lyons not like to be here before the term—at my colleagues' earnest request to take order, I disbursed at the above rate *in toto* 140l. to ourselves, out of the 300l. paid yearly on your lordship's warrant "dormant," to M<sup>r</sup> Clopton, out of the tenths of the ecclesiastical promotions out of this diocese, due her Majesty at Christmas last. Hoping your lordship will acquaint the receiver or deputy thereof, that your letters to him and myself may be his warrant for the said payment. Alnwick. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

*½ p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: Durham impaling Mathew—damaged.*

Jan. 11. 472. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I have received by the tenants of Holme your lordship's letter, whereby I see they petitioned you, showing that the "weapon of calyver" is of little use in this country, and the charge is too great for any benefit

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they get by it, and the same by the great dearth here will undo them. I have acquainted the justices of peace with your letter, who have certified the truth: M<sup>r</sup> Leigh reports others willing but unable. I find them of the Holme by their "setters on" always ready to cross me. I pray you hasten the coming of the Berwick companies hitber, for I assure myself we shall need them. I am loth to trouble you with my wrongs till I have sufficient proof. Concerning the tenants of Burgh barony, M<sup>r</sup> Receiver has written of our proceedings, which I have signed, and instructed M<sup>r</sup> L<sup>g</sup>h to "sequestre" them till payment be made, wherein I await your instructions. Having a man in Scotland you shall hear when he brings any thing worthy. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Report of the justices, &c., to Burghley.)

By your honor's warrant M<sup>r</sup> Richard Musgrave brought hither from Newcastle a proportion of calyvers to strengthen this border. The Queen's tenants of Holme Coltram were appointed to receive 50, at rates settled by their officer and 12 honest substantial men, according to their abilities, as by book inclosed. But it appears they have complained, and allege to you, that the tax is burthensome in this time of dearth, and the weapon is not in use among them. Whereon having shown your letter to the justices of this county, they agree with me that the said weapons are very necessary, that the tenants have no cause to complain of dearth "(God be praised)," for it is no greater here this year than it was last. And the most of them assessed are well able to sustain the charge, for most have very good livings and trades—and this complaint rather springs from the backwardness of a few not of the meanest ability, who show a bad example. In the meantime I have stayed proceedings according to your pleasure. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope, Jo. Carliolen, Nicholas Curwen, George Salkeld, Richard Lowther, Wilfr. Lawson, Chris. Pykering.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 13. 473. SCROPE TO BURGHELEY.

My man is to-day returned from Scotland. The inclosed will somewhat satisfy the "beavies" in your late letters concerning Buccleugh and Johnston. And as the King and Council evidently intend to extenuate and bear out Buccleuch's "proude act" at this castle to the Queen's dishonor, &c., I still pray you as formerly to procure some force speedily for our defence.

I have expected every day that the other 4 Grames would come to submit. But they have neither come nor excused themselves, and I hear have written to their friends in Court, awaiting their reply before they appear.

I trust before that time your lordship will return to me the submission which I sent up, and hoped ere now to have had reformed by your means with the privity of the whole Council; till which I cannot well receive their submission, nor will they tender it I think, till they hear from above, that the sense mentioned as contained in the 2<sup>d</sup> article, is "amended for their playner understanding." Carlisle.

*Verte*.—While concluding, I was told that William Grame of the Mote returning (as he pretended) from the attempted hership of one Twedall in Liddesdale, was intercepted near his own house and taken back to Scotland a prisoner by some of the Laird of Whithaugh's sons and dependers. As there was no shout or fray raised, I believe it is but one of their accustomed stratagems. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

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Jan. 14. 474. VERNON AND SWIFT'S ACCOUNT.

"Barwick.—A briefe reporte of the state of thacompte of Robert Vernon esquier surveyor generall of her Majesties victnelles there and Richard Swifte gentleman assistaunte to the said M<sup>r</sup> Vernon," of their receipts from Exchequer, by sale of hides, &c., and from the treasurer of Berwick—also of payments, &c. by them from Michaelmas 37 Eliz. till Michaelm. s following 38 Eliz.—for one whole year.

*Extracts.*

M<sup>r</sup> Vernon has made no accounts since his first entry on office 17 Eliz.—and this is the first account of the said Richard Swifte.

Total receipts from Exchequer, &c.,	6913 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Total expediture, provisions, wages, &c.,	5765 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
So the accountants remain in debt,	1147 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>

It does not appear to me what victuals have been issued to the captains and their companies, or the horsemen, &c.,—for lack of their certificates of receipt, nor what money has been defalked from them by the treasurer and paid to the said accountants—for want of the treasurer's certificate.

M<sup>r</sup> Vernon is to be charged on his first account, when it is taken, with the remayne of victuals, &c., received of Sir Valentyne Browne, at first entering office, and an imprest of 2,000*l.* for a "staple" of victuals.

M<sup>r</sup> Swifte has showed me a book of provisions for the garrison since Michaelmas last, of 3,023*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*, and it appears by M<sup>r</sup> Skinner's certificate, that the accountants have received no money from the "receipte" since. Signed: xiiiij<sup>o</sup> Januarij 1596. *Es. per* Jo. Conyers auditor.

*On a broad sheet—3 feet 4 × 1. Indorsed.*

Jan. 17. 475. INFORMATIONS AND ANSWERS BETWEEN THE COMMISSIONERS.

(1) To the Commissioners for the borders of Scotland.

The commissioners for England do, on behalf of their Sovereign, charge Sir Robert Ker, knight, warden, &c., that contrary to the proclamations of both princes in August last, he on 17<sup>th</sup> of that month, or since, invaded England and forcibly entered Swinbourne castle, took away James Yonge, Scotsman, prisoner there, and forced Roger Woodrington to give his hand and promise to be his prisoner, and still detains him in Scotland, albeit Lord Eure the opposite warden, has demanded Roger: all which we allege and articulate jointly and severally, and intend to prove, requiring you to join and concur with us for due inquiry trial and satisfaction, as you are authorised to do. "Subscribed by Tobie Dunelmu., Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes, Francis Slingsbie, Clement Colmor.

(2) Our answer to the "concurrentes craved of us," for trying the attempt "wherof they charge Sir Robert Ker, heire apparante of Cesfoorde," delivered to us this 17 January 1596.

We are content to arrest him to answer to the charge, and concur in his due trial, and as we find him guilty of the whole or part, to proceed jointly and orderly against him according to justice—your lordships proceeding likewise with us in the "remanent complaintes." Subscribed, &c., Dunkell, George Hume, Fawdonside, M<sup>r</sup> G. Younge.

1 p. Copy. *Indorsed by Buryhley's secretary.*

Jan. 19. 476. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHELEY.

We have somewhat long delayed writing, in daily hope of more certain matter. On arriving here on the 10<sup>th</sup>, a gentleman from the Laird of Wedderburn came, demanding in his name, when and with how many we

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would meet the Scottish commissioners? The next morning, Tuesday, we sent M<sup>r</sup> James Swynow "an honest sufficient gentleman," to the laird and the rest (if they were there, as his messenger had told us), that we purposed to meet them quietly with 100 horses, at the Bound road nigh Fowlden at noon next day the 12<sup>th</sup> (a day formerly agreed on), intending that our respective commissions should be then perused, offering our safe conduct if they came to Berwick, or to get theirs, if they wished us to go to Fowlden. The Laird replied by M<sup>r</sup> Swynow, that we should have an answer by 8 or 9 next morning—but having had none, we went to the Bound road, accompanied by M<sup>r</sup> John Carey, governor, Sir Robert Carey, "warden of the East Marches," and retinue aforesaid, waiting them longer than was necessary. But they came not as the waters were so risen, as they said in their letter next day, asking us to meet them at Fowlden kirk that day. We wrote in answer by M<sup>r</sup> Swynow, that Fowlden kirk was never named, and Fowlden itself though named by them, was not "condiscended unto" by us, or convenient, till the commissions were seen and assurance given for us. But if they came here they should have safe conduct from us, which we hoped they would accept in friendly manner. They at length met us on Friday 14<sup>th</sup>, a little without the Bound road towards Scotland, and seeing we refused to hold the first meeting at Fowlden, which they demanded "as a custome," after mutual view of the commissions, they agreed "with much adoe" to come and stay here during the treaty, protesting it should not prejudice their liberty or nsage.

On Saturday the 15<sup>th</sup> they sent one M<sup>r</sup> Hume, brother to Wedderburn, for a safe conduct which we returned them by M<sup>r</sup> Swynow, appointing to meet daily in the "Toolboth," and made open proclamation in the market for their security.

That day as instructed, we objected Sir Robert Carre's invasion, desiring amends—but after long debate they refusing to give it any priority over ordinary bills, unless we cast lots, divers meetings and arguings were spent thereon.

On Monday they importuned us for the allegation in writing, which they would so answer, whereof we inclose a copy, showing how plainly and particularly we propounded it, and how obscurely and uncertainly they replied. We have since vehemently pressed this matter, showing them we can proceed with nothing else, till it is satisfied. They now acknowledge (which they might have done sooner, if they meant sincerity), that their instructions forbid them to deal with invasions or murders, all such to be referred to the princes—which seems a great hindrance to justice, and repugnant to the King's commission, and if we yielded, would frustrate the Queen's service. So they have promised to send to know the King's pleasure hereon, and are very desirous to deal with other such robberies, &c., "the while," whereto we will not coocur, till we may learn the Queen's pleasure how far to urge Sir Robert Ker's attempt, and what kind of good satisfaction is meant we should receive, before dealing with other complaints—as your lordship will see by the schedule inclosed containing the words of the Queen's instructions *verbatim*. So we shall merely occupy the time in preparing things in readiness, till they hear from the King, and we from her Majesty or your lordships. We have written to the ambassador in Scotland (as required by the instructions), to facilitate matters.

We have also taken order mutually as you advised, for good order between the wardens and people of both nations during the treaty and for 40 days after. On the 14<sup>th</sup> we received your letter of 8<sup>th</sup> with copy of her Majesty's safe conduct for the Scottish commissioners, and the ambassador sent us the original yesterday, which we shall deliver if they require it and re-deliver that which we gave them, and the King sends us the like. Berwick.

*Signed*: Tobie Duresm., Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes, F. Slyngisbe, Clement Colmore.

2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Was seal: Mathew as before.*

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Jan. 19. 477. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

To similar effect as their general letter. Both sides agreed to define the word "invasion," to be "the entrie of a publique person without leive, executing actes of hostilitie, &c." Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 19. 478. SIR W. BOWES TO SIR R. CECIL.

Referring also to their general letter—giving reasons in detail why the charge against Cesford must be pressed now, and not referred. Styling Cesford and Buccleuch the "two fyrebrandes" of the Borders, who should be either delivered to the Queen, or detained by the King in prison, till her Majesty is satisfied. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 21. 479. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

"Beinge right sorie to understand that your lordship hath kept your chamber and bed so longe, as by your last (to my greife) it appeared to me," I render right humble thanks for your letter to M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, which I hope will work good effect, and your reformation of the Grames' submission. I sent that letter at once to M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, and to-day the Grames "(after some nysnes and ceremonies used by them before their entrie)" have been here and on their knees humbly submitted themselves to me, according to her Majesty's pleasure and your directions and have been received by me accordingly, as will appear by the inclosed certificate. I pray that her Majesty and the rest of the Council may understand I have accepted the submission of all the six Grames "accordinge to direction—in which pointe their lordships by their last lettres desired satisfaccion."

The farmer of her Majesty's customs in these parts being like to die, no man looking for his recovery, and his lease near expired, though indeed forfeited, and many unfit men "ar gapinge" for his room: I earnestly entreat your lordship to grant a new lease of that office to a man I shall nominate, and dare commend his honest behaviour therein. The present farmer has acted very corruptly, passing horses into Scotland, harbouring evil persons—enticing "owtwarde" merchants to custom with him for small value, &c., and I am assured if a like borderer succeed him (as it is thought there will) the Queen's customs will be diminished and my government disquieted. It concerns this government much who shall exercise that room, therefore I am importunate to know your liking, whereon I shall commend a fit man.

I trust Rafe Atkinson is with you ere this, and I would gladly hear how he satisfies you. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Certificate of submission.)

The 21<sup>st</sup> January 1596.

Memorandum.—The said day and year, the six Grames who were at London with your lordships, have made their submission to the right honourable Lord Scrope, lord warden, &c., in the presence of Richard Lowther esquire, and John Mydleton esquire, two of Her Majesty's justices of peace within the county of Cumberland, and thereto have subscribed their names. Whereof we certify your lordships under our own hands and names. *Signed*: Richard Lowther, John Middelton.

½ p. *Indorsed.*

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Jan. 22. 480. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

"By the importunate intreatie of Sir John Forster," I present his humble suit, that in regard of the sickness now in Newcastle, your lordship would give him leave to return to his own country "to his house in Bambronghe shier in the Easte March." Berwick. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

‡ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 24. 481. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHLEY.

Touching the inquiries in your lordships letter of the 16<sup>th</sup>, received on the 22<sup>d</sup>, though we trust you have been fully satisfied thereon before this time (if the posts have done their part) by our letter of the 19<sup>th</sup>, yet in brief we may advertise, that after some "accustomed scrupulosities" on the Scots' part, we persuaded them hither, and have met daily "in amycable sort," save that they think us too peremptory in Sir Robert Kerr's matter of invasion—wherein we await the King's resolution as moved for to his Council in his absence, by her Majesty's ambassador, from whom we received a letter yesterday. To show we do not spend our time idly, we inclose copy of the articles agreed on for our proceedings in the treaty. After Sir Robert Ker's matter (which hath exceedingly perplexed and hindered us) be dispatched, we shall use all diligence in her Majesty's service. Berwick. *Signed*: l'obie Duresm. Will'm Bowes, F. Slyngisbe, Clement Colmore.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(Articles referred to.)

At Berwick 22<sup>d</sup> January 1596 (39 Eliz.).

It is "condiscended to" between the commissioners, that calling before us of bills between the two East Marches, shall begin on Tuesday 1<sup>st</sup> February next at the "Tolebooth" of Berwick; against which day and place, so many of the inhabitants of East and West Teavydale as shall be complained of by those of the East March of England, likewise all inhabitants of the East and Middle Marches of England as shall be complained of by those of the East March of Scotland, shall respectively be "arrested" to answer complaints. Likewise complaints by East Teavydale against the East March of England, shall be "arrested" and taken order with same day.

The calling bills between the Middle Marches shall begin on Thursday 3<sup>d</sup> February, and the like calling between the West Marches, on Tuesday thereafter 8<sup>th</sup> February.

Meantime the wardens shall receive the names of persons complained on by their "oppisites," and "arrest" them for these days.

That warning be given by proclamation in all the Marches, that complainants attend with their proofs on the days appointed for their March, if they would have justice.

That all complained of and "arrested," who fail to appear on their day, without lawful excuse "approveable" by us, shall be "fyled" absolutely.

That all others "arrested" who pretend they had no sufficient summons to appear, shall be "fyled" as if they had—if the commissioners think there is sufficient proof against them.

The premisses are "liked of" by the commissioners, in hope that by 1<sup>st</sup> February, satisfaction may be received as to the requisition by England against Sir Robert Kerr or other directions thereon from her Majesty. Subscribed by Dunkell, George Hume, Fawdenside, M<sup>r</sup> G. Younge, Tobie Duresm., Will'm Bowes, F. Slingsby, Clement Colmore. "Copia vera, T. Duresm."<sup>\*</sup>

1 p. *Same hand as the letter. Indorsed.*

\* 4 words holograph.

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Jan. 27. 482. SCROPE TO SIR R. CECIL.

I have written hereinclosed to the Lords of the Privy Council on the manner of proceeding at my warden court, desiring your honor to further the same.

I would you moved with my lord to appoint the soldiers of Berwick to be here as I wrote before: for though we are very quiet at present, I fear it will not last long. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 28. 483. EURE TO BURGHELY.

As I wrote to you by my son, I find perils continually follow my government.

Lord Scrope is aggrieved that Christofer Bell was taken out of his march and delivered to me by Thomas Carleton his officer of Gilsland, and executed. Wherefore his lordship's household men, with the Bells and others of his March, on Friday the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, stole and drove off 50 wethers of Albany Fetherstonhaugh's in my march, and "stelled" them in the sheildes adjoining in the West March. The fray "rysse," and divers of the country with Fetherston's men both horse and foot also: two or three of the foot lighted on Lord Scrope's horsemen, and on demanding the sheep, were told of some of them, and asked "yf noe more followed the trodd?" They "simpleye" answered, their master and others had gone a different way: whereon these horsemen attacked these English followers, overthrew and wounded some, took one to Carlisle castle, and another "gentleman being postmaster of Thirlwall,"\* hardly escaped with life, and his horse well nigh slain with a sword cut. Here is a great cross and danger to my government.

At "the said" warden court Roger Woodrington was indicted as an offender to march law for going to Scotland prisoner, intercommuning with Scots, &c., *ad damnum Domine nostrae regine*, which is very "hatefully" taken by his friends, and about the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, when the commissioners came to Berwick, he showed himself "vauntingly without respects;" and his brother Henry Woodrington on the 24<sup>th</sup>, disdainfully refused to live on my march, withdrawing with some of his friends, among others "one William Carnaby, sonn to old Carnaby of Langley" her Majesty's constable there, who served under his father, has absolutely forborne to live under my rule. Thus am I crossed without deserving it, for if I do, I should be removed—if not, I fly to you for aid and comfort, being so envied and contemned by all who favour the Woodringtons: and unless your lordship continue the 80 horse, I know not what to do, my own people thus failing me, and not assured of my neighbouring wardens or those opposite.

I understand Lord Scrope informed you that I supported the Grames and Carletons in disobedience, and when their submissions lately ordered by your lordships, should have been made, four of them with Thomas Carleton, came over to me in contempt.

"By the oathe of a Christian and the honor of a trew subject," I am innocent of any such matter, as I knew of no such submission or the time for it. But I remember about Christmas last, I sent for Riche Langtone and Thomas Carleton to come here, when I moved them to join me to take Martin's Arch out of Scotland, who since Christofer Bell's death, proudly gave up with me, and has been a great offender since. This is the full truth of my action. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

\* Originally "Haltwhissel."



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Jan. 29. 484. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I send hereinclosed such "occurrantes" as I have this instant received from Scotland.

I wrote before to Sir Robert Cecil inclosing a letter to the Privy Council of my proceedings at my wardeu court. Among others the Carletons were summoned, and divers bills of indictment preferred against them—but Mr Richard Lowther being on the jury, and minding to "cavell" of two bills preferred against one Thomas Carleton of Askerton, land sergeant of Gilsland, stood out from his fellow jurors, and took divers of them with him, affirming on oath that Carleton had your lordship's warrant tolerating the offences in these bills, and had showed it to him while he was warden, with your letter—but this was proved by sufficient witnesses to be done one year after my entrance, and so the bill was found. Wherefore seeing these their bad dealings, and those that are "favorettes" to the Carletons may make great complaint of me to your lordship, I beg you, if such come to your hand, not to condemn me till I satisfy you. Carlisle. Signed: Th. Scroope.

"Postscript.—Lanclote Carrelton my lord of Essixe his man," is gone up to London to him, as he gives out, to inform against me to his lordship: but I have a letter from my lord by Captain Yaxley "my brother Robin Caryes solicetor," in which he marvels at never hearing from me. In excuse whereof I have written to his lordship, hoping he will "beare none suche out againste me," my actions being honourable and just, and such as may indure trial.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal as before.

Inclosed in the same:—

(News from Scotland.)

"Since my last, &c. Besides the resignation that the Octaviens made of thir office of Exchecker in the King's hand, there is some piece of high ambition crept in the Lord Threasurers hart: that he is taking upon him to continew in his office, as also to have the offices of controllor and collector generall of the tithes of benefices of this realme. The rest holds them coye, as though they would have only care of the Queene and her affayres, as they did afore: and therefore to compayre his dutie with thires, and to mocke him in the ende.

"In the meane tyme they so whisper with the Queene, that whatsoever they would have done in the generall cause of the comonwelth, they put the same so lively in her head, that shee purposely now, eyther comes into the Kinges chamber, or else sends for his Majestie, to dener or sup with her, and there proponnds the matter secretly betweexte them selves.

"The Earle of Huntley is received into the bosome of the church at Abri-dene, without either disputation or question. For he would seeme to stand in noe doubt of his faith, but would allow of all thinges as they are presently taught in Scotland. He sheweth that he was seduced by Jesuites to the service of the King of Spayne, and that it was neyther for the love of God, nor for any promotion of the Romishe religion: but only for his ambission to bee a ruller in England, by the helpe of him and suche as himselfe. Of this pointe the Kinge is sufficiently advertised: and is minded to graunt him pardon at S<sup>r</sup> Jhonston, if all thinges holde agayne the tyme prefixed. *Sed multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra.*

"There bee many craftie despitefull letters and lybelles cast dayly in the Kinges palace, all directed as they were unto himselfe, but none can see a mesager: and they are all written as it were, by ministers, som fugitives and som at home. By which lettres they alledge many sacred histories and prophane, declaring th'extermination of those who have bene enemyes to the Church and the ministers therof, as though the Kinge were only in the

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fault to them: and they not to him. Secondly—that by these examples, he should take heede, least he should faule into the like daunger.

“B. is about som secret mariage with the Maxwells: and ther is som secret traynes devised by him against Jhonston. For that cause, Jhonstons is heere now, making a faction with a new courtier, who would fayne bee highe. Ther bee fower of them still together on the night.

“The Kinge, Queene, and Octavians do all agree in one in all thinges. The Lord Threasurer with his three offices, and a faction with him of serten barrons, would fayne make a part to excuse the fact of the ministers, and to procure thire peace. They have delt much and dayly doe with the Earle of Argile to be on thire part. But the Kinge understanding all this, is as busie quoyetly, and his spies in Argiles court, holding him still in oppinion that it is better to hold with his Majestie then to bee solliciter otherwise, in remembrance of the effect of his last journey.

“My lord Hambleton is surly detract, by the quoyet lettres of the ministers. But the Kinge and he langes well at the matter.

“It is suposed that the Lorde Hamilton and B. shall meet shortly at his palace of Knerrveill \* beside Lithgo, where the Kinge and all his counsell will resorte agayne the last day of this instant.”

1½ pp. *No address or indorsement.*

JAN. 31. 485. SIR W. BOWES TO SIR R. CECIL.

While in “instant expectation” of her Majesty’s further pleasure in answer to our former letters, our general letters will advertise the present state of business.

Conceiving that the true sight of the end can best show and order the means, I have thought fit to acquaint your honor with some principal circumstances, to that purpose. Notwithstanding the proclamations and commands of the wardens, the people will neither from despair bring in their bills, nor from fear, prosecute the murders of their nearest friends: nor do the thieves desist from daily new attempts on both sides in every wardenry, notwithstanding the best means devised by all the commissioners,—showing the miserable state of this country,—both in the minds of the poor and honest, as also in the pride and disobedience of the “ravenous” malefactors.

Touching invasions (which I conceive to be limited to persous “carrying” the King’s authority, thus distinguished from incursions of private persons) committed of late, I find but two, *viz.* “that of Buckclugh in surprize of Carleill castell, which her Majestie hathe reserved to her owne ordering, and that of Sir Robert Kerr in surprize of Swinburne castell.”

Touching murders, I know not the certain number, as well through the complainers’ slackness, as by some negligence in the former wardens, “enter-teignings that common error against the direct wordes of the treatie, namely, that murders shoulde be reserved to the princes themselves to redresse, and so tyme burieth them in forgetfulnes.” But they are great and horrible, men killed in their beds, and this impunity making them worse. I think Buccleuch will be found guilty of above 20 murders, he present and chief actor, some said to be done with his own hand. His followers, specially the Armstrongs and Ellottes in Liddesdale, “now his inheritance,” were partakers in these, besides slaying many. Sir Robert Kerr it seems to me, will be found guilty of about 16, 12 of them the Queen’s soldiers serving under Captain Bellases, near Eslington, when Buccleuch and he attacked it with 1500 horse, taking prisoners the captain and 9 of his men, and great spoils of Sir Cuthbert Collingwood and others’ goods, without any quarrel of their own, but in favour of their followers, then at fend with Sir Cuthbert—

\* Kinniel.

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which attempt though filed by bill, is yet unsatisfied. So the Barnes and Younges followers of Sir Robert, in revenge for one of their name "chanceably" killed in England by Sir Cuthbert's man rescuing goods, "I am informed" have since murdered 35 Collingwoods, and entered two other feuds, one with Sir Robert Carey and his servants, for lawfully executing a Burne taken stealing, who confessed killing 4 of the Collingwoods—the other with the officers, &c., of the Earl of Northumberland at Alnwick, for killing one of their name in a rescue of English goods, which they have lately attempted to revenge "with unusuall presumption."

The value of the spoils by the Scots in these three Marches since the last commission by Lord Hunsdon "auno 1587," amounts to 10,458*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* in the East, 28,098*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* in the Middle, and 54,422*l.* in the West Marches—in all, 92,989*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.* Whereof the two Tevedales under Kerr, and Liddesdale under Buccleuch, "are charged with near three partes." For redress of which I see small hope, their dispositions being such—for adding Johnston to the other two, "none of the three having yet lived to the age of xxx<sup>th</sup>," each is guilty of no less than 20 murders "of his owne or our nation!" If it might please her Majesty to insist on their delivery, as we have already demanded in her name, she might justly remove two of these "monstrous depravers of the Border manners," thus weakening the opposite March, by enmity between the new wardens and the old, and the great surnames aforesaid, and also have the heads of the Younges, Bournes, Armstrongs, and Ellots delivered: and if it please her to proceed against them as she may lawfully, *secundum leges patrie in qua deliquerint*, and execute some few of the condemned, "with secrete composition made before with the Scottishe King (for savinge some of our owne which may have falted in murther) to execute only suche on eyther ayde as shall have slaine more then three"—it would be a comfort to her people, a terror to those murderers, and the others remaining at her mercy would be good hostages for the rest. They might most fitly be imprisoned at York, and the long protracting punishment would be the best security for good order. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 29- 486. THE COMMISSIONERS TO ROBERT BOWES AND HIS REPLY.  
31.

(1) We see by your letter of 24<sup>th</sup> that M<sup>r</sup> David Houme was sent by the Scottish commissioners for the King's directions touching amends for Sir Robert Ker's invasion, &c., before we went farther: also the persasions used by you, and the likelihood, despite the stiffness of some of his council, that the King would qualify his instructions and thus hasten progress. But though we have had many meetings and settled divers articles with his commissioners, and hoped through them to have the King's answer before this, summoning complainants of our Marches to appear—yet finding yesterday on pressing them, that they either will not or "haply" cannot answer "yea or no," and have again sent for further instructions—we earnestly entreat you "eftsones" to move the King or his council, or both, to keep us no longer in suspense, for "by this included," you will see that unless by Monday next at night, or Tuesday morning early, we have notice from you or the commissioners here as to satisfaction for Sir Robert Ker's attempt, we must and will forbear to proceed further, but purpose to take our journey homeward, as being denied justice therein. For it is "nothings like," her Majesty will relax her demand therein, so highly concerning her honour. Berwick, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1596.

1 p. *Copy. Addressed at foot*: To Bowes as treasurer of Berwick and ambassador at Edinburgh.

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(2) (Bowes' reply.)

Yesterday forenoon I received yours of 29<sup>th</sup> by "this bearer George Klewghē," and first conferred with some counsellor, then sought access to the King that day. "This day in the evening the Kinge gave me audience," when I reminded him of his former answers, opened the contents of your present letter, and earnestly moved for his order in the cause. After sundry allegations to justify Sir Robert, he "concluded" to advise with his council present, and send me their resolution: wherewith M<sup>r</sup> Peter Younge was sent to me, *viz.*, that the King and council would this night put in writing their full directions, &c., to be sent their commissioners, who to-morrow "(or neare thereabouts)" will communicate them to you, and they will be such as in reason may satisfy you.

Soon after, the Lord Treasurer, Clerk Register, and M<sup>r</sup> Peter Younge were sent to me, declaring that the King and council had ordered their commissioners to begin with the redress for Sir Robert Kerr's attempt at Swinburne, if none had been done by Englishmen in Scotland since the proclamation after that fact—if so, they shall begin with such later offence, according to Border custom and law.

The King hearing your purpose to hasten homewards, desires you to weigh well the importance of those causes, and expend some time in putting order to them—"which needlesse requestes" I leave to your respects.

As you required such speedy answer, I had no time to write more largely, and have therefore "wrapped upp this hastilie." Edinburgh, "Mondaie 10 at night," last of January 1596. Robert Bowes.

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp. Copy in same hand. Addressed at foot: To the commissioners. "Copia vera," Signed: T. Duresm.\* Indorsed.

## Jan. 31. 487. THE SCOTTISH TO THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS.

We the commissioners for Scotland, do in his Majesty's name "crave and insist most earnestlie, that Maister Thomas Cranston, Archibalde Wauchop sometime of Nedrie younger, James Douglas sountyme of Spot, Alixander Home sometime of Prendergaist, and Maister Archibalde Dowglas, notorious and declared trators and rebels to his Majestie (and now avowedlie receit within England, and speciallie, the said Archbaulde within Newcastle, and the said James Dowglas in dalie companie with the Lord Evers and his deputies, expresse against the treatyis and last league)," may be speedily and secretly apprehended and delivered to those appointed by his highness to receive them—according to your answer under your hands to our former articles, and his highness's requisition to your sovereign. Dunkell, George Honme, Fawdonsyde, M<sup>r</sup> G. Younge.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Copy in same hand. Addressed at head: To the English commissioners. "Copia vera," signed: T. Duresm.\* Indorsed.

## Jan. . 488. THE COMMISSIONERS' INSTRUCTIONS.

"A clause or two" of the Queen's instructions to the Border commissioners, 1596.

Referring to the neglect of justice by the wardens, and her Majesty's concurrence with the King of Scots for redress, their proclamations for peace till their commissioners should meet—yet besides others, Sir Robert Carre one of the wardens, openly invaded her realm in a hostile manner—for which special reformation must first be made before entering on any further matters.

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\* These 4 words holograph.

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And after they shall have received some good satisfaction for this offence, they shall proceed in order with the rest.

1 p. *Copy in same hand. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

Feb. 1. 489. OFFERS BY THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS.

Motions by them, wherein they require answer in writing and concurrence in action from the Scottish commissioners.

*Extracts.*

*Under four heads:—*

They declare their powers and the manner in which they propose to exercise these; finally offering to present their wardens at Berwick to join in justice, &c., requesting a written reply from the Scottish commissioners  
"Copia vera: T. Duresm."\*

2 pp. *Indorsed.*

Feb. 1. 490. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The Scots' commissioners having dispatched M<sup>r</sup> David Hume brother to the Laird of Wedderburne for the King's answer to our demand touching Sir Robert Kerr, and we having written to our ambassador thereon, the King was pleased at his earnest solicitation, as our general letter and inclosures will show your lordship, to give us priority of naming first, instead of casting lots as before directed on 23 January—which M<sup>r</sup> Hume was to declare "by speache" to his commissioners. Whereto M<sup>r</sup> Hume, having answered, that Sir Robert Kerr would be filed, the King replied "that he must doe justice." Yet the secretary confirmed the abovementioned instructions of the 23<sup>d</sup>, though he admitted that the ambassador had earnestly pressed yielding priority to the Queen. This diversity or rather contrariety between the written direction and the King's speech, caused their commissioners to send again to the King for "better suertie," and meantime Sir Robert Kerr, who had pretended such sickness that he could not be here, went to Edinburgh to make his own way, and got letters to the other three commissioners, that the malice borne to him by the Laird of Wedderburne for his killing William Kerr of Anckram, should not turn to his prejudice in this action. The ambassador likewise, informed by us, did his best with the King and council, as by his last letters also sent to your lordship, will appear—"which though it were given him well late yesternight, yett received wee advertizement this morninge before our session. And being thereby made privie to the Kinges purpose (the deceipt whereof his commissioners doe not yett acknowledge), wee ordered this daies proceedinge thus:—" First—we recounted the points agreed on before, with our protests and offers of concurrence (a copy of which is with our general letter), and this being the day and place appointed, we presented our warden, assisers, and allegation of invasion against Sir Robert Kerr, and called him openly as summoned, but neither he nor any Scots' assisers appeared. For this default we refused to bear their complaints, but agreed that they should call such persons as we arrested on their desire—whereon they called M<sup>r</sup> John Carey governor of Berwick, purposing "(so far as I can learne)" to charge him with the murder of Daglece, who appeared.

We pressed them with just reasons to satisfy our demand touching Sir Robert Kerr, whereto they said they had no power to yield priority unless we won it "by lott."

In arguing, as we did, that the greatest matter since the proclamation

\* These 4 words holograph.

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should be taken first, they brought forward a bill against Lord Scrope for commanding a great force, including "waged" men of the Queen's, to invade, burn and spoil in Liddesdale, "&c.," about 10<sup>th</sup> August last, and then reset them in his house, "&c." Our answer was that it was a mere "supposall" as yet, and if true, was a mere counselling, not a commandment: and for resetting, Border law only takes knowledge if it is of fugitives. At any rate it was before the Queen's proclamation of the 20<sup>th</sup>, though the Scottish King's was "in dede" about the beginning of August. Yet I could not justify this act of Lord Scrope's, without her Majesty's pleasure, though it appears a justifiable reprisal by the law of nations, the civil law, and the law of this realm. I could wish, if it seems good to you, that by the advice of those learned in both laws, the nature of a lawful reprisal might be set down, to defend Lord Scrope's action, and be a precedent for the wardens hereafter how to act "whilst the denyall of justice is yett greene," on fitting occasions, "after some small while that this pill were digested." Berwick.  
*Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a sheaf of arrows; motto, indistinct.

## Feb. 1. 491. SCROPE TO THE COUNCIL.

I have refused to obey the commissioners' command to send them the bills and rolls of complaints by any in this wardleury against the office of Buccleuch, till I know her Majesty's satisfaction therein by your lordships—for if his "proude attempt" against this castle be not redressed, before any other small crimes are settled, I leave it to your wisdoms how unpleasant it will be for me to give and take justice in such, till he is punished for that high offence.

The commissioners have done nothing yet, but stand for the delivery of Ceford for taking Roger Wetherington out of Swinburne castle, which the Scottish commissioners' instructions, contradictory to their commission, prevent their doing, as it seems to me.

My urgency in this matter of Buccleuch proceeds from my loyal care and regard to her Majesty's honour, and I humbly beseech your lordships so to construe it, and to give me your gracious opinion in the same. Carlisle.  
*Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed: ". . . Received at Whithall the vij<sup>th</sup> of February."

## Feb. 1. 492. SIR JOHN FORSTER TO BURGHELY.

I am sorry to trouble your honor, yet trust you will pardon my boldness, the matter concerning me "so neare." I moved the commissioners on their way to Berwick, to call me to answer for any misgovernment committed by me in the Middle March while officer there, and if I could not purge myself, to let me have my deserts—doubting not but the Bishop if required, will certify how ready and willing I have always been to do justice. Her Highness was pleased on your suit to licence me to lie in the bishopric or any other place except Northumberland, for my better health. I have of late sued to some of my good friends in the bishopric to lie there, but find them unwilling to receive me, "by reason the sicknes is so dangerous here in Newcastle, and dailie like to increase—and to traueile anie further southwardes, my bodie is not able without danger of my lyfe." Since Whitsunday last, I have had goods stolen by the Scots worth 1000*l.* sterling, as my bills before the commissioners at Berwick show. Which, if her highness had suffered me "to have lyen at my house at Bambroughe in the Easte Marche," I might have prevented, for I hear they say openly in Scotland, that I will

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never come back to Northumberland, and therefor "they will be doinge with me." I would be an earnest suitor therefore, for your "being a meane unto her highnes, that I mighte lyve and end mine old daies (having one foote alreadie in the grave) in my house in Bambroughshire, which wolde bringe no lytle comforte to mine olde age," and I with my friends should be ever ready to serve her to our best. Newcastle. *Signed*: John Forster.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: armed right hand holding truncheon of a spear, "I. F." at sides.*

Feb. 2. 493. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHLEY.

We wrote since our coming here twice to your lordship, on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> ultimo, by the ordinary post, whereto we should by this have received answer as to her Majesty's pleasure on Sir Robert Kerr's invasion, before proceeding further. We have had sundry conferences with the opposite commissioners, and generally prepared for beginning business this day—but we fear in vain, not having as yet so good an answer from the commissioners or the ambassador as we looked for, or her Majesty's pleasure as above. The difficulty is greater in those respects—(1) a supposed defect in our commission, the word "invasions," though mentioned in the preface, yet in our authority it is not "especificed," unless haply implied under "whatsoever offences," which interpretation the Scottish commissioners refuse to accept as reasonable. (2) As the object of the commission seems not for redress of hostility against the prince, but offences against the subjects. (3) Though her Majesty has directed us to call first on Sir Robert Kerr's outrage, yet they allege the ancient custom yields no priority to either party, except by lot (which we deny) but dare not venture it, lest it "sort" against us. (4) Whatever amends be granted therefor, they say should not be done till all the bills are tried. (5) They can find no precedent for amends of such an offence, nor can we learn if any Border law or custom provides for it; so it is rather thought to be "of such transcendent nature," that no treaty does so. To these we have replied as well as we can, that by civil law and law of nations, whereon Border law is greatly grounded, and by a clause in the treaty (5 Eliz. article 13,) it is ordered that in this very case, "the redresse is to be made by the delivery of the offendour."

Meanwhile we desire to know what her Majesty will accept for amends and satisfaction, with convenient celerity and plain direction, and whether if refused we shall break off and depart home.

Yesterday they exhibited a schedule, the copy whereof is inclosed, demanding certain fugitives, whereto we beg your advice how to qualify our answer—also whether her Majesty intends that we should call for or deliver any other than fugitives for Border causes, "commorant" in the Marches? We also send a copy of the offers we made to them for reforming disorders, &c., on the Marches. But some of us having seen by the King's late instructions and the secretary's letter of 23<sup>d</sup> ultimo, how much they are straitened, we have less hope than we had of doing the good service we desired, especially since we see by the ambassador's letter, a copy of which we purposely inclose, that Sir Robert Ker prevails with the King and council beyond expectation, "and against all Godes forbode." Berwick. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm., Willm Bowes, F. Slynghisbe, Clement Colmore.

$\frac{2}{3}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: Mather's private arms.*

Feb. 2. 494. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since my letter of the 1<sup>st</sup>, where I showed how we stood strictly on both sides on our directions, we have seriously decided to pass over questions of form, as priority, &c., and proceed to substance, rather than separate with

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nothing done. I must here "acknowledge the religious conformitie of the opposite commissioners (especiallie the Laird of Wedderburne) to imbrace the good motion, which sorted in this manner":—the Tolbooth affords us two rooms, and 2 commissioners, taking to them the two deputy wardens of the East March, called a Scottish bill at their choice; the other 6 commissioners above, at the same instant tried the Queen's allegation of invasion against Sir Robert Kerr, wherein he "was fyled upon the commissioners honors, to undergyve suche penaltie, as our generall lettres will report." The first bill of the Scots' side was the murder of Dagleish, wherein at first they charged Mr John Carey governor of Berwick, and Sir Robert Carey, warden, for command and reset of the doers. But being answered as in the case against Lord Scrope in my former letter they altered the bill against Joshua Dalivell only, a gentleman of the garrison, who is found "foule."

The other bills we divided, the murders being tried before 6 commissioners, the "stouthes and reifes" before two commissioners, Sir R. Carey, 2 deputy wardens and the gentlemen assisers of both nations. In this day's work, two great difficulties occurred. First they will not meddle with the 12 soldiers slain by Buccleuch and Cesford, for it was in December, before the treaty by my Lord Hunsdon in February next after: "they beinge as I take it so instructed in favour of Sir Robert Kerr, who hopeth to avoide his other murthers by evasions coyned out of twoo great frontier disorders, namely," (1) intermarrying with Scots, some of the murdered being, he alleges, Scots; (2) the confused proceedings against outlaws, whereby he proves from his own book, some of the murdered were fugitives, and by Border custom not protected by either prince—but on this we insist for precise proof. The second difficulty to-day, is the manner of trial mentioned in my former letter to your lordship, that little or no avowry can be got for proof of our bills, the Scottish warden, whose privy can only fyle or clean on honour, not being here, and their assisers "men so trayned in border shiftes, that it drawes us into a bottomeles sea of busines." I foresee another danger,—the murders being so many, and the sum "so huge," so soon as they see delivery must take place, they will all at an instant become outlaws; and trusting to their number, "site of dwellinge," and strength, cast away all fear and exceedingly trouble both realms,—if some joint course be not taken for prevention. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 5. 495. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

The opposite commissioners, so instructed from the King, have "billed" Lord Scrope for the invasion, and Captains Carvell and Twiford for the spoils, in Liddesdale last August. Taking advantage of the choice under the treaty, that the plaintiff may seek redress in the March where the offence was done, or in that where the offender dwells, they have charged the captains in this East March, and arrested Lord Scrope in his own, to answer when the time comes. As Lord Scrope has made me privy, that on his showing the denials of his often demands for justice, her Majesty was pleased to give him leave by letter under her own hand, to make the reprisal from which both these bills proceed, I durst not presume without her highness' pleasure, to plead the same, though justifiable by the law of nations, the civil law and statute law of this realm. "The opposites" pressed the bill against the captains so earnestly, that we were forced to answer, that they, not dwelling in the East March, but serving in Berwick town, were not bound to answer in Northumberland, that town being exempted from the law or sheriff in the county, and severed from the East March, for the warden's sergeants can make no arrests in it, but "commend" them to the Marshal's officers in the town. Thus the captains, not as borderers, but as other subjects, should discharge the Queen and warden in the West March,



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where the fact was committed, at the proper time for dealing there. And we offered to produce Lord Scrope to answer and give redress in full, if they undertook the attendance of Buccleuch and Johnston, to answer in like manner. But they refuse these offers, and this "stopp" will be very prejudicial, unless your lordship and the rest instruct Lord Scrope and us whether to justify the reprisal, or become "foale" of the bill either here or in the West March as may be agreed on.

Touching the last clause of my letter of the 3<sup>d</sup>, on the mischiefs like to ensue from driving such a multitude of armed malefactors to become outlaws in despair of clearing themselves of the huge sums and murders falling on them: on secret conference with some "discreetest" borderers to enable me to inform you better, I find my "concept" more confirmed and the remedy much harder, for though the King might be induced to command delivery here for the East and Middle Marches, yet Liddesdale and the West March would "take a fray hereby," and even if in my weak judgment, "both partes" are drawn into this place, which will not be safe or convenient for this town, or the commissioners divided, &c., so as the several deliveries may be done at one instant, or the King send some great person to exercise a strong hand over Buccleuch and Cesford, which I fear is unlikely, none of these courses can be trusted to in so weighty a matter. I have commended this to the ambassador's knowledge, hoping also for your directions. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.* ;

Feb. 6. 496. SIR W. BOWES TO SIR R. CECIL

In this "thronge of busines," hearing multitudes of causes, keeping us "without intermission from nyen a clocke till fower every day," besides preparing bills, &c., your honor must pardon my not writing oftener, my health not having been good since I came here: and I beseech you to take knowledge from my letters to the Lord Treasurer. Lord Hume came here yesterday, and sat a few hours with us, while the cause of the captains was debated, which I give more at large in the last of my other letters. In the most important point of this service—to avoid the breach of the borders, I have dealt with some of the opposite commissioners, and M<sup>r</sup> Roger Asheton, to move the King to order such delivery as we shall find fittest, also to the Queen's ambassador to solicit him earnestly therein. I boldly do this for relief of the poor wasted country of Northumberland, for I fear the notorious malefactors of the two Tividailes will not be holden here, till we have answer from your honours. I see so great jealousy of her Majesty's offence against Buccleuch and Cesford, that the labour of their friends, added to their grace with the King, has procured the charges of invasion (as they call it) against Lord Scrope and the Governor of Berwick, and will, I fear, impede their delivery—"the verie lyfe and substance of this service." Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 7. 497. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

I have forborne replying to divers letters from the commissioners at Berwick, "to have mee with them," till I knew her highness's pleasure as to dealing with Buccleuch for his indignity done to this her castle—for I have small hope of satisfaction from him for this or any other—as he himself, during this time of their sitting, with other his accomplices " (as the kild mans wife, with Willie Grame of the Rosetrees, and yong Hutche Grame informeth)," came to this border and most cruelly murdered one Lee; also sundry in his office of Liddesdale have done outrageous offences, as I have

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acquainted the commissioners. Farther at his being at the Armitage last week, calling most of these badly disposed persons before him, and letting them know "the like-hoode" of the commissioners making redress, and to advise what answer they would make: "(I was informed by som that wer there present, that he made it only in a fayned and collorable sorte)"—they answered they would rather be at their own liberties, having so highly offended England, than crave redress—and so most contemptuously refused to go to the commissioners, and departed. "He giving it forth for a greate vant, that he had gott a fall, and broke his shoulder bone, so as he could not be at leysure, and doubted that all the phisitions in Edenburgh could not cure him of that deseaze, untill her Majesties comissioners had made an ende at Barwike." My "brother" Sir William Bowes writes to me the commissioners have only filed Sir Robert Car for Swineburne castle, &c., with no certainty of delivery. It is very hard, in my opinion, for the poor men here to be forced to travel to Berwick at heavy charges, only to have their bills filed, if the commissioners leave delivery to the princes; and unless the King were inclined to cause speedy delivery, I shall not prevail with them to go there; but were it assured, I would do all good offices to further it. Thus desiring to know from your lordship her Majesty's pleasure, "having desired a longer tyme for the poore mens resort to the commissioners." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

3 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . L. Scroope to my Lord." *Wafer signet.*

Feb. 8. 498. WILLIAM SELBY TO SIR R. CECIL.

"At this commission now sitting in Barwick . . . M<sup>r</sup> George Muschamp and my nephew Raph Selby being deposed by the commissioners whether one George Nevill servant to the Ladie Gray, and M<sup>r</sup> Raph Gray, had stolen certeine cattle from M<sup>r</sup> Walter Carre of Littleden, a Scottish gentleman"? the theft being notorious, they could not without breach of their oath but file him. Nevill in revenge, filed a bill for 144. on Ralph Selby, who is known by all to be as free from such misdemeanours as any gentleman in England. At the time of filing, my nephew "mooved" with this false accusation, said he himself was honest, "though Nevill wer a thefe." M<sup>r</sup> Raph Gray answered he was an honest man and no thief. These or like words passed between Gray and my nephew before the commissioners, as I heard, for I was not present. But hearing of the unkindness, I sent to M<sup>r</sup> Gray and his brother Edward, desiring a friendly meeting to confer. Next morning M<sup>r</sup> Gray sent to tell me, he and his brother Edward would meet me in the churchyard, "and very soone after" sent again to say he could not come, but that Edward should meet me. I went, with only my nephew and one servant that held my "footecloth" horse. Soon after Edward Gray came "attended on to my judgement," with about 15 persons of his brothers' and his own servants. On entering the churchyard, we met and saluted one another, and as he desired "we two alone" went to the back of the church to confer. I began, and told him I marvelled that he and his brother would maintain "so badde a fellow as Nevill" to slander my nephew an honest man, and file a bill on him "that never had to doe with theft." He said Nevill was honest; I said he could not be in this act to my nephew; he said he would maintain and prove him honest, "and suddenly drew his sword upon me, I did the like in my owne defence. Streight way came upon me with ther swordes drawn, from the end of the church, 5 or 6 of Edward Grayes servantes, drave me to the church wall, being all alone, and oppressed with nomber, defending myself I fell, and being downe received two wounds, one in the heade, another in the hand. The minister being in the church, came out, and a shoote of women rising, certeine of my frendes of the towne came

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"to my reskew, in doing wherof, against my will and knowledg, they hurt Edward Gray, and one of his company servant to M<sup>r</sup> Raph Gray, was slaine." I protest to your honour that I am innocent and know not how he came by his death. This is the truth for your honor's consideration. I have served her Majesty and her progenitors in the wars these 48 years, and trust my behaviour hath approved me an honest man and no brawler. I also thought my place here as gentleman porter, and a councillor, and my age, had privileged me from violence. But it is manifest that it was "platted" by M<sup>r</sup> Raph Gray and Edward, or by Edward at the least. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Received at the Strand the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of the same." *Small wafer signet*: a shield barry of 8.

Feb. 8. 499. RALPH GRAY TO SIR R. CECIL.

While attending here these 14 days on her Majesty's commissioners, with my brother Edward Gray, appointed deputy warden for my lord Ewrye for the Middle March, one William Selby gentleman porter of Berwick and his nephew Ralph Selby on account of a bill filed on the latter by one George Nevill a dweller on my lands: under pretence of a secret conference thereon, appointed with my brother in the churchyard of Berwick, did unlawfully place certain men in secret thereabouts, and in the conference, William Selby beginning an affray on my brother, who was attended by only 3 servants "farre distant from him," immediately the men in ambush suddenly assaulted my brother and servants, and Ralph Selby coming "behind one Bryan Horsley my servant, did with his rapier runne him in at the back, throughe the body, and so cruelly murdered him," my brother and the other 2 being sore hurt and wounded hardly escaping with their lives. And as the Selbys who are to receive trial, are so allied with most of the townsmen of Berwick by marriage and otherwise, and are of authority and office there, I would humbly entreat your letters to the Mayor and magistrates of the town, to have an "indifferent" trial therein—or rather if possible, to have the trial at Newcastle, Durham or York. Berwick. *Signet*: Ra. Gray.

Postscript:—I sent this bearer of purpose to my lord your father and your honor, to declare the whole circumstances of their proceedings and cruel practices herein.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 8. 500. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

The commisaioners on both sides being well affected, justice has gone forward reasonably—but I must say our commissioners are not so well "experimented" in Border causes as the Scots, whereby I fear they have overreached us a little.

A misfortune has fallen by accident. There have been almost too many Scots in the town for safety—there being 300 to 400 continually, besides "trowpes" daily coming in of 20, 30 and 40, which would be very dangerous without diligence and double watch and ward, and much increased by a matter that fell out yesterday the 7<sup>th</sup> before the commissioners in session. A bill of the Laird of Mowe's came in to be read against M<sup>r</sup> Raph Selby for 8 score sheep: he knowing himself clear, denied it, and an English vover was called on according to custom. One M<sup>r</sup> George Nevell a tenant to M<sup>r</sup> Raph Grey and a servant to my Lady Grey, vowed this bill against M<sup>r</sup> Selby, who was filed. Thereon hot words passed between Selby and Nevell, and M<sup>r</sup> Grey being by, hearing the gentleman ill spoken to, defended his cause somewhat, whereon some hard words grew between M<sup>r</sup> Selby and M<sup>r</sup> Grey—which being in the open court, "was qualified by the officers in tyme." But the Selbys as I understand, sent a challenge that night to M<sup>r</sup>

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Raph Grey and his brother Edward, to meet with the gentleman porter and his nephew. It was not in writing, and the Greys refused. But this morning M<sup>r</sup> Ralph Selby sent a new challenge to M<sup>r</sup> Edward Grey himself, whereon the latter sent a man to the gentleman porter's lodging, desiring him to meet in the churchyard, where they might debate and confer friendly on that matter. They met, but their kindness fell to such unkindness, as they fell together by the ears. The gentleman porter and M<sup>r</sup> Edward Grey are both hurt, a very honest gentleman of M<sup>r</sup> Raph Grey's killed, and 4 or 5 of either side very ill hurt. The great tumult in town grew very dangerous, and could hardly be allayed till myself ran into the street, attended by all the gentlemen pensioners, and placed armed soldiers at the corner of every street, ordering the Scots to keep their houses till I had apprehended the gentleman porter, his nephew, and the malefactors on that side, whom I put in ward: and then I went and bound M<sup>r</sup> Ralph Grey and his brethren and followers to the peace. Thus I hope the commissioners may now follow the the course of justice which has this day been stayed as above. The gentleman porter's indiscretion was very great to occasion a tumult at this time, on so small a cause, which might have proved worse than it did "had it not by Godes goodnes bene prevented."

I would humbly beg your lordship to be a mean to the Queen's Majesty for my "wives" dispatch, for I fear without it, she will hardly get an end of her business. Berwick, 12 o'clock at night, for I could write no sooner, having toiled all day in this business. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Feb. 8. 501. WILLIAM SELBY TO BURGHLEY.

Reporting the affray with the Grays in the same terms as in his letter to Sir Robert Cecil No. 498. Berwick. *Signal*: Will'm Selby.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 8. 502. SPEECHES OF SIR W. BOWES.

The effect of the speeches delivered by Sir William Bowes, knight, to the other commissioners on both sides, and at their request set down in writing.

*Extracts.*

*Under ten articles.*—Laments the grievous sufferings brought to their notice—that their proceedings hitherto, from their not having taken and given sufficient pledges of the disorderly on both sides, had but given these persons warning to stand upon their guard, the Liddesdale men having refused to appear before them at Berwick, and the "Tindaile" surnames in the town having suddenly and secretly departed without leave.

Therefore although this course should have been taken before, the English commissioners offer to deliver to their "opposites" on the 20<sup>th</sup> instant at Tordaywathe in the West March, and Ridingebourne in the East March, 40 common riding borderers to be named by them; and will "indent" so to do, if the Scottish commissioners will deliver the like number to be named by the English, at the same time and places, to be interchangeably received for the execution of justice.

2 pp. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Feb. 9. 503. ANSWERS BY THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS.

Our answer to the offers delivered to us by the opposite commissioners on 1<sup>st</sup> February instant.

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*Extracts.**Under five heads:—*

They agree to join sincerely in redress of offences with the opposites so far as the treaties and their commission authorise them; but not to deal with matters touching the honour of either prince. Having summoned their wardens to attend their sitting they declare that their non-appearance before the commission rises, shall be no impediment to due justice. Subscribed by Dunkell, George Houme, Fawdenside, M. G. Younge.

Delivered 9 February 1596. "Copia vera: T. Duresm."\*

1 p. *Indorsed.*

## c. Feb. 9. 504. NOTES BY THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS.

Examination of the answer by the Scottish commissioners to our offers.

*Extracts.*

*Under four heads.*—They express dissatisfaction—"according to the lawe rule—*Dolus versatur in generalibus*,"—winding up thus.—"To conclude, insufficient and indirect answeres, given by wise men to offers direct and of equall necessitie to both, must necessarilie argue want of will, or want of powre. The one is unjust in them selves, th'other were dishonorable in the Kinge." "Copia vera: T. Duresm."\*

2 pp. *Indorsed.*

## Feb. 9. 505. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I would be very glad to hear by your self, how you "like of" those things I sent by Ralphe Atkinson, hoping when the commissioners have ended, to have leave to come up and conclude fully with you to your content.

I write in this haste to satisfy your lordship in some matters, wherein I hear from some "towards mee" at London, whom you have questioned lately of my dealing maliciously (as you had been informed) with divers of the Carletons, to which they could make no answer—though I have partly before certified the Privy Council thereon: that in truth I have no way dealt with the Carletons, but according to law and justice. At my warden court, as touched in former letters, I impannelled a jury of the most worshipful and sufficient gentlemen in my wardenry, "som, yea most of them, eyther of consengynitie or at least of affinitie, with the Carletons," and by them was one Guye Carleton indicted of three several bills of March treasons, and afterwards by another like jury, he was fonnd guilty of two of the same, *viz.*, for horse stealing, and conveying them into Scotland, the penalty whereof by March law is death: which he worthily deserved, for besides the above, I had anfficient proof against him of 9 or 10 felonies at least, mostly confessed by himself, but could not inquire in that court. I may truly and boldly say to you, "he was one of the baddest members" in my wardenry, and all or most of the gentlemen in it will say no less. And for Thomas and Anthony Carleton, who were indicted by the same jury of several March treasons: to satisfy you I deal not extremely with them, I will tell you what more I am credibly informed against them, but not yet laid to their charge, *viz.*, that Anthooy about Martinmas last, kept in his house 2 days and 2 nights together, oue George Sibsou Scotsman, who committed all the outrages in Gilsland this last summer, and "is at Baeluchs comaund," and there plotted with him to steal Richard Hederington's goods and cattle: and

\* These 4 words holograph.

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accordingly the next night, Simson and other Scotsmen broke Hederington's house, and carried off 10 oxen and kyne, and so hurt him that he "presently" died. And last midsummer, Thomas Carleton kept Simson in his house at Askerton, and so dealt, that 2 days after, Simson and "one Wattie Harden" a chief officer under Buckleugh, the Laird of Egerton and 200 more Scots, ran a day foray in Gilsland at Rinyon hills, West Hall, the Soglin, and Ticrossock, within Thomas Carleton's office, and none of them "moch above a mile" from Askerton, Carleton's mansion house, and carried away 300 oxen and kyne, a horse and a nag.

And as Lancelot and some others of the Carletons are desirous of trial before your honours of the Privy Council, I am well contented if you grant it, so that I be there to show your lordship that they were the sole procurers of the spoil in Gilsland this last summer, and will prove it by "a favorite" of their own thoroughly acquainted with all their courses, who shall avouch it, and if need be, greater matters before your lordship. And though I have hitherto forborne the outlawry of Thomas Carleton, &c., as M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther promised he should come in, asking a stay of proceedings, and to appoint none to his office, to which I agreed—yet as I have never heard from M<sup>r</sup> Lowther since, and Carleton himself in most contemptuous manner keeps Thurlway castle in my lord Eure's wardenry, "and utters against mee most railing words to despite mee more," I am now purposed (God willing) on Saturday next to outlaw him, forced thereto not only by law, but in equity, justice and honor. Yet I am "aminded" to give him 20 days' respite, and if he come not in, "to sensure him a fugitive." Desiring in the meantime by your honor to know her Majesty's pleasure for appointing another in his place.

And I will further put your lordship in remembrance for the soldiers, and if it please her Majesty to send Captain Yaxley with his 50 "to be dooing for Gilsland"—it being so impoverished by the treachery of the said land-sergeant. And I pray for their speedy coming; for I assure your lordship on Friday last the 4<sup>th</sup> instant the said Thomas Carleton land-sergeant, with his man William Tailler, and another gentleman and his man, "whom I shall make your lordship aquainted with hereafter," all met with Buckleugh, Hobb Etwood larde of Burnehead, Scottesmen, secretly at a place called Bells hangh within Lord Evers' wardenry, and had much conference, "which I am very sure of, was neyther good to mee nor to my office; and at thire departure shaked hands with great kindenes, and it shall goe hard but I shall know more hereafter." Carlisle castle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

This last night I had the great outlaw Antoinnes Edward betrayed in England, and sent 20 of my own men with others to take, but missed him, and got his son "which I tooke in part of payment for his frinds." Some of the gentlemen here make great offers for his liberty.

3½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. . 506. SCROPE TO SIR R. CECIL.

Though I have letters from the commissioners for delivery of bills committed by Buclugh or any in his office, I have deferred till I know her Majesty's and their lordships' pleasure therein. For my last direction from their lordships was, "that her Majestie wolde not enter into any course of justice with Buclugh untill shee had received an honorable satisfaction for Ducluth his proude attempt to this castle."

Our commissioners stand "presisely" on delivery of Cesforth first for taking Roger Woodrington out of Swinburne castle, before according any other matter. And the Scots profess to have no power to deliver him. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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Feb. 10. 507. SIR W. BOWES TO SIR R. CECIL.

Giving him the reasons why he thought an exchange of the principal malefactors as pledges, would facilitate business. That in private conference he found all the Scots except Fawdonsyde inclined to it, who had requested him to put it in writing "this day," as the inclosed copy shows. Relates the King's conduct, entertaining Sir Robert Kerr in court "with extraordinarie graces" instead of imprisoning him, or sending him to Berwick to forward the service.

The near alliance of the wardens, Buccleuch having married Cesforth's sister, and being "double coosen germaine" to Johnston, besides a strict bond of kindness with him, joins these three men fast together.

The present state of Scotland, and the matter between the reconciled lords and the Kirk, which seems to stand in suspicious terms between the King and his barons and "burrowes," may hinder the King from levying forces to compel the borderers to make delivery. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: ". . . Rec. at the Strand the xvij<sup>th</sup> of the same."

Feb. 11. 508. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

I send your lordship inclosed the paper with (1) our offers; (2) the answers of our "opposites;" and (3) the examination of these answers. Our whole course of proceeding has been grounded on these last, as best for advancing her Majesty's service, shown in our general letters, my five privately to your lordship since 18<sup>th</sup> January, and four to "M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie" since that time.

In my last to him yesterday, I inclosed copy of my motion as to delivery of pledges, which the Scots seem to like well, so that they mean to dispatch M<sup>r</sup> George Younge to procure the King's order to put it in execution: so as her Majesty may also be pleased to signify her approval, and command our concurrence. Here I must humbly beseech her Majesty's pardon for assuming so much in the interpretation of the commission, and these matters as to caution and pledges, which necessity alone, not heedless presumption, enforced, and that strait charge be given to the wardens for delivery of the persons required, which must be done with policy and secrecy.

Your lordship has heard of the disordered accident lately happening in this town, which inferred some offence to the opposite commissioners, as it sprang first in our session and gave occasion to the "ludest of the two Tindailes without leave to gett themselves home."

I may compare the state of the whole border on both sides to be like "a winter warr" by opposite garrisons, whereof the Scots have 3000 horse "watchefullie commaunded by three suche persons, for strength of body, courage and witt, or freindshippe amonge them selves, and reputation with their followers, as no mans memorie now livinge, can matche of borderers at one tyme in that nation. The Englishe may be about 1000, but dispersed-lie planted, and unlike the other, in that they want suche wickedlie disposed generalls to performe so memorable attemptes, as doe their opposites. Although contynuall intercourse of winninge and loosinge of goods do ebb and flowe like the sea, yett the gaine hath ever of late rested in the strongest takers handes, and forceth the loosers, eyther to take againe, or to wast by little and little to nothinge; so as, which of eyther syde are theevishe and stronge, must of necessitie make the opposite syde eyther thieves or beggers. Where-ont may be gathered this strange conclusion, that where suche an opposite neighbour is founde, nothing is more pernicious to a frontier, then is, in the commaunder, peaceable justice, and in the obeyer, patient innocencie." As peace and religion cannot bear this, the causes must be "oppugned" by any means.

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These causes are three (1) the said dangerous wardens; (2) the boldness and unity of the ridingsurnames; and (3) their support upon other men's goods. The remedies as I said in my former letters, are (1) that Cesford and Buccleuch be imprisoned by the King till her Majesty is satisfied, and more peaceable men placed in their offices; (2) that the chief of the Border surnames be interchangeably delivered without condition, &c., and (3) that redress under the bills be proceeded with at once. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

- (1) Offers by the English; (2) answers by the Scottish commissioners, and (3) examination by the former of the answers.

In three parallel colums. Copies of Nos. 502-504 by the commissioners' clerk.

4 pp. *A broad sheet. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

Feb. 12. 509. R. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

My son Raphe Bowes and Christofer Shepersou my servant having fully paid the Berwick garrison at Michaelmas last, I learn that the same, with the works &c. there, exceeds the receipts by 835*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, as by my servant's account brought to me which he will show to your lordship, with due vouchers, &c. I humbly beseech your lordship to procure and give order for payment to the said bearer, whereon he will satisfy the poor men to whom the same "rightlie belongeth." And that it would please you to give order for the necessary works to be done, referring all to this bearer's report who is well acquainted therewith. Edinburgh. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 15. 510. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

I am loth to write for any more works, the last being so far beyond my expectation chargeable to the Queen; yet it was certified and done under your honor's warrant, and does not itself exceed so far, but the "dependantes hanginge" upon it chiefly raised the cost.

I am forced however to remind your honor that I long since reported a breach begun in one of the round towers of the castle towards Scotland, which 10*l.* or 20*l.* would theu have mended. But for lack of this, "it is now fallen all cleane downe to the grownd," and as your honor sees, the officers now demand 200*l.* to restore it. Also the "longe brydge" is in great decay and danger of overthrow unless repaired. There is in Chopwell wood 30 tons of timber ready felled and cut out by your honor's warrant last year, yet it lies "rottinge" there for want of money to defray the felling and "fraught" hither. There are also certain "hoees and brackes in the ould wall next the river nere to the Briggate," that could now be mended for little, but if left till next winter, ten times the charge will not do it. The "White walle" is much broken, and if not looked to in time, will fall down.

If it would please you to appoint out of the 1500*l.* allowed yearly over the garrison pay, such fit portion as might in the discretion of the governor and officers of works, be applied to necessary repairs at once, without waiting for M<sup>r</sup> Treasurer's warrant and order, without which we cannot do 40*s.* worth,—it would save her Majesty heavy charges. But this round tower must be repaired at once, for we lie wide open to Scotland.

I pray your honor for God's sake, to help my wife away with some dispatch, "I care not what," for her cost of lying there is more chargeable



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than the suit will be worth—and I assure you on the faith of an honest man, this suit is dearly purchased, “all being knowen,” even if I get it; but I beg some answer to end this continual charge. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 15. 511. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Though on the 28<sup>th</sup> January I wrote to your lordship excusing myself of the slander that I supported the Grames in disobedience to Lord Scrope, I find it is still continued to my injury, and I pray you to allow me private or public hearing therein, and not to credit the same or other reports till you have my answer.

I find a “brute” current that I licensed one Tom Armstrong resident in Lord Scrope’s march, to go into Scotland. My answer to your lordship is, that the man was resident and had his goods in my march, and as he repented of offences formerly committed here, and did worthy service to the Queen, I licensed him as one of my march, to confer with Scots. Though I suffer wrongs by my neighbours, yet I assure you I neither do nor will, support any in their marches against any of her Majesty’s wardens.

I humbly beg continuance of the 80 soldiers’ pay for 6 months longer, for if withdrawn, the country will miss them. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: quartered shield, mantlings, esquire’s helmet, and crest: a scallop shell held between 2 lions’ paws—damaged.*

Feb. 16. 512. ACRIGGE AND CRANE TO BURGHLEY.

Sending him a “briefe” of last year’s works and the warrants for same—reporting the fall of the great round tower 18 yards high and 17 yards “in compasse,” which will take 200*l.* to repair—and other damages as in Carey’s letter No. 510, with the same suggestion as to the 1500*l.* there contained. Berwick. *Signed*: Will’m Acrigge, John Crane.

1 p. *Written by Crane. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Carey’s seal.*

Feb. 17. 513. WILLIAM SELBY TO BURGHLEY.

Your lordship’s sundry favours, especially my late preferment to the office I hold here, imboldened me to acquaint you with “ane accident” between M<sup>r</sup> Edward Gray and me, and though I understood it was “dyscredited with” you by letters, &c., from others, yet I did not trouble you with my affirmations, but rather referred the credit of us both, “to the verdict of the coroners inquest, which is now delivered up, and conteineth not ouely all matters of substance that I informed, but even more largely, for declaration of my innocencye, and the said Edward Grayes pretended and purposed malice, out of his eldest brothers, his owne, and ther servantes depositions, which I then could not knowe.” My nephew is found guilty of Bryan Horsley’s death by misadventure, in defence of my life; and myself and the rest bound over to answer at the next gaol delivery, which I am very willing to undergo, trusting God will look mercifully on my innocence, and not suffer me in old age to perish by my adversaries’ malice. Praying your honor to retain your wonted good opinion of me till the event be known. Berwick. *Signed*: William Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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Feb. 17. 514. THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

By your letters of the 10<sup>th</sup> we perceive to our comfort that you allow of our proceedings with Scotland, though you think the progress very small, owing to our difference with them on the question touching Sir Robert Ker. But it may please your lordships to hear, that though for a fortnight together that question greatly perplexed both sides, and hindered service, as we could not win our opposites to the conformity we thought reasonable, yet rather than we should separate *re infecta*, we at length agreed to certain terms set down under their hands touching that "scruple" of Sir Robert Ker's presumptuous and hostile act, "*vidz.*, that her Majesty shall in due time receive such just amends and good satisfaction for the same, as either the lawe, the treaties, the custome of the Borders, or example will permitt." And having had Sir Robert Ker "arrested" by their letter and found foul on their honors, of the bill formerly exhibited against him, we proceeded with reciprocal complaints exhibited from day to day, beginning with the East March which is almost finished, and have entered a good way into the bills of the Middle March, whereof (especially on our side) the number is wonderful, of horrible murders and "maymes," besides insupportable losses by burglaries, &c., enough to make any Christian ears tingle, and true English hearts bleed, to see our ancient enemy so long prevail against us!

We trust you will approve of our capitulation about Sir Robert Ker, as not inconvenient in the circumstances, nor a hindrance to her Majesty's further princely dealing with the King. We have in the very terms directed by your letter, intimated to the commissioners, as they have informed us the King is shortly going to the Borders, and they must repair to court before the convention to be held at S' Johnston about the end of this month—where they may confer with him and his council on the overtures we have made and shall make to them, for expedition of business here, or at Carlisle when we meet there. For we shall be forced to hold the rest of our meetings there or near it, as Lord Scrope and his march cannot well come here—and also as "the Maxwells and Johnstons are at such deadly foode, both betwene them selves and in these partes, that they dare not travell so farre from hoome, nor approche so neere this towne." Bertwick. (Subscribed by the 4 commissioners). "*Copia vera* : T. Duresm."\*

1½ pp. *Written by a clerk. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 17. 515. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHELY.

We received yesterday your lordship's letter of 10<sup>th</sup> in answer to ours of the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant, along with public letters from the Council, directing us to deliver her Majesty's pleasure to the commissioners, and by them to the King himself, touching Sir Robert Ker's invasion. We have replied to their lordships, the copy whereof your lordship may peruse, and either cause to be delivered or suppressed as you think fit.

We are sorry to find that our judgments served us no better than to "depende" so long on her Majesty's behalf on the point of satisfaction for Sir Robert Ker's invasion, that being matter, as your lordship now instructs us, not committed to us to deal with under our commission, "but accydentally to complayne of the violation of the peace thereby, &c.: which wee are sorie wee did not before conceive to be her Majestes meaninge: fearging to offend therein, for that the wordes of our instruccions seemed peremptory to us that wee should receive 'just amendes and good satisfaction' before wee entred to the hearinge of any other matter." But seeing her Majesty's resolution to reserve that cause to be treated of between herself and the

\* These 4 words holograph.

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King, we have acquainted the commissioners accordingly, trusting the composition we made with them shall not hinder her Majesty's purpose.

It greatly comforts our hearts to hear her Majesty is determined no longer to bear these injuries, &c., "unrighted," our declaration whereof did not a little "appalle" the commissioners, when we urged them, that the King, instead of punishing Cesford, had taken him, "not only to be of, but to lodge in, his privy chamber," which we said must more highly offend her Majesty.

For their demand for fugitives, we thought it sufficient that they alleged them to be traitors to the King. But in our next, we shall endeavour to certify you of their "haviour," the special crimes charged, and how long and where they have remained in England, and also inquire what English fugitives there are in Scotland fit to be demanded (as your lordship advises), not hitherto knowing of any but some base thieves outlawed for felony.

We inclose copy of the Scots' answer to our offers, and our reply thereto by way of examination.

They lodge all together at the house of one widow Anderson a vintner in this town. Their company of attendants is so small, as they cannot be "much offensive" to the people here. Victuals are at an exceeding high rate, which we think hastens them to Carlisle, as we mentioned in our letters to the lords.

In our next we shall advertise you of the day for our meeting there, not yet fixed. We labour to keep them as long as we can, for we fear their sudden departure will delay the good success of this negotiation if it does not defeat it, for we suspect the King but "temporizes" till Mr Roger Ashton's return, and as their few bills are ended, they use all shifts and cunning to hinder calling the many bills of the Middle March, hoping they will never come on, which will raise a wonderful outcry of many a hundred poor people, and obloquy of us and our associates, though they and not we, deserve it. Berwick. *Signed:* Tobie Duresm, Will'm Bowes, F. Slyngisbe, Clement Colmore.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Bill against Scrope, &c.)

To the Lords commissioners of England.

(1) The commissioners for Scotland, on behalf of the King their sovereign, charge Lord Scrope, warden, &c., that in the beginning of August last, he sent and directed 2000 men for the most part the Queen's waged men, under his commandment who by his "causinge and houndinge out," invaded Liddesdale, raised fire, and "brent" 24 onettes of houses, and carried off all the goods within 4 miles of bounds. They coupled the men their prisoners "tua and tua together in a leashe like doggis. Of barnis and wemen three or fower scoore, they stripped of their clothis and sarkis, leaving them naked in that sort, exposit to the injurie of wind and weather, whereby nyne or tenne infantes perished within eight daies thereafter." The committers wherefore were on return "reset reid hand" with the goods by Lord Scrope, "uttering thereby his rathabitio" of the said invasion, murder, &c., in high contempt of the King's Majesty. The said commissioners hereby require their said opposites to join with them in due trial, &c. thereof according to the laws of the Marches. (Names of the 4 Scots commissioners.)

(2) Answer of the English commissioners to said bill.

They object to the allegations as "indefinite ambiguous and indirect," preventing them from joining issue in trial, &c., which otherwise they would willingly do, and therefore intreat (1) that the propositions may be parti-

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culmar plain, and direct; (2) to shape their demand so as to agree with their former answer on the 9<sup>th</sup> instant, restricting their powers under their commission to ordinary attempts; (3) to recal their resolution to remove their session to Carlisle or Dumfries in all matters of the West March, where this business may be treated; (4) to see that their Liddesdale informers have not amplified things—as 100 soldiers into 2000—that 9 or 10 naked children perished, the time being “the greatest heat of some,” &c.; (5) that substantial points be handled directly, distinguishing *bona fide* between overt actions, and privy or suspected counsels, such as the supposed invasions attributed to Lord Scrope and the Governor of Berwick, “who moved not their foote” from their charges, wherefore their invasions, compared to Cesford and Buccleuch’s, “are as pictures and shadowes to bodies and lyfe;” (6) that having nearly finished the matters of the East March and entered the bills of the Middle March, they may finish the latter before their departure—and also have a day fixed for meeting on the West March, to advertise her Majesty thereof, and prepare Lord Scrope, &c.

“Thus muche beinge signed by the Englyshe commissioners was presented to their opposites, and by them received without further demaunde, till the expected meeting in the West. Whereunto may be further added as foloweth”:—

[These begin with arguments that Lord Scrope was warranted in lawful reprisal on the Liddesdale thieves who disobey their own King, and are countenanced by their keeper Buccleuch.] It is no novelty, but an ancient custom, for the English warden to assist his opposite, and the keeper of Liddesdale, to ride on and “herrie” such thieves, and on occasion, to do so at his own hand, as in Henry lord Scrope’s time, when he and Sir John Forster rode against Martin’s tower, “and many suche examples.” Buccleuch, besides (1) surprising the second fortress of the Queen’s border; (2) slaying 24 of her subjects, including 16 of her soldiers; (3) has bound himself with all the notorious riders in Liddesdale, Eskdale, and Ewsdale, and after asserting that he paid “out of his own purse,” half of the sworn bill of Tyndale of 800*l.*, which the King commanded him to answer, joined himself with the Ellotts and Armstrongs, to plunder Tyndale for demanding the balance, slaying in their own houses 7 of the Charletons and Dodds the chief claimants. And being imprisoned by the King, he made a sporting time of it, hunting and hawking, and on his release did worse than ever, maintaining his “coösens,” Will of Hardskarth, Watt of Harden, &c., to murder, burn, and spoil as before.

The people under his charge, Ellotts, Armstrongs, Nicksons, “&c.,” have of late years murdered above 50 of the Queen’s good subjects, many in their own houses, or on their lawful business in daytime—as 6 honest Allandale men going to Hexham market, cut in pieces. For each of the last 10 years, they have spoiled the West and Middle Marches of 5000*l.* In short they are intolerable, and redress being unattainable, though repeatedly demanded by the Queen and warden, the justifiable reprisal ordered by her Majesty in necessary defence of her own border, cannot in equity be called an invasion, but rather “honourable and neighbourlike assistaunce, to maintayne the inviolable amitie betwene the princes and realmes, against the proude violators thereof in eyther nation, yf it may have construction agreeable to the manifolde experiences hadd by the opposites of her Majesties royall kindnes and favour. . . . To conclude—this action of the Lord Scropes is to be reputed and judged as a ‘pune,’ an auncient border tearme, intending no other then a reprisall, which albeit of late yeares her Majesties peaceable justice hath restrayned, yett upon thextremeties mentioned beinge revived, yt is rightly tearmed and taken for armed justice, differinge from peaceable justice onely in forme, beinge in matter and substance one and the same.”

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(Deliverance by the Privy Council.)

The circumstances of Lord Scrope's action being admitted to be true, and the several steps, *viz.*, complaint of the keeper of Liddesdale and his people made to the King, reported to her Majesty, demand of redress by her not answered, whereon Scrope's action followed, it becomes a question in law whether it may be justified as a lawful reprisal.

"The lords of her Majesties most honourable privie counsell have appointed you, M<sup>r</sup> D. Cesar, D. Fludde, D. Dun, and D. Fletcher to set downe your resolucions in writing, shewing all due circumstances requisite to a lawfull reprisall, and whether the fact of the Lord Scroope afore expressed be justifiable by the Civill lawe." *Signed*: Ro. Cecyll.

8 pp. *Chiefly in one handwriting. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

Feb. . 516. SCROPE'S ANSWER TO THE LIDDSDALE BILL.

*Extracts.*

He answers that the complaints in the bill are mostly false—the values (upwards of 8000*l.* sterling), are maliciously heightened to the "shadowinge and over rewlinge" of the manifold burnings, plunderings, spoils, &c., &c., committed by the Liddesdale complainers and their accomplices within his own March, at thie special procurement and instance of Buccleuch. Of all which as severally committed, Lord Scrope duly complained both to the King and her Majesty's ambassador for redress, which though promised, was never made. And in the end, to prevent his March being left waste and uninhabited, reprisal became necessary on the offenders, the King's true subjects being little harmed thereby.

The goods so taken were divided as far as they would go among the sufferers in his March, though but a small relief of their previous losses; neither Lord Scrope nor his servants taking any benefit. And some were redelivered to Liddesdale claimants, alleged to be true men.

The value in all did not amount to 500*l.* sterling, including the redelivered goods, and he considers it may be best dealt with along with the bills of his March against Liddesdale in the regular way. *Not signed.*

3 pp. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed.*

Feb. 18. 517. DELIVERANCE BY THE COMMISSIONERS.

18 Feb. 1596.—It is thought meetest both for redress of bills, and quiet of the Border, till full delivery is made, "that a certaine number of eache surnames of broken men on eyther side being of equal ranke," named by the opposite realm, shall be delivered respectively, and kept till full redress on either side. (Subscribed by seven commissioners.) "Copia vera: T. Duresm." \*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *All written by a clerk. Indorsed.*

Feb. 18. 518. SCOTTISH FUGITIVES DEMANDED.

"James Douglas somtyme of Spott, Archbald Wauchope sometyme appearand of Nudrie, and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Cranston of Morestoun," were forfeited for the raides of Halyrudhouse and Fawkland, and remain so.

"M<sup>r</sup> Archbald Douglas is denounced his heynous rebell for his not appearinge before his Majestie and counsaile, to have answered upon the counterfaytinge of his Majesties greate seale, and usurping of the name and

\* These 4 words holograph.

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style of his highnes ambassadour without commission or warrant from his Majestie."

Alexander Home of Prendergaist was denounced rebel for non-appearance to answer for the murder of unquihle George Home of Spott committed by him. (The 4 Scots commissioners' names appended.) "Copia vera: T. Duresm."\*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *All written by a clerk. Indorsed:* The names of certain principal fugitives required by the commissioners of Scotland to be entered thether.

## Feb. 19. 519. PROCLAMATION, &amp;c., BY THE COMMISSIONERS.

At Berwick 19<sup>th</sup> February 1596.

The Lords Commissioners of both realms having now taken and filed the greatest part of the attempts between the East and Middle Marches since the dissolving of last commission, appoint the wardens or their deputies to take the few remaining without delay, viz., on Thursday next at Ryding, where English bills only of the East and Middle March shall be taken, and Friday after at Carham for Scottish bills only, and so continuing till finished: that the two middle wardens or deputies shall meet on Tuesday thereafter the 1<sup>st</sup> March, at Kirknewton, for Scottish bills only, and on Wednesday after at Kirkyatton for English bills only, so continuing daily till all the bills of these Marches (except Liddesdale reserved to the commissioners' meeting at Carlisle) are fully disposed of. They are to sit every day except the "Sabaoth" only, one day in one realm, the next in the other. The commissioners shall meet again on the 10<sup>th</sup> March, at the accustomed place near Greatney kirk, and there agree on the place where the "remanent" of this treaty shall be prosecuted. They order proclamation hereof at the market cross of Berwick and other needful places on both Marches, and prohibit all breaches of the peace during the treaty and for 40 days after.

Subscribed by Tobie Duresm., Will'm Bowes, F. Slingsbye, Clement Colmore, Dunkell, George Houme, Fawdonsyde, M. G. Young. "Copia vera: T. Duresm."\*

2 pp. *A broad sheet. All written by a clerk. Indorsed:* "A coppie of the proclamacion at Barwick for contynninge the treatie, &c."

(2) Another copy, different writing. *Indorsed by the bishop.*

## Feb. 19. 520. EAST MARCH BILLS.

Breviate of all the bills called and fyled by the commissioners of England and Scotland, and the wardens of the East Marches, from their first sittig in the Tolbooth of Berwick, viz., 1<sup>st</sup> Feb. 1596, till the departure of the Scots thence on the 19<sup>th</sup>—also the number of English bills then uncalled.

Bill of invasion for the Middle March, filed by the commissioners, 1; bills "foule" for murders, 3; murders not yet filed, 6; bills foul by "vowrye," with the "harmes," 20; foul absolute for non-appearance, 80; foul, 5; foul by the Scots assisers, 18; foul conditionally, 1; foul and agreed of the principal, 7; foul of "trowblance," 1.

Bills "fowle" by "vowrye" of the principall, 14; foul by the commissioners of the principal, 10; foul of the principal, 5; foul by their own confession of the principal, 19; foul of mutilation, [ ]; foul per bound of the principal, 5; referred to the Scots' assyse, 37; bills referred to the Scots' assyse, not delivered by them "in agayne of that number," 9; "quytt" by the said Scots' assyse, 11; agreed, 4; "quytt" by oath, 7; 3 bills

\* These 4 words holograph.

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"without compasse" of the commission, whereof one filed by them on the Laird of Wetherburne, and the other 2 by the wardens for lack of appearance.

"So the wholl number of the Englishe billes fyled with the rigour are"

Bills fyled with the principal . . . . .	143
Bills agreed, referred, and quit by oath and Scots' assise	53
	31

Total as aforesaid, . . . . . 227

"And yet the remayne of the compleyntes enrolled for the East Marches amount the number of fourtene score hylles. God send good redresse for them."

Breviate of the Scots' bills called in like manner from 1<sup>st</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> February 1596.

Bills "fyled by vowry with the rigour," 20; absolute foul for non-appearance, 21; foul by English assisers, 7; foul, 3; foul conditionally, 5; foul and agreed, 10; foul of "troubleance by vowry with rigour," 1.

Foul by vowry of the principal, 2; foul by the commissioners of the principal, 4; foul by their own confession of the principal, 11; foul of mutilation, 1; foul per bond, 2; referred to the commissioners, 10; referred to the English assise, 23; quit by the English assise, 11; foul by the same, 7; referred to the English warden, 1; referred to the warden's indent of the Middle March, 1; referred to arbitrators, 1; agreed, 1; without compass of the commission, 2; quit by oath, 18; prisoners freed, 4.

So the number of Scots' bills "fyled with rigour is"	74
Bills fyled with the principal . . . . .	20
Bills referred, agreed, and quit . . . . .	68
Prisoners at liberty . . . . .	4

In all together . . . . .	162
And four prisoners freed . . . . .	4

2½ pp. *Written by a clerk. Indorsed.*

(2) Another copy in same writing.

Feb. 4-19. 521. MIDDLE MARCH BILLS AGAINST SCOTLAND.

Berwick, 4 February 1596.

*Extracts.*

Bills filed by the commissioners in the "uper house" for murders only.

Gilbert Charlton of Boughthill, on the Laird of Buccleuch and William Elliot of Lariston for the murder of the Charltons in April "93."

9 Feb.—Bills fyled, for lack of answer by a vower, by confession, and bills quit by oath.

Bill of Sir John Forster's, on William Davison of Craggsheel man to Thomas Carr of the Cragg, &c., for want of answer valued to 54*l.*, done in November "96."

10<sup>th</sup> Feb.—A bill of William Hall of Cartington and another, on the Sheriff of Cavers, by his own confession, value 220*l.*, done in Aug<sup>t</sup> "96." A bill of William Hall of Oterburne, on Gilbert and Hector Lorance for lack of answer, 19*l.* 10*s.* done in November "96." A bill of M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Forster's, on Andrew Stewart man to the Laird of Ridell, &c., for want of answer, value 24*l.*, done in September "95." A bill of Thomas Selbie's of Bitleston, on Hector Trumble of Stoney letch, for lack of answer.

12<sup>th</sup> February.—William Fenwick of Wallington, on Jock Robson of Craling hall, Jock Robson "slesher," and Andrew Robson "short neck," value 30*l.*, done November "90."

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14<sup>th</sup> February.—Henry Wodrington esquire, on James Douglas of the Cavers on the principal, by Robert Anerson "at the comand of the Sherif leter," value 300 kine and oxen, done in November "96."

15<sup>th</sup> February.—Charles Slingsbie on Sim Hall of Osnam, Will and Hob Hall of Heavyside, and William Mowe of Hownam, value 30*l.*, done in July "88."

16<sup>th</sup> February.—Thomas Collingwood of Eslington on George Pringle of Tanelawe, lack of answer, value 5*l.* and 8 sheep, done in August "95."

17<sup>th</sup> February.—James Raymes of South Midelton on Sir Robert Carr by his own confession, value 100 marks, done in August "94."

Cuthbert Alyson of Waperdon, on Jock Haslop of Swindon *alias* "Jock the laird," for lack of answer, value 13*l.* 10*s.*, done in July "96."

Thomas Storey of Over Trewhit's bill, quit by the Laird of Mow and Jo. Mow of Mow mains, and David Pringle of Hownam.

19 February.—Robert Spragon's bill, on Peter and William Hall of Capup, for lack of answer, value 120 sheep, done Sept. "91."

Alexander Lighton of Tossomyle, on Henry Davison of Morbattle, and Ja. Carr the bastard of Corbit house, of the principal, by James Carr of Corbit house his father, done Dec. "95."

12 *pp.* *Marginal notes, &c., by Eure. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Feb. 4-19. 522. MIDDLE MARCH BILLS AGAINST ENGLAND.

*Extracts.*

Berwick, 4 Feb. 1596.

Bill filed on Henry Wodrington of Swinburne by the commissioners, for the goods, given in by James Douglas of Cavers, and the murder referred to the honor of the Laird of Wedderburne and Fawdonsyde, to be tried before delivery.

9<sup>th</sup> February.—The old laird of Cesford's bill, on Cuthbert and Thomas Stewart of Elinghame, brothers, for non-appearance.

Robert Carr "person" of Morbotle's bill, foule by Nicholas Forster of Hethpoule upon James Wanles.

Thomas Carr of Cavers' bill, "foule and agreed for the principall on William and Mathew Storey, and the charges of a vower referred to the pnsuers oathe."

14<sup>th</sup> February.—A bill of the Laird of Mecaston foule and agreed, on Michael Hedle *alias* "hogskynes" and another.

15<sup>th</sup> February.—The Goodman of Gateshawe's bill, on Jo. Pot the bastard of Yardope, for lack of answer.

16<sup>th</sup> February.—The Laird of Mowe's bill against Efram Wodrington quit by the commissioners.

The Laird of Crenston's, foul on Lyonell Hearon of Eshet, for lack of answer.

17<sup>th</sup> February.—The Laird of Grenhead's bill, on John Davison *alias* "hande pande," for lack of answer.

Water Rotherforth of Hundele's bill, on James Nell of Woperdeu, for lack of answer.

19<sup>th</sup> February.—Michael Watson of Mirrycrooke's bill, on Tho. Read of Barrowtowne and Laird Manners of Trevhit, and Tho. Erington of Bulington, for lack of answer.

6½ *pp.* *Notes and headings by Eure. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Feb. 20. 523. EURE TO SIR R. CECIL.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> instant I received by the hands of Raphe Masoun her Majesty's messenger, a *Dedimus potestatem* directed to myself, Robert



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Delavale and Edward Gray esquires, to take the oath of George Muschamp esq., as sheriff of Northumberland, also a writ of discharge to M<sup>r</sup> Bradforthe the old sheriff, with instructions by said Masoun by word from the Lords of the Privy Council, directing us to take the new sheriff bound by sureties to her Majesty to be true accountant of his sheriffwick. Whereon yesterday I and the said Robert Delavale have taken the said George Muschamp's oath as sheriff before the said Raphe Masoun, who in our presence delivered him his "patten" of the said office: and he has promised to enter bond as aforesaid to her Majesty; whereon your honour may be pleased to direct your commission to some gentleman here to take the same and return it to Exchequer as he shall be directed. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Received the xxvij<sup>th</sup> of June."

June-  
Feb. 19.

524. WEST MARCH BILLS AGAINST SCOTLAND.

Breviate of the attempts committed by Sir Walter Scott knighte lard of Buccleuch, keeper of Liddesdale, Walter Scott called "Watt of Harden," &c., adherents and favourers of Buccleuch, on her Majestys subjects in the West Marches, since his attempt at Carlisle castle.

[A repetition of the complaints in former papers, especially Nos. 330, 356, 399. The following are new, being done since the commissioners' meeting.]

23<sup>d</sup> February.—Robert Tweddell of Birdoswald and his neighbours complain on Pawtie of the Hairelawe, &c., for burning and cutting up their doors, and taking 40 kye and oxen, 40 sheep and insight.

19<sup>th</sup> February.—William Musgrave of Haiton esq. and his tenants, on Edward Carliell of Lymeclewghe and Geordie Bell of Annaunde, &c., for taking 12 horse and mares.

9 pp. *Double broad sheets. Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed.*

Feb] 23. 525. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

Having been here these six weeks, and seen the good usage in the mayor and burgesses towards us the Queen's commissioners, and those of Scotland, and our retinues, and the great multitude of English and "Scottish" resorting hither during the treaty, I cannot but commend the readiness and good will of the inhabitants every way. And in consideration of their good behaviour and carefulness of the security of the place, &c., I would move your lordship on their suit, to grant a licence to M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Parkinson the mayor, "an honest sufficient merchant, and a man of good government," to provide such a quantity of peas, beans and malt from Lynn or other places where it may be spared, as you think fit for their relief, that it may be "uttered" to the best ease of the said town; and so your lordship shall do a goodly charitable deed, and bind a great number of men, women and children to make their daily requests to God for you. Berwick. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 24. 526. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO SIR R. CECIL.

Had I not found that one of my associates specially advertised your honor of our proceedings, who was better able than myself to discourse thereof, "myself also would have made one among the most troublesome." These were the causes of my silence, which I now break "*(Dies enim dolorem minuit)*," because what all men must do at length, wise men will do betime.

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In answer to your letter on M<sup>r</sup> Brackenburie's behalf, I am more beholden to him than there is cause, for his good report to you of my service in these parts. But for his old suit, he knows my old answer, which his friends can witness, and there is no fault or delay in me, "onlie he must expect the tyme" till the law gives effect to his desire, which I see not how to "accelerate" till God call the party that stands between it and him. So he need not have asked your honour to be his mediator, unless the whole power had been in me, which he knows to be chiefly in others. Newcastle.  
Signed: Tobie Daresm.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wajer signet: official, indistinct.

Feb. 26. 527. R. BOWES TO THE COMMISSIONERS.

On receipt of your last of the 22<sup>d</sup> and note of the five attempts in Gilsland, with Lord Scrope's letter and note thereon, I moved the King for redress of this "barbarous fact done under trewes," &c., and "warmelie" laid before him the foul dishonour and indignities offered to her Majesty and her realm, who could not "disgest" them. After some excuses, that thieves and broken people would steal and reave by nature and custom, he at length agreed to give order to Buccleuch to make speedy amends, before the next meeting of commissioners on the 10<sup>th</sup> March. Yesterday he sent Sir John Carmichael to tell me that Andrew Murraie was already sent to Buccleuch and others, and the commissioners at meeting should settle these bills first of all.

I have moved the King as to delivering pledges for the clans and surnames, and he tells me that himself and the council have confirmed this after many arguments, under their hands and subscriptions.

I also moved him that the commissioners should meet in Carlisle being "walled," while Dumfries or any other place theresabouts is "open and un-walled," affording no safety against the feuds and disobedience of Liddesdale, &c. He seemed pleased to allow it "for convenient tyme," but it must likewise be kept at Dumfries for special matters. As it is dangerous for the Maxwells to pass through the Johnstons' lands to Carlisle, their causes must be dealt with at Dumfries. I have spoken to several of the Scots commissioners, who approve my proposal for Carlisle. Edinburgh. Robert Bowes. "Copia vera: T. Duresm."\*

2 pp. Copy. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.

Feb. 26. 528. R. BOWES TO SCROPE.

Similar, so far as to the redress for the 5 Gilsland attempts, to No. 527. Edinburgh. Robert Bowes.

1 p. Copy by a clerk. Indorsed: "A copie," &c.

Feb. early in. 529. LANCELOT CARLETON TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Relates the apprehension of Christofer Bell a proclaimed outlaw, by Lord Eure, aided by Thomas Carleton, officer of Gilsland under Lord Scrope's order, his voluntary confession of 11 murders, &c., and execution—the combination of the Bells of Gilsland with the Ellottes and Armstrongs of Scotland to murder Thomas Carleton and all his kin, reviving a deadly feud for his killing an Armstrong 2 years since, while stealing in his office—an abortive inroad on Sunday night 16<sup>th</sup> January, of 100 Liddesdale horse with 2 "long ladders" to surprise Carleton in his house—the Bells' further con-

\* These 4 words holograph.

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spiracy to accuse Carleton and his brethren of March treasons—their procuring a warden court and the execution of a Carleton and his servant by false oaths, &c. Praying the Council to order the Bells to appear and answer before themselves or the council at York, and that the petitioner and his kindred may put in bond to answer all charges, either at York or the assises of Cumberland—and meanwhile to grant stay of all proceedings against them—for they ask no favour, but merely defence for acting in the Queen's service, against accusations of the worst sort of people in her dominions, who have already publicly promised themselves the possession of the petitioners' livings, &c., in Gilsland, and entered on their blood, purposing not to leave one of their name alive, unless rescued by "the founteine of honor and justice."

\* "Ande we enter to this tayle because the grownde of this mattier aganst hus is only for excecutinge hir Majesteys servis, for which we only stande in two deadly feedes, and we hoop it shall not seem unreasonayble to appeall from the Lord Skrup, sence he hathe only in ravendge of Bells apprehension called a wardene court only for two of our freandes, excecuted thaim for matters 14 years senc; deniinge boyth the beannifit of the generall perdone, of clargy, challenge, all which we prayd: and aganst all justice, flatly denyede." *Signed*: Lancillot Carleton.

2½ pp. *Partly a clerk's hand. Indorsed*: "To the Counsell."

Feb. 26. 530. SCROPE'S ANSWERS TO L. CARLETON'S PETITION.

Articles for answer to the petition exhibited by Lancelott Carleton to the Lords of the Privy Council against Lord Scrope Lord warden, &c., "delivered to me by the saide Lancelott."

*Extracts.*

*Under 7 heads* :—

(1) Whereas the said Carleton informs that one Christofer Bell a notorious offender was proclaimed in the Marches, apprehended by Lord Eure aided by Thomas Carleton the Queen's officer in Gilsland, "being therunto commaunded by me the said Lord Scrope:" I answer, that whatever Bell might be, the said Thomas Carleton for many years, and till of late that the said Bell entered his body to me with sureties to answer any offences, never sought to arrest him, but used him with favour, receiving benefits from him. But whenever he heard of his entry and bond to me, he procured through Lord Eure a great company, and beset Bell in his own house within my wardenry all unknown to me. For though Lord Eure and I have a mutual agreement for delivery of offenders in our respective Marches, I never had a word or desire from him as to the said Bell.

(2) And though Lancelot Carleton informs that Bell was executed on his voluntary confession of eleven bringings in of Scots and killing the Queen's subjects, it is credibly reported that he was induced to confess whatever it was he did, in hope of favour, by the subtilty of the said Thomas Carleton and one John Dacres in whom he had great "affiance."

(3) And I say that there is no such unlawful combining of the Bells of Gilsland on oath to revenge Christofer Bell's death on Thomas Carleton and his name, by joining themselves with the Ellots and Armstrongs, as informed by Lancelot Carleton, and I am rather so induced, for I find these Bells always ready to answer complaints, and I also think if there were no more friendship between Thomas Carleton and his name, and the Ellots and Armstrongs, than there is with the Bells, there would be fewer thefts and herships in Gilsland.

\* The rest is holograph.

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(4) Whereas Lancelot has informed that the Bells go about with false oaths to accuse the Carletons of March treason, and thus get their livings in Gilsland; I answer that I called a warden court to inquire as to the enormity of such alleged doings in my wardenry, where some of the Carletons were indicted by worshipful juries, but though summoned to appear and answer, contemptuously refuse and remain within Northumberland in Lord Eure's wardenry, till now of late they think by this outcry they may be excused from trial here before me and their country.

(7) Whereas Lancelot informs that I have merely in revenge of Bell's death indicted their 2 friends [Guy Carleton and Thomas Armstrong] and executed them for charges 14 years old before the general pardon, denying them their "clargye" and challenge: I say this is malicious and untrue, for their offences were since the said pardon. Horse stealing is not allowed "clargye," and for challenge, Guy Carleton was allowed divers, the others challenged none.

4 pp. *Written by a clerk. Flyleaf gone.*

Feb. 26. 531. DECLARATION AS TO LANCELOT CARLETON.

A declaration of the manner and usage of Lancelot Carleton, on 26 February 1596, coming to the right honourable Lord Scrope lord warden, &c., for delivery of letters from the Privy Council to his lordship.

First.—At his coming he delivered to Lord Scrope the Privy Council's letter, whereby it was advertised that they sent his lordship the petition exhibited by Carleton to their lordships—but it was neither inclosed in the letter, nor then delivered by Carleton to Lord Scrope, till after long speeches, Carleton delivered, as he said, a copy of the petition, whereof there is a copy now taken remaining with Lord Scrope.

Second.—After delivery of the letters from the Council, Lord Scrope "willed" Carleton if he would enter recognizance to appear before the Privy Council on 20 days' warning to himself, or at his house at Branton, and if he would be so bound for his other brethren? He said he would be bound for himself only, and gave his recognizance for 500*l*.

(3).—He then declared to Lord Scrope that Thomas Carleton his brother was going to London and had appointed as deputy land sergeant, one Garret Carleton his son, and said Lancelot with Richie Grame *alias* Brakenhill and others to assist him, whereof Lord Scrope at first misliked, but after agreed to suffer it till the Queen's pleasure be known.

(4).—During this time, the said Lancelot did boldly justify himself of any offence against the Queen or the law, defying the world, and standing before his lordship "did give a great and lightlie girtt with his thume upon his fynger" in contempt of my lord's authority. *Signed*: George Salkeld, John Middleton, He. Leighe, Edw. Aglionby, Tho. Musgrave, John Musgrave, Robart Briskoo.

2 pp. *Not indorsed.*

Feb. 27. 532. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHELY.

I received yesterday your letter of 20<sup>th</sup>, whereby it seems to be thought strange that we have not written since the 2<sup>d</sup> as to our affairs. The truth is we wrote jointly to your lordship, on the 17<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> instant, as fully as he thought necessary—which should have been delivered, unless the posts are careless. From the 2<sup>d</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup>, we had nothing to write of, for we awaited answer on Sir Robert Ker's invasion, which being dated 10<sup>th</sup> reached us on 16<sup>th</sup> instant. So that ours returned next day after, will I hope appear to have been reasonable expedition. I may say thus much without presumption, that while in Berwick we sat publicly 6 or 7 hours daily

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"(the Saboathes onely excepted) and in all those Saboathes none of us idle, nor some of us sylent"

We could have done no more than we did, had our liberties and lives depended on it. We purpose "by the Lordes permission," to start from hence all together on the 7<sup>th</sup> March to meet the commissioners on the 10<sup>th</sup> as appointed. Bishop Auckland. *Signed* : Tobie Duresm.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 28. 533. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

The notifying of the Privy Council's pleasure by their letter, "brought mee to a great maze"; so I implore your assistance in managing matters so as to content her Majesty, with honour to my self, and commodity to this frontier. This greatly consists in bringing these Carletons to order and obedience, and how this can be done without coercion and severity, I refer to your lordship's wisdom, not ignorant of the lenity hitherto showed them, and the "experimented frutes produced therby."

I have sent all my proceedings with them inclosed to the Council, so sealed that your lordship may see the whole—praying your furtherance for my coming up my self to answer before your lordships to the Carletons' charges: "and my brother Bowes is marveillous desirous to supplie my place heere," which I would not grant till I know your pleasure. But I think the Queen might "make a shew as it were, to send for mee," now the commissioners are coming here, and under colour of that, I might "goe up, both to conclude with your lordship as conserning Emanuell (which is a thing I most desire)," and satisfy the Council of the libels which these arch-traitors the Carletons forge against me. Thomas Carleton in contempt and without my privy, is gone up to London, as Lancelot reports, with new complaints: I pray you either have him committed to prison, or at least stayed, till I come up, as I hope shortly. My secretary being now dead, I have none to trust but myself, being an unequal match for "olde Belzebub," Gerard Lowther, who I hear is the writer of their informatious against me. Carlisle. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

Postscript :—I deferred Lancelot Carleton's coming to me till now, in hope to have heard from you in answer of my last, and will not make any of the Council farther privy, till my own coming up, than I have yet done.

2½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of wax seal.*

Feb. 28. 534. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

I perceive by a libel that Lancelot Carleton and others of them, have exhibited against me, that they desire trial before your lordships: with which I shall be well pleased, if I may be there, to prove by a favourite of their own, that the spoils this summer in Gilsland were solely procured by them, besides other matters not yet known—though such a "president" has not been known before. My desire is only to satisfy your lordships, and myself not to be called in question every month, by "these malicious men," who seek all means to trouble and cross my government.

If the hearing should be deferred till the Assises, they would meanwhile spoil the county. I would take it a great honor to be heard before you, and a greater indignity to have my proceedings questioned elsewhere. And I commend it to your wisdoms to consider what service I can do, if discountenanced, while such notorious spoilers are maintained and graced against me. Thomas Carleton being a public man, not only neglects the defence of his neighbours, but suffers, and in fact brings in Scots evildoers, to spoil such as he carries malice to, or "quarell to the lands." This is not only my suspicion, but the "feeling knowledge and secrett wispering" of the whole country,

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and shall be proved by me, or I desire no farther credit with you. Since Lancelot came home, he and the rest have uttered such railing reports against me, that it would appear "they have passed through the discipline of an eale house;" and Thomas is gone up with some libel to your lordships against me, but I hope you will give no credit to such till you have my answer.

To show my proceedings were without partiality, the answer to his information as to the conviction of his kinsman and servant will show. As in your letters you wish me to stay proceedings against the two Carletons their kindred, &c.: they are the chief spoilers of the country, and it was my duty to certify you, and I shall proceed further as your lordships think convenient. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

3½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Ultimo Feb. 1596 . . ."

Feb. 28. 535. ALLOWANCES TO THE COMMISSIONERS.

Note for the entertainment of the Commissioners at Berwick.

Their entrance into Northumberland was "by conjecture" about the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> of January, for they came to Berwick on the 10<sup>th</sup>; and they returned to Newcastle the 24<sup>th</sup> of February. So being allowed for 15 days at 5*l. per diem*, viz., the Bishop 40*s.*, and each of the other 3 commissioners 20*s.* "a pece," it comes in the whole to 250*l. viz.*—

The Bishop of Durham, 100*l.*; Sir William Bowes, 50*l.*; M<sup>r</sup> Slingsbie, 50*l.*; D<sup>r</sup> Colmore, 50*l.*

½ p. *Written by Burghley's secretary. Indorsed.*

[1596-97. 536. ORDERS FOR THE MARCHES.

Feb. .]

*Extracts.*

*Under 32 heads not numbered.* Collected out of several books,—Lord Wharton's 12 and 13 Sept. 6 Edw. VI., Sir Robert Bowes knight 1551, 5 Edw. VI., and by ancient custom.

Art 1.—Forbids on pain of death, all intercommuning or trysting with Scots without leave of the warden, as March treason. The like by Arch. Douglas 18 Decemb. 1468 for the Scots.\* Distinction is drawn between March treasons punishable by death, and those not so.

Art 21.—Orders "slewdogges" to be kept in convenient places, and money levied or allowance to maintain them—on pain of fine and imprisonment "ex antiquo."

2 pp. *In a clerkly hand; annotated by Eure. Indorsed*: "February 1596. Certain orders and constitutions for government of the Bordere against Scotland, sent to me from my Lord Eure—the Quenes Majestic being at Whitehall."

1596-97. 537. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

March 1.

As the commissioners are to meet here on the 10<sup>th</sup>, and the "opposites" will earnestly press and call for answer of the bills laid against me for Liddesdale, for which I have her Majesty's warrant, and to which I was forced by reason of the many former attempts by Buccleuch and his adherents committed, as appears by the inclosed abstract and divers others: I heartily desire your lordship to signify your direction and advice in what order I shall proceed at the meeting, touching the "indignitie for Carlel castle" and also the said bills. Thinking it meet that with reason and good conscience the first attempts committed by Scotland, "being the principall originall of these combers,

\* Note by Eure.

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"shoulde foremost be redressed, satisfied, and delivered unto England, and then the others consequentl<sup>y</sup>e as they were done in thire severall order, to be answered, this being the last done." As for Thomas Musgrave's, having, as he says, your lordships' orders, he is to answer for them himself.

I hope I satisfied you about Lord Eure by my letter, and also the Carletons. Your letter and many before, were either lightly sealed or else opened—"the post of Thurleway making bolde with this as he doth with other matters, as I thinke, and have chardged him withall." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax quartered seal.*

March 1. 538. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHELY.

By the inclosed copy letter from Lord Scrope, you will see how stiffly he stands on satisfaction to be received for Bucclench's insolent act at Carlisle, before agreeing to any redress for other bills, unless her Majesty's and the Council's pleasure to the contrary is declared to him. As it seems he has often desired to know this, and lately moved me to do the like, which we as commissioners formerly did jointly, I beseech your lordship with all expedition, to let him and ourselves know her Majesty's resolution therein, lest the service be delayed. It may please you on considering that article of our instructions, to advise him no longer to insist on that demand, especially since her Majesty has reserved its redress, as also of Sir Robert Carr's invasion, to be otherwise determined between herself and the King. I press your lordship the more, in absence of my colleagues, foreseeing how ridiculous we shall be, and the reformation how desperate, unless this obstacle is first removed. So when we come to Carlisle, I hope to hear that his lordship has been commanded accordingly. Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: T. Duresm.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: Mathew's arms as before.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Scrope's letter to the Bishop excusing himself for not having joined the commissioners at Berwick, as he felt that he must remain at home till the Queen and Council instructed him as to Bucclench's attempt, for which he has often written, but got no answer. Intreating the Bishop to write to the Council thereon, as he remains of the same mind, and will not proceed to any other business till that affair is settled. Offers him a hearty welcome. Carlisle, 27 February 1596. Th. Scroope. "Copia vera: T. Duresm."\*

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 1. 539. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHELY.

This morning I wrote to your lordship as to Lord Scrope. Since then I have received yours of the 25<sup>th</sup> ultimo, summoning Sir William Bowes in the Queen's name to court. I have despatched by post a copy of your letter to him at his own house in "Darby-shyre," and doubt not he will be with you so soon as may be. We, the rest of her Majesty's commissioners, shall "(Christ willing)" keep our appointed day at Carlisle, to give no colour of quarrel to our opposite associates; unless between this and the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, we shall be either countermanded from above, or directed otherwise from the ambassador: according to the "limitacion" of our service first received from your lordship. Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: T. Duresm.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*

\* Four words holograph.

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March 2. 540. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I send you such news from Scotland as I have,—the best I could get. "What braveries the Carletons were yesterday in Bampton in Gilsland, I will not be troublesom to your lordship at this tyme, but will put up all wronge for a tyme," till I hear from the Council. But I assure your lordship, "that sooner they shall comite mee to prison, then make mee to be an idle beholder" of the open wrongs done to this country, and my power to redress them taken away. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*. *Wax seal*: 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, a bend, and label of 3 points; 2<sup>d</sup>, a saltire raguly (?); 3<sup>d</sup>, a fesse cotised: damaged.

March 2. 541. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

In case by any chance Sir William Bowes is hindered from rejoining us, I thought necessary to send the inclosed to you, which, though containing no great certainty as to forbearing our journey to Dunfreize, yet as it argues a purpose in the King and council to give assurance of amends by pledges, it may persuade her Majesty to concur in the design already set down among both parts of the commissioners for speedy redress. But we submit the same to your wisdoms, and seeing how fruitful this negotiation may be not only now, but for posterity, we wish her Majesty would be pleased to supply our defects in "the penning and capitulating thereof, by sending downe (towards the end of the busines) some such learned wise and expert civyle laweer, as I doe heare the now Deane of Carlisle is, and as I thinke M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Fletcher to be. For wordes make matter, and our opposites are very cunninge artificers in the Border occupacion, and over skilfull in myne opinion, for us that are matched with them, in the cawteles and quiddities of that kinde of sophistrie. Nevertheless in case this motion shalbe reputed needlesse, wee shall walke the more warily, bycause suspicion increaseth commonly mens circumspeccion."

Having lately received a loog letter from my Lord of Carlisle and my Lord Scroope, with the names and qualities of a multitude of obstinate recusants in Cumberland and Westmerland, "some of which doe seme very dangerous persons to the state," I have appointed divers times to sit in the ecclesiastical commission in that diocese, and proceed more roundly if occasion require (as I fear it will) than has been accustomed there. Which will require some time, if diligently done, and I shall feel the want of Sir William Bowes, unless he be speedily commanded hither for the Border business, so that the works, one of religion, the other of justice, may proceed together. It was meet to "premonish" your lordship hereof, for it is a special article in the Queen's instructions, "that I should doe all my diligence both to loke into the causes, and to labour the reformation of those that have made so notorious and lamentable defection from Godes truth established," besides making due report thereof, "which Christ willing, I shall not faile to doe without respect of persons." Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax seal*: *Mathew's arms as before*.

March 2. 542. PROVISIONS AT BERWICK.

In the palace or office of victuals.

Wheat, rye, meal, in all, 81 qrs.; malt, 280 qrs.  
Oxen, 6; kyne, 7; wethers, 114.  
Butter, 4 firkins; Island cod, 160.

½ p. *Contemporary hand*.



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March 3. 543. EURE TO CECIL.

According to the joint proclamation by the commissioners on leaving Berwick, I sent my deputies Robert Clavering esquire, and Raphe Mansfeilde, gentleman, and my clerk with his rolls and indents, on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant to Kirknewton, "where attendinge a good space according the custome of the Scottes," at last came the Lairds of Greenheade and Mowe, deputed by Sir Robert Kerr; when my deputies demanding to proceed, the others answered that their clerk was gone to Edinburgh to Sir Robert Kerr, with the answer they had before from Sir Robert Carey's deputies, and the rolls and indents; in absence of which the service could not proceed. Whereon all the deputies consented to proclamation "continuing a seconde day of meting," though not meant to be kept without further directions, and meanwhile to keep the peace. The Scots thus departed, which I signify for farther directions. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 3. 544. SURVEY OF BERWICK.

View of sundry ruins and decays most needful to be repaired for strengthening the town of Berwick upon Tweed.

*Extracts.*

The round tower in the castle next Scotland [*as before*] fallen down, will cost 150*l.*; a "head" of stone to hold in the water in the trenches or town ditches at the West mount commonly called "Roaring Meges mounte," in view of the Scots coming into the town, and cleaving same, &c., 70*l.*; another "head" of stone, with a "cawsey" thereto, "withoute the Newe gate, with the conveyance of the conducte in it, which serveth the towne with water," and unless mended, men cannot pass out in winter into the old town and castle, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; the garden walls about the governor's lodging, all fallen down, 16*l.*; the walls in the "backsyde" of the Queen's stables, 40*s.*; carriage and freight of 20 tons timber lying in Chopwell wood, cut for mending the "longe bridge over Twied," 20*l.* *In toto*, 323*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

*Memorandum.*—Showing that the old wall betwixt Bedford mount and the new gate called "Caryegate" was repaired, &c., this last year—but the remainder between said gate and Mount Hunsdon is not yet done, and the reporters pray for an assignment of so much of the 1500*l.* yearly allowed for works as will suffice for it, at the discretion of the governor and council. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, John Crane, Will'm Acrigge.

2½ pp. *Indorsed.*

March 4. 545. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I am sorry "I must still use one kind of theame or formost matter, continewallie complaynyng either for victualles, or sekinge for reparacions."

For victuals, the horse garrison this month have had neither oats, peas nor beans—and what is worse, they know not when they shall have any. And the inclosed note will show your honor what store of other victuals we have. We have long eaten nothing but rye bread, and it grieves poor men to see the Queen "cossoned" by the officers of the palace, for she pays for the best of all things out of her own purse, while the little that comes is the worst "refuge," which neither horse nor man can eat "but for pewater needs"! The palace officers get plenty for themselves, but nothing for the town—which I pray your lordship to consider: for all is very "yll" and we want a lord governor with authority. As ordered by your letter of 23<sup>rd</sup> February,

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I and the other officers will certify the defects of the town, but we stay till we hear from M<sup>r</sup> Sheperson who is newly gone to your honor.

Touching my "shute" for the lease of Harlesey, of which your lordship has not heard from my wife or any other but myself: I am very sorry "she hath so litell witt" not to know the friends who might best "steed" her, so I pray your lordship to take it as "want of discrecion in her."

The letter inclosed in your honor's to Justice Beaumont and M<sup>r</sup> Sergeant DREW justices of assise, to be delivered to Sir William Bowes, I sent to the Bishop of Durham, as Sir William had "gone home into" Derbyshire, by which means he will get it sooner, when they meet on the 10<sup>th</sup> at Carlisle. I am sorry to hear your honor is in no better state of body. Berwick.

*Signed: John Catey.*  
1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signed.

March 5. 546. EURE TO CECIL.

Since I wrote to you of our proceedings with the Scottish deputies, I have secret intelligence of "sodayne" broils like to happen in Scotland.

The old quarrell between the Maxwells, Drumlanrig and the Johnstons is like to be revived: Drumlanrig has escaped from prison in Edinburgh, and has come down to incite the people against Johnston, who is not idle, but preparing to resist. He is greatly favoured by the King, who has not only promised him 600 marks, but also to come on the 18<sup>th</sup> instant to Dumfries to put down his enemies, and will not suffer him to resign his wardenry as he offered to do. Drumlanrig is proclaimed rebel and his houses with some of the Maxwells, "raced." The King is gone to the convention at S<sup>t</sup> Johnston, whither the ministers mind to send commissioners to him, themselves not meaning to come, though nothing of any great importance is like to be concluded against them, the King being partly "mollified, and the lower Octavians, viz. the prior of Pluscardin, president of the session, M<sup>r</sup> Jo. Lindsey secretarie, M<sup>r</sup> James Elphinstone, and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hamilton favourers of the popish lords, Angus, Huntley, and Artell, who principallie incited the King against the ministerie, be howe somewhat discouraged and doe dispute to effect what they before hoped at the councill there handes! which Lindsey the wiseste of them, foreseeing and afrayed of greater disgrace, is ready to departe to seke remedy for a grevous disease which doth annoy him, and hath leftt his office to be supplied by the rest of his confederacy."

Lord Sanchar expected to have been made Lord Crichton but failed therein, because the Duke of Lennox would not renounce his right in his favour, yet he hoped to overcome and make the Duke consent. "This matter is of great consequence against the Lord Bothwell his children and freindes." It is thought the Lord Crichton who was attainted in the days of King James III. shall be restored: "and for the right clamed by Backclughe, the Dncke disposed therof during his minoritie."

The prior of Blantyre is fallen in Edinburgh and broken his leg.

"The Lord Hume is verie sicke, some doe suspecte of the Franche disease."

The town of Edinburgh has recovered courage again, "being protected by Blantyre his creditt." Such is the present state of Scotland as reported to me. Hexham. *Signed: Ra. Enre.*

¾ p. Addressed. Indorsed.

March 6. 547. MEMORIAL FOR SIR W. BOWES.

Things to be considered in conference with him.

*Extracts.*

Whether it is known that Sir Robert Carre is authorised by the King as warden in his father's life?

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In what parts of Scotland do their commissioners dwell and what offices have they to live upon?

What livelihood has Sir Robert Caire during his father's life?

What retinue had the Scots commissioners at Berwick, and what manner of diet held they, whether they fed together or separately?

What he thinks of the fray between Selby and Edward Gray—its ground, how begun, who was in fault, and if the trial should be removed out of the town?

What he thinks of the misliking between Lord Eure and the gentlemen of his March—its ground and remedy, who they are that mislike or are misliked by Lord Eure?

What livelihood Buccleuch has of himself: if he has the keeping of Liddesdale by the King's grant, or any interest therein by grant of the Earl Bothwell?

Whether there be not a misliking between Buccleuch and Cesford: whether the East part of Liddesdale should not be under the warden of the Scottish Middle March and the West part under the warden of the West March?

How the differences stand between Johnston, Herries and Maxwell, who maintain their feuds, and each of them?

How many "soles" live on both frontiers, which are thought to be more than the natural soil of the country can maintain: wherefore it may be necessary to have some multitude of the idle people sent to other countries, or serve elsewhere: or otherwise consider whether the multitude now living idle should be forced to work and till the ground?

*3½ pp. Written by Burghley's secretary. Indorsed.*

*The enquiries are generally on the conduct of the commissioners, business done, claims, &c.*

March 9. 548. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHLEY.

On Monday last we received a letter from the Queen's ambassador in Scotland of the 4<sup>th</sup> instant "insignuating" the uncertainties of the Scottish commissioners holding the meeting agreed upon for to-morrow. But as it contained only suspicions of delay, we thought it best to proceed on our journey. However this day we are advertised that our repair to the frontier at this time shall be unprofitable, and they have adjourned the conference to the 10<sup>th</sup> day of next month, at the place agreed on: whereof we think they might have given us earlier notice, than wait till we were so far on the way. We trust hereafter your lordship will be a mean that we take not another such fruitless journey, so inconvenient to some of us. Lord Scroope took the pains to come hither to do us much honor for the Queen's service sake, and offering his best furtherance to justice, now that Buccleuch's "fowle act" is reserved out of the treaty. So we have acquainted his lordship with so much as may benefit this March, and delivered articles thereon to a jury of the gentlemen of Cumberland and Westmerland. Penrith *Signed*: Tobie Duresm, F. Slyngisbe, Clement Colmore.

*1 p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(R. Bowes to the Bishop.)

Soon after the receipt of your last of the 2<sup>d</sup> instant received this day, I was given to understand by the Lord clerk register (addressed to me by the Lord Treasurer and the rest of the council) that as the West Marches were much disquieted by the forces gathered by the Maxwells and Johnstons in great number, for revenge of their feuds, and though the King by his officers at arms had demanded delivery of the houses of Carlaverok, Muswall and Tarthorall, yet they are held against him and he must ride personally there

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on the 20<sup>th</sup> to besiege them and pacify the country. Till then, the King and council, now at the convention at S<sup>t</sup> Johnstons, think the meeting of the commissioners shall be unprofitable, and have adjourned this meeting at Greatney church and Carlisle for the 10<sup>th</sup> hereof, till the 10<sup>th</sup> April next, at these places. How this and other "bretches" of the orders accorded shall be liked by her Majesty I know not, and can work no change without her direction, which I attend, being sorry I cannot warn you in time to prevent your needless journey, but have hastened this with all "diligence." "At Edinburgh in haist, this Satterdaie the v<sup>th</sup> of Marche 1596." Robert Bowes. "Copia vera: T. Duresm." \*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Written by the bishop's clerk. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 9. 549. DOCTORS CÆSAR, &C., TO CECIL.

According to your letter, we have met and perused the Scottish commissioners' bill against Lord Scroope, the answers thereto by the English commissioners, and also the questions thereon made by your honour. "The circumstances of the Lord Scroops fact therein mentioned, being admitted to be true, as likewise the complaynt made of the missedemeanours of the keeper of Lidesdale and his people, first complayned of to the King, than signified to her Majestie, and furder her Majestie demanding redresse against the King, and no redresse being made, and hereupon insuing that fact sayed to have bene don by the said Lord Scroope in Lydesdale: wee are of opinion that the said fact is justifiable by lawe, as a reprisall: whereunto wee are inducd by these growndes of the Civill lawe insuing.

*"Ut represalia licitè concedantur, duo requiruntur: superioris autoritas, et justa concedendi causa. Superior concedens talis esse debet. Qui non agnoscit superiorem, nisi liberam habeat facultatem concedendi represalias a superiori suo sibi concessam, vel nisi facultas sui superioris, sine magna difficultate haberi non possit.*

*"Et generaliter dici potest, justam causam esse represalias concedendi, quando Princeps et dominus injuriam facientis requisitus, justitiam ministrare recusaverit, neglexerit vel plus justo distulerit."* Signed: Jul. Cæsar, Daniel Dun, D. Fletcher, Jo. Lloyd.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Durham impaling Matheus.*

March 9. 550. JURORS FOR THE WEST MARCH.

"The names of the jurors for the West March of England impannelled to inquire upon articles delyvered to them at Pearethe the ix<sup>th</sup> of March 1596.

Christopher Dalston esq., Richard Lowder esq., Jerrard Lowder esq., George Salkeld esq., Edmund Dudley esq., William Hutton esq., Henry Lee esq., Henry Blenko gentleman, John Richmond gentleman, Edward Musgrave gentleman, Thomas Dalston gentleman, Christopher Lowder gentleman, jurors.

"John Dalston, Nicholas Curwen, James Bellingham, Wilfrid Lawson, Francis Lamplough, John Lamplough, Lancelot Skelton, esquires, to be called by my Lord Scrop and an othe mynisterd to them to joyne in this service." Signed: Tobie Duresm., F. Slyngisbe, Cl Colmore.

1 p.

March 9. 551. ARTICLES FOR THE WEST MARCH.

Articles "ministred" by her Majesties commissioners for redress, &c., on the frontiers of Englaod, within the wardenry of the West March. Given at "Peareth" 9 March 1596.

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*Under 15 heads*—contained in the inquisition by the jurors of 30 April following, No. 613. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm., F. Slyngisbe, Cl. Colmore.

2 pp. *Broad sheet. Written by a clerk.*

(1) Another copy, certified by "T. Duresm."

March 10. 552. JOHN HARDING, &c., TO BURGHELY.

We signified to your lordship, "the usuall traffique of the Scotch marchauntes with their goodes by Carlill": whereon you took very good order for the same—"but meanes was made by the said farmour (under couleur for the good of that towne)," that your pleasure should not be published, which has been a great prejudice to her Majesty and like to continue, unless you revoke "the said farme." For the "Scotch" merchants pass there to avoid the dues charged at all other places.

And it appears that no "due" is paid on the Yorkshire cloth which they "vent" in Scotland, and transport to "other forreigne" countries: as also the Edinburgh merchants do. The said farmer alleges that Carlisle has the same liberties as Berwick: and it is true they may "interchange" with Scotland, and very requisite they should enjoy all liberties granted them by charter or statute, always provided the Queen gets her customs, which concern no part of their liberties. Berwick. *Signed*: Jo. Harding, Jo. Watson.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "The officers of the port of Barwick to my Lord, for revoking the farme of the customes at Carlile." *Wax seal: a hart's head, damaged.*

March 10. 553. EURE TO BURGHELY.

The Scots according to their usual custom, "have shott of this tryste and meeting" with our commissioners of the 10<sup>th</sup> instant at Carlisle, till 10<sup>th</sup> April.

The quarrel revived between the Maxwells and Johnstons, and the King's repair to Dunfres on this day to put down "Dunlameig," is thought to be the cause of delay.

Cessford's putting off the meeting at Kirknewton on 4<sup>th</sup> instant, to finish the bills left by the commissioners—my people's heavy charges and little hope of benefit from the Scots—the weakness of horse here and disobedience and flying forth of some of my March—with Buccleuch's refusal of justice till Lord Scrope's bills are called or satisfied, "amaseth me of the future evill, fearing that we ar in worse case then att the beginninge."

I humbly thank you for continuing the soldiers for 3 months longer. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 10. 554. ANSWER TO SIR W. BOWES' ARTICLES.

*Extracts.*

*Under 9 heads*:—

- 1-3. Refer to Scrope's reprisal on Liddesdale.
4. The commissioners may answer that the fugitives demanded are not in the wardenries, and they have no power to deliver—if they persist, then to require evidence by what treaty they are fugitive.
5. Bothwell's act was "disavowed" by her Majesty.
6. The commissioners must labour by Scrope's answer to diminish the Scots "unreasonable" demand, if persisted in; yet if any goods are "extant" in Englishmen's hands, to make them answer in diminution of said demand.

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7. The Queen is to give answer hereto.

8. This "devis" if agreed to by the Scots, to be "accorded" by England, the choice of persons on both sides being "indifferently" made.

9. These two cases of Buccleuch and Cesford it were good to be reserved to the Queen's demand by "expresse messuage and ambassade to the King," their acts being "extraordinarie" against her honour, and that of Cesford also to the King's dishonour; wherefore she shall have cause to send Sir William Bowes expressly to the King, for amends, and also to treat with him for better wardens in their place; giving him letters of credit and instructions for that purpose.

*1½ pp. Draft by his secretary: additions by Burghley. Indorsed.*

March 10. 555. WILLIAM SELBY TO CECIL.

I understand by "one about M<sup>r</sup> Governour," that your honour of late wrote to him with her Majesty's pleasure "that he should in this my late trouble, shew me all reasonable favour and countenance: for which her highnes most gracious remembrance of me her poore servant, I do render all humble and dutifull thanks, and doe acknowledg myself exceedingly bound to your honor." But I am "litle beholding" to M<sup>r</sup> Carey, who has concealed your honour's letter, and I could not have shown "this small thankfulness by letter, yf I had not knowen it by another meane: but this is not the first unkindnes since I fell in my trouble."

I hear that M<sup>r</sup> Gray and his brother are, or will be very shortly, at court, and it is like may endeavour to prejudice my account of the case, though what I have written is true, as I shall prove, but omit particulars, being loath to write what may "derogate" from their reputation more than I shall be compelled for the defence of my own: "as well bycause a man was unfortunately killed, as that the eldest of the brethren hath belonged to my very good lord your father, and I have as much wished to live in kinde sort with such as you seme to favour, as with any other gentlemen of my country whosoever." Berwick. *Signed: William Selby.*

Some of M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Gray's friends and servants ride armed "with pieces and pistols," and search for my nephew Raph Selby to kill him, as plainly to be presumed. So our case is hard—"yf we defend our selves, we fall in danger of law, yf we neglect our owne defence by living peaceably, we ar in danger of our enemyes."

*1 p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 10. 556. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Since my last of the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, of our want of victuals, having "not received any whitt at all," I have obeyed the direction of your letter of 23<sup>d</sup> February, wishing me to certify the privy council thereof, and of the most necessary works here, and have caused the officers to set down an estimate of the last, from which myself cut off 200l. "of superfluetie" they had put in. Assuring your honor there is nothing there but must be now done, for if it stay till next winter, five times the amount will not suffice, "for that it lyes upon the furye of the water."

And I inclose your honor a copy of the letter addressed to the lords, and the note under our hands, wherein I pray your honor's instructing of them to supply our wants. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

*1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan waffer signet.*

March 10. 557. JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Having received your honor's letter of the last of February, "wherein I find the Queenes Majesties gracious favor and good likinge of the Gentilman

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porter, comanndinge me to use all lawfull favour towards him, which shall God willinge be in all partes accomplished, to my uttermost power, the rather in respecte of her Majesties so gracions regard of him, who is bownd all the daies of his lief, to serve her the more respectively."

Having now as required by my honorable good lord your father, certified the privy council of our want of victual, and necessary works here, wherein he has promised his furtherance—this has caused me to trouble your honor and them with our hard case, praying your furtherance therein. Berwick.  
*Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

March 11. 558. JOHN CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

This town by the absence of the victuallers at court, is altogether carelessly neglected. I most zealously crave your favour for some speedy provision, and to show our "plentye" for Easter, and the poor pittance left us for store, I inclose the note thereof. Also by request of the officers of works here, the inclosed note carefully surveyed by them, and perused by myself, of the defects and necessary repairs here, that you may consider and give warrant for doing such part of them as your honours allow, in due time of year. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) Note of provision in store 9 March 1596.

Wheat, rye, meal (in all), 53 qrs. ; malt, 262 qrs.

Oxen, 6 ; kyne, 7 ; wethers, 111.

Butter, 2 firkins ; wardrobe cod, 100.

*Ex. per* Will'm Vernon, *signed*: per Thomas Clarke.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed.*

(2) Survey and estimate of the necessary works, taken 3<sup>d</sup> March 1596-7.  
*Same as No. 544. Not signed.*

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Indorsed.*

March 13. 559. FRANCIS SLINGSBY TO BURGHELEY.

After the Bishop of Durham's return to Awkland from Penrith, on the Scottish postponement of the commissiopers' meeting at Carlisle, &c., on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant, till 10<sup>th</sup> April, Doctor Colmor having left him—considering with my self the unfitnes of the latter day, so appointed without the consent of the Queen or her commissioners—the great numbers both of poor and rich "sysers," complainants, defendants, witnesses, &c., both of the East and Middle Marches, dwelling from 20 to 50 miles away—that there will be no hay, grass or carriage to be had then—the dilatory courses to be expected of the Scots—so that many will rather lose their causes than "abyd" the hearing of them—and many English prosecuted by the opposites will be condemned for lack of answer, for the Scots will lose no time—I communicated hereon at leaving Awkland, with the Bishop, who liked my view, and I think will be glad if the day is put off to the 10<sup>th</sup> June or thereabouts if it seem good to your lordship ; praying your early notice to the Bishop. Scryven. *Signed*: F. Slyngisbe.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil. Wafer signet: a lion rampant.*  
*Note on back by Burghley*: "I had no lesur to wryt of Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Hattons case."

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March 13. 560. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

On receipt of your letter, I had all the complaints of the March both for Liddesdale and the opposite west border, ready for the commission, and would have been content that they had dealt with the same: albeit (as your lordship knows), I have her Majesty's warrant for my safeguard touching that bill so earnestly pressed against me. But I believe the effect would have been no better for preservation of amity on this Border than on the others, which I perceive "is nothinge at all." And in my opinion, there is small purpose in proceeding with "filing" offenders only, except delivery and redress ensue. If one equal course of redress is followed, that bill which they think of so great value, "will not proove so hainous as it is informed:" and far more English bills in number than Buccleuch has to crave, "will very nigh countervaille the same."

Regarding Buccleuch's complaint against me for receipt of the Earl Bothwell, you will please understand that "[to] my unknowledge, and contrary my will, my brother Sir Robert Carey, at th'instance of Tho. Carleton (as he tolde mee) broughte him one night hither to supper, where hee had uoc preevat conference with mee, or intertaynement at my hands," whereat he departed ill pleased. Till he was restored to favour by the King's proclamation, I had no dealing with him—then he came to ask favour for Tho. Musgrave then complained of by the Lord Lieutenant. But my said "brother" now at court, can better satisfy your lordship. Yet the Laird of Spott, a denounced Scottish rebel, was received by Lord Eare "both in his diett and laying in his house," without any complaint by Buccleuch, who seems thus to seek for punishment only of those "he hath perticular grieffe against."

The news of Scotland that I have are "privie" to yourself—desiring your direction therein, the man who wrote them being of good credit. The more private you keep "my intent therein," the better service I shall be able to do, before making it further known to the Council, if thought convenient.

How the Carletons use me in Scotland, you may see by the inclosed: "how at home, I am ashamed to write." Having written to you divers times concerning them, I am waiting to hear from you and the Council. Carlisle.  
*Signed*: Th. Scrope.

"Postscript:—How the postmaster of Thurlay, Tho. Carletons sonne in law, sends his lettres, your lordship may see by the inclosed." Thomas Carleton himself, "for all his braggs," means not to go to London, so far as I can see—so I beg you to send a pursuivant to M<sup>r</sup> R. Lowther, to send Thomas Carleton up, and then you will see how I have been wronged, and order me as you see meet in your discretion, for I cannot recover my honour but by clearing myself of the false informations with which they have charged me before you.

3½ pp. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*. *Fragments of two red wax signets*.

Inclosed in the same:—

On Friday night the 11<sup>th</sup> March 1596, between 8 and 9 "of the clocke," three unknown footmen came "and knocked at the gate of my howse in the cittle of Carlill, whome I appointed to be letten in." When they came to me, "they enquired of me 'yi I were he that kepte the post ther?' to whome I aunswered 'I was not'—and therpou they shoed to me a post letter (which as they sayed) they had brought from the post of Thyrlwaye, the direction wherof was in the topp of the same 'For the Quenes Majesties affaires,' and undermeathe directed 'To the right honorable the Lord Scrope lord warden of the West Marches,' and was signed by Roberte Bowea." Whereon I sent a man of my own to guide them to the castle of Carlisle to deliver the letter—which in going thither, one of them "did leese" in the



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street, but missing it before coming to the castle, returned and found it in the street, "and so came to the saide castle to delyver the same." *Signed* : John Middleton.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

March 14. 561. DECLARATION BY SIR R. CAREY.

Giving his reasons for not keeping the meeting appointed by the commissioners on closing their sittings at Berwick. That 3 days before their departure, the Scots had no more bills to call, while he had 280 for his March—but the Scots delayed progress, till their commissioners "were boated" and ready to depart. That he never heard of the intended proclamation for the remaining bills to be redressed at days of truce, till made "two howers" before they left, when he went to the Bishop of Durham and told him he would not meet them thus, and would answer his refusal by these reasons. First: he expected no justice at a place where malefactors only came, the Scottish deputy himself being found guilty at the late sittings of 6 bills, "and calde from the seate of justice to houlde upp his hande at the barre, and in truthe a common ryder!" (2) Then the English who had their vowers ready at Berwick to file bills, durst not bring them to a Border meeting to tell the truth. (3) The country people who had lain at Berwick a month or more, and spent their little money already, without redress, would have despaired of any "at the Border side," where the Scots would have laughed at them. Lastly but not least, the great danger—for there was not one of his officers or men but was in deadly feud with the Tevidale surnames—and if the Scots at any time were the stronger, they would kill his men, knowing the worst that would come of it, could be but the delivery of the deputy warden aforesaid—and Sir Robert Kerr would not care "if twentye such as he were hanged," to be revenged. So he chose rather to break the order than obey it, and if he has done amiss, is sorry, and refers himself to his lordship's censure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Fair copy in a clerkly hand. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary* : "14 Martij 1596. Sir Robert Careies declaration of the causes that moved him not to kepe the time appointed for his meeting with the commissioners."

March 14. 562. MUNITION AT NEWCASTLE.

Note of munition in the store at Newcastle not in charge of the master of ordnance—being part of what was delivered to the Lord of Huntingdon in 1588.

Armours, 105; pikes, 540; bills, 990; muskets, 94; powder, 2 last 5 demi.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Written by Musgrave's clerk. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

March 15. 563. R. SWIFTE TO BURGHELEY.

I delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Meynard a note of corn, &c., already shipped for Berwick, showing how contrary winds have delayed it many weeks on "shipbord, and taking weit maketh the woorser bread," which cannot be avoided, till the officers are otherwise "enabled" by her Majesty.

As I have now been nearly a year and a half solely in this service, to my great charges and trouble taking up money, I humbly beg your lordship to signify your pleasure to "M<sup>r</sup> Auditor Coniers" for allowance to myself, men and horses, and some small losses in service, a note whereof I have set down, which he cannot settle otherwise. I also humbly beg when the Berwick garrison is sufficiently provided till Michaelmas next, as I hope "shalbe within a while," you will assist M<sup>r</sup> Vernon with some other, and disburden

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me of these affairs, which I cannot go through in good sort, having laid out more than 1200*l.*, over any money I had out of Exchequer.

Meanwhile I crave your help to come by the provisions not yet shipped, part whereof long since paid for in Lincolnshire, "my Lord Sheffield" stays, and I understand has given out warrants to apprehend any one coming in my name for it. The rest in Yorkshire and Hull, is there stayed by the justices and officers, though I have not since last Michaelmas bought above 500 qrs. grain, scarce the 5<sup>th</sup> part of what is usually bought for Berwick thereabouts, and must be, these "sheeres" except Cambridge and Norfolk, being the most convenient for us. Signed: Rich. Swifte.

1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Swift's petition.)

*Extracts.*

*Under 9 heads:—*

(1) Prays allowance for himself, 3 men and 4 horses in the service of victualling Berwick for a year ended Michaelmas 1596 at [ ] *per diem*.

(2-4) Allowance of loss on wheat, malt, pease and beans, between providing and issuing at Berwick—in all 43*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*

(5) Of 16*l.* 16*s.* 10½*d.* for 35 sheep at 9*s.* 7½*d.* each, which died before being issued.

(6) Of 8*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.* for 300 warehouse cod wasted and spoiled in drying, &c., at 56*s.* 7½*d.* the 100.

(7) Of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for post charges.

(8) Of 6*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* price of 2 cart horses bought and died in service.

(9) A clerk writing out the monthly quarterly and yearly accounts, &c., at [ ] *per diem*.

¾ p. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.

March 15. 564. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

Though, by your lordship's letter of 20<sup>th</sup> February last, you like not one man's private advertisement, preferring our joint letter, yet as at present we cannot conveniently meet, and you have sometimes addressed myself alone, to prepare matters of business before we all meet, I venture being alone, to offer some important points to your consideration.

I would first ask, if our joint letters of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> February from Berwick, and from three of us at Newcastle on 24<sup>th</sup>, have come to your hands—which as yet we know not—and if any one miscarried it would hinder business.

Though the King and his council on "a sodaine" have postponed our meeting till 10<sup>th</sup> April, I would understand whether this is her Majesty's pleasure, or whether it would be more convenient to meet about the end of May? The 10<sup>th</sup> of April "being the Sabbath," is also unmeet.

As the opposite party and Sir Robert Ker, will found on Sir Robert Carey's breach of the appointed meeting—the latter now at London, should be asked to justify his action (as I doubt not he can), so that it may not be used against Lord Eure complaining of the Scots' breach in meeting his deputy.

What course should be taken by us to revive meetings for the East and Middle Marches—whether to call the bills before ourselves at Carlisle, or refer them to the order of the wardens—and what course with what they call "the great bill of Liddesdale," which if they insist on as peremptorily as we did on Sir Robert Ker's invasion, it will unduly protract business, "until that knott be unloosed."

In case the delivery of pledges on either side cannot be attained—for I think the King neither can nor will perform it against the opposition of

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Cesford and Buccleuch, whose best followers are among the worst headsmen of these broken clans, what other course can be taken should be considered.

As the King has often earnestly required the "inlawing" of the five fugitives whose names we sent your lordship in writing, we require some special direction thereon, as they know well enough where they dwell and are entertained here.

Your lordship will be pleased to peruse the articles given by us to the gentlemen of the three Marches, and to add what you think meet for the better accomplishment of our commission. As Sir William Bowes, if with you, may be enlightened on these matters, and I trust will shortly bring down full resolution—yet in case my letter to him (with copy of yours to myself for his coming up) should not have reached him, I was the more bold to hazard this to your lordship; trusting you will accept it in good part as it is well meant. Bishop Awkland. *Signed: Tobie Duresm.*

\* "This included lettre directed to Sir William Bowes, conteyneth a copie of this, with a request to sollicite your lordship herein, &c."

*2½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: Matheus's private arms.*

March 15. 565. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Showing the futile nature of the charges against him by the Scots for the reprisal of Liddesdale, for which he had her Majesty's warrant, and sending them a breviat of the bills which his March has against Scotland, for their directions how he should proceed. Carlisle. *Signed: Th. Scroope.*

*3½ pp. Holograph. Addressed. Wafer signet.*

March 15. 566. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Referring him to his letter to the Council, and breviat of complaints, for his advice regarding the latter, before the meeting of the commissioners, and to make his father privy thereto. To return the bills after the Council peruse them. Carlisle. *Signed: Th. Scroope.*

*½ p. Flyleaf with address gone.*

March 15. 567. THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Certain principal points wherein they require direction by the Lords of the Privy Council.

*Extracts.*

*Under 9 heads:—*

(1-3) As to Scrope's reprisal: (4) What answer to the demand for the 5 fugitives: (5) Bothwell's spoil at Falkland: (6) If Lord Scroope has failed in any due circumstance to make reprisal lawful? How they shall avoid the "huge" demand of 20,000*l.*? (7) The assistance of one learned not only in civil but ordinary practice and in the *jus gentium*: (8) As to pledges, about 40, to be given on either side. (9) Whether Sir R. Ker shall be demanded at the end of the treaty, or whether our powers being doubtful, Her Majesty will have him and Buccleuch severally demanded afterwards from the King?

*2 pp. In a clerk's hand. Indorsed.*

March 15. 568. ANSWERS TO THE COMMISSIONERS' QUESTIONS.

*Extracts.*

*Under 9 heads:—*

(1) Scrope's direction to be examined, and if he had the Queen's, he may confess it, but must himself excuse the manner and circumstances of executing it as well as he may.

\* Holograph.

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(2) By treaty of 1<sup>st</sup> Mary, both wardens must join in valuation and an assise of both nations be appointed: (3) Answered in No. 2: (4) They shall (1) say they are not in the wardenry and (2) if not content with that, they shall ask to see the warrant: (5) Bothwell's act disavowed by the Queen and the Englishmen at it must excuse themselves as well as they can; (6-7) Answered under No. 2. (8) Pledges to be taken indifferently of the greatest surname of riders. (9) These two persons shall be demanded by the Queen.

They may send for Doctor Bennet vicechancellor of York on any urgent occasion, as assistant: and letters shall be written to the Archbishop of York thereon.

1 p. *In same hand as last. Indorsed.*

March 17. 569. EURE TO BURGHELY.

Your last letter received on 14<sup>th</sup>, refers me to the commissioners for a conference on establishing the Border laws, which I presented to your lordship. They had separated before it arrived, so that no conference can be held till they again meet on the 10<sup>th</sup> April. What moved me to entreat your approbation of these, was the ignorance I find among expert borderers touching them, and the desire of the wisest in my March to know the law of the Border,—and lastly my own desire to have my actions squared by the law, and under reformation, I think the same must be confirmed by the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council themselves, or by commission, after due consultation with the wardens and a selected number of the gravest, experienced and best affected borderers.

Your lordship further writes there that you had dealt with Sir William Bowes to compound the "unkindnesses" between Lord Scrope and me. "His wise and upright behaviour to all men, together with his accustomed and kinsmanlike freindlines to my self," give me just occasion to be contented therewith. But as his absence is very uncertain, depending on his Scottish meeting, I very humbly and earnestly beseech you for leave to repair to you, and to require Lord Scrope and Sir William to do the like; and thus in your presence "lett this unkindenes bee ripped and sifted to the bottome." And if I be the first offender, I willing submit myself to rebuke— if otherwise, the matter shall not hinder my service to her Majesty along with his lordship thereafter—and your lordship may at the time direct and prescribe such orderly course to be observed by us, as shall avoid future cause of offence. And if you think good, the Woodringtons who are the "only opposites" to me, with their friends, might be present, to accuse me of any crime whatsoever I may have committed in my government: that I may be excused, if it was in ignorance, and "tempered with severitie of the lawe," if done through malice.

"As I rest *in medio mercharum*, so rest I only of all the wardens envied," and since love furthereth both justice and service, so I humbly pray your lordship to look into these matters, that I may either be strengthened with the love of my neighbours, or with her Majesty's gracious favour "seasonable removed."

"It pleased God upon Saturday last the xij<sup>th</sup> of this month, not onelie to open the badd practises . . . by the Scottes, but also hathe graciously to our comfort, thrust into my hands xv<sup>ten</sup> persons of Liddesdaile onelie," made prisoners spoiling a poor man's house in Tindaile. I inclose their names as also the Englishmen who took them. I meantime spare their lives, in hope of procurin peace, and that their ransoms may help our people to furnish horse. But if no suit is made for them, I wish, if you think good, "they all may suffer the severitie of lawe," but stay holding a warden court for the purpose, till I hear from you.

I humbly give notice that the house of Harbotle is greatly fallen down,

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and my keeper of Redesdale is forced to lie at Otterburne—praying some allowance presently for its repair. I had hoped the jury of March gentlemen would have made it known ere this “(but according our auncient custome wee foreslawe all things)”—and the commissioners, for some reason of their own, did not acquaint me of the “impanel or articles of inquirie till it was done,” so I trust to be excused for now certifying it. Hexham. *Signed* : Ra. Eure.

\* “Amongst many misfortunes befallen me since my entrie into this countrie, yt pleased God the xv<sup>th</sup> of this monthe a great parte of Sir John Forsters house at Hexham where I lay, was blowne up with gunpowder to my greate loss and heavy charge of repaire, through the negligence of a careles servant of myne owne; which I houldly impart to your lordship.”

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax quartered seal.*

March 17. 570. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHEY.

“I have reseed your honers letter of the ix<sup>th</sup> of Marche with grefe to my hart as well for the lose and hinderans that my counterey shall sustayen therbey as for my nowen particuler, in that your lordships wryghtes that for your infermiteys sake you have seperated yourselfe from the cort, not intermedelinge with the aney affayers otherwayes then her Majesty dothe specyaley derecte you: requeyeringe of me from hensforthe not to expecte aney further resolusions from you, wherin I ame nowe newe to seke, not knoinge whear to have relefe, for we have never a governer to solisset, and your honor whoe was allwayes ouer father and patrowen, havinge nowe given us over, whear is ouer hopes? Ouer miserabell misereyes and mischeves remayen styll as desperet as ever, and in fare worse case, withe out hope of relefe, ouer honorabell hope faylinge us thus in you! Wherfor my honorabell good lord, for the love that your conterey hathe ever knownen you bear to it, lett this pooer towen beinge a good member therof, feynd your honorabell care therto in providinge a good and carfull governer for it, wherbey it maye the better continewe, wiche otherwayes cane not longe stand as it dothe, and in your provision, if you prefer aney of your owen frendes, my good lord, lett him not take it witheout the wardendrey, for assewe your selfe if he doe, he will never thanke him that preferes him—for in havinge the on withe owet the other, it is to have a diner witheout meat or drink—for treweley the on cane not be witheout the other, nether cane ther be agreement betwen them that shall have them devided. Therfor in respect this beinge sen or com to knolege bey summ of my frendes maye torne me to displeser and unkeyndnes, I humbeley praye your honer havinge ons red it, to borne it that it maye nott afterward be sen.”

I have not written so often to your honour of the want of victuals here without great cause—for there is none at all yet come since my last. The scarcity and “illnes” of what comes, has “bred a verye great deathe amongst us, in so muche as we dey vij or viij a weke, ye and summe tymes ij and iij a daye, wiche is thoughte to be onley bey ouer scarstey and the illnes of that wiche is ouer bred, beinge as ill as horse bred and moer unholosome.”

Your honour writes that Sheperston has showed you a book of the full payment of the garrison without default—contrary to which I lately wrote. I will stand to what I wrote, for I have had more trouble with this pay than all the pays since I came hither; and by his meaus only, however he makes up his books. There were 9 men came daily crying out to me that he had stopped their wages for no cause. Farther, one Purefey a man of his master's, victualler to the horse garrison and pensioners, who before the pay “brake

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his credytt and tane awaÿe," whereby middy poot men here were undone, and rich were hindered, his tickets and credit amounting to near 1000*l.*, "Master" Shieperston indeed gathered all he could and paid nothing, and refused to say how much he had received. In short I desire never to see such another pay.

I cannot help the greatness of the works—for the master of the ordnance, Master Vernon and his officers, those of the Holy island, and the gentleman potter, all appoint what they like unknown to me, and do many things of themselves, raising the cost far beyond what I know of. If your honour appoint nothing to be done without my orders, the Queen's money would be saved. There is even now work set in hand by the master of ordnance, that will be far more chargeable than if I had the doing of it. I "leave your honer to the protectyon of the Allmyghtey God whoe preserve you longe in helthe and send you the jhoyes of Heaven at the laste." Berwick.  
*Signed*: Jhon Carey.

I send you such news out of Scotland as I have lately received Heretifclosed.

2 pp. *Holograph. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

March 18. 571. PROVISION FOR BERWICK.

"The coppie of a note of provisions for the pallee sent to me by my Lord Thesaurer the xvij<sup>th</sup> of Marche 1596 under M<sup>r</sup> Vernon and M<sup>r</sup> Swiftes handes."

*Extracts.*

Shipped in the *Laurance* of Hull, William Robinson master, at sea ever since 10<sup>th</sup> February, the *Jonas* of Lyn, William Kilborne master, the *Gyfte* of Lyn, John Wallys, owner, the *Thomas* of Lyn, Robert Atkins, master. Total, "staied by contrary winds," wheat, 301 qrs. 6 bz. 3 pecks; rye, 150 qrs.; malt, 276 qrs. 5 bz.; beans and peas, 131 qrs.; Ward house cod, 1700; Island cod, 500; butter, 13 firkins. *Memorandum*.—There is also shipping at Hull, 100 qrs. wheat, and 60 qrs. beans and peas.

There is also bought in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, good store of graiu, to be very shortly received, which with the above mentioned, "beinge once safelie gotten" to Berwick, the garrison will be sufficiently provided of corn till Michaelmas.

We have taken such order for beef and mutton to be supplied from time to time, for we cannot send more at one time than we have convenient keeping and feeding for there. Robert Vernon, Richard Swift.

1 p. *Copy by Carey's clerk. Indorsed.*

March 19. 572. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Having sent my lords a report of the offences by the Liddesdales under Buccleuch on Gilsland, since the last complaints, I entreat you to acquaint my lord your father therewith, desiring also to hear from you of the good recovery of his health. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

I have also written to their lordships on a matter touching myself, where-with I beg you to make your father acquainted.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 19. 573. DECLARATION BY THE GRAYS.

"A very true declaration of the manner of proceedinge in the quarrell by the Selbyses against Raphe Graye and Edward Graye."

The two Grays declare "unto your honour" and avouch their state-

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ments for truth, offering to suffer utter disgrace and condign punishment if found otherwise. The Selbys have long borne hatred against them, and in February last Ralph Selby fyled a bill on one George Nevill, who (without the Grays' privity) fyled a couinter bill on Selby, which produced an unseetly wrangle before her Majesty's commissioners at Berwick, and evil speeches by Selby whether Nevill was a thief or a true man. That night William Selby the gentleman porter, and Ralph Selby his nephew, sent one William Carnabye with a challenge to the two Grays to meet them next morning within the bounds of Berwick; without company, to be satisfied on some injuries—Ralph Gray said he would go, but Edward Gray required to have them in writing, which was not done. Next morning (8 Feb.) Ralph Selby sent Carnabye with a 2<sup>d</sup> challenge to Ralph Gray only, who replied by one William Tourney that he would answer it. William Selby and Edward Gray being out of this 2<sup>d</sup> challenge, Edward, supposing William (in respect of his years and place) of a temperate disposition, sent one John Bell to ask him to boister in the churchyard of Berwick—to which William replied, it was no fit place; and asked if he would meet on horseback or foot? The messenger saying Gray had no horse in town, William said he would lend him one. And Edward still sending word he would meet on foot in the churchyard, William Selby "in chollericke speeches," asked Bell where Ralph Gray was? saying he was as good a man, and on Bell going a third time, and learning Selby had gone, Edward Gray and Bell followed to the churchyard, Bryan Horsley and 2 others accompanying them to the "uttermost" church stile. Edward having only a short walking rapier and no dagger, went to William Selby in the churchyard, who was weaponed with a long rapier and dagger, with[out] his white staff and attended by his nephew. Edward saluted William in civil manner, bidding him "good morrowe," wheretoe William very disdainfully answered—then he and Edward went to the "backside" of the church; Raph Selby and John Bell staying at the west end. . . Presently came to Ralph Selby one John Selby a quarter master, and one Pindlebury, and John Bell joined by Bryan Horsley and Robert Reveley, walked quietly to the east end of the church, leaving Ralph Selby and the other two at the west. Meantime Edward Gray walking as is said, repeated the message, requiring to know from William how he would be satisfied, whether as a gentleman or otherwise? to which William answered, only in all extremities. To which Edward replied, he would not so satisfy him. After some hard intemperate speeches, the said Selby "sodenly and violently stroke" Edward in the face with his hand, then stepping back, drew his prepared long rapier and began the affray. Whereon Horsley, Bell, and Reveley, came to part them asunder, offering no stroke to offend. William Selby falling down flat on his back, Edward ordered none to touch him; and so he arose unhurt, till there came in a company of 6 or 7 of the most notorious common fighters and evil disposed in Berwick from the east end of the church, and Ralph Selby with 10 or 12 others from the west end, some of them with gannetts and other extraordinary weapons, all prepared and plotted by the Selbys of purpose (as may be supposed), and so set upon Edward Gray and the three, sore wounding him and them and unmanfully and cruelly murdering Horseley who was run through his body at the back by Ralph Selby with a long rapier. During the affray, William Selby's horse was brought and ready at the churchyard. They humbly pray this cruel murder may be examined and due punishment inflicted. *Not signed.*

2 pp. A broad sheet. Indorsed by Cecil's secretary: ". . . The estate of the cause betwene M<sup>r</sup> Gray and M<sup>r</sup> Selbye."

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March 26. 574. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Understanding by letter from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes her Majesty's ambassador, that the King is now pleased that the last committed attempts shall be first

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provided for, I am content to do the like justice to Scotland for this warderney. But with your favour, I think after these attempts done during the commissioners' meeting are taken order with, then the former bills should be taken in hand orderly as they were done, beginning since the dissolving of the last commission of Berwick, "which is from the tyme that theis nowe commissioners have to intreat upon"—which course of equal concurrence of redress, both stands with reason, and will greatly comfort the poor people on this border, who otherwise will be so utterly beggared and unable to stay in their country, that they will travel to her highness for help, which I would be very sorry they should do, to her offending. Yet their "heirships" are so much, and their "penuries" so great, that it will be impossible for me to stay many of them, except speedy reformation be had to their "sustentations." My man lately returned from Scotland without any news worth sending. I heartily wish to hear of the good recovery of your health. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

\* Postscript:—I would be glad by your means to have leave to come up, "to conclude with your lordship for leetle Emannell, for I would be glad to have an end therof, for I have noe comfort but he and my brother, who by this course that he takes, I feare mee wilbee a man of noe longe life."

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March. 575. ATTEMPTS BY BUCCLEUCH AND OTHERS.

"Breviate of some parte of the attemptates" done by Sir Walter Scotte knight larde of Buclenghe keper of Liddesdale and others his adherents in the West Marches of England by his procurement, &c.

[A selection of burnings, murders, reifs, &c., between June and September 1596, extracted from Nos. 399, 524 preceding.]

7 pp. *Written by Scroope's clerk. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

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April 1. 576. THE GATES OF BERWICK.

Survey of the gates there very needful of repair, taken by William Selby esq. gentleman porter, John Crane comptroller, William Acrigg surveyor, Leonard Fayrley master carpenter, George Holmer master smith, &c.

*Extracts.*

THE MARY GATE—iron, 4 tons at 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a ton; "this gate ys soe consumed as one may come under the gate"; smith work 20*l.*; planking and mason work 15*l.*—in all, by estimation . . . 88*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

THE BRIDGE GATES.—2 iron gates, one at the tower on the bridge "like to fall," and one "going into" the town at the bridge, ntterly decayed and unserviceable, the new making whereof will take 6 tons of iron *ut supra*, 80*l.*; smith work 30*l.*; planking, mason work 30*l.* 10*s.*—in all, by estimation . . . 140*l.* 10*s.*

THE MASENDUE (OR KEYSIDE) AND SHOARE GATES.—These need repair only, which with the stuff and workmanship will cost by estimation . . . 25*l.*

THE NEW GATE.—The iron gate here, "going out of the high towne" to the Mary gate, needs planking, which with workmanship, will cost by estimation . . . 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Total, 257*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*



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*Signed*: Will'm Selby, Johne Crane, Will'm Acrigge, Leonard Fayrley, George Homer.

2 pp. *Indorsed.*

April 2. 577. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

Understanding of the King of Scots' repair to "Dunfreese," and that Buccleuch has appointed a special horse race to be run in his office of Liddesdale on Tuesday next, "wherat the Duck, with manye of the nobilitie, officers, and subjects, in most deffenceable manner wilbee, as the Grames and borderers do give out," but of which I cannot assure you till my man returns from Scotland, I have specially ordered the gentlemen &c., here to be ready in like manner, on an hour's warning. Notwithstanding the late outrages by Liddesdale, while the commission was sitting, yet on the 29<sup>th</sup> March, while the King was at Dumfries, the Ellwoods, Nicksons and other Scots, 30 in all, ran a day foray in Gilsland, took 40 "kie" and oxen, and spoiled the houses of the Bells "my cosen" Dacre's tenants—which, if Lancelot Carleton's story of their friendship with the Ellwoods is true, it is not likely they would have done.

"I praye God, Buclughe do not with this rase as he did this tyme twelve monethes, when he gott Kinmont betrayed by the Grames meanes, for they were never so familiar with him then they are nowe . . . Divers of them have been preevatly with the King since his coming to Dunfreese, which I wishe may bee to good." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*

April 2. 578. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

According to your lordship's letter, I sent for Richard Grame bailiff of Askerton, "two severall tymes to have comed unto me and to have answered suche her Majesties rentes, as your lordship wryteth doo yett remayne in hys handes npayed"—but he has refused to come to me at all, and says he will answer you when you call on him. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Quartered wafer signet.*

April 3. 579. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

By a letter from the Lord Treasurer of 9<sup>th</sup> March, he had withdrawn from Court to his own house, and could not reply with a warrant to motions by me in absence of my associate commissioners—directing me to address the Privy Council. Since then (but before receipt of his letter, "so slowly ryde the postes"), I wrote on the 15<sup>th</sup> March to his lordship with many particular doubts whereon it seemed to me we needed direction before meeting the "opposites" with advantage. I hear from Sir William Bowes these have been and will be considered, and we directed. He has however said nothing on one point—whether her Majesty be pleased we meet them on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant ("Sondaie") or what other day is appointed us, and if so, signified to the ambassador, imparted to their commissioners, and approved by the King.

My earnest request to your honor is, to advertise me by your own letter, when I am to prepare myself to resort to the Borders: and that you will do so to Sir William Bowes, if he has departed from London, and to M<sup>r</sup> Francis Slingesbie to his house of Seryven "nigh Knarrisbrough in Yorkshire," or require me in the Queen's name to warn them to keep the day that shall be agreed on. Till we have such notice, we see no reason to be at the call of

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the King or his council, and so I have given the ambassador to understand and to warn them, after their "uncivill" disappointment of us last time, that we will not adventure another such journey.

I hear of late the King or some of his courtiers are offended at a letter from us while at "Pearith," to the ambassador: but though it may seem "somewhat sharply penned," as the disgrace they gave us deserved, yet the "ingredience" thereof was not so bitter, but it might well enough be digested.

However in case of worse report of it above "(as every thing that proceedeth from me hath hard happ with that King and his agentes)," I shall on signification, send the copy to reply for itself, hoping your wisdom will "ballaunce in even scales, as well by whom, and to whom, as of whom, and upon what occasion, it was written." Bishop Awckland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Official wafer seal; Durham impaling Mathew.*

Inclosed in the same:—

"I wrott unto your honour a letter about the mydest of February last, conteyning mater of importaunce to myself, and enclosed the same in a letter to Sir John Stanhop, within a letter directed by me to M<sup>r</sup> Patteson his servant: wherunto I hoped before this tyme to have received your honorable and favorable answers: which I will yet both crave and expect. 3 April 1597." *Signed*: T. Duresm.

¼ p. *Holograph.*

April 5. 580. SCROPE TO CECIL.

That he has written to the Privy Council in answer to the Carletons' complaints, but seeing they have put in new informations against him, he has written another letter to their lordships which he prays may be delivered to the "whole bodye" of the Council, assuring himself of Cecil's honourable favour therein. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed. Quartered wafer signet as before.*

[April .] 581. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Giving him very warm thanks for the kindness lately received from his "worthy father" and himself, in assisting him to redeem his "reputation from the wronges of those base men that only glorie in the spoyle of persons" in his place. Assuring him though he cannot express it in words, that his noble father's and his own interest in the writer's desire to serve them, is more certain than words can utter.

Begs (1) that the witnesses may be once again examined in presence of Sir Robert Carey and himself, and their [Carey's and his] special oaths taken in due course on this point—whether they were forced by authority, or induced out of conscience, to confess guilt, and whether they came voluntarily or were brought violently!

And if the Council please for further knowledge, to direct letters to the Bishop of Carlisle, M<sup>r</sup> Middelton, M<sup>r</sup> Brisko and others, they will advertise their knowledge of his orderly proceedings, and throw more light on the conspiracy.

Meantime Buccleuch's own hand subscribed to the examination of Armstrong and Grame, shows the truth of the matter, in a letter written after that examination to a noble man in Scotland to that effect, attested by a Scottish gentleman of credit, well known to the ambassador, who was present when Buccleuch signed it.

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His first suit is that the Carletons may be again committed, though but for a day or two, for they have given out in the town and country, that he has been disgraced, thus breathing spirit into their confederates' minds, and discouraging faithful officers.

Second—that the Carletons may be compelled to subscribe as the Grames have done, for though more crafty, they are no less guilty—and this will strike terror into the minds of their “mates.” And third—if any scruple is felt at this, that they may be put on their trial in the country on these points, in such manner as the Lord Treasurer or Secretary Cecil shall advise him, and no otherwise—for by the “waving of this cause so long,” the minds of the borderers are so puzzled and uncertain, that they know not whether to incline to faction or obey lawful authority.

“It pleased the Queen to use mee yesterday with so moch grace as I might very well perceave the preparation that was made by aerten worthy frinde very like yourselfe, and therefore I will store up this kinde favor with many more.” *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

4 pp. *Holograph. Flyleaf and address, &c., gone.*

April 6. 582. EURE TO CECIL.

As directed by the Privy Council's joint letter of the last of March, received yesterday, I have warned the plaintiffs and “arrested persons” in my March to attend at Carlisle and Dumfries before the Queen's commissioners on the 12<sup>th</sup> instant. I fear from the general “brute,” the common people will rather lose their bills, than attend at heavy charges, besides their danger from feuds and the disorders in Scotland, which “terrifieth multitudes” of my March, and I fear will “give greate advantaidge to the Scott.” If it could be so arranged, that the truth of the bills might be averred on oath by the several officers, on delivering them to the commissioners, and these to file and deliver on their honor, this would be a great ease to the people in my March: which I leave to your wisdom. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax quartered seal: damaged.*

April 7. 583. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Though I wish not to trouble your honor, yet as your letter of 28<sup>th</sup> March contains certain answers of M<sup>r</sup> Shepperston, to those complaints of mine wherewith your honor charged him, I am forced with as much brevity as I can, to “prove myself no lyer.”

First.—He loves to write much to little purpose—for if he denies that “my cosyn” Dalavell one of the constables, and 7 or 8 other horsemen, came daily with outcries to me that their wages were stopped, “without beinge charged by their scores,” they shall witness it under their hands how many days I and the council were troubled, “if your honor will have it so.”

For “Purifye,” I think he will not deny that he defalked all he could prove “good,” either from the Queen or otherwise, to him, and would answer none of his debts, so much so, that when myself and the council demanded what he had got of “Pewrifys good” among the pensioners? meaning if we had found an overplus, “we might have considered somewhat of the poorer sorte,” he would answer he had to make his account to his master, and his master to the Queen. This was all we could get, though we knew there was an overplus—and if he denies it, I will cause the Mayor and the council then present to set down under their hands what trouble we had, and others that your honor never hears of.

And when he says he caused the drum to sound after the pay, and tarried 10 days after in the town: it is true, but to no purpose, nor any better “for

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them that wanted," as neither they nor we could any way alter his determination—"and so no matter for the drum soundinge."

As for M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Bowes, he did not meddle with the pay, except bringing it to the town—"for be, good gentillman," would fain have helped what he saw amiss and was sorry he could not.

And for Shepperston's saying, that I was only offended with him for refusing to pay the Queen's money except as warranted—first, I see that to certify faults in discharge of my trust, is to incur offence. Second—I hope your lordship will cause him to certify wherein I have ever desired him to pay anything contrary to the establishment: if not, your honor will judge him a man ready to disgrace an officer here with untruths. I confess demanding of him what was due my lord my father of his fee before his death, and would gladly have had it, for I have served here very chargeably since his death: unless it be that, I know not his meaning.

Touching the victuals you write of, I inclose a true copy of the note which Vernon and Swiftie gave you of the provision then shipped for us they said, inclosed in your letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> March, and also the note of what is since received by 3 barks yet come; and comparing these, your honor will see how the Queen is abused and we ill dealt with.

I have lately received from the Court of Exchequer a writ of execution called a "seri facies," by your lordships warrant against the mayor and others here for 24<sup>l</sup>. arrears of her Majesty's rents of fishings, but not giving me authority to find by inquest who are the debtors—for the old farmers have left the waters, and some Londoners entered on them last Michaelmas—as also the mayor and aldermen having asked me to stay it, having sent to London they say to discharge it and take order—I have made bold to intreat your favour, both for my own excuse, and on their behalf, assuring you if not paid before the next term, I will do my best service therein on a new writ. I pray your honor's pardon, if after this, I surcease either certifying or complaining of anything, till my own words and answers may be heard, for I see my letters breed but ill will and dislike instead of redress. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

\* "I could a serteifyed youer honer of the Kinges agrement withe the towen of Edenboroughe and of all his prosedinges therin—and of his goinge to the Weste Borders—but that I thoughte youer honer had them all longe befor from ouer embayssetur at large. But it is sayed heare that at his comynge . . . wiche wilbe verey shorteley, his queen will met withe him heare in the Marche at Spott, and so theye will com to Barwicke bowendes bothe together. Wherin I deseyer to knoe her Majesties pleser if it fall out so,—what shalbe my part and howe I shall behave my selfe towerdes them, and what interteyement theye shall have from hens?"

2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Sevan wafer signet.  
Inclosed in the same:—

(Provision come to Berwick.)

"A certificate what store of provision is alredie this vij<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1597, come to Barwick, owt of this great proporcion."

"The *Laurence* of Hull, William Robinson, master, landed at Barwicke 22<sup>th</sup> of March 1596—with" 50 qrs. wheat; 20 qrs. pease and beans, "which were delivered nought to the shipp;" 800 "smale codd fishe," 50 qrs. malt.

"The *Jonas* of Lyn, William Kilborne, master," landed as above same day, with 90 qrs. wheat; 80 qrs. malt; 20 qrs. beans; 2 barrels white herrings, and 7 "firckins buttur."

"The *Guyt* of Lyn, Izack Collingwood, master, landed at Barwicke the

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last of Marche 1597, with," 17 qrs. 4 buz. wheat; 60 qrs. malt; 47 qrs. beans, "whereof xxiiij qrs. were delivered mouldie and nought into the shipp."

Your lordship may thus see, in their own note set down to your honour, that by these three "barckes" we should have received "as they say," long before shipped in the same, stayed only for wind and weather, as follows:—

Wheat, 241 qrs. 5 bz 3 pecks; malt, 216 qrs. 5 bz; rye, 30 qrs.; beans and pease, 136 qrs.; and "ware house" cod, 800.

While we have only received as follows:—

Wheat, 157 qrs. 4 bz; malt, 190 qrs.; rye, "none;" beans and pease, 87 qrs.

So the deficiency by these 3 ships only is—

Of wheat, 84 qrs. 3 bz; of malt, 36 qrs. 5 bz; of rye, "the whole" 30 qrs.; of peas and beans, 44 qrs.; of cod fish, 900; of butter, 6 firkins.

"Wherebie her Majestie hath bene at a doble charge, to pay for the whole freight of shippes, they bringing but half their burden—which yf their provision had bene made accordinge as they have sett it downe in their note to your honor, neded not to have bene so muche."

1½ pp. *Written by Carey's clerk. Indorsed:* "The trewe note what iij of the iij shippes have brought—wherby your honor may see they have sett downe muche more to your honor, then they have anie way provided."

April 9. 584. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

In my journey towards my appointed service, being made acquainted by complaint of the poor tenants of Bradbarie and Hilton, that on your lordships express letter to the sheriff, their goods are to be driven and sold for payment of 200*l.* in arrearage for the Queen's rent: the necessary pity of the poor men in this hard time, enforces me to endeavour their discharge to the uttermost of my power, so as, being straitened for money to prosecute this service in so costly a time and place as now I shall find the Borders of Scotland to be, I commend to your lordship's consideration, my suit for allowance, left to the solicitation of my friend Mr Ewens servant to Sir John Stanhope, which I doubt not he hath preferred to you before this time—which is, that in regard of my leaving my necessary attendance of my private estate, having now spent full 5 months in this service, besides the great charge I must undergo in the negotiation with the Scottish King, as also in respect of my inability to disburse money, as I have been forced lately by covenants with my wife's friends to redeem certain lands mortgaged, besides other reasons presented to you by Mr Ewens,—it would please your lordship that such allowance as her Majesty may be pleased to give me, may come seasonably to the support of my estate, or else that (as the service will permit) I may be licensed to prevent my further decay and disgrace, and seek the repair of my poor house, which as it hath not wanted of many years men employed in public services, and in that trust less regarding their private than had been fit, hath received impoverishment of more than 1000*l.* land within these last 40 years, and yet retaining favourable and good opinion, becometh now a spectacle of discomfort to many well affected in these parts. Richmond.  
*Signed:* Will'm Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Bowes' arms and motto—indistinct.*

April 10. 585. RICHARD MUSGRAVE TO BURGHLEY.

Your lordships of the Council having granted a letter of instructions to Captain William Selby, now gentleman porter of Berwick, to take a yearly view of all the ordnance and munitions of war within my office, besides other service, as a copy of said letter hereinclosed will show now, as her

1597.

Majesty by a former patent, granted to me the office of master, surveyor, and keeper, of all her ordnance, &c., in these north parts, in as large and ample manner as ever any master of ordnance held the same before—these your letters of authority to another, take away the trust and credit heretofore imposed on the master, and I humbly desire that as I attained my place by your honorable favour, I may continue to enjoy it with the same credit and trust as heretofore hath been. *Signed*: Rychard Musgrave.

1 p. *Addressed to Burghley. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(The Council's instructions.)

*Extracts.*

*Under five heads :—*

(1) Selby is ordered to view the ordnance, &c., yearly, and report what is issued and expended; and what remains, and the extraordinary charges yearly.

(2) To inquire what became of the armour, weapons, and munition sent down to the late Earl of Huntingdon in 1588, and report, delivering the remainder to the master of the ordnance by indent.

(3) What became of the corn powder then delivered out of the *Roebucke*.

(4) To ride to Carlisle, confer with Lord Scrope, and view the munition; also mastering the gunners, who are reported to be too many, to see their skill.

(5) When these executed, to report to the Council with his opinion. "Under these counsellours handes"—W. Burghley: Essex: C. Howarde: W. Cobham: R. Northe: W. Knollys: Ro. Cecyll: J. Fortescue. "*Extr. per*" *signed*: C. Middleton.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy. The names appended by Middleton.*

April 12. 586. SIR R. CAREY TO SIR R. CECIL.

I am here according to her Majesty's pleasure. I desire to hear from your honour whether I am to have "the patten for the wardenrye sent me or noe"? Till then, I can determine on no course, "therefore, good Sir, resolve me so soone as yow maye." If I have it, I mean presently to inform you and the rest of the Privy Council of the wants here, and what helps I must have—but till then it is to small purpose for me to busy myself in matters not pertaining to me. For the time I stay here "as I am," I will do my best to keep the country quiet, but I will not meddle with punishing offenders or reforming disorders, "till I have absolute authoritie to doe it." The longer they stay unpunished, the worse for the country and the officer. "Sir, my only trust is in your honour." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Sir Rob<sup>t</sup>. Carey to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary." *Swan wafer signet.*

April 12. 587. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Within 2 days after my last letter, the 4<sup>th</sup> ship, the *Thomas of Lyn*, Robert Atkins master, arrived here on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, with the full proportion set down except 30 qrs. of rye, having but 90 qrs. instead of 120 qrs. So as they are all come, I send your honor a note of what quantity they informed you, and what has been received here, whereby you will find the truth.

For the works: did not answer you in my last, having written on so many other things but thus much I dare say, that if none were taken in

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hand without my privity or consent first had, I would save her Majesty a good deal of money in a year. Surely my good lord, the Queen's Majesty wrongs herself and hinders her service much, either by not sending down a noble man with sufficient authority, and of good credit, or else by authorizing those already here "with a dewe lawfull authoritie," whereby the more boldly to command for her profit and service. But for my own part, I will do my best. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Note referred to.)

Similar to that on p. 292, with addition of the 4<sup>th</sup> ship's cargo. \* "Yoner honer maye see bey this want howe muche they fayeled in ther preperasion of thes iiii littyll shipes; wiche is muche to fayell in so sertayen a preporision as theye sett downe to yoner honer."

1 p. *Indorsed.*

April 13. 588. THE COMMISSIONERS' MEETINGS, &C.

*Extracts.*

Articles of the last Border treaty.

*Heads only—23 in all.*

(1) "For the planting of Gods worda."

(23) "The next treaty to be holden in Scotland."

Session at Berwick.

The proceedings on 14<sup>th</sup> January, when both sides met at the Bound road, discussed the Scots' proposition to begin in Fowlden church, and finally persuaded them to meet in the Tolbooth of Berwick on Saturday the 15<sup>th</sup> under protest, are related.

Session at Carlisle.

On Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup> April, the English came to Carlisle, and next day met the Scots at Gretney kirk in Scottish ground, intreating them to come to Carlisle and there conclude: whereto after much arguing, they consented conditionally, that the next treaty should be held in Scotland wholly, unless otherwise settled by the princes—and so delivering them a safe conduct under the great seal of England, all came together to Carlisle.

"Protestation of the Scottish commissioners touching their coming to Berwick."

That the same should not form a precedent hereafter, &c.

3 pp. *In two contemporary hands. Indorsed.*

April 13. 589. RICHARD MUSGRAVE'S ANSWER.

Answer by the master of the ordnance in the north, to Captain William Selby's information against him to the Lord Treasurer, from Newcastle 20 November 1596.

*Extracts.*

*Under 7 heads:—*

1. That his account of Lord Scrope's answer at Carlisle that the matter concerned him as warden only, is incorrect, for Lord Scrope showed me,

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being then on duty, these instructions, as concerning myself also, when I pressed Selby for a copy, which he refused to give—urging Scrope for his answer in writing.

2. I remember no demand by Selby for a roll of the cannoneers—but Lord Scrope said many of them were absent, and he would send for those in the country—but he refused to wait for this. Lord Scrope and myself have already signified the absence of some and insufficiency of others—as before instructed.

3. I used no indiscreet speeches, as asserted, though I know that Selby procured this employment to disgrace me.

4. His charge that there is not one out of 24 cannoners that can use a piece—is not the fault of the master, for I placed none of them. And a master gunner and 7 others are not enough as he alleges. Besides, the whole of them have patents under seal, and most of them for their deputies also.

5. Explains Selby's accusation that he rode out of Newcastle to avoid showing him the store there—by Selby's own conduct, who would not say whether he was coming there or not—but finally came without proper notice after the master had left for Berwick, whose deputy keepers had no authority to meddle with anything without his warrant if absent, to prevent embezzlement.

6. For his saying he is resisted, and surceases acting under his instructions, it is quite otherwise—for when the ordnance books were made up for the year and subscribed by the governor, comptroller of the cheque and others, and presented to him to sign, he refused without reason to do so, and “in his furie” would not look at them.

7. And whereas he has procured authority for a yearly survey of the ordnance under my charge, contrary to the conditions of the establishment, I humbly beg your lordship's consideration, being always ready to do my part, and that I may not be thus interfered with. *Signed*: Rychard Musgrave.

*4 pp. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

April 16. 590. SIR R. CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> instant at night, 4 Scotsmen broke up a poor man's doors at Killam on this March, taking his cattle; the town followed, rescued the goods, sore hurt 3 of the Scots, and brought them back prisoners. The 4<sup>th</sup> Scot raised his country meanwhile, and at daybreak 40 horse and foot attacked Killam, but being resisted by the town, “who behaved themselves very honestlye,” they were driven off and two more taken prisoners. Whereon the Scots raised Tyvidale, being near hand, and to the number of 160 horse and foot, came back by 7 in the morning, and not only rescued all the prisoners, but slew a man, left 7 for dead, and hurt very sore a great many others, as the note inclosed will show your honors—humbly beseeching you to have due consideration for redress, for such is their arrogance and our poverty, that it will be past living for us here, if these be suffered.

The country is too weak of themselves without the horse garrison of Berwick, which has been always at the warden's command, with 100 foot or more, on occasion. I beg that my brother John Carey may be instructed by your lordships to that effect. Berwick has ever been the defence of this March and so must be, or the country will be left waste else. My authority is but small, “and I am obeyd thereafter.” This country will only obey absolute authority, and I beseech you either establish me as I ought to serve my prince and country, or else send down one more worthy; for the outery here forces me to urge one or the other, which ever best pleases her Majesty. For my part, I desire not to hold it to see these calamities “unsufferable,” without means to revenge it. Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.



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2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*  
Inclosed in the above :—

(Note referred to.)

Names of the Englishmen hurt and slain by the Scots at Killam 15<sup>th</sup>  
April 1597.

James Davyson, slain outright.

Renian Routledge, Richard Pott, Lowry Brewes, Tho. Henck, Andro  
Storye, and John Glendennye, "left for dead;" William Ramsey and Richard  
Storye sore hurt, and sundry others hurt.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Written by Carey's clerk.*

April 16. 591. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

To the same effect. Berwick. *Signed* : Rob. Carey.

1 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same :—

Note of the killed and wounded.

April 16. 592. SIR R. CAREY TO THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS.

To the same effect; that they may take order with the Scottish com-  
missioners. "James of the Coave was the principall man in this action."  
Berwick. Rob. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy. Addressed. Indorsed by their clerk.*

Note of the killed and wounded at foot.

April 16. 593. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

This outrage committed (as appears by my letter to yourself and the  
rest of the Privy Council) "I hope it will be a hastinge ether to give me a  
more absolut authorite then yeat I have," or else some other sent to redress  
such wrongs. I heseech your honour acquaint her Majesty that the want of  
"an absolut offiser" is our undoing, for in these northern parts the people  
are given to liberty and "lisentiusnes," and unless offenders are punished to  
the quality of their offence, they will not spare to do unlawful acts. I pray  
your honour hasten my dispatch one way or other. Berwick. *Signed* :  
Rob. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

April 16. 594. ARTICLES BETWEEN THE COMMISSIONERS.

At Carlisle 16 April 1597.—Articles agreed on concerning the entry  
of the pledges, indented at Berwick on 19<sup>th</sup> January last.

*Extracts.*

*Under 9 heads:—*

(1) That 2 or more of every branch of broken men, he entered for bills  
fyled or to be fyled by our order, on them and their branch.

(2) The warden himself shall enter a gentleman for similar bills on these  
not of any known clan.

(3) Their entry to be to their opposite officer, between the day of our  
dissolving this commission and 1<sup>st</sup> July next.

(4) The princes to be entreated to appoint some commissioners in each  
March to see their entry effected.

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(5) When entered, to be kept by "indifferent" men, on their own expenses, not by any with whom they are at feud or variance.

(6) They shall remain no longer than the bills for which they are entered are duly satisfied.

(7) If any die, another broken man of his clan shall take his place.

(8) The pledges shall be kept no longer than a year and day after the commission is ended, within which, if the bills against their branch are not redressed, the opposite principal may if he choose, take their lives, and call for as many more to lie another year on like conditions—and so on.

(9) The pledges shall answer at their peril for any attempts committed by their clan or surname, while they are lying, unless redressed within the said space.

Subscribed. [The eight commissioners' names.]

*l p. Copy by the English clerk. At foot: "Copia vera: T. Duresm."\**  
*Indorsed.*

April 17. 595. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

Since our letters and reports, I have collected some "important circumstances" in conference apart with the "sincerest and best affected" of our opposites, and advertise your lordship, to apply timely remedy in your wisdom. I signified from Berwick Sir John [Robert?] Kerr's complaint to the King "of deepe displeasure borne him by Wetherburne," obtaining letters from him to the commissioners, to see that the quarrel did not prejudice his service, "or Sesforth in any sort." But he prosecuted this pretext by his own attendance and his great friends at court, so that the commissioners on their hasty return, found their thanks for their "charge and paynes, to depend upon a new apologie, to answer the ill report of Sesforth." And in the case of Sir John Kerr of Spielaw and others, fyled justly for "execrable murthers," it was objected that the commissioners' indent for delivery of pledges (heretofore certified) "was a meere noveltie," and notwithstanding the sound reasons for it, and need of "the secrete carriage thereof," yet the King and council chose to communicate it "with" Cesford and Baccleuch, who on audience all but overthrew it, had not the indent on consideration "appeared unavoydable." Yet they obtained thus much, that they shall only enter and answer for their own servants, seeing (said they) that the King had like caution from every other gentleman. This "preparative" yields no good hope, being "(as I take it) the cheife sinew of this service." These things were handled at Leith, the King then concluding that the commission should proceed at the day and place formerly indented; yet from Perth "at his Synodall assemblie," without the commissioners' privity or assent, (as they protest), he gave his reasons for prorogation to the ambassador, as your lordship has heard. Another doubtful matter is, that when at "Drumfreise," the King vouchsafed himself to walk out of the town "on foote" to confer with Baccleuch, Cesford, and Johnston in the fields, and his own followers have since observed that he gives them better countenance than before. Also he returned to Edinburgh "on the instant" of our arrival on the Border, doing nothing to advance our business; Cesford attending him and supposed to continue with him not on his charge, in breach of our indent that he should meet Lord Eure, for which the 3<sup>d</sup> of May is desired, a delay "which this service cannot endure."

And in this journey of the King to the Border, Cesford, Buccleuch, and Johnston, have got great reputation with the inland lords and gentlemen, for their valorous defence of their charges, and Johnston has become "an inward depender upon the Duke," it is supposed "to make head against

\* The last 4 words holograph.

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Hambleton the great favourer of the Maxwells." But the worst is, since the King's departure, the outrages are not lessened, for 200 of Liddesdale have spoiled in Tindale, killing one man and deadly wounding others: also the 3 several entrances by Tivdale into the East March at Killam within 24 hours, already advertised, whereon we have complained to the opposites that such things were rarely or never done but in war. While they lamented the wickedness of their wardens and the King's toleration,—one saying, "yett under trust," that Cesford had told another commissioner that the King had promised not to deliver him or any of his servants—yet they thought it sprang only of his "facile and flexible nature," and would be remedied when he heard our charges, which they would confirm, if called on. Meantime to free their own consciences, they agreed to good conditions for delivery of pledges, filing on the warden's honor, and delivery of all trespassers since our first meeting at Erwick on 12 January, as will appear by the note sent with our general letters. Before my repair to the King, whither I hope to "drawe" some of the commissioners at same time, I have applied through the ambassador for safe conduct, and some more than ordinary conveyance for my safety, "seeinge as well my message as my person, is reputed extraordinarily displeasinge the adventurers of Annerdaille and Liddesdaille, throughe whome I must passe." I refer your lordship to my letter to "M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie," on some matters committed to me by her Majesty's message and instructions. Carlisle. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Armorial wafer signet as before.*

April 18. 596. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

On Saturday the 9<sup>th</sup> instant, 60 Ellottes of Liddesdale at noonday drove the cattle of those steads in Tindaile nearest the March and "farthest from inhabitauncie." On Monday the 11<sup>th</sup> a like number of Liddesdale made a day foray further in Tindaile, from whom, "it pleased God" the country rescued most of the goods: 3 or 4 of my men were wounded and 1 slain in the fight, and divers Scots sore wounded. On Sunday the 17<sup>th</sup> the Laird of Buccleuch in person with 50 horse and 100 foot, burned at noonday, 3 onsets and dwelling houses, barns, stables, ox houses, &c., to the number of 20, in the head of Tyne, cruelly burning in the houses 7 innocent men,—and murdered "with the swoorde" 14 which had been in Scotland and brought away their booty; "which act though it be unlawfull, yet the rodd of justice hath nowe present his course to redresse to her Majesties honor, and not admitt the cruell revenge in such manner as is nowe executed." To defend such like incursions or rather invasions "(the heade officer with trumpett being their in personn)," with sorrow as formerly, I declare to your lordship the weak estate of Tindale, for there was not 6 able horse to follow the fray "upon the shout," though in daytime, and where as reported to me, there were 300 able foot, "or better," there was not 100 at this following, "and those naked."

This piteous state increases since my coming, and I cannot see how to amend it, leaving this to your wisdom, "wishing to God," I had never lived to serve where neither her Majesty nor her officer is obeyed; fearing unless assisted by her Majesty's forces, Tyndale will be laid waste as other parts of the March are. Humbly beseeching your lordship's speely care for us, for it is not merely the want of horse and furniture, but of "hartes, corne," and maintenance that makes this March unable for honourable defence.

I held the warden court on Friday the 15<sup>th</sup> instant where the 15 Scots were condemned; whose lives were prolooged in hope of some "profferr" from their clans with future assurance: though their headsmen, by the untoward disposition of Buccleuch have not only been hindered in such a peaceable course, but threatened with danger for doing it. I trust you will

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continue warrant to M<sup>r</sup> Skidmore for the pay of my 80 men. Hexham.  
Signed: Ra. Eure.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Waz seal: quartered.  
Inclosed in the same:—

(Note referred to.)

Note of those slain drowned and burned in Tindaile on Sunday 17<sup>th</sup>  
April 1597 by Buccleuch, &c.

W<sup>m</sup>. Doodd of Caryteth, Nich. Pattinsoune, Mich. Ridley, Tho. Pigg, Tho. Graye, John Tayler, Tho. Rampshawe, John Lawsoune, Tho. Liddell, Tho. Pattinsoune, Nich. Pattinsoune, Tho. Pattinsoune, W<sup>m</sup>. Oliver, Andrew Coutherde, W<sup>m</sup>. Robsoun, Arch. Dodd, Nich. Crawhawe, and Rynian Cowman, 18, "slayne violentlye."

Emery Dodd *alias* "Pluck," Mich. Dodd of Donkleywood, Mich. Dodd of Hordley, John Dodd of Ryclose, and Cuth. Robsoun, 5, "burnte innocente."

James Dodd of Donkleywood, and Raph Dodd, 2 "slayne innocente."  
Will<sup>m</sup> Robsoun and Rich. Oliver, "taken prisoners."

The houses and steads burned, *viz.*, Thorneburne, Donkeleywood, Stokooe.

1 p. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.

April 18. 597. SIR W. BOWES TO SIR R. CECIL.

Our general letters and my private one to the Lord Treasurer, will notify our proceedings, and also the intelligence I could come by of the King's doings; and now I send the account of my delivery of her Majesty's messages to persons here, and instructions, by your hand, so far as I have proceeded.

Lord Scrope received her Majesty's message with dutiful reverence. I reserve that to Lord Eure till I see him here.

To M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther I delivered her Majesty's "concept" of his sufficiency and service, desiring him to effect concord between Lord Scrope and the Carletons and Grahams, as his judgment and credit might greatly further the same.

I have signified by speech to Lancelot Carleton and "Walter the cheife of the Grahams," her Majesty's pleasure in some special matters to be made known to them by me, but they have not yet attended at the time and place appointed by me. The Carletons "pretend" great fear of Lord Scrope, insomuch that though called by our letters to justify their charges before a jury, they forbore to appear without my lord of Durham's "word of assurance" for their safety, which is granted them. The Grahams pretend the same, and forbore to come here, or attend the commissioners' meeting near their dwellings as wont, though warned by the lord warden. As yet I cannot discern whether this is real, or "stubburne and platted contemptes." But I fear another cause, told me by the opposite commissioners, that the Grahams were warned from Scotland of the intention to deliver them as pledges, and mean to avoid it to their uttermost. Thus the King's discovery of this to his wardens, will make all the ill disposed on both sides stand on their guard, endangering this service or making the borders break. Thus I pray your honour to foresee these great mischiefs—1<sup>st</sup> the King's untowardness to see, and 2<sup>d</sup> the incorrigible pride and strength of his wardens, 3<sup>d</sup> the wonderful distractions of our own magistrates and people—which together, will frustrate our labours, and "bring forth evill effectes in this polittique bodie, as in the bodie naturall, phisitions doe, whilst they move and not evacuate th'offending humours." Only I trust God and the Queen will "deeme us"

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by our endeavour, not by the effect, seeing we can but pray to the one, and advertise to the other.

Touching my going to the King, as his departure to Edinburgh was so sudden, a day or two only after we came here, and as my best arguments must be drawn from showing his officers in their true colours, it was thought good I should wait and see how they proceed with the business in hand, delivery of pledges, &c., wherein I see little towardness, though I dare not fully declare my suspicions.

Lord Scrope by his discreet handling, has brought the Liddesdale cause to good course, if they can be kept in compass to swear the value rightly, which course is better than pleading the Queen's warrant as a reprisal, which might give the King occasion to stand more strictly for delay. Carlisle. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Armorial wafer signed.*

April 20. 598. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

As you desire, I herewith send you "a mapp, declaring the bounder and devison of these West Borders from thopposite of Scotland." The commissioners have had great conference daily here, but yet have effected nothing at all for redress of the "outradjious" complaints. Hearing that great slaughter and "skaith" have been done not only in the East March, but also by Buccleuch in the Middle, and expecting the next attempt will be "assayed" here, I doubt that the King's long stay at Dumfries and thereabout, was for some special unknown purpose, and that my late advertisement will not "in all respects prove uncertaine," and therefore humbly entreat your lordship for the speedy sending hither of the captains and their companies. The Scots still insist on calling the Liddesdale bill first, which I cannot yield, till their last offences here are first dealt with, as M<sup>r</sup> Bowes wrote that the King promised it when at Dumfries. The commissioners may do as they see cause, but I will not consent (unless I have direction from my lords of the Council), to have her Majesty's warrant called in question, without assurance of satisfaction. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

"A note of the devison of the bounders of the West Marches betwixt England and Scotland, and a devison of the Batable ground of both the Marches, as followeth, according to the discription of the mapp or card hereincloused."

The map is divided by two colours, for England and Scotland, the two Batable grounds by two several colours, with the bounder names for either part.

"The Bateable of England begineth at the fote of Sarke and up Sarke till yt come to Haweburne fote, then over a more by dry March, with a hye earth dyke called the March dyke, upon which be mear stones, till yt come to the Gray stone; from thence to Glenyer fote as yt falleth into Eske; then downe Eske till yt falleth in the sea . . ."

"The Bateable of Scotland beginneth at Hawburne fote and yt followeth up Sarke, and from the head of Sark over the moore by dry Marche to Pingleburne head, then downe Pingleburne till yt fall in Eske, then through Eske at the fote of Tarras, then upp Tarras to the Reygill: from the Reagill over the Brunsheill moore, from the Brunsheill moore to the Standing Stane to Mearburne head, soe downe Meaburne till yt fall into Lyddall at the Rutter foord: then downe Liddall tyll yt falleth into Eske."

The Bateable grounds of both countries contain "by estimacion 4600 acres."

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The English Bateaul grounds in this map are contained in the "murrow culler," and those of Scotland in "read culler."

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

April 20. 599. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHLEY.

As appointed, we met with the Scots at Gratney kirk, and after replying to their objections and "accustomed scrupulosities," we persuaded them to come to this city during the remainder of the treaty: and have agreed on certain articles, a copy whereof we inclose—wishing rather than hoping, that our labour may be to good effect.

Though we doubt not the opposite commissioners' good will, we fear "hard measure" from the opposite wardens, from some news, not yet confirmed to us. Lest Sir Robert Carey should not have certified the invasion, &c., at Killam, whereat the chief leader was one James of the Coave a special follower of Cesford, we have sent a copy of his letter to us, "presuming it will move great compassion." We have had here, and shall have, very good assistance from M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Bennett the chancellor of York, specially chosen by her Majesty, in such questions as occur, and penning the treaty when fully accomplished. Carlisle. *Signed: Tobie Duresm., Will'm Bowes, F. Slyngeisbe, Cl. Colmore.*

\* "The saide James of the Cove is the man, for whose enlargement out of Swynborne castell we have heretofore charged Sir Robert Ker with invasion in hostile maner into this realme. *Antiquum obtinet.*" *Signed: T. Dur'm.*

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. 2 wax seals: Matheo's private arms.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Agreement by the Commissioners.)

Letters agreed upon by all the commissioners on 19 April and forthwith sent to the wardens of both realms.

*Extracts.*

*Under 8 heads:—*

(1) That the wardens be charged "to certifie them indelaiedlie in wryting," of all attempts since this treaty began, with the names of the offenders and all other requisite circumstances.

(2) To find out "with privitie" such offences done by any in their several Marches, on their opposites.

(3) To take and be ready to deliver such offenders when called for by us.

(4) To find out the most notable offenders opposite and send a note of them, who may be called for as pledges.

(5) To attend closely on their charges during this commission and apprehend any fresh offender, sending him at once to the commissioners with the nature of his offence.

(6) That the wardens or their deputies shall meet for justice with their opposites, according to the proclamations at Berwick, &c., to begin for the East March on 29<sup>th</sup> April instant, and the Middle March on 3<sup>d</sup> May next, and so continue daily.

(7) The residue of the bills shall be tried on Wednesday next in the "Towlbooth heer at Carlisle, where shall sitt with us in severall houses," the deputies of our Middle March and of Liddesdale to try their bills only: ourselves trying the bills between our West March and Liddesdale: and the wardens of the two West Marches or their deputies trying their bills in a third place in the said Towlbooth.

Lastly—The wardens to answer speedily in the premisses and attend the

\* What follows holograph of the bishop.

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commissioners' farther resolutions, &c. Subscribed. [The 8 commissioners' names.]

1½ pp. *Contemporary copy. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

April 20. 600. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHLEY.

"Since th'insealing of our other lettres," new occurrences press us to commend to you our doubt that Cesford, Buccleuch and Johnston are combined not to undergo any satisfaction by this commission or to give any pledges of their principal men; and we think our Grahams have the like purpose. Our reasons are (1) Cesford keeps away, while his principal instrument James of the Cove headed the outrage at Killam. (2) Buccleuch's people of Liddesdale "to welcome us hither," made two day forays on the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup>, slaying Lord Eure's warden sergeant, and wounding and spoiling in Tyndale. Lastly, on the 17<sup>th</sup> on pretext of following the poor men of Tindale, that sought "(as it were by pune, belike)" to recover some of their late losses, Buccleuch with troops of horse made a day foray, burned 3 onsets, &c., "burned innocent creatures" therein, and murdered 12 or 14. The Laird Johnston after being here 2 or 3 days to make show of conformity, has retired and sent us word that by reason of a quarrel on Monday last at a horse race, between a Graham and one Urwyn under his charge, whose horse was there slain, he doubts his people's attendance unless Graham gives security and satisfaction. Doubtless a mere "cavill" to avoid his appearance, for the better backing of "his deare coosen" Buccleuch. But we have issued warrant for Graham's apprehension, to prevent that "cavill." These things we cannot doubt were done purposely, though they would make them out to have been "from chauceable occasion"; and we fear some deeper practise may be hidden therein. Their commissioners intend, they say, to report these enormities to the King, but we suspend dealing with them meanwhile more than we must needs do. Of these two evils, viz. to go on with our course of justice, though it dishonours her Majesty, or to break off,—we choose the former as the lesser, until farther directions from your lordship and the rest.

As for the repair of me, William Bowes knight, to the King, it has been postponed (by assent of me, the Bishop of Durham), for the three reasons formerly given, and fourthly, as the King's safe conduct is not yet obtained, without which there is no safe passing through the countries of these desperate persons. Carlisle. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm., Will'm Bowes.

Though the number of men murdered, &c., by Buccleuch is not yet certain till missed by the heads, the report out of Liddesdale is of 30 or more.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed: indistinct.*

April 21—601. THE COMMISSIONERS AND SCROPE.

22.

(1) The requisition by the English commissioners to Lord Scrope as to Liddesdale bills, &c.

1½ pp. *Copy by his clerk. Indorsed: "21 April 1597 . . ."*

(2) Scrope's answers to the requisition.

First.—Touching the fying of the recent attempts upon his honour unto Liddesdale: he answers that "(in respect his honor ys soe neare unto hym, and that the lyke reference was had betwixt his father and the late Lord Maxwell, wherby great question grew betwixt theym, which was decyded by the Earle of Morton late regent, and by hym after many examinacions taken, onlered, that the byll which the Lord Maxwell before had clened upon his honor, then justly was thereafter tyled, and therupon the party Scotsman called Priors Johns Tomye, was delyvered unto his sayd father as fowle and

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"perjured according unto the treatie), he cannot conveniently yeald to concur with the Layrd off Baclugh in fying upon honour, for that, as yt ys well knowne, he the Layrd of Baclugh haith not only bene an actor, but also a special procurer of those invasions, day forries, most crewell slaughters, burninges, mutulacions and outragious offences, committed and done sythence the indignitye attempted against her Majesties castell of Carliell."

Secondly.—As for the opposites pressing your lordships to proceed with the bill of Liddesdale : he answers, that having the King's promise, as appears by M<sup>r</sup> Bowes the ambassador's letter, that on the commissioners' meeting, before any other business, they should make full satisfaction for all bills committed since their meeting at Berwick—and being very loth to call the King's honour in question, and having such sufficient warrant, as your lordships know, for the bill of Liddesdale, he wishes that the same should be handled before any other, as the King promised. But he refers to their consideration, whatever your lordships think requisite "to hold hand unto" with your opposites. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Indorsed* : "Copie of the Lord Scropes answers made unto the commissioners requisition towching the bill of Lyddysdale."

April 23. 602. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

The inclosed copy of our bill against Buccleuch for his late bestility in Tindale, will show your lordship the circumstances. The original letter from Johnston herewith also sent, will let you see how light an occasion he takes to keep himself and his people away from the commission. The questions thus arising for your judgement, may be these—first, whether this "withholdinge" of the Scottish wardens, &c., from justice here, the late outrages, and their combination generally, which is "mightely" suspected, spring from a plot, and the fear of justice by this commission drawing to a point, or from "accidental occasions?" Secondly, if it be a device, how far the infection stretches toward the head, especially noting sundry circumstances, "whether there be not some Catholique or Spanishe practises hidden in it," seeing the intercourse and ordinary passing (as I hear) of "seminaries and suche like traffiquers through those partes into Ireland?" And "how aptly these stronge adventurous and desperate Scottishe wardens" may assist such practices, and the rebels in Ireland, which if they came to ripeness, might end in "thrustinge in of Dakers and Nevile" in the confusion of these borders, the distractions and contempt of their governors grown to such a head, "as I dare not divine of the sequele," but commend these to God and your wisdoms for reformation. Thirdly, if no such practice be found, but mere necessity arms them to defend themselves and join together, it must speedily be considered how we may stay "these wilde humours" till we can compass them about? Also how the King's "notable facilitie" may be so "tempered as he may take better tast and sence of these evils," and concur with her Majesty in some resolute course. And though it grieves us to endure these indignities to her Majesty, and we make show of "my self" returning to acquaint her thereof, and that "armed revenge" only remains, yet we have continued the course of justice "suche as it is," and billed Buccleuch as by the inclosed copy appears. And though by our indents, the appearance and trial of the West Marches and Liddesdale was to be here on a day past, while their wardens and people flatly refuse to repair hither, we forbear fying them for non-appearance, as we might do in strictness, allowing them to fyle our bills on their own Marches on their wardens' honour, to see what may come of it, for these reasons—(1) to protract time till further instructions; (2) to find out their design therein; (3) to give them hope of "wadinge" through these matters quietly; (4) because our people of the Middle and West Marches make as little appearance as they do; (5) we are



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in great strait as to answering the great bill of Liddesdale, which Lord Scrope utterly refuses to do himself; and (6) we fear our own people were to blame for drawing on this last mischief of Buccleuch, who avows constantly under his own handwriting to us, that the Tindale men slew 2 men in Liddesdale the day before, and took goods, which he rescuing in fresh pursuit, was drawn into the said extremities—while our men deny this, and say they were drawn in by device of a Scottish fugitive, who escaped when the English were slain, and they did it to recover the great loss they had suffered on the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> instant. From which confusion of outrages and reports, and the distemper in these Marches, manifold vexations continually spring. I earnestly recommend them first to God, then to her Majesty and your lordship. Carlisle. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Bowes' wafer signed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

## (1) (Bill against Buccleuch.)

The 4 commissioners charge Sir Walter Scott laird of Buccleuch, keeper of Liddesdale, with a hostile invasion of Tyndale on the 17<sup>th</sup> instant, where he cruelly murdered 35 of the Queens subjects, sparing neither age nor sex, cutting some in pieces with his own hand, burning others, and drowning others—also burning 10 houses, and dividing the goods of the country among his men, in reward for service. This odious act was done “on the Holy Sabaoth,” and within 14 days after he had received from the King's own mouth directions for his demeanour therein; and it was done during the commissioners' session at Carlisle, after their summons to him to appear there. They recapitulate his previous offences and murders, and assert that his “late enemy-like surprise of the castell of Carlisle . . . was an act of extreme hostility, and a principall motive of this commission.” Also that his combination with the chief malefactors of both realms, indicates a design to rebel against his own King if the latter should prosecute him, manifested by his contempt in not attending or sending his people, nor forbearing hostilities aforesaid. The commissioners in their sovereign's name, require those of Scotland, seeing that the leagues and treaties of peace are by the “said last fact of Sir Walter Scott manifestly broken,” to deliver him according to the plain tenor thereof “to repaire this exceedinge touche” of the Queen's honour—and that indelayedly, as they justify the holy religion professed between them, and tender the peace, or value the honor of their prince, who has appointed them under his great seal, and promised to ratify their doings on the word of a king.

1½ pp. *Written by their clerk. Indorsed*: “. . . 21 April 1597 . . . The bill exhibited by the commissioners for England to the commissioners for Scotland against the Lard of Buckclugh keeper of Liddesdale.”

## (2) (Johnston to the Scots commissioners.)

“I resavit your lordschipis lettre this Vodinsday at four efter nowne, desyring me to be in Carell this Vodinsday with the rest of the Bordouris, the quhilk is unpossaibill to me to do, . . . in respect the bordonnaris may have ane day or tua days varneing; and now sieand thair is sum accydentis falling out betuix the tua countres be heirscheipes and slauther, that it is not possiabil to me to caus thame to enter in Cairlell, and sidyk sieing the misusing of my servandis be the Ghrims contrair the assurance and proclamation, they will nocht enter for ne promeis that I is able to maik thame, and says planlie that Ingland will never keipe is thame sieing thai compt nothing of me and my servandis. And quhair your lordschipis says it is bot the slauther of ane hors I crayff, I compt nother of that hors nor all the hors I have, it is my servandis lyff, . . . seuthe the quhilk I think gaive it had bene getting I

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vauld haive gotting ne rear amendis for him, nor I get for the hors ; and siclyk hes resavit ane lettre fra Thomis Senws (?), desyryng me to be in Cairlell this Vodnisday at iij, the quhilk lettre I gat nocht quhill fywe hours eftir none ; nochtheles I sall nocht fail to do all dilligence that lays in me to convene the haill bordour to the kirk of Grettney quhair I sall be present my selfe, provyding that I may be lawfullie adverteissit tua or thrie dayis of befor, quhairthrow that I may get thame conveyit ; and gaive it be possiabil I sall bring thame to Cairlell, for in respect the lettres, we could get ne answer when I and they wes thair present, I think ye may als veill apoynt ane new day that may be lawfullie keipeit, in respect thair ar at hame and we man travell out of our awin countrie. And as for thay men thair have apoynt for quyting and fylling of billes, ye sall understand the Laird of Apilgirthe is out of the countrie, and as for Newbe, I can nocht tell quhair he is. Ye aucht to have advertissit me befor my repairing, gaive thair had craiffit sum men ; bot always I sall do dilligence to advertis thame. Sua for the present I vill commit yow to God. Of Lochmaban this Vodnisday att fywe efter none being the xx day of Apryll 1597." *Signeil* : Johnestoune.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed* : "To the rycht honorable my lordis commissioneris of Scotland forenent England geve this."

April 27. 603. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHEY.

The conference mentioned in my last, desired by our "opposites" with Buccleuch and his people of Liddesdale, was held on the confines of that country, but to small effect. For Buccleuch (as one of the commissioners on whose kindness he chiefly relies, told me) showed by his behaviour, that he would no further press his people to tell the truth of their attempts, either on their oaths or on his own honour, than they would voluntarily deliver to his "naked and bare examination." From this, and the like expected from Johnston and Cesford, the justice intended by this commission "is like to fall into hard tearmes," unless the King can be persuaded to break their combination, and perform his commissioners' indents for delivery of pledges, the only means now and hereafter "to bridle these wicked clandes." His good inclination is from time to time signified in general terms to the ambassador, in answer to complaints from our wardens or ourselves, as shown lately in the attempt of Killam, where he sent a gentleman expressly to learn the truth. But though he admits the need of speedy remedy, yet these iniquities increase, and the slight excuses of his officers have more credit with him, than any complaint from our nation or his own commissioners. For instance, the last received directions (they say) yesterday from him to demand justice on Buccleuch's complaint of Tyndale for their attempt on Saturday ; yet he takes no knowledge of Buccleuch's "horrible act" on Sunday following !

This defect in the King, "whether it springe of too muche facilitie, or too little sinceritie," added to the strange course taken by his wardens, draweth me (seeing her Majesty has been pleased to trust me both as a commissioner, and an envoy to him for redress) to think of some strong motive to be presented to him for better conformity. And as these officers hold his full authority, I consider their actions are done "by him or for him," and the laying before him the peril of war involved by a continuance of their invasions, may procure a speedier decision at his hands. And "I protest in the worde of that truth whereby my soule shall live ever," that I have no other motive but the discharge of my duty, in asking your lordships to direct me whether at all, or how far I shall urge the King thus for the delivery into her Majesty's hands of Cesford and Buccleuch for the invasions—the only way to acquit himself, and convince the world that he had no concern with these

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acts. And I conceive it will make him "warie" what new officers he puts into their places. I have now got his safe conduct, but hearing he is to take his journey from Edinburgh to Dundee about 6<sup>th</sup> May to "the syndall convention" there, and our proceedings here are not so forward as we wish, the Bishop also unwilling to spare my assistance therein, and with Lord Scrope and the Carletons and Grahams, as your letters lately directed us,—I shall, unless otherwise directed from you, await the King's return from Dundee. Carlisle. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

Since writing the above, Johnston with some of his people is come hither "of purpose (as he saith) to advance the course of justice in execution of our commission."

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

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April 27. 604. ROBERT VERNON TO [BURGHLEY].

Requesting his "honor" to order the receivers to pay as follows towards the garrison pay at Berwick for the first half year ending at Lady day—and he will be "contented to beare" any deficiency, so that the men are fully paid.

From the receivers,—of Lincoln, 1500*l*.; of York (who should pay 4000*l*.), 3000*l*.; and of Northumberland and the Bishopric, 2000*l*.; in all, 6500*l*.

The garrison pay for first half year, 6658*l*.; works done this half year, 138*l*. 13*s*. 6¾*d*.; "by a warrant directed from your lordship for the repairing of Warke castell," 300*l*.; in all, 7096*l*. 13*s*. 6¾*d*. Being bold thus to trouble his honor, because time passes and it will "aske" some time to send for M<sup>r</sup> Bowes's indents for the receipt. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

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April 28. 605. SCROPE TO CECIL.

As directed by the lords of the conacil, the matter in controversy between the Carletons and me, was heard before the commissioners, "the succes wherof you maye understand by th<sup>e</sup> inclosed." I pray you still for my lord your father's and your own favour, which I will always deserve "whatsomever" other men would say. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

¾ p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed. Quartered wafer signet as before.*

April 28. 606. WEST MARCH BILLS AGAINST SCOTLAND.

"Indented at Carliell the xxvii<sup>th</sup> of April 1597, by ordre of the lordes commissioners for Border causes, betwixt the lordes wardens of the West Marches of England and Scotland as followeth."

*Extracts.*

[For the most part a recapitulation of claims already made, with some additions since the commissioners first sat; stating the amounts, result, &c.]

f. 35. Captain of Bewcastle against John of Langham, Will Kynmont, &c., for 24 horse and mares, himself prisoner and ransomed to 200*l*. sterling, and 16 other prisoners, and slaughter. "Foule by confession" and referred to the commissioners for "tryall of the trodd," 40*l*.

f. 75. M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bowes ambassador against Sandy Armstrong for 2 horses. "Foule for lack of answer," 20*l*.

f. 166. Thomas Raylton against the Goodman of Woddesleas for a "kowe and a quy;" foul for lack of answer, 3*l*.

f. 170. William Grame *alias* "lang Wully" against Hebbies Turnshawe, &c., for 20 kye and oxen, and insight; foul for lack of answer, 40*l*.

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f. 177. John Trumpeter against Willy Frigg, Geordy Kang, &c., for "gold monie," furniture and himself prisoner. Foul for lack of answer, 10*l*.

Bills fyled, extracted and referred to the commissioners' and wardens' honours, betwixt the West Marches of England and the West Marches of Scotland, committed since the last commissioners' meeting at Berwick, February 1587, and examined as within specified, by the direction of the Bishop of Durham and his associate commissioners for border causes, 180; the principal single value whereof amounts by estimation to 11,987*l*. 18*s*.

8½ pp. *Double broad sheets. Indorsed partly by the Bishop and Burghley.*

April 28. 607. WEST MARCH BILLS AGAINST ENGLAND.

Indented at Carlisle 28 April 1597, by order of the lords commissioners for Border causes, betwixt the lords wardens of the West Marches of Scotland and England as follows.

*Extracts.*

f. 29. John Armstrong of Hollas against John Musgrave, &c., for 400 kye and oxen, 20 horse, 10 score sheep, gold and money 20*l*., insight, 200*l*.; foul for lack of answer, 800*l*.

f. 30. Lord Herries against Geordy Grame, &c., for 8 score kye and oxen, 100 sheep, 30 horse and mares, and ransoming 4 servants; foul for lack of answer, 400*l*.

f. 31. The same against the same, for 200 kye and oxen, 300 sheep, 30 horse and mares; foul (*at last*), 700*l*.

f. 32. The same against the same for 100 kye, 100 sheep, 20 horse and mares, insight; foul (*as last*), 400*l*.

f. 33. Rynyon Armstrong of Aughenbedrigg against Thomas Musgrave, Captain Carvell, Will. Hutton, &c., for 30 score kye and oxen, 20 horse and mares, 30 score sheep and "gayt," insight of 20 houses, 1000 marks, a horse 40*l*.; foul by confession of Captain Musgrave, 2000*l*.

f. 39. Laird Johnston against Will and Wattye Grames, sons to Dicks Davye, &c., for gold money 200*l*., slaughter of 3 men, and "mutulating" 5 others; "respeted."

f. 40. The same against Geordy Grame son to Rob of Fald, Geordy Grame of Milhill, &c., for 60 kye and oxen, 10 horse and mares, slaughter of 2 men; foul for lack of answer, 200*l*.

f. 41. The same against the same, for 9 score kye and oxen, 1000 sheep; foul (*as last*), 400*l*.

f. 44. The same against Geordy of Fald, &c., for 6 score kye and oxen and 26 score sheep; foul (*as last*), 500*l*.

f. 45. George Herries of Taraghtrie against Fergie of Plumpe, &c., for 4 score kye and oxen, 6 horse and mares, burning houses; foul (*as last*), 300*l*.

f. 57. John Charter of Empsfield against Ferye of Plumpe, &c., for 24 horse; foul (*as last*), 80*l*.

f. 58. John Carrudders of Holmendes against Brades Jock, &c., for 16 kye and oxen; foul (*as last*), 30*l*.

f. 59. The same against the same for 40 kye and oxen; foul (*as last*), 160*l*.

f. 65. Will'm Kynmont against Sym "Rydebefore" and Rany Davy Grame. "Rydebefore dead, Ranyes Davye a fugityve."

f. 69. George Harries against Rob of Fald, Goodman of Netherbye, &c., for burning Taraghtrie, 10,000 "merkes Scottes," foul for lack of answer, 1000*l*.

f. 70. Walter Harries servant to the Lord Harries against Thom Grame of Akebankes, &c., "from Craford moore" 2000*l*. of insight; foul and agreed, 200*l*.

f. 82. Mungoe Johnston of Lockerby against Rychie Rae, man to Markes Tom Geordy, &c., 4 oxen; foul for lack of answer, 8*l*.

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f. 83. Laird of Closburne against Will of Mote, foul and agreed.

f. 86. John Corsan against Rychard Murrey "the guyde," &c., for 20 sheep; foul for lack of answer, 6*l*.

f. 108. The inhabitants of the town of Annan against John Grame of West Linton, &c., for 30 kye and oxen, 24 prisoners; foul (*as last*), 80*l*.

Bills fyled contracted and referred to the commissioners' and wardens' honour betwixt the West Marches of Scotland and the West Marches of England committed since the last commissioners' meeting at Berwick, February 1587, and now examined as within specified by direction of the Bishop of Durham and his associate commissioners for Border causes, 110; the principal or single value whereof by estimation is 13,007*l*. 10*s*.

5½ pp. *Double broad sheets. Indorsed partly by the Bishop and Burghley.*

April 28—608. LIDDESDALE BILLS ON ENGLAND.

29.

*Extracts.*

At Carlisle 28 April 1597:—

Bill of William Ewarte's wife and William Michellsonne upon John Ridley man to M<sup>r</sup> Ridley of Williemuntwicke, John Smith, John Pigg in Hawtewesse, and John Robsoun of Wooddhouses—by the warden's honor for the goods only.

[*Five others by Armstrongs and Ellotts.*]

Carlisle 29 April:—[30 bills, *Armstrongs and Ellots on Robsons, Charletons, Dodds, &c.* Neither the nature of the offence nor value are stated.]

4 pp. *Indorsed by Burghley*: "Middle March Lyddesdale—for the Scottes. April—May.—Bills ag<sup>t</sup> England 1597."

April 28—609. MIDDLE MARCH BILLS ON LIDDESDALE.

30.

*Extracts.*

At Carlisle 28 April 1597:—

"A bill of M<sup>r</sup> Henrye Bowes and Raphe Mansfealde, foul on the Laird of Buclughe by the commissioners honors for the burning and murders therein conteyned."

A bill of Jarrard Robsoun's *alias* "cappenerke" of Stannisburne, foul by confession on the honor of the "keper" of Liddeedale on the persons therein contained.

A bill of Thomas Blackett's of Burnefoote on Lanclote and Francis Armstrong of Whithaugh, David Armstronge called "bredsworde," &c., quit on the said keeper's honor.

A bill of Mathew Charleton's of Ellinghamerigge, against Robert Elliott of Thorleshopp, Henry Nixsoun of Killforde, Hob Armstrong and Alexander Armstrong called "Henxie amiser," by the keeper, "that Robert Elliott is in Hexham gaole, and quit upon the rest, that there is not such a persoune."

At Carlisle 29<sup>th</sup> April:

[*Six bills "foule"*] one on "gleed" Jocke Nixsoun, &c., another on Clemmy "the clache."

At Carlisle 30<sup>th</sup> April:—[85 bills in all—*foul or agreed, &c.*]

Among the plaintiffs are,—Hugh Ridley of Plenmeller, Edward Charleton of Hesleside, Margerie Heron of Chipehese, Margaret Blenkinsopp of Bittlestone, Isabell Charleton of Boughthill, Mergerie Sympson of Ushawe, Richard Thirlwall of Thirlwall castle, John Heron of Chipehase junior, John Blenkinsone of Bellester, Mathew Bee, &c., of Allendale, Thomas Wigham of the Esh, John Piggie of Hawtwhistell. Among defendants, Arche Elliott

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"brunt hand," "Whitlipps" Jame Crosier, Hobb (Robert) Scott called "bradowe."

12½ pp. *Indorsed partly by the Bishop*: "*Medias Marchias billes,*" &c., "in April and in May 1597 . . ." (*also by Burghley*).

April 29. 610. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHLEY.

We have against our wills been silent since the 20<sup>th</sup>, having little occasion to write, through the uncertainty arising from the insolent incursion of Cesford's men against Killam, and Buccleuch's bloody and barbarous outrage in Tyndale, which well nigh defeated the treaty, "the lewd Liddesdales" pretending fear to make personal appearance here, and we could not resolve how to deal either with them or without them. However, we have in the end proceeded to business with our opposites, and fyled and cleaned the bills for the Middle and West Marches; and not only fyled Buccleuch himself for Tyndale, but with great ado have at length kept Lord Scrope out of the great bill of Liddesdale, so consequently the warrant your lordship "wotteth of" not questioned or mentioned at all, but the fires and goods fyled on private men named in the bill. We have also agreed that on Saturday next at the "bound roade nigh Gratney kirke," the wardens or deputies of the West Marches shall meet and receive and deliver the persons fyled for offences since our first sitting on 12 January: and on Monday next, Buccleuch or his deputy to do the like for Liddesdale, so as if promises be kept, and the order for pledges duly observed, "it may be God Almighty of his great mercie will cause some good fruite to follow of this our simple service." Meantime we proceed as diligently and warily as we can to bring the treaty to a good conclusion—and though we would gladly have your advice before engrossing it, while the Scots are here, we fear this cannot be, they are so desirous to get home, and the posts ride so slowly, besides the multitude of weighty affairs at Court not affording leisure on a sudden to answer our inquiry, though most necessary if it could be obtained.

We have appointed Tuesday next for the ecclesiastical commission, whereby we shall see the state of this country, consider the quality of the recusants, and confer with the Bishop of Carlisle, the warden, &c., for reformation of the state whereinto these parts and others are fallen—as her Majesty's particular instructions to me the Bishop of Durham bear, which I imparted on Sunday last to the three wardens in presence of Sir William Bowes, whereto they will accommodate themselves with all zeal and diligence.

We look daily for the presentments of the decays in the three wardenries, with their causes and remedies, which we shall send up for her Majesty's and the Council's consideration.

We defer our report on the Carletons and Grames till our next letters. Carlisle. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm., Will'm Bowes, F. Slyngisbe, Clement Colmore, Jo. Benet.

\* "All our three wardens, upon her Majesties most gracious motion, are well accorded and frendes, which we trust will doe mutche good and prevent manie great inconveniences."

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: Durham impaling Mathew.*

April 29. 611. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

The commissioners on Thursday the 28<sup>th</sup>, filed Buclughe's "outrageous" bill against Tyndale; other recent bills since the 12<sup>th</sup> January are filed on their honors.

The terror of this great bill of Tyndale, and the fear the people have of

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peace continuing while Buccleuch is officer, have forced them not only from their dwelling houses, but also from their "sommer sheills, which is their cheifest profit"; and I cannot defend them there with safety of their lives, without I have 100 foot from Berwick to lie during the summer with them for defence. Nor will the people venture themselves without such guard against his continued cruelty. I humbly desire your assistance for her Majesty's pleasure herein, for now is the time they should take to the sheeles, or it will be lost for the whole year. I pray you also signify my duty to her Majesty, that according to her pleasure, the wardens are all agreed in joint service to her. Carlisle. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 29. 612. EURE TO CECIL.

My opposite the laird of Baclughe has revived with cruel revenge, his malicious "feede" against the Queen's subjects of Tindale—"the conceived greife growing upon the taking of his father prisoner in former tyme by them." [*Here his several murders, day forays, &c., since Sir John Forster left office are related as in former letters.*] And now the last on the 17<sup>th</sup>, where he himself was an actor, murdered burned and drowned almost 30 persons, and burned the "fayrest houses of the ordinarie yeoman men within Tindaile," to the number of 3 or 4, with 20 ont houses attached. I inclose the names of the men and houses to your honor. This barbarous cruelty and ancient enmity to the English, has prevented these poor people from venturing to their "sheilding" for fear of their lives, without some help, which I humbly beg your honor to procure by her Majesty's pleasure from the garrison of Berwick. For they fly from their winter dwellings 5 or 6 miles into the country, so that the March lies waste and uninhabited, through the "unchristianlie usage" of this officer in time of peace. Carlisle. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

\* The number of 100 foot would do much good for "Tindayle sheild."

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "... Rec<sup>d</sup>. at Whithall the third of May."

Inclosed in the same:—

(List of the slain, &c.)

Same as in No. 595.

1 p. *Contemporary hand.*

April 30. 613. VERDICT BY A JURY OF THE WEST MARCH.

"The verdict of Christoffer Dalston" [and 14 others] "esquiers jurors for the West Marches of England," &c., charged by the Bishop of Durham, &c., her Majesty's commissioners for the borders. "Gevin at Carlisle the last of Aprill," 39 Eliz., &c., 1597.

*Extracts.*

*Under 15 heads—the last numbered 14 in error.*

1. They present that the discontinuance of warden meetings is due to the feuds, &c., of the Scottish wardens, who could not or dared not attend.

2. As to murders committed by Scots since the year 1579: they present an abstract drawn up by the officers since the last meeting of commissioners in 1587, distinguishing each year—49 in all, [whose names and those of the murderers have appeared in previous abstracts].

3. In answer to this inquiry, on defaults among the English borderers

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themselves: they present several, and a list of notorious felons known to themselves still "at large," viz., John Grame *alias* Jocke of Peitre, Geordie Grame *alias* Gatlé, John Baruefather *alias* Jocke Webster [and 21 others, Hethertons, Blackburn, Batie, Forsters, Twedyes, Nobles, &c.].

4. As for the falling off in last 7 years of the horse and foot, they find the number much the same, but refer to the lord warden's book—and think the default also arises partly from many of her Majesty's tenants claiming "tenant right" and such an absolute estate, that they cannot be dealt with as formerly, when the unfurnished tenant was displaced and an able man set in his room—and partly from the last 3 years' dearth here, but specially from the great stealing, robbery, reaving, &c., both by the Scots, and the Englishmen of Bewcastle and Gilsland—which places are ill governed by their officers.

5. For the inquiry as to persons who have left their dwellings, the only official report sent to them, is that 30 have left Bewcastle.

6. Nor can they find too great sub-division of holdings, or any depopulating of towns or converting tillage to pasture.

7. They cannot find any great number of Scots as farmers or servants "but for Scottes roges for thes two last yeares, this border haithe bene and ys overlaide with thowsandes."

8 and 9. To these inquiries as to the best course of justice, and the names of 6 Scottish gentlemen for opposite assisers, they find the commissioners have settled a course, and refer these matters to themselves.

11. They present, as paying blackmail to Richard Grame of Langetown, and his wife, but chiefly to William Haire his clerk, some of M<sup>r</sup> Dacres of Lanercoast's tenants, but for how long they know not.

12. They know of no sheip "raikes" let to Scots in this March.

13 and 14 contain their views for the better strengthening and quiet of the March—bonds of doubtful persons—residence of the several under officers in these districts, &c.—no compounding felonies—beginning feuds punished by death, &c.

14. \* "To the 15<sup>th</sup> we present that the churche of Bewcastle, the churche of Stapleton, the church of Arthred, being withiu this Marche, have bene decayed by the space of threscore yeares and more, but we certauely knowe not the patrons of the sayd churches, neyther who ought to buyld the same. And the churche of Lanerd cost, ys nowe also in decaye, and haith so bene by the space of two or thre yeares last past, but by whome the same ought to be repaired we knowe not. And the churche of Kirklinton is also in decaye, and so haith contynewed the space of twentie yeare, and that William Musgrave esquier, and Edward Musgrave his sonne, are patrons of the same." *Signed*: Christofer Dalston, Nicholas Curwen, He. Leighe, Henry Bleacowe, Lancelot Skelton, James Bellingham, George Salkeld, John Lamplughe, Francis Lamplughe, Gerard Lowther, Christofer Lowther, Wilfr. Lawson, Edward Musgrave, Edmund Dudleye, William Hutton, Richard Lowther, John Richemonde.

8 pp. *Double broad sheets. Indorsed by Burghley*: "9 Martii 1597. Inquisition by a jury for disorder in the West Marches."

April 30. 614. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Having as commanded by the commissioners, "condesended" to the calling of bills between this and the opposite West March, and proceeded in answering one bill after another as directed, which has continued two days—finding that the Scots would make us answerable for their own troubles between the Maxwells and Johnstons, because the Grames were chief actors in the same, "and would not be moch discontented to be delivered:" I leave

\* Error for 15.



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it to your consideration what inconvenience might happen in these dangerous times "to have them so privat in Scotland soe long a tyme!" On Mouday 2<sup>d</sup> May is appointed for the meeting of the Laird of "Bogklugh," where the King "(as I am creadibly informed)" has directed his commissioners "for thire last refuge, to intimate upon her Majestie for the receite of Bothewell." But in this and all other things, I will do as your lordship directs me. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

Postscript :—I pray you remember the soldiers, for I am persuaded we shall have occasion to use them. "I advised the commissioners to put on the King for the receite of Fraucis Dacre, which I thincke was since this treatise : but I am not as yet assured, because I had noe tyme to inquire, for upon this occation I did but beginne to thincke of it."

2 pp. *Holograph* ; as also address. *Indorsed*.

April 30. 615. SWIFT TO BURGHLEY.

There is provision now made of all kind of grain to serve the Berwick garrison till after Michaelmas next, and I trust it is by this time there. The rest, yet undelivered in divers men's hands, I should quickly send off if I were at the places of delivery.

M<sup>r</sup> Coniers has long since almost finished our last year's account, but cannot perfect it without your honour's pleasure on my petitions. As for 2 years almost, I have spent my whole time to my great charges and travell, I humbly beseech your lordship to signify to "M<sup>r</sup> Auditour" your pleasure. *Not signed*.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Written by his clerk*. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary*.

May 2. 616. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

I received her Majesty's letter of 27<sup>th</sup> April, "yesternight" after 7—the contents whereof I shall with all diligence deliver to the Scottish King.

I also received your own of same date hastening my address on account of the late outrages, which though so notorious, yet were "so covered with faire pretext of a lawfull trode and fresh pursuite" of English trespassers, especially Buccleuch's, that a "heedfull" inquisition and "curious debate" with our opposites, were requisite to get at the truth, and the bill fyled to our advantage.

Buccleuch avowed his inroad was lawfull, for 60 English entered Liddesdale at night, slew 2 men and drove many sheep and cattle, when the fray arising, he with neighbouring gentlemen "followed the chace with the dog," and put the first men he met making resistance, to the sword. The rest of the spoil, taken to sundry houses in Tindale, was therein held against him by the stealers, and though he offered them life and goods, if the cattle were delivered, he had to force entry by firing the doors, when the houses were burned "besides his purpose," with the obstinate people who refused to yield on trust. This is the substance of his narration, and in its material circumstances, we found it "so neere the truth as being added to the auncient immunitie to kill whosoever they found with the reide hand (that is) possessinge or driving stolen goodes," that we were in a great difficulty ; but finding that he had burned some houses and innocent people who had none of the stolen goods, we got an advantage, and fyled him on the commissioners' honors, and then required our opposites in writing for three reasons, and assigned a time, place and manner, to deliver all on our side who had "falted," demanding the like from their hands. The first appointment with Johnston was kept on both sides the last of April ; but this day our deputies attending the time and place on Scottish ground, Buccleuch made no appearance nor sent any excuse. I can now repair to the King thus

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furnished—against Buccleuch, as I cannot conveniently take the wardens' books, I have drawn a *Constat* out of the record, signed by three of the opposites, stating his offences. For Cesford, I am thus provided—first the *Constat* as to Swinburne castle, &c., though he avoids the charges of murdering Englishmen, by proving them Scots born, and Buccleuch says 18 of the last slain in Tyndale were "native" Scots. For the men slain by both at Eslington, though outside of this treaty by limitation of years, yet being reserved to the princes in the last, I shall now charge Cesford with them on the Queen's behalf. My purpose is to solicit the King to cause his commissioners and wardens to meet him at Edinburgh on his return from Dundee, expected about the 16<sup>th</sup> instant, when I see not how he can evade either delivering Cesford and Buccleuch into her Majesty's hands, or directly break the treaty: hoping he will get out of this strait, by giving our desired pledges, and appointing more peaceable wardens. I have enlarged the more, to show her Majesty I do not neglect her service, but as it was left to my lord of Durham and me to judge as to the time for my entry, it was thought best to "beat out" the truth here before proceeding to enforce her Majesty's views on the King. For which purpose we have prepared matters by the ambassador, myself awaiting a fit time to proceed. My success I must wholly recommend to the Heavenly guiding, her Majesty's acceptance, and your favourable report. Carlisle. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 2. 617. SCROPE TO CECIL.

"As my brother Robert Cary received noe delivery for the bills filed by the commissioners at Barowike, so likewise noe performance at all hath bene had at the Laird of Bucklughe for Liddisdail. My brother Bowes, and the other comissioners have taken very great paynes in this service, wherin he could not conveniently have bene spayed." The Scots make great haste to be gone, but vary so often, the time is uncertain to me. This and Buccleuch's attempts, argue some "mightie mischief" from him, and if it fall out, I entreat to know if I may not revenge it, for the most part of the people of Gilsland and Bewcastle are so overrun and spoiled, that they must leave the country to support their families, unless the Queen tolerates revenge and sends timely aid of soldiers, which we shall have great occasion for. "The Kings coming to Dunfreese was not for nothing." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*

May 2. 618. CERTIFICATE BY HENRY LEIGH.

Henry Leigh deputy of Lord Scrope being sent by his lordship to Cannonbye holme in Scotland, under indent between the commissioners, on 27<sup>th</sup> April, to make and take delivery from the Laird of Buccleuch, keeper of Liddesdale for all bills since 12<sup>th</sup> January, found, no man from the keeper at the place appointed. So that the indent was broken by default of the Scots, saying that one Gawen Elliott who said he was Buccleuch's deputy, came and confessed that he had not the principal offenders there to deliver, but offered a "meane fellow" a servant, in their name, and prayed a "respet" of 8 days when he would deliver the offenders. But Henry Leigh having no commission other than in the indent, could not yield to him, so there was nothing done.

Likewise same day and place, Henry Bowes esq., deputy to Lord Eure, was ready to deliver his offenders, but could not get the like, save that Gawen Elliott craved as aforesaid. *Signed*: He. Leigh.

¾ p. *Indorsed*: "A breviat of M<sup>r</sup> Leigh, Lord Scroopes deputie," &c.

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## May 3. 619. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I have been at Carlisle with our commissioners, and sought by all means to get delivery for the bills filed, but got none, and fear there will be little good done, except Sir William Bowes do it, who is by this time gone to the King. When I left Carlisle on the 29<sup>th</sup> April, the Scots commissioners gave out they would break up and return to the King on Monday after, the 2<sup>d</sup> May, which if they did, "I see not but this commission hath done more hurt then good."

I understand by my servant "whome I have left there for the dispatche of my busynesse, of the honorable care you have had of me, for the which and a great nombre moe of your kynd favoures I can but rest thankfull . . . beseeching . . . that yt may please you to knowe her Majesties absolute pleasure touching my pattent, wherby I may from you understand what I may hope for or trust to, for to be resolved of the one or the other I onely desyer." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

## May 4. 620. DEMAND FOR SCOTTISH FUGITIVES AND REPLY BY ENGLAND.

Carlisle 4 May 1597.—"Pleaseth it your lordschippes to lett us have your answeare by wryting, aneust our fugitives and rebelles for high treason, resett upon your borders" and elsewhere in this realm; whose names we delivered to you at Berwick, *viz.*, M<sup>r</sup> Archibald Douglass, James Douglass sometime of Spott, Archibalde Wauchop sometime of Nudrie younger, Alexander Houme sometime of Prendergaist, and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Cranston son to John Cranston of Thirlston mains.

*Subscribitur*: Dunkell, George Houme, Fawdonside.

The answer of the English commissioners.

To the said requisition may it please your lordships to receive for answer, first,—that we cannot understand that these persons are "commorant" on the borders, or limits of our commission: next, that we conceive that the treaty prescribes a certain form of requisition by one prince to the other in this case, which we wish you to peruse and consider of, not doubting but her Majesty will satisfy the demand, if so made to her. *Subscribitur*: T. Duresm., Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes, F. Slingsbe, Cl. Colmore.

1 p. *Copies by the English clerk. Indorsed by Burghley and his secretary.*

## May 5. 621. THE COMMISSIONERS' PROCLAMATION.

The commissioners of both realms having now "by favour and assistance of Goddes good spirit," concluded the great work wherein they were employed by their princes, purposing with all diligence to address themselves to the presence of their sovereigns to carry into effect the indents between them, ordain proclamations to be made in their sovereigns' names at the market crosses of the head boroughs of the Marches of both realms, inhibiting all inhabitants thereof from disturbing the peace in any sort, under pain of the offenders being held as public enemies and dealt with accordingly. Requiring and commanding in their sovereigns' names, all the wardens and keepers of the Marches to give earnest attendance on their offices and repress all disorders "at their utter charge and perill." Carlisle. "God save the Queene." *Signed*: Tobie Duresm., F. Slyngeisbe, Cl. Colmore. \* *Copia cera*: T. Duresm.

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1 p. *Indorsed by the Bishop*: "A kynde of proclamation for peace and good rule upon the Borders, *donec et quousque*. 5 Maij 1597."

May 5.

## 622. THE TREATY AT CARLISLE

"Know all Christian people," &c., "wee Tobie by Godes providence bushopp of Duresme, Sir William Bowes knight, Frauncis Slyngebe esquier, and Clement Colmore doctor of lawe, commissioners of the most high, most excellent and mighty princes, Elizabeth by the grace of God, Quene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, Defendour of the faith, &c.: and wee Peter by the mercie of God bushopp of Dunkell, one of the senatours of the Colledge of Justice within Scotlande, Sir George Houme of Wedderbourne knight, Andrew Kerr of Fawdonside, and M<sup>r</sup> George Younge, archidean of S<sup>t</sup> Andros, commissioners for the right high, right excellent and mighty prince, James the Sixt King of Scottes our soveraigne lord, send greeting in our Lord God everlasting. Know yee," &c., that we have resolved as follows:—

*Extracts.*

*There are 36 articles numbered on margin by Burghley.*

1. That good ministers be planted at every border church to inform the lawless people of their duty, and watch over their manners—the principals of each parish giving their prince surety for due reverence to the pastor in his office: the said churches to be timely repaired.

2. A border council of the most sufficient and discreet in each March, to be chosen by the prince, to meet twice a year.

3. The wardens at the first day of truce, within 4 days after midsummer yearly, to interchange copies of their commissions, and receive each other's oaths to do justice, &c.

4. That each warden "speir out" offenders in his own March against the opposite, exceeding five in number, fyle them on his honour, and deliver within 15 days, on requisition made to him within 48 hours, or pay the bill himself.

6. No warden or keeper shall hereafter ride in person, or direct any to ride, in hostile manner, in the opposite realm without his prince's special command under hand and seal, on pain of being held a public enemy, and any riding with him shall forfeit redress for ever.

7. The border councils, shall on due inquiry, inroll all notorious thieves, delivering a copy to their warden, who shall on the first conviction of any such, put him forthwith to death, or if fugitive, proclaim him, and destroy his dwelling-house.

8. Deadly feud borne by any of one March against their opposite, for executing a thief by justice, or killing him "redhand," to be put down by his warden making him renounce the feud under his hand, or delivering him to the opposite warden till he does so. This for bygones as well as in time to come.

9. As to slaughters—this addition shall be made to the former treaties—that when required, the wardens shall do justice therein "precisely," within 15 days after, to their opposites, on pain of 10*l.* sterling every month while justice is delayed, paid to the party grieved, by the defaulting warden.

10. A warden opposite two other Marches may do justice with one, though refused by the other.

11. If a warden deliver his officer for a bill fyled, and "borrowe him againe upon his word (as the use is), and meantime the party fyled depart this life by whatsoever waie or meane," the warden shall pay the bill and seek his remedy from the heirs, &c., of the defunct "as he may best."

12. For violent resistance or bodily hurt of the followers of stolen goods in fresh pursuit by night or day, ordained, that besides ordinary redress of

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goods, any offender chosen by the complainants shall be delivered to the opposite officer to be punished at his discretion.

13. No broken borderer to be suffered to keep any idle person, and none such to remain in a border village or alehouse, or they shall be "billable" for so doing, as if they had resetted stolen goods.

14. As to damages for malicious accusations without cause.

15. *Bona fide* possessors of stolen goods to retain them as their own, if not sued within year and day.

16-17. As to swearing bills—and penalty for any man troubling another for billing him.

18. To prevent fraud, no "back bill" shall be good unless made within 40 days after fying a bill.

20. A borderer getting an opposite to be his surety, and not relieving him of his bond in due time, but leaving him to pay it, his heirs, &c., shall if he dies be adjudged by his warden to repay, to the other or his heirs, &c. though not mentioned in the bond.

21. No action for debt shall be tried on the Marches, unless the defendant at least be inhabitant there, but by the ordinary judge. By the Marches is understood, the English, from Newcastle to Peareth, and the Scottish from Edinburgh and Dumfreize exclusively.

23. Material words or names interlined in any bill, shall be held as unwritten, except they be inserted by the present or future commissioners' authority.

24. Before the last of June next the wardens shall enrol all fugitives exiled for theft and robbery, and within their March, sending the same under their hands to the opposite wardens, requesting them to have them secretly and safely apprehended and delivered under the treaty.

26. As to the delivery on either side of two or three of every surname of broken men as pledges.

27-35 relate to their delivery, custody and other provisions as before.

36. The next treaty to be held in Scotland unless otherwise agreed between the princes.

[The commissions (in Latin) by the princes are here recited—that by Elizabeth, tested at Westminster 2<sup>d</sup> October in her 38<sup>th</sup> year—that of James at Halyruidhouse 8<sup>th</sup> January 1596, 30<sup>th</sup> of his reign.]

*Signed*: Tobie Duresm., Will'm Bowes, F. Slyngisbe, Clement Colmore, Dunkell, George Houme, Fawdonsyd.

10½ pp. *Indorsed by Burghley*: "5 Maij 1597. The treaty at Carlisle."

May 5. 623. THE TREATY AT CARLISLE.

[Similar in all respects to the preceding, except that the phraseology is Scottish, the Scottish commissioners' names come first in order, and the King's commission precedes that of Elizabeth.] *Signed*: Dunkell, George Houme, Fawdonsyd, Tobie Duresm., Will'm Bowes, F. Slyngisbe, Cl. Colmore.

11½ pp. *Written in a Scottish hand. Indorsed by Burghley*: "5 Maij 1597. The treaty of Carlisle, signed by the Scottish and English commissioners."

May 5. 624. TREATY AT CARLISLE.

[A copy of clauses 26 to 34 relating to the delivery custody, &c., of pledges on either side.]

1 p. *Copy by the English clerk. Indorsed*: "An abstract of principall matters out of the treatie for Border causes betwene England and Scotland at Barwick and Carlisle anno Domini 1596 and 1597. *Reigine Eliz. 39.*" *Possibly the first sheet has been lost.*

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## 625. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

As Sir William Bowes communicated to me his instructions signed by you 1<sup>st</sup> April last, containing her Majesty's commands for his repair to the King of Scots, with certain other matters on Border causes, and advice to some principal persons hereabout: while I know he diligently informed you of our proceedings, yet now he is gone into Scotland, I have thought good in discharge of my own duty, to advertise you that it may be made known to her highness, that we as instructed, procured Lord Scrope, Lord Eure and Sir Robert Carey wardens of the English Marches to meet with us here. We then imparted to them her Majesty's "most Christian and princely" admonition to them and the gentlemen in their charges, to such amicable concord, "as best might please the God of Peace, and most affurther" her service there; the lack of which had greatly discouraged the better sort, impaired their own reputations, and "advanced the creast of their opposites"; who had thus of late insolently triumphed and prayed upon this nation, to its dishonour, her Majesty's discontentment, and the "high displeasure of Almighty God," besides the pitiful outcries of men, women, and children, widows and orphans, spoiled and murdered almost in their own sight—notwithstanding her Majesty's royal bounty in allowing more horsemen for their relief, than had ever been given before in time of peace. Whereupon after each had answered for him self, and after some "reciprocall objections and expostulations too and fro, for divers reasons by Sir William Bowes and me alledged," partly from their own honourable dispositions, but chiefly in obedience to her Majesty, they were thoroughly reconciled, with protestation to assist each other's Marches when needful, and no wise hereafter to lend ear to the misreports of "scycophantes" doing evil offices between them. So having stayed here—Sir Robert Carey one week, Lord Eure "twayne," much feasted by Lord Scrope, and conferring together "in most kinde manner" for the good of the service, to the great joy of the people, they departed to their own charges to execute the directions given and to be sent from hence.

Concerning Lord Scrope and M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther, with some matters touching the Grahames: though Sir William Bowes had made known her Majesty's pleasure to all of them, yet as any came to me I did the best I could, but found them all asserting themselves guiltless of Lord Scrope's charges. Yet my exhortations were not unnecessary, for I perceive "*aliquid nescio quid*" between his lordship and M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, "which I wish were not onely cutt downe now and then, but pluckt upp by the very roote . . . But trewe honour and pretended innocencie, are things very resolute awayes, and sometimes somewhat obstinate."

The Carletons, especially Thomas, Lancelott, and Anthonie, "are entred into a deepe and dangerous course," if the reports to Lord Scrope are true, which are vouched by others to Thomas's face, and deposed against the rest before her Majesty's commissioners and others. "Albeit the deponents (I wote not by whose practise) would afterward fayne reverse their former informacions," my Lord Scrope does not doubt them, and he will "certify upp" before long, if promises are kept to him.

"The Grahames are (as it is knowen) a great surname of half broken men," not so able to serve as they have been: yet not to be lost, if they can be kept in reasonable terms, till this frontier is revived and better settled, lest they "leape ont, and become lawlesse."

It were dangerous if this "corner" but wanted their help: more dangerous if they joined the enemy against Gilsland and Bewcastle, which countries are "brought upon their knees already," and a little less assistance, or a little more resistance would utterly overthrow them, to the peril of this March in my opinion, "who see not farre."

Sir William Bowes and I with the lord warden's privity, thought best,

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till proofs are more sufficient against them, to take the Carletons and some of the chief Grahames bound with good sureties to appear in person (on 15 days' warning at their houses) before the Privy Council, or those appointed to hear them, to answer all charges—which bonds may percase keep them in bounds of loyalty to the Queen, and duty to the lord warden, who used us very honourably while here, and deserves more thanks than her Majesty hath been pleased to bestow on me undeserving; though I confess that such gracious acceptance of my simple service, hath been and shall be to my singular comfort and encouragement.

We have written a joint letter to the Lord Treasurer, with "the some of our whole negociacion," and sent his lordship a copy of the treaty, purposing to send a special messenger with the originals (so soon as I return to my house) "which wee would not hazard by post." If it be not all answerable to her Majesty's expectation, "I hope it will be considered that our opposites are a people at whose handes wee cannot obtayne what wee would desier, but must take what wee can gett."

We did the best we could, specially Sir William Bowes, who would have sooner gone to the King, but we could not spare him till the treaty was concluded. Seeing also the Scots commissioners (as they often told us) were determined not to stay after he left; meaning doubtless he should have no audience in their absence. Having thus troubled your honor longer than haply becomes me, and desirous in convenient time to hear from the Lord Treasurer or your honor, what acceptation is given to the treaty when it is sent up, "I betake your honor to the grace of God." Carlisle. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

2½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: Mathew's arms.

May 7. 626. THE COMMISSIONERS TO BURGHELY.

We have accomplished the treaty of the Border causes with all the diligence possible, though not to so great advantage to the realm as we desired. Yet we have revived articles of former treaties discontinued, supplied many old defects, and made new ordinances. Slaughters we were forced to leave as they were (the Scots protesting they could not under their instructions, deal with them); but we trust as the punishment is left to the princes, her Majesty will so consider the same, that it shall be found far better "that wee have left that article at large, then if wee had condiscended to any meane degree of correccion for so barbarous actes . . . specially by Bucklugh, who is *flagellum Dei* to his miserably distressed and oppressed neighbours."

None of the Scottish wardens (save the Laird Johnston in some sort) have obeyed the order on the wardens of both countries to attend and deliver all persons billed or fyled for offences since the day of our first meeting at Berwick: whence we despair of the ordinances now concluded being observed, unless the princes are pleased to put more pressure on the wardens to submit to this commissioun, and afford a lesson of obedience to those in their charges, which we hope your lordship will further with her Majesty before the middle of next month at latest, for the delivery of pledges is to be the last day of same month—and on this "the very life of this whole service will consist."

At the end we were vehemently urged by the Scots with the bill for the roade divers years ago made at Fawkland, and the other for an old intrusion by the Grahames in sowing and pasturing, "a great quantitie of Cannabie holme supposed to be Scottish ground." We could not avoid a show of satisfaction, but have set both over, the one on such persons as are not able to satisfy the complainants, the other to be answered in such sort, as we think they shall gain little by it.

It may seem strange that Mr George Younge did not sign with the rest.

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Though he was very loth to finish it as a perfect act, he only pretended some variety in the sense of the words and phrases in our English and their Scottish copies. Whereon it was moved that the whole should be drawn in Latin as indifferent to both nations, which we did not gainsay. But have sent the English copy signed by our three hands, for Sir William Bowes' signature in Scotland, there to be delivered to them, as they have signed the Scottish copy to us.

We thought it best to agree to the treaty such as it is, than either end with no present conclusion, or be driven to further meetings. We hear by "care witnesses of good credit," that divers insolent broken borderers of the greatest clans, both combine to defeat the negotiation, and openly say that the pledges "will not enter for King nor Keisar." We greatly fear the effect of this, except through Sir William Bowes these malignant humours be met with, and Cesford and Buccleuch be removed or suspended from their offices,—“which were all in all, but yet a matter rather to be requested of God, then expected of the King, for ought wee can learne.”

Meanwhile we have sent to our wardens (as the Scots have promised to do to theirs) a precept, whereof the copy is inclosed, with an English copy of the treaty, the original of which shall be sent by express messenger, along with the verdicts of the juries of the East and Middle March gentlemen in one book, and of this March in another.

We find the state of religion not so fallen away (God be praised) as in the other northern parts, yet have small hope of conformity in the ill affected, who cannot be got to attend before the ecclesiastical commission in any reasonable number. But on advising with the Bishop of Carlisle and Lord Scrope, we find they are ready to proceed against them more strictly than heretofore, at least all the wilful and obstinate are made answerable personally. But who they are, and other circumstances, shall be particularly certified when the other books are sent.

“Uppon th'Assention daie wee had heere a generall communion, wherent most of the gentlemen in this dyocess of Carlisle of any qualitie, and many of their wyves, did communicate in dewtifull manner (which was more then wee looked for)—a good demonstracion of their obedyence, specially of the better sorte.”

[*The Carletons' and Grahames' bonds suggested as in last letter.*]

This commission being of such importance, imperfections and errors may have escaped us, which men of better experience would not have committed. But we have no other excuse but to fly to her Majesty's gracious favour, craving the good acceptation of our mean service, better intended than performed. Carlisle. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm., F. Slyngesbe, Jo. Benet, Cl. Colmore.

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: Mathew's arms.*

May 7. 627. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

Having had no answer to my late letters sundry times to your lordship, I fear you have heard some sinister report—which if it please you to notify that I may purge my self of all slanders, I would take it for a great favor. I inclose such news out of Scotland as I have even now received, praying you to accept of them as the best I can get. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(News of Scotland.)

“This newe man of Ireland” has had such credence, and been so well received welcomed and intreated at Court, that he has been knighted by the King's own hand—and avowed his homage and service to the King before



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all other "wordlie" princes. It is greatly suspected he shall be a resetter of the "Spaynyerdes" as a Catholic, and sundry "suspect" men have been dealing with him by his Majesty's speciall foreknowledge and oversight.

Although Buccleuch was accused to the King by M<sup>r</sup> Bowes, and the matter "devulgate" to the Council, and made more odious for the fire raising, yet his matter was so quickly "refyned" beforehand by his information sent to some of the best councillors, that when it came to "voitinge," it was found that his last invasion of England was just, for "repeticion" of goods stolen a short time before, and the slaughter was but of special malefactors, enemies to the public weal and quiet of both countries. By the fire, there was no injury done to any persons living, but only to the house of thieves and robbers. So when he understood the matter was so well debated, he came himself so "previlie" that he was come and gone before the ambassador knew—spoke with the King, "and soe obteyned his favorable countenance, that they lawgh a longe tyme on the purpose." And he avowed in the King's presence, that if any such "accident should change agayne," he will permit no Englishman to be taken prisoner, except by sword point "in remembrance of the Quene of good memorie."

A Spaniard is lately come from Callis showing how that town is repaired. He comes to know the state of this land and Ireland, and the most fortified places of England, in case their navy come, and whether it shall be better to land in any of the three kingdoms "expreslie." Our Catholics have had merchants "exploraters" in England and Ireland: I shall advertise hereon "after."

There is great division among the "ministers"—the one half holds the other in such suspicion, that "scisme" is like to prevail, "and the King hath no uther thinge in his thought these 2 monthes bygone, but studies perpetuallie upon boke of antiquitie and new inventions of English men, written against those who crave reformation. He is so affected to have soveraintie generall in his kingdome, as the Quene of Ingland hath; and the Quene of Scotland is carefull of no other thinge, but to danse and sporte."

He intended to have begun his journey to Dundee on the 6<sup>th</sup> of this month, but he was asked to remain till Sir William Bowes came. "And he is come nowe this morninge at 4 howeres, and the morrowe which is Saterdaye, he will speake his Majestie." I hear there are to be new informations given in against Huntly at the Dundee convention to hinder his receiving,—but he will answer "that he neither received these lettres nor speake with the messenger." The whole body of the ministers will object to his being received there, but only by the 4 ministers of Edinburgh, by virtue of two general acts made by them in their general assemblies. The King will object there was no equity at the making of these acts, for two causes—one, that Huntly is no parishioner of Edinburgh and should not be received by any minister there—the other, that these acts "(if any such be), for he will have ther boke produced, which they will be loth to doe—were maide beside the knowledge and consent of his Majesties commissioners, and therefore ought to be voide. The eschewe of thes matter most be refered to the owne place."

1½ pp. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed by Buryhley's secretary.*

May 10. 628. EURE TO CECIL.

In answer to your letter, with her Majesty's pleasure to know my opinion whether horse or foot are most necessary here; as the "open and large passages of this Marche" cannot be defended with a small number of either force, I think that 100 horse in addition to the 80 already here, joined with 100 foot to be allotted to Lord Scrope, would reasonably serve to defend and punish offences as committed, "and strengthen the sheilders for this summer season." Bewcastle and Gilsland to have the foot, "Ridley his sheildes" and Tindale, some part of the horse, and Redesdale sheilds the

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rest. In these three places at least three score horse a piece, "not unnecessary," and 50 foot in each of the other places: as occasion serves joining together for offence and defence.

Thus I have delivered my simple opinion, lamenting that her Majesty's treasure should not be "spared for mightier enemies." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: quartered shield.*

May 14. 629. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I send such advertisements as I have "even now" received from Scotland, and am not a little comforted by the "assurance of your love, by your honorable lettre." I pray you make my lord your father acquainted therewith. My service, small though it is, shall be always at his commandment if he pleases. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed*: "To . . . Sir Robert Ceicill knight, chief secretary," &c. *Indorsed. Wafer signet: faint.*

May 14. 630. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Now that all the commissioners on Border causes have gone home, I have thought good to acquaint your honor with my answer made to them "to the earnestlie called upon" bill of Liddesdale, as may appear by the inclosed copy. I shortly expect my servant from Edinburgh with news, which if worthy shall be advertised. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 14. 631. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

I send your lordship by the bearer my servant Symon Comyn " (whome I send therefore of sett purpose)," the two originals of the late treaty, one in English, the other in Scottish.

We sent an English copy by post with our common letter of the 7<sup>th</sup>, with the sum of our service—to which may be added that Sir William Bowes is fully armed as to Cesford and Buccleuch's outrages, and with a reasonable answer to the King's demand for his five principal fugitives. The copy of the demand and our reply is included, lest haply you have not seen them.

¶ The messenger has also two sworn verdicts to deliver your lordship, *viz.*, of the East and Middle March gentlemen in one book, and for the West alone in another.

I humbly and earnestly beseech your lordship to peruse them both with convenient speed, especially that of the East and Middle: "wherein I discharge my conscience that am the pastor, upon her Majesties conscience who is the supreme governour under God; and upon your owne conscience, who are a chiefe magistrate, counsellor, and director, under her highnes, that all protract of tyme and partialitie sett asyde, that poore unfortunat flock of myne throughout Northumberland, whose soules are committed to my charge in a sorte (in that behalfe the moste woefull minister in all this lande), but the bodies and gooddes of them all and all theirs present and to come, wilbe required at the handes of prince and potentates, in case that after this certificate made and exhibited, they shalbe suffered to be still tyrannized both by the Scottishe enemy most savage and barbarous, and by certaine Englishshe commaunders cowardes and covetous. Wherefore, good my lord, imparte this important cause to her Majestie and Counsell most seriously and tymely, *aut nunc, aut nunquam*, and that thoroughly to be redressed or not touched at all: being better (they saie) not to move the humour, then not to purge it well. Let one saie *Amicus Socrates*,

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"another *Amicus Plato*, but saie you, *magis amica Veritas*. It is Gods cause, and should be most favored and furthered by the best.

"Nowe albeit the Middle Marche be in the most pittifull case, and as it were *umbilicus morborum et malorum*: (*Humiliatio tua, vel depressio tua, erit in medio tui*, saith the prophet *Micheas*, c. 6. vers. 14) yet thother two be not voide of great and sundrie evils, as by the said severall certificates will easily appeare. My lord Scroope is verily a right honorable person, of a depe witt, of a noble and liberrall inclinacion, but so secrett and sole in his intencions, as some doe holde him overjelous. I thinke him the more suspicious, for that the maters fallen out first betwene his lordship and M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, then betwene him and Thomas Carleton and his brethren, as also with the Grabams, have forced him to more warynesse and lesse credulitie, yea lesse affabilitie, then his owne disposicion dothe leade him unto. Nevertheless, I would your lordship (who hath a great power over him, I knowe) could persuade him to make choyse, if it were but for a tyme, of some deputie warden and constable of the castell—first, *quia rex soli*, and then because in comparison, anie officer thoughte muche imperfect, were better then none; by the generall maxima: *Ataxia tolerabilior est, quam anarchia*. Of the Carletons and Grabams, I have somewhat discovered my selfe to M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie in my late letre to his honour from Carlisle, concerning my parte in Sir William Bowes ambassage to the King of Scotland. In a worde: so longe as the controversies hange undecided betwene his lordship and them, he shalbe the more dishonored, they the more emboldened, her Majestie the worse served, and consequently the countrey the worse assisted, and the Border of wickedness (as Malachie speaketh, c. 1, vers. 4) the weaker encountered. The warden of the East Marche doth want (as I heare) authoritie to keepe any warden courte: which if it be trewe, is a sore impediment to the administracion of justice both against the opposite theves and murderers, and against the offenders of this nation; whome nothing can conteine but feare and terrour of death. And were not Berwick a good stronge wall, thEast wolde shortly be in as lamentable condicion as the Myddle Marche, Cesford doth so rule and raigne therabout.

"Howe religion standeth, or rather falleth, upon the frontyres, maie appeare by two severall extractes, which your lordship maie be pleased to receive herewith. Manie reasons maie be rendred thereof: amonge the rest these:—

"Diverse preachers, under pretext of danger to their persons, and some through a carelesse regarde of their conscience toward their flockes, besides other out of a continuall corruption of their patrons, turne residence into absence, wherby the people are almost totally negligent and ignorant of the truthe professed by us, and so the more subject to everie subtill sedncer." The High Commission ecclesiastical is of late so abridged of former authority, that every cunning Papist takes advantage of the defect, to our disgrace.

The statute confining recusants within 5 miles of their own houses, makes them so often sought for, that they are never found at home to answer a summons.

The doubtfulness of the statute for 20*l.* a month, by whom, for whom, "(yea in some places to whome)" it should be paid, how certified up, and how to be lawfully levied, breeds great confusion in the executors of law, and many evasions by offenders.

The "disuniformitie" in these northern parts, the obstinate some times enlarged, elsewhere restrained in liberty, is very prejudicial to religion and reformation of disobedience—the flexibility of some condemning the severity of others.

The letters of great persons easily obtained and used as a *supersedeas* to the great seal, forcing the commissioners sometimes to apologize for their doings, or reverse the same, or contest with councillors of high degree, and others in authority, "is a shrewd dilemma at these daies," but that her

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Majesty is most gracious and the body of "that prudent senate most honorable." The sudden searches wont to be made in many places at once, are now discontinued, and dangerous persons openly threaten violence to those attempting to seize them. Many more might be added, but these are enough. The Bishop of Carlisle promises to join with me in calling home non-residents, and some other material points agreed on between us, under her Majesty's instructions. Beseeching your lordship to credit the bearer in some other things he hath from me. Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

*3 pp. Holograph; as also address. Indorsed and noted by Burghley. Wax seal: Mathew's arms.*

May 16. 632. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

That he has given up desiring leave to come up on his own business, seeing her Majesty's pleasure is otherwise, and has managed it by other means.

It is the common report in Scotland that Sir William Bowes has demanded justice at the King's hand with the alternative of war. Before such extremity, he could have wished to declare his opinion "like a fool's bolt," soon shot—yet would have saved her Majesty 10,000*l.*, and her honor also. "A warr is soner begon then ended, and our forced enemye seinge no releif, will torne againe, and be desperate." Discharges his conscience in saying this, which his lordship will reject if he speaks foolishly, though it is well meant.

Begs him to remember the half year's pay at Midsummer, that it may be made sooner than usual, and M<sup>r</sup> Shepperston dispatched accordingly. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 16. 633. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I have written at large to your honors of the Council touching the proceedings before the commissioners here in the matters against the Carletons, wherein I desire as heretofore your honor's speedy furtherance; for it is now time for the country's good (the Carletons living in manner as outlaws), and the safety of my own honor which has hung clouded and in suspense, that the business be finally determined. I will not trouble you with repetition of any thing in my other letters. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

*$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 16. 634. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Now that the commissioners have finished their principal business and departed: in obedience to their request, I send inclosed the examination of the matters against the Carletons, and the proceedings therein, intreating your patience for my "largenes," being desirous to satisfy you in all particulars. The Carletons when first summoned by my lord of Durham, came not: but when sent for secondly, with assurance of safe coming and going (which methinks was too much), they came and were well intreated by his lordship, but he was so pressed with his business with the Scots that he had no leisure to examine them. But watching opportunity, I twice specially urged him to it—once at 6 o'clock at night, "when suddanye entringe into the matter, ther comes a poste to his lordship from London," which stopped him going further; and another time at my own house, when I entreated him to have the witnesses brought "face to face" before him, which he thought not convenient, but he took Thomas Carleton's examination. So the time was "tryfeled" till the Scots commissioners sent for his lordship, and he would have gone, but I told him "he used not the beste indifferenye to me," unless he confronted the witnesses together—whereon he made the examinations, which I sent your honours before to be read, and some of the

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witnesses justified the same before Thomas Carleton upon oath—saving that Andrew Grame hearing his confession read (taken as you may see before me and “my brother Carye”), he denied the truth thereof, and Armstrong seeing this, though he once confidently confirmed it before the commissioners, he began to draw back too, though they both still confessed that voluntarily and severally they had delivered the same things to me and Carye, which are the same in all points, as those now with your honours, signed by the commissioners’ hands. Armstrong also affirms, that when I first read Grame’s confession to him, he not knowing whose it was, said to me, “none but that traitor Grame could have tould your lordship that, for no Englishman knewe yt, but he and I, he houldinge Brackinhills horse, and I Thomas Carletons horse.” Now to show your lordships the cunning means how Grame comes to disavow his former confession, his wife is a near kinswoman to Brackinhill, and she made her husband believe that the Carletons had such friends, that when he had done all he could, they should be in no danger and they would “wreake” him and his out of the country. When I charged Grame with this, he said “I had sayde anoughe to your lordship before on my othe; and I might dissemble a little nowe, urged by my wifes polleeye;” and of this (if your lordships please) you shall be fully assured. My lord of Durham grew weary, and would give no more time for those particulars. Yet your lordships must hear how Thomas Carleton wrote to his lordship “that daye that his lordship did celebrate the holye communion, that by the holye sacrament which the saide Carleton had taken, if he spoke with George Sibson Scotsman since Easter last was a twelmonth, he was foule of all that was layd to his charge, and if that coulede be proved againste him, he wolde become gwiltye of all thos crymes”: which I took hold on, and pressed that I might make proof of it. But first, he denied “boddye and soule” if ever he wrote or said so, “wherat my lord of Durham grewe in rage, and sayde he now beleved all was trewe that was objected againste him, since he denyed what he spoke in his owne presence, and had offered to take yt upon the sacrament.” And I urging Carleton to stand to the point, having witnesses ready—first, he “excepted” the Bells and many more, when I told him they should be only men of the country, whose honesty he could not but admit. My “brother” Bowes, seeing I could not make him stand to it, told Carleton “his matter was badd,” and he had better submit himself to my mercy: so my witnesses lost their labour. Your lordships may further understand how the Carletons and Brackenhill got up a libel against me to the gentlemen of the country appointed to inquire into the decay of service, whereof a copy was sent to the Scottish commissioners, who marvelled that such men durst so audaciously oppose themselves to “a man of my place!” but I made them deny every word of it before the commissioners “by mannfeste prooffe to the contrarye in their faces.” And the poor men that signed it, denied on oath before my lord of Durham, that they were privy to any such writing, but always found me ready to assist them as far as I could: and if your lordships still doubt the other “premisses,” I could procure Buccleuch’s own hand to testify to most of them, so that they may receive their “gwerdon.” And I only hope the matter may receive your lordship’s early decision, with which I shall be content, whether you favour them or not, so long as it is for the good of the country.

Some of the Grames were very inward with the King when he was at Dumfries, I fear to no great good. In Lord Wharton’s time, the custom was in “dangerous tymes,” they laid in pledges at York, which if done now, would “breade greate quyetnesse: but I leave yt to your honoures to thinke upon.” A friend in Scotland promises “to gett oute the misterye of that matter.” Desiring speedy answer and a good end in the premisses. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed*: “16 Maij 1597. . . . Recd. at Greenwich the 21 of the same.”

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May 20. 635. SIMON COMYN'S INSTRUCTIONS.

Instructions given by the Bishop of Durham to M<sup>r</sup> Symon Comyn his servant, to know my Lord Treasurer's pleasure.

*Under five heads:—*

First.—Whether the late treaty should be ingrossed on parchment interchangeably under all the commissioners' hands and seals, to be further exemplified and confirmed under the great seal of England, as hitherto has been the custom—and if it shall be turned into Latin?

Second.—Whether the bishop may give copies to the wardens as it concerns their office?

Third.—To write letters before the middle of June next, directing them to execute their parts therein.

Fourth.—To know what farther service the bishop can do, and if the same is ended under the treaty or not?

Fifth.—For his allowance 6 days coming and going to Carlisle in March: 30 days "to, fro, and at" Carlisle in April last, and May instant, at 40s. *per diem*, 72*l.*: the like to M<sup>r</sup> Slingsby and M<sup>r</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Colmor—and what benevolence his lordship will bestow for "this my jorney hither by post and back agayne"?

1 *p.* *Indorsed by Burghley*: "20 Maj 1597. Simon Comyns memor. for the B. of Durham."

May 21. 636. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I received "late by the slownes of the poste," your letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> instant, acquainting me of an information preferred to one of the Council, "detecting me of my misdutie," in defrauding the soldiers of the Queen's pay, and advising me to return an absolute answer.

Beseeching your lordship I may be "tryed with touchstones of diverse natures," to prove my truth against traitors, I send your lordship under my hand, the names of each private soldier of the 80 horsemen, protesting that I have comforted them out of my little store this dear year, divers having left the service not able to find themselves on the Queen's pay of 12*d.* a day,—whereby I have not gained, yet cannot lessen the number, the country so little loving me, and my authority "so mightelie contenned." I crave your pardon not asking any here to join in the certificate, for two reasons—first, that the informer may try to prove his charges by independent inquiry without my interference; and second—the men named cannot conceal the truth of their pay when privately examined. The inclosed list is for last month, but I have a book for a twelvemonth with the same or rather more men, replacing removals or deaths—and have paid divers 18*d.* a day besides the captains' fees. I crave earnestly to be tried face to face with the informer before the Privy Council, and would also remind you of my old suit for removal, seeing this malicious coorse so long persevered in against me endangers my credit. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

Postscript:—I pray your warrant to M<sup>r</sup> Skudamour for a month's pay due these 80 men since April last.

1 *p.* *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax quartered seal.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(List referred to.)

The names and surnames of the 80 soldiers paid the last month ending 16<sup>th</sup> April "97" by Sir Ralph Eure knight Lord Eure &c.

List of 77 names, including Dulmer, Bell, (2), Trowlopp, Hall (10), Fenwick (7), Grame, Heron (3), Errington, Shaitoe (2), Ridley (2), &c.

I have allowed 3 leaders monthly beside the captain 18*d.* *per diem* making

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1½ man more, and the full number 78½—and to three men not enrolled but “secrete to my selfe, which are guides and purpose makers, 12*d. per diem*,” making the whole number 81½—“and this of my honour” is true.  
Signed: Ra. Eure.

1 *p.* A broad sheet. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.

May 24. 637. WILLIAM SELBY'S REPLY TO R. MUSGRAVE.

Reply of William Selby comptroller of the ordnance &c., to the answer of Richard Musgrave master of the ordnance, &c., made to the information of the said William Selby to the Lord Treasurer, &c., as to the survey and comptrollment of her Majesty's munitions under the charge of said M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave.

1. Officers are not bound to deliver copies of their instructions. But I delivered the instructions to Lord Scrope and M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave to read at leisure, as they did, and lord Scrope's secretary made two copies, giving M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave one, as he told me.

2. I marvel at his denial of hearing me intreat Lord Scrope for a roll of the cannooneers, as he was present and could not but hear it. And his own report of Lord Scrope's answer proves it.

3. To his accusation, that malice moved me to procure his disgrace by this service, I answer that I always lived with his father and himself in friendship, till now, that he “maliceth” me only for executing your lordship's orders, where I gained nothing but a painful and fruitless journey at my own charge in the hardest time of year. He does ill in taking matters in this “chollericke” manner, for he gives nspection of his demeanour in office, whereon I would gladly have reported favourably otherwise. I wish he were more thankful, for I trust he will not deny I was his only mean to his father to procure him the office.

4. I still say that a master gunner and 7 cannooneers are enough, if skilful, to manage any cannon at Carlisle fit for service.

5. He rode out of Newcastle before daylight the day after I arrived, before I could send him the copy of my instructions, which he demanded under my hand, though he had one already from Lord Scrope's secretary. His excuse about the keys is a quibble, for the officers have possession of them and can use them indifferently.

6. His excuse for not showing the munition at Berwick that the days were short and pay-time near—was a “cavill.” I said the pains were mine, it was 14 days to the pay, and what I had to do might have been done in three days. [*General denial and explanation of Musgrave's assertion that Selby refused to sign in a fury.*]

7. [*The great necessity and importance of a yearly view and controlment shown.*] Signed: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

4 *pp.* Large broad sheets. Indorsed.

May 27. 638. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I received your letter of 23<sup>d</sup> this day, reminding me to answer the four articles somewhat touching me and my officers, in the certificate by the gentlemen jurors on the inquisition delivered them by the commissioners for reforming disorder on the Borders. I would humbly and most earnestly crave to be allowed to make answer before your lordships in person, to all such charges since my entrance on office. In my last I certified you of the soldiers “by head ponll” who were paid, showing I am no deceiver of her Majesty in such accusations made. Whereas the gentlemen's certificate complains of default in the number—and that they are dispersed in the country, some under Raphe Mansfield and others besides myself, I can only

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answer briefly (wishing I might do so in person more largely) that the dearth of corn, hay and grass, indifference by some gentlemen of great name and descent to the Queen's service hindering it, caused divers Yorkshire men not able to maintain themselves on the pay, to leave the band, in whose rooms some of my own servants and others of the country were placed; and other reasons which cannot be more fully set down to your lordship.

The exceeding great fines taxed on my tenants, will show your lordship reason for my proceeding, "craving respette for presente aunswere," whereby my good intendment and their voluntary proffer, "for their good ease enriching them selves to the better service of her Majestie, the good of the countrie, and not myne owne profit."

I am grieved thus to be pricked "with small thornes of hatred," and it galls my mind much more, that the losses of the country are so little cared for by the gentlemen of the Marches, and private malice so cherished and pursued, as your lordship will see by their delaying to certify the losses of the country in 36 years, though often required to do so, yet burdening me and my officers, who have not served two years there!

I humbly beg that M<sup>r</sup> Henry Woodrington and any others of the jury your lordship pleases, may lay open all the griefs of their country by my means procured, and due punishment to the defaulter in them or me may ensue, so that the country may hereafter flourish, and I shall "joye" though removed with their good. Hexham. *Signed* : Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet* : quartered.

May 27. 639. SCROPE TO BURGHELEY.

I send your lordship such news as my man has "newly" brought from Scotland. I received your letter, the conclusion whereof has banished all fear out of my mind, where you assure me of your honorable opinion of me,—the only thing I desire.

"I am determined presently after the terme, to send for Emanuell, who shall do his dutie to your lordship, as he cometh: where (if it may stand with your lordships liking) he may see the yonge gentlewoman: for now presently after midsummer, he shalbee fowrtene yeere olde, and then at the yeeres of consent; wher I meane to bring him up with mee presently after the Assises, not douting but by your lordships good meanes to optayne leave for my coming up, and then to conclude with your lordship, and to goe thorow with the marriage, I hope to the contentement of all parties (if it stand with your lordships good liking to have it soe)." Carlisle. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed. Wafer signet* : quartered.

May 27. 640. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHELEY.

By your letters of 13<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> May instant, I perceive, "to the speciall comfort of my selfe and my associates," that you approve our late proceedings, and give us hope of her Majesty's gracious allowance therein—also you have received our common letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> instant with my particular letters sent from hence by my own servant on the 14<sup>th</sup> of same, with the originals of the treaty and other books, &c., therein specified. Though it has pleased you to vouchsafe me a particular answer to each point in my letter, yet under your correction, I cannot but marvel that my Lord Scrope imputes to our lack of leisure, the full hearing and ordering of his differences with M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, Carleton, and the Grahams, rather than to the "unreadynes" of some of the proofs which (as he often alleged to us) he hopes hereafter to produce to charge them with more deeply: unless (as some suppose) he had rather such causes should be reformed by others than



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us : or a hindrance to proceeding with the Grahams, was caused by the absence of one or two of their chiefs, who were "convoying" Sir William Bowes into Scotland at the very time we could have discussed their matter. We could never understand from his lordship or M<sup>r</sup> Lowther what the controversy between them was : only it should seem some unkindness given by the one or taken by the other—but if he had called M<sup>r</sup> Lowther to answer before us, our business was never so great, but we could and would have found time to examine, and either mediated it there, or advertised up where the default lay. However it was, Sir William Bowes and I did our best to persuade M<sup>r</sup> Lowther "to carry himself every waie respectively and dutifully towards his lordship, as a noble man, a great officer there, and one in special grace and favour with her Majestie : which was all that we could doe, or should as we thought be looked for at our handes."

His charge against Thomas Carleton will appear from the examinations before us and others at Carlisle : which my lord himself said he had sent up before our departure thence, and seemed loath the matter should be ended there, but rather thought it should be pressed elsewhere—as I myself also think, if those crimes prove true, that are "suggested" and partly proved against him. I partly certified this to "M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie Cecyll" in my letter to him on the 7th from Carlisle : so that Lord Scrope has no just pretence "to laye the unfinished of his matters upon us the commissioners."

According to your direction, I have drawn out and sent to each warden the articles of the treaty which concern them, being the whole treaty except the preface, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and last articles, as the inclosed copy letter to each will show your lordship. I have also written to Sir William Bowes how necessary it is, that he "seriously and peremptorily" insist with the King or council for such particulars as are shortly to be "putt in ure," and advertise direct to Court, that instructions may be issued to our wardens accordingly. Besides this, they must be instructed how to proceed before the 10<sup>th</sup> of June, as to interchanging rolls—before the last of same, as to the fugitives—and before 1<sup>st</sup> July for delivery of the pledges ; as your lordship has set down "according to the severall articles well noted and nombred by your lordship." If any difficulty or doubt occur "before this come to your lordships hands, I think M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Bennett chancelor of Yorke will be in London, ready . . . to sollicite whatsoever may further th'expedicion of this her Majesties service, wherein as he toke great paynes and stode us in very good steede, both with his learning and with his diligence, during all the time of our being at Carlisle *vidz.* thirty daies, so doth he hope your lordship will favourably make him allowance of entertaynement as one of us, the rather for that it appeareth by a schedule of instruccions and resolucions delivered to Sir William Bowes, under the handes of sundry the lords and others of her Majesties most honourable Privy Counsell, that regard should be had of Doctor Bennettes journeie and charges, &c." Thanking your lordship for the reward to my servant for his late journey, more a great deal than I could expect or he deserve. Bishop Awckland. *Signed* : Tobie Duresm.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal : Mathew's arms.*

Inclosed therein :—

(Form of letter.)

Sending the warden of each March the extracts of the treaty—with instructions to acknowledge the receipt to Lord Burghley and the commissioners. Bishop Awckland, 27 May 1597. Subscribed : Tobie Duresme, Clement Colmor. \* "A trew copie : T. Duresm." *Addressed at foot* :—"To the Lord Eure."

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

\* These words holograph.

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May 28. 641. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

I signify to your lordship "my dutifull affection and respect I have and owe" to you, beseeching you to accept and interpret my actions "accordinge my true meanyng."

While Sir John Forster was warden, he got a patent of the stewardship or "balywycke" of Bywell lordship, appointing for his deputy William Shaftoe, who was removed by me from office for his evil behaviour, and with Sir John's consent, I placed Cuthbeart Ratclyffe there, "a true gentleman for theft or favouringe of theft," the fruits of which by God's blessing the bishopric has tasted. But the envy of the factious against me for detecting the former officer their kinsman, worked the grant of Sir John's patent to a servant of yours M<sup>r</sup> Ambrose Dudley, upon surrender to renew the same in his own name. Who undertaking it (as I was given to understand) and as I think not meaning to support "that factyous humor," I wrote to him and also to M<sup>r</sup> Wyndybancke, requesting that upon a reasonable consideration to M<sup>r</sup> Dudley, her Majesty's grant might by your favour be resigned to M<sup>r</sup> Ratclyffe, and I would see the consideration satisfied on my credit—thinking without acquainting you, that the gentleman would have satisfied himself of your favour and receive a competent consideration. On his getting the patent, I proffered the like, still refused—and after your letter of 15<sup>th</sup> May, received at M<sup>r</sup> Dudley's hauds 'on the 26<sup>th</sup> of same, in the presence of divers gentlemen, I offered him the "worth" of it by view of any gentlemen he chose.

My reasons were—M<sup>r</sup> Dudley lying in the county "palentyne" of Durham, away from the service, and I holding it good policy to comfort well affected gentlemen, laboured to satisfy him to M<sup>r</sup> Ratclyffe's content, though to my own charge. If these reasons seem good, vouchsafe me your letter to your servant, advising him to this cause; if otherwise, I submit myself, hoping you will receive my simple opinion as for the good of the Queen's service, not against any belonging to you. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra Enre.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary*: "27 Maij 1597  
... Wax seal: quartered, good."

May 28. 642. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I have advertised my lord your father, with what success "my brother" Bowes has met in Scotland, who I assure myself will make you acquainted therewith. "So farr as I could understand what jarr hath bene betweene the King and the ministers," I send hereinclosed, which if you think worthy, make your father acquainted with.

I also send inclosed the "vilanye" wrought by Thomas Carleton and Brackenhill, by Andro Grame's wife, to make him deny the truth, but defer writing to the Council till I receive answer of my last letter, which I think came into your hands "a Sunday last." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

"The trewe reasons which Andrewe Grame takes upon his oth, moved him to deny a trowth that he had before confessed: taken before the Lord Scrope lord warden," &c. "the xxvij<sup>th</sup> day of May 1597; James Hall and Marmaduke Maungie servantes to the said lord, being present: and the said Andrewe is redye to avowe the trowth to there faces when somever he shalbe called.

And Thomas Arenstrange avowes that Andrewe Grame is denying all mayd him deny the trowth; which nowe he is redye to avowe to be trewe when somever he shalbe called upon."

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The examinant says that Richie Brayckinhill sent the examinant's wife to him with this message, to desire him to remember how he had betrayed both Brackinhill and the house he came of, and to deny all things touching any manner of felony or March treason : that Lord Scrope might have no just cause to take the "lives" from Carletons, which denial would save all their lives. Brackinhill also told his wife to tell him that if he confessed that Thomas and Lancelot Carleton were in his company when they met the Lord of Buclughe "he utterlie destroyed both the said Braickinhill, Thomas Carleton and Lancelot Carleton : for the Lord Scrope doth not onely seek the lives of the Carletons, but as sone as he knoweth the trouth, he will both seeke my life and all my freindes." And Braickinhill said farther to this examinant's wife, that it was not her husband that put the Carletons down, but it was himself. Brackinhill farther said that "this examinant had not knowne of the meteinge aforesaid, if he had not put great trust in him, for ther was never one of the name that he would have put trust to, but onely this examinant, and desyred his wif to tell him that he had delte traterouslie with him (and all his kindred) and if that he wold not stand to denyall of all thinges that ever were laid to his charge, that the beife and the bread that the Lord Scrope gave him should not save his life, but he might be assured that he should be cutt as smayle as flesh to pott."

Farther his wife came and called in at a window to him, when he was "boune" to be sworn, telling him that Brackinhill said they had a warrant from the Council to "louse" him. And farther he says that Richie Brackinhill was the only man [*The paper partly worn away and the remaining 4 lines illegible*].

1½ pp. *Indorsed* : "Scottishe occurrences."

May 29. 643. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHELY.

I have to-day received from the Bishop of Durham the copy of the treaty at Carlisle, requiring me to certify your lordship of its receipt. In the first article, they set down that the wardens shall meet soon after Midsummer and mutually show their commissions, taking each other's oath for the due administration of justice. I must be the first to break the article, having no commission to show. And there are so many disorders here for want of authority, that if "an absolute warden" be not appointed, things will grow worse. I beseech you to acquaint her Majesty and move her that either myself, or whoever else she better likes, may be appointed absolute officer. "For my part I am indifferent," only desiring to know what to trust to, and see the country better ordered. Berwick. *Signed* : Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 31. 644. R. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

As at the last pay at Berwick for the year ended Michaelmas last, made by my son Raphe and Sheperson, 835*l.*, " &c.," remained due over the yearly allowance of 15000*l.*, as Sheperson can show your lordship, and the Governor and officers now call for the pay, &c., due at the Annunciation of "Blessed Marye the Virgyn," last past. I humbly pray your lordship to give order for the money for the pay at Midsummer next, with your letters to the receivers of York, Lincoln and Northumberland, to deliver the same to Sheperson, that he may bring the money to Berwick, to be there defrayed either by my son as my deputy, or with her Majesty's gracious license, by myself, attending at Berwick, with release from this service in Scotland, for which I have petitioned her—with permission to remain in England for recovery of my health. I also pray for payment of 305*l.* 10*s.* sought by Sheperson "for my dyett at 40*s.* by daye, and for th'extraordynarie sommes

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disfrayed for her Majesties service here," by the bill and accompt now subscribed by me, which I sent to Sheperson unsigned, "which error in me (cheifelie in my clark), I pray your lordship to pardon." For the soliciting of these matters, "and th'expedicion of th'allowance of the particulars for the fee farme graunted by her Majestie to me," I have directed this bearer Christofer Sheperson to attend upon your lordship. Edinburgh. *Signet*: Robert Bowes.

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: involistinct.*

June 2. 645. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

About the last of May, I received letters from the Bishop of Durham and M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Colmore, with extract of articles from the treaty, advising me by your direction, to suspend execution of any service therein till Sir William Bowes reports his present negotiation. I humbly crave further direction, in respect of the order on the warden to exchange rolls on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant, and certificate of fugitives by the last of same—with the order for delivery of pledges of the broken men before 1<sup>st</sup> July.

I understand by your last letter, your lordship is acquainted with the loving agreement amongst us the wardens, and that you have had no notice from me: I presume to acquaint you that on 29<sup>th</sup> April I wrote from Carlisle to your lordship, and could not have been forgetful of it.

I beg your warrant for the soldiers' pay for these 2 months very nigh past, and for their continuance, or warrant for discharge. Hexham. *Signet*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: quartered.*

June 2. 646. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

In answer to your lordship's "most wise honorable and large lettre" of 24<sup>th</sup> May, which came to my hands on 31<sup>st</sup> of same: first, perusing the treaty, you find M<sup>r</sup> George Young's name not subscribed: this defect was supplied (and I still take it) by the King's express letter of commission, authorizing any three to "conclude in that whole action."

Secondly.—Whereas your lordship notes some uncertainty as to what we have done in regard to byegone offences and redress: it may please you to be informed that both at our session at Berwick, and the "recontynewance" thereof at Carlisle, we took special cognisance of these matters, causing a multitude of bills to be fyled, as the rolls of the Marches remaining with the wardens and their clerks may show. I obtained for my own private use copies of these for the West and Middle Marches, which for your satisfaction I now send to your lordship "hoping ye will remaund them to me" when you shall have received the like or "percase more perfect bookes" from the wardens. I could not hitherto get a copy of the rolls for the East March which be very many, "I wote not upon what scrupulositie or further conceit," but have now written to Sir Robert Carey and will send them to your lordship "if he denye them not to me." We had to leave a great many undetermined, through the sudden departure of the Scots commissioners from Berwick, who pretended as their reason the King's journey to the convention at S<sup>t</sup> Johnstons: but in truth because they found so few bills to "preferre" against ours—so we were obliged to refer them all either to private composition, or to be tried under a form set down in a joint proclamation for both nations on 19<sup>th</sup> February—the copy whereof we sent you with our common letter of 21<sup>st</sup> of same—but I now send another (lest it be not readily found) as it contains many particulars for farther execution of the service, and will show that we were careful to provide remedies for future as well as past injuries under the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> articles of the treaty and

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others, whereto I refer your lordship at your leisnre. By all which it will appear that though we did not end all complaints, we took order for all that came before us, leaving the rest in such course as must needs take desired effect, under the "good blessing of God, and faithful diligence of the wardens." The horrible outrage in April by Buccleuch hindered the settlement of divers bills on the West March, as the Liddesdales having just cause of fear, came not to Carlisle in this miserable time of death.

However the worst of their spoils and herships were filed, though not all that should have been. "But in such a turbulent and violent action, what could thoroughlie be done orderly?"

As to the certificates returned by the gentlemen of all the Marches in two books: the answer of the West March is in my opinion of no moment against Scotland, only comprising some few disorders in Bewcastle and Gilsland, which the lord warden may easily reform, so soon as he and his under officers there agree, also himself and the Grames. The gentlemen of the East and Middle Marches utter such great matters, as if true, "Woo worth Northumberland"! without speedy remedy. But few of them touch Scotland so that we could have "implied them with" in the treaty, although "in a sort," we offered so to do. For the rest, consisting of the whole body of our articles and their answers, I see no other way to repress the enemy, strengthen the country, &c., than a commission from her Majesty to such as the Scots commissioners in the 2<sup>nd</sup> article of the treaty, call a "Counsell of the Borders," or to the wardens, with some gentlemen of good rank (including some of the learned council of York) to see to the present execution of some of the remedies proposed in the said certificates—or at least earnest letters from the Privy Council to each warden, charging him on his allegiance thereto, whatever his own private opinion may be, and especially to "reunite themselves together for necessitie sake, if not for Christianitie." And if this were once soundly and heartily done, and continued, whatever happened to our amity with Scotland, our frontiers would suffice, with a little extraordinary aid now and then, to confront the adversary. But it had been an insolent part for me to dwell so long on this point, unless your lordship had asked my opinion thereon, as well as on the recusants, on which last I will utter my thoughts under correction of graver judgment.

I have found by experience many years in these parts, that lenity does little good, and severity no harm—"that howsoever it prevaile els where, fearefull proceeding is here no policie: I could wish one plane course according to the lawes and later statutes, were evenly and firmly followed in all this province: that the penalties were duellie levied and answered, yea rather then faile, bestowed upon such as would seek them and sue for them at the verie value of landes and goodes": for the usual rates are but an abuse and mockery of law, and open enriching of the froward if not ungrateful subject, who is as angry for the payment often of a little, as he would be ouce for loss of all. That no respect be had of wilful and obstinate persons, either men or women, whoever speak or write for them, of whatever "kired" or service they be. That the Diocesan, especially assisted and advised by the ecclesiastical commissioners, be allowed to proceed uncontrolled according to law, within his own flock "for whom he, not others, must answeare to God."

That the defects of the common gaol in this country be supplied by the use of Brancepeth castle or some like place to receive recusants under government of "some religious discrete gentleman such as is this bearer," with allowance as at Wisbitch or like places.

That husbands though outwardly conformable, may pay for their incorrigible wives 20*l*. a month for her Majesty's use, without remission. That the ecclesiastical commission be renewed in material points as it was before the late alterations: that warrants "dormant" be granted from the council at York, if not rather from above, to certain of trust to search houses, appe-

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hend persons, and seize unlawful popish books, implements and ornaments, as well by night as by day. That the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* and execution thereon, run in Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland, as in the Bishopric of Durham and elsewhere, and the sheriffs and wardens be commanded to see it executed. Lastly, that the *Custos rotulorum* of every county at every gaol delivery and assize, cause these obstinate persons to be indicted and certified up at his peril. Exception may be taken to some of these propositions, and I may be thought rigorous in offering them; but those or any other that work reformation "shall best like me." But it is intolerable that any subject of the Queen should for 20 or 30 years together, stand out against civil or ecclesiastical authority, and not only withhold themselves, but their wives, children and families, &c., from all Christian subjection to their natural sovereign. The toleration whereof hath been the very bane of religion in these north parts. "I malice none of them, but pittie them all; but I forgett not that an old father saith *Est quedam crudelitas parcens, et quedam misericordia puniens*."

I trust none of the noblemen or other counsellours be offended with aine thing I wrote privately to your lordship." I neither so much as named or accused any, I but grieved at heart to see the abuse by the suitors for their letters, of the writers' honourable disposition. I have now submitted my views to your lordships better censure, and promise to recall the non-residents in my diocese, and to advertise such patrons of benefices and farmers of appropriations, as little regard hospitality, and have but cold zeal to maintain the ministry for salvation of souls in these rude and remote parts. The messenger has all the aforementioned books to deliver your lordship, "and somewhat els to impart from me, whereto I besech your lordship to give credit." He is a gentleman of good trust and well exercised in the Queen's service, as the late Lord President, the now Archbishop of York, myself and others have certified. Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

3½ pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.

June 4. 647. OFFER BY THE ELLOTS TO EURE.

4 June 1597.—The offers of us Robert Ellat of Readbnge, William Ellat of Harskarthe, Jock Ellatt of Copshawe, "with the hail rest of our freinds that hight \* Ellattes," to the Lord Eure lord warden, &c., "and who that hight Ellatt, that Robert Ellatt will except, he will advertise his lordship" within 8 days hereafter.

First—Robert offers the lord warden satisfaction for himself and his said friends for all offences by them in his March since he took office, they receiving the like from him.

Second—If they differ as to proof, they submit to satisfaction at the sight of two of England, and two of Scotland—or 4 of either.

Third—They offer during his time to amend any their future offence on his March, on his letter—expecting the like.

Fourth—If commanded by their officer or "maister," they must obey, but whatsoever hurt "beis" done by them or any of them, or what profit they receive, they offer amends on his lordship's letter.

Fifth—We subscribe for performance hereof, or under any securities used by borderers in times past, and bind ourselves under 1000 marks sterling. Subscribed with our hands—Robin Ellatt of Readehughe, William Ellatt of Harscarthe, John Ellat of Copshawe, Tho. Craike, writer. "Deliverit in the presence of these underwritten—Francis Radeliff, Henrie Bowes, Raphe Mansfeilde, Edward Gray, Nycholas Whitfeilde."

\* i.e., are surnamed.

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1 p. *Indorsed by Eure*: "A coppie of the condicion consented unto by the Ellots of Lyddesdayle."

June 4. 648. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I heretofore moved your lordship to continue your favour for a gentleman of this country, William Hutton of Graystocke, as farmer of her Majesty's park of Graystocke in his occupation. He is informed that some have already taken or are about to take, the reversion of another little farm he holds of her Majesty by lease, called Powley, within the barony of Barton in the county of Westmorland, parcel of the possessions of the late Lord Dacres, which was first granted to him for service done to the late Lord Thomas Dacres, and since by her Majesty for 21 years, whereof 6 or 7 are yet unexpired. My desire is therefore to put you in remembrance of my former suit for Graystocke park, that he may continue the same, and also this small tenement of Powley, that he may renew his interest, and continue the Queen's farmer there rather than another. And I do this, knowing him to be a very honest gentleman, ready and able to serve with his people in any "martiall" service when commanded. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 5. 649. SHEPERSON TO BURGHLEY.

That his master sends his letter to Burghley, with a bill subscribed (both inclosed) intreating for 105*l.* 10*s.* due on the bill, and 200*l.* on his diet for 100 days, beginning on 8<sup>th</sup> March last.

Also prays that the arrears of pay at Derwick, for year ended last Michaelmas, 835*l.* 6*s.* 4*½d.*, and 600*l.* short at last pay on the Annunciation, may be allowed—also order to proceed with the needful works there.

Finally, that his master has sent his several acquittances for the treasure to be received from the receivers of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Northumberland, which he is ready to do, and convey the same to Berwick when ordered by his lordship. At the Court at Greenwich. *Signed*: Christofer Sheperson.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 6. 650. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I inclose such news as I have even now received from Scotland, that you may see what complaint Buccleuch has made to the King of Lord Eure's rode to Liddesdale,—“which I would have stayed but could not”—and how the King takes it. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Postscript:—I pray you hasten the soldiers for we shall need them.

1 p. *Holograph; as also address.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(News from Scotland.)

“The Kinge hes heaveleye reproved them \* for neglectinge ther honorable dewtye of that place, in so far as Buckeleugh his matter once clearelye proved yt was not so well followed foorth as appertened. And in respect they have graunted syke advantage in that cause, he esteames the lesse of them, and haith reprochit them perticulerlye to ther faces, and haith caused them

\* The Scottish commissioners.

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"be cyted before the counsell for that cause, and an odious act geven ont against them, to the which ould Carmichaell was a greate helpe; and saide in playne counsell oppenlye, that they oversawe themselves verye farr in that matter.

"The Kinge of Spaine haith bene so busye by his suppostes of this lande, lange banisht before, that some of them so interprysed aboute the laste of Maye to have takin in an ilande lyinge betwixt Scotland and Irelande, weare disapoynted by some men moe in number, who weare landid in that same ilande a little before, so that the cheeffe fearinge to be takin, lept sudanlye in the sea, wherein he drowned without compassion. The rest of his associates weare comprehendid and sent to Glasco where they remayne prisoners, till his Majestie comminge ther, for he ys now on his progresse to, passe tyme and huntinge. And the Quene haith been hirs, now the first of this instante, to passe through the capitall townes of the Marche and norweste, their to be graciously received and remunerate by the burrough masters.

"Buckcleugh haith received an indignitye from the Midle Marche of England, which he takithe verye heighe in heade. How soune the newes weare declared unto him, first he consulted with some frendlye counsellers heare, and they desyered him to advertise his Majestie therof; which he immediatlye obeyed, and rode to him at Lithcove where he exponet that matter at all leathe, and yt was in a maner thankfullye imbrased, and on another manner eavell resaved; for as his Majestie was glad of the recytall, so was he commoved at the hardinesse of Englande, now at suche tyme, sayd he, when the Quene had tow of hir embassidors resident besyd him, and he none of his besyd hir Majestie: which was a thinge that nether could nor should be borne withall, specyaly sence Sir William\* was so proude to denounce a revenge, and to remayne in his cuntrye too, yt was thought the more intollerable. Then sayd Buckcleugh, his legacye ys endid, and if yt wold please his Majestie to oversea, he should fynde men that should bothe revenge the one injurye and the other. But the Kinge desyered him to hould his peace of that, for he wolde have him to be cyted before his counsell to answer *super inquirendis*, whiche he should knowe at his comminge backe to Edinburgh agayne, or els at somme other parte. And geve Sir William had not bene all the soner forewarned, he had hardlye escaped at his returne from the Kinges conveye to Lithcove.

"He ascryvith all this last incursion upon Lidisdell to be devised by Mr Mansfeld and Sir William Bowes brother, and hathe avowed to my self to plucke some of them oute of their nest er yt be longe. But I fynd by his cheife gentilmen, that bothe he and Sir Robert Car ar scant of good horses at this tyme.

"Their haith bene a greate talkinge betwixt som arbitors for the Duke of Lennox and Buckcleugh for some landes appertayninge to Bothwell, whereof Buckcleugh haith obtayned the victorye for payment of monnye: so that now they are bothe at ease.

"This matter durid 10 dayes together, and now thes last newes have made greate impediment to all my proceedinges with him, and he is daylye and hourellye with the counsellers resident in this towne, who haith geven him playne counsell and advyce for a revenge. The rest I refer till the next good oportunetye whilke I hope shalbe short. This 5 of June instant 97.

"Since Buckcleugh spak with the Kinge, the ambassidors went to him at Lithgow; but they weare receaved and demitted with a marvelous eavell countenance. God make all well."

1½ pp. Copy by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed by Burghley. From the abrupt beginning, part appears to be lost.

\* Bowes.



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June 7.

## 651. ROYAL MINUTE TO SCROPE AND CAREY.

*The Queen to Scrope.*—Commanding him to take order in the West Marches, that the matters agreed on under the late treaty are duly performed, while no offence is given to the King or his officers—and, as her other wardens and officers have been specially charged, that he obey the advice to be given him by Robert Bowes her ambassador in Scotland, and Sir William Bowes, one of her late commissioners.

*To Sir Robert Carey.*—"And where we finde by diverse lettres written to our Counsell, both the Treasurer and the Secretary, how unwilling you are to deale in causes, because you have not yet your patent: We doo wish you once againe to leave this course of peremptorie writinge, and doo commaund you to doo as you ought, for we that can judge what is fitt for you, will doo things as we please, and when we please. Let these things therefore be performed by you, which you shall find by the treatie you ought to doo, and without any further importunitie, and as William Bowes and Robert Bowes shall at any time direct you. And that being ended, you shall then knowe what shall become of you. And for all that you doo or shall heerin, we doo hereby give you full power and authoritie, which is warrant good enough we trust for a greater matter. And these, &c."

1 p. *Contemporary official hand.* Indorsed: "vij<sup>th</sup> of June 1597. M. of lettres to the wardens," &c.

## June 8. 652. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Answer of Lord Eure lord warden, &c., to the accusations presented by the gentlemen jurors *anno* 1596 to the Bishop of Durham, &c., her Majesty's commissioners, by them to Lord Burghley, and from his lordship to me by two writings—one of 23<sup>d</sup> May last, the other of 8<sup>th</sup> June following.

OBJECTION.—The 40 horse (part of the 80) who should be with the warden in Hexham, are not full, and are partly his own servants, partly landholders lying dispersed in the country. Not 13 of them are Yorkshire men, the rest being sent home and their horses kept by him and Raphe Mansfeld: and when needed, there have not been above 5 or 6 horses at Hexham.

ANSWER.—The 50 horse for myself have been complete monthly from the 20<sup>th</sup> March, as in my letter of 23<sup>d</sup> May to your lordship appears. As the Yorkshire men were removed by want of maintenance or death or offences, &c., I replaced them by countrymen or my servants, not exceeding 10 of the latter—first, as they knew the wastes for my secret guidance when needed, and secondly—to direct the native countrymen, and attach malefactors without partiality to friends. The native countrymen are better at handling spears, &c., on horseback, than the Yorkshire or bishopric men, better prickers in a chase as knowing the mosses, more nimble on foot, and some keep "slewe dogges" to serve the country, which the country could not have paid for. Also divers of them lie in the "highe streate," where the malefactors pass, not 4 or 5 miles out of Hexham next the waste, and few are landed or rich men, and failing the pay, cannot keep horses.

The country also "envyed the straunger, and could not lovinglie efforde pennyworthes" for his diet or his horse's, but at excessive rates—so he could not live on the Queen's pay or do secret service without "betraying." And I held it politic to draw some of the headsmen from friendship with the Scots—as some of the Fenwicks, Erringtons, Robsons, and other names.

In winter I had at least 20 horse in Hexham town and within a mile, besides above 20 in my own stable at my own charge; besides those of the men in pay, always ready to the fray. In summer when the nights are short, and

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they cannot have grass in the town, the men are driven to seek it elsewhere; and in harvest time some labour for their winter hay, taking their horses to the meadow, but all return when the nights lengthen. No Yorkshire man parted with my leave, and I crave inquiry as to any horses detained by me. Nor is it allowed by discipline that the captain must keep the first pressed man till his service is done, but he is removeable at the leader's will.

OBJECTION 8.—What are the names (1) of those outlaws, fugitives, &c., detained in Scotland, belonging to either of the Marches, and (2) of the persons in either March who reset them?

ANSWER.—We find that Nicholas Weldon of Weldon gentleman, is a most notorious thief, murderer, &c., yet is received in the Middle Marches, and rides in company with William Fenwick, keeper of Tindale, and we have credibly heard that this was by favour of Lord Eure. William Ridley called "Black Will" the like, and we find though a fugitive, he returned and took a dwelling in Tindale under charge of the said lord warden and keeper.

Lionell Charleton the like, a notorious thief and prison breaker, as deposed before us—was reset by Raphe Mansfield, and taken to Yorkshire with one Eddie Hall a famous thief out of Mansfield's garrison, where they bought 2 gray geldings, which among them were taken over the border to Sir Robert Kerr's hands.

John Charleton of the Bower a great thief, in Lord Eure's garrison at Hexham, now fled again "for thief," and we hear credibly, again returned and tolerated in the Marches.

William Shaftoe and William Lawson imprisoned for felony at Hexham, broke prison, but reset with Raphe Mansfield; George Hall of Burdop a notorious thief and murderer now maintained as a soldier by Mansfield.

The Laird of Fowberrie a felon, prison breaker, &c. Edward Hall, Robert Hall "the porke," Edward Laing of Haughton, Tho. Charleton laird of Hawcop, Tristram Dodd of Sydwood, William Shaftoe of Hypwood, Robert Shaftoe of Stannerdon, John Little of Ponteland, Nicholas Hall, John Pottes, Thomas Elliott of Newbrough, Anthony Pottes, Tho. Young of the Stowers, John Young *alias* "Julyans John," which two last, and the laird of Fowberrie, are fugitives of the East March," and all the rest are of the Middle March, with many more not now numbered. Some of these thieves are received here, many in Scotland by the Laird of Hunthill, some by William Littlehenge, others by the laird of Bonjedworth, Archy Elliot called "Martins Arche," and the Laird of Farnbirste.

ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION.—Such is the furious malice of some of my enemies leading the other jurors, I mean the Woodringtons—in making indirect answer to these articles and "particularising" his malice to me, when by the commissioners' wisdom in compiling this 8<sup>th</sup> article, neither law nor reason could bind me to reply, yet will I declare the truth to you.

Nicholas Weldon and others were indicted and outlawed in Sir John Forster's time, for the rode at Iveston in the bishopric, as William Carnabie one of the jury who (I credibly hear) had part of the stolen cattle, can testify in his conscience. Weldon's favour in Sir John's time among his secret friends emboldened him to ride when he felt secure, and it may well be that he has ridden in this March since my entry. But he had no liberty by word or writing from me, and I know nothing of his riding with William Fenwick when my officer, and I must leave it to his answer. Weldon deserved small favour at my hands, he laboured to bring 100 Scots to burn my house and break my stable, when their scout was discovered and chased by my night watch. Further his uncle Christofer Weldon was beheaded by me for March treason, whereto Nicholas and the rest of the name took great offence. As their answer shows, spleen and malice more than the public interest, moves them to these charges.

William Ridley or "Black Will," was indicted with Weldon in Sir John Forster's time, and when M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick of Wallington was keeper of Tin-

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dale, was harboured there. But that he took a new farm there, or was allowed by me to remain, is false and untrue. As for William Fenwick, supposed to be my keeper of Tindale, William Fenwick of Wallington can testify that at the assembly of the country at Bellingham, when he (Wallington) resigned that charge, the country undertook me as their keeper, and appointed William Fenwick of Betchfeild as "my under officer for my ease," who remained till of late Henry Bowes is made keeper. My favour to Ridley was such that I sought him by Fenwick, when his horse was taken, and he escaped on foot! At another time when in Liddesdale among the Scots, my men beset his house, but "it pleased God" another person lighted in their hands—but if I had got him he would assuredly have died. This charge shows malice against me, and also the gentleman the chief of the Ridleys, with whom Woodrington has no kindness.

But Woodrington forbears to present to your lordship Gerry Snawdon a fugitive, reset and living under Lord Ogell in Hepwell town, over which and Lord Ogell's tenants he has command and charge. In whose company he was an actor in the only service Woodrington did since my entry, *viz.*, "the rode at Cavars in Tevidale." And when I sent my men to attach the said Snawdon in the town of Hepwell, the townsmen rescued him and well nigh slew some of my people; saying they were commanded by Henry Woodrington to prevent his attachment without his special warrant. This Snawdon is indicted of murders, felonies, burglaries, and March treasons.

Farther he forgets that Watt Grame his known personal servant attending him at Newcastle and elsewhere, and detected of divers felonies, has since fled my March and left his farm, as a fugitive. "Likewise let him remember that John Reade his servant attendant on him did lye in waite with his peece for the murthing of a poore fellowe in my Marche, who with his wief behind him on horsebacke coming or going from the markt at Hexhame—the said Reade lying in a secrete place discharged his peece, and the wiefe for safe garde of her husbandes body, threw up her legg and received the shott in her knee, wounded allmost to deathe." Reade, on a charge of sheep stealing, was committed by me to Hexham gaol, but broke prison and is a fugitive.

Woodrington also forgets that he was the only man who countenanced William Carnabie suspected of Iveston, or at least resetter of goods there—and William Shaftoe his kinsman detected for the same rode, and carrying prisoners to Scotland for ransom—also William Lawson guilty of the like crimes, and various other malefactors, whose nest by my coming was broken, procuring his malicious reports against me.

Lionell Charleton is the man that I put in Durham gaol for offences in the Bishopric, whence he escaped and chiefly kept in Scotland; and fearing his "cuning and acquaintaunce" in this country would do much harm, if he combined with the Scots, I allowed Raphe Mansfeild to draw him to the Queen's obedience, on reasonable conditions if it could be. But for the story that he and Eddie Hall bought and took horses to Sir Robert Kerr, I do not believe it, but refer it to Raphe Mansfeild's answer.

John Charletonne kinsman and follower to Edward Charletonne laird of Hesleside who is a secret follower of M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick of Wallington, was charged with March treasons in Tindale in Sir John Forster's time, and after long imprisonment by me, brought to the bar both at a warden court and the gaol delivery, where Henry Woodrington and William Fenwick of Wallington were jurors—and being acquitted both times, I took good bonds for his behaviour and sent him to serve in Tindale on the Queen's pay. My reasons were—he married in Sir John's time a daughter of Anthon Edwards [Armstrong] living at Williava on the West March—a great thief and maintainer of many others about him, and has married his daughters in "the waters of Tyne." Charleton himself had divers "lewed" and evil persons of name as followers, and lived in a "waist place distant from greate

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plenishing," where he might with the Scots greatly hurt his neighbours, but if honest, do good service. Thus I thought "to tye him to the Queen" by the pay, but "the fellowe returned to his former follie," was taken by me, escaped by the gaoler's negligence, and joined his father in law and the Scottish Armstrongs. Bot his father in law making means to me for his return, and that he would keep quiet, having secretly satisfied the parties offended, I chose rather than drive him to join the Scot, to let him return home, he being neither indicted of murder or burglary, nor a notorious thief, as they report.

ANSWER, as to William Shaftoe.—It is true that in the presence of M<sup>r</sup> Purefe and M<sup>r</sup> Ferne, joint commissioners with me at Hexham gaol delivery, he being called on his recognisance, appeared at the bar, and was by us three committed to the sheriff who put him in gaol, whence he and William Lawson escaped the night before the delivery.

At a house called the Spittell not half a mile from Hexham, belonging to Henry Woodrington, tenanted by Margaret Gibson a widow, 2 horses bridled and saddled stood in her stable—one Henry Woodrington's, the other his brother's—and Shaftoe and Lawson took them and fled. Let him "attest on his credit" if these 2 horses are not since in his friends' or followers' hands as their own. It was proved that Roger Woodrington his brother came "in the day going" in a long black cloak and black garments, and spoke with Shaftoe hard before his escape. And that Michael Waulton Henry's servant, committed at same time for felony, gave Shaftoe a watchword for his escape. These are pregnant presumptions against the Woodringtons.

Isacke Woodrington must not deny that I refused his earnest entreaty for favor, unless Shaftoe entered and submitted himself to the Queen's mercy. Richard Fenwick a juror can also testify my express orders to my people to apprehend him. And Shaftoe shall disprove Henry Woodrington's slander that I took him with his will under assurance. I sent him on apprehension to the last Durham assises with his examinations. It may be he was lodged with Mansfeild as others of Woodrington's friends were—what offence is thereby, I cannot see. As for Lawson who by their means in my offence, was to have been preferred as a soldier in Berwick or a servant to the gentleman porter, I hindered this "what I could."

ANSWER, as to George Hall of Bourdopp—accused of theft, murder, &c. I cannot remember any complaint against him. He cannot be a fugitive if (as they say) he is a soldier under Mansfeild. He has "as they tearme it, stobb and stake, viz., house and land within the dayle, which maketh him subject to the Quenes lawe."

If Raph Mansfeild or any future keeper of Redsdale, shall be severe with extremity of law, and prosecute the headsmen for old offences before his time, neither he nor other keeper can live long to serve there. And if he keeps none of them in pay but stranger soldiers only, he will do little service, for they will betray him, except the country change greatly.

The Laird of Fowberrie is not suffered here to my knowledge, nor Mathew Errington, who I hear lives in the West March. Edward Hall, Robert Hall "the porke," Edward Laingh of Haughton, Tristram Dodd of Sydeewood, all unknown to me. Thomas Charleton laird of Hawcop was committed by me to Durham gaol with Lyonell Charleton, whence both escaped and have fled from my officers out of the March.

William Shaftoe of Lipwood was, like Carnaby, an actor at Iveston rode, since entertained in Yorkshire, and it may be he comes some times to this March. Robert Shaftoe of Stannerton a notable offender, I have sought very "sereouslie," but is reset and withholden from me by Martin Ogell one of the jury, a follower of Woodrington; also I hear at M<sup>r</sup> Mitforde of Sighill and elsewhere about Morpeth, where Woodrington "houldeth him selfe a reger." Gladly would I have the man, but cannot get him. John Litle of Pontelande, if as I suppose William Shaftoe's servant, was at Iveston rode,

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and the first winter I was warden, Henry Woodrington going with me to Carlisle, brought Shaftoe, William Carnaby and other friends and kinsfolk, one Little attending Shaftoe, as Sir Cuthbert Collingwood told me, and if John be his name, perhaps the same—but if so, he is removed.

The residue are all strangers to me, and I can say nothing, but I will deal with them according as they are in Scotland or England.

"Fynes."\*—As the jurors are aggrieved at my extreme exactions of fines on my Northumberland tenants, though there is no mention of fines "within the 5 Article," nor do the gentlemen seem "disposed to trouble their heads with anie other landslord but my selfe": I answer that Richard Fenwicke one of the jurors was a principal dealer for me in letting these leases and perfected the covenants between the tenants and me, "he overruling me to their will," and I never strained or pressed them to pay but at their ease and best profit, and none of them to my knowledge, repines at the fine (as they witness under their hands). And what was formerly doubled I have "layde downe to the aunciente rent." And to furnish them with horses at present, I not only "forbear but forgive," as themselves witness. None made presentment to this jury but some of my tenants of Sturton grange, who did so on the instigation of Robert Woodrington of Hauxley, one of the jury, though they confess they had no cause to complain.

Having now answered every objection against me, I humbly crave that I may verifie the same by my presence as occasion shall be offered, protesting, in the fear of God, that I cannot take more care to do her Majesty true service, nor out of my wit can I use any better policy to win the "intempered" natures of the people to "good discipline, religion and obedience," than I have done hitherto: nor is there any gentleman or person of quality in my March, that has been or is aggrieved with my government, to my knowledge, "save Henry Wooddrington and those which followe him, who hath inewred his condicio with disobedience from his infancie, as I am informed: first, to his dearest freinde of his owne name, a Wooddrington—from whome he hath received the benefitt of his living, and by whose meanes and Godes good favoure, he enjoyethe the landes in possession and revercion, yet in his life tyme he reviled him! Since he could not temper him selfe under my authoritie to be commaunded, as appeared under Sir John Forster his government, against whome he was opposite—neither in my tyme can he broke my government—neither was I acquainted with his dislikes untill nowe.

"Therefore excepte the Queene vouchsafethe according his supposed desert and ambitious humor, an highe place of honor and an imperiall government, he cannot live contented. I humblie therefore pray your lordship, sift both our duties, and judge of them as they deserve—punishe the offender and comforte the well doer, and condemne not him for faulte that havinge most cause, hath forborne to complayne." Signed: *Conscientia pura murus ahenæus*, Ra. Enre.

10½ pp. Closely written. Addressed on back by Ewre to Burghley. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.

June 8. 653. ROBERT ELLOT, &C., TO EURE.

"For as mickle as wee have beene with your lordship and hes indented of sick condicions quihilke in noe wise we were myndit to breake, we nor name of oures, but that his Majestie and our maister the Laird of Beaulghe being informit herof, hes allmoste berefte us all of our lives for the same interprisinge sicke a deede but † thaire licence, and hes commaunded us, under the higheste paine of our lives or els att leaste the banishment of our rowme

\* Note by Burghley.

† i.e., without.

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"for ever, that nather be day nor night we have melling\* or intercoming with noe Englishman, untill sicke tyme it sall please his highnes and our maister to give license: quhilke we thought good to let your lordship understaunde, beseking your lordship take in good parte, and to hould us excusit thereanent. And for the indentor betwixt your lordship and us, wee are mynded God willing, to keipe everie heide therof sa sone we can purchaise his Majesties licensae or yet our maisters, and in the tyme wee salbe diligent to imploye our creditt towardes the license, for wee ar verie evill content anie alteration sould have bene of anie thing sett downe be your lordship and us, gif we could have bettert it. But our native prince maie commaund us what he will. Therefore we will beseeke your lordship to take this in gude part and consider our case, for fall out what will, wee are never mynded to offende your lordship nor your office, gif we can hald anie tising backe undone, for the good intertainement we received of your lordship . . . We doubt not bot your lordship sicklick, under coloure, will shawe favoure unto us, seing wee are mynded to keip. Swa having no furder att this tyme, but giffing creditt to the bearer as he will informe your lordship att more lengthe . . . Off Laristounne the viij<sup>th</sup> of June 97." Robert Ellatt of Readhughe, William Ellatt of Harscarthe, John Ellat of Coppshawe.

1 p. Copy by Eure's clerk. The names written by Eure. Indorsed by him: "A coppie of the Ellottes lettres to the L. Eure l. warden."

## June 9. 654. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Lest it come to your lordship's ear otherwise to my reproof, I presume to send the account to you.

On 15<sup>th</sup> May hard by Thirlewall in the daytime, divers Scotsmen of Liddesdale took the horses and wounded their owners peaceably travelling from the West March to Newcastle for corn, and since then worse attempts have been made both in Lord Scrope's and my March. So sending some of the soldiers divers times to the wastes to attack the malefactors, but missing them, and seeing Buccleuch's evil disposition, I attempted with my men "to take a pune" of one in his office, a chief offender in the cruel attempt of Tindale, there being not above 30 horsemen with the trumpet, and it was done though Liddesdale was warned by the treachery of my own country. This was on 30<sup>th</sup> May, whereon 3 of the principal Ellotts voluntarily besought me to restore the cattle, &c., so taken, promising me by writing to restore for all attempts done by them or theirs since I entered office, and continuance of good neighbourhood while I remain, as the copy herewith sent will show your lordship. But during this "parle," Buccleuch complained heinously to the King, pretending violation of the peace and aggravated his displeasure against me, and coming down, hindered these conditions as the copy letter inclosed will show.

I humbly crave your opinion of this my action, against the inferiors in his office, "since the governor is not otherwise to be wonne," leaving to your consideration the weakness of my country, "the stronge affection the Scott hath wonn in my Marche in the hartes of the people, which strengtheneth him more than the force of his owne countrie." Hexham. Signed: Ra. Eure.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax quartered seal: damaged.  
Inclosed in the same, Nos. 647, 653.

## June 9. 655. EURE TO CECIL.

A similar letter to the preceding with copies of the agreement and letter from the Elliots. Hexham. Signed: Ra. Eure.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal as before.

\* i. e., dealing.

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Inclosed in the same :—

- (1) Copy agreement of 4 June by the Ellatts of Liddesdale as in No. 647.  
 (2) Copy of their letter to Eure of 8<sup>th</sup> June as in No. 653.

June 12. 656. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I have received your letter of 7<sup>th</sup> whereby I perceive her Majesty is not yet resolved on whom to bestow the wardeny of the East March. I acknowledge myself most bound to your lordship, for I know I have had your favor and furtherance therein : "but truly Sir, for my owne particuler, it is an offis I dooe not greatly desier. I desired th'augthorite of a warden for the tyme I should continewe in it, only for the better gracinge of her Majesty servis, but nowe that I feynd it is her pleasur, and that in her wisdum she thinks it best that I continewe as I am, I am pleas'd therewith, and as well as I may, will dooe her the best servis I can, for the tyme I shall continewe in it, which I hope shall be short."

Your lordship finds fault with me for not sending the Bishop of Durham a book of the fyled bills. I have not been negligent therein, for I received the bishop's letter the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, and on the 9<sup>th</sup> I sent him a book of the whole, both Scots and English, fyled and cleansed, which I doubt not your lordship has got long ere this. The collection will "aske", some time perfectly to draw out, so I thought it not amiss to send you the breviat thereof. Whatever it shall please her Majesty's ambassadors in Scotland to command me (in border causes), I shall perform as far as in my power, "hoping at th'end therof to be dismiss of this chardge, that is to heavye for me to support as it seames her Majesty meanes I shall serve it." Berwick. *Signed* : Rob. Carey.

*1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

June 12. 657. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"Your honors lettre of the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of Aprill, had a slowe messenger, but verie suer, and such a one as doth acknowledge bothe herself and me to be highlie bownd and beholdinge to your honor in her dispatche toichinge mye affaires and shute to the Quenes Majesti, which I can by no meanes requyte, but by my dutifull love and service ever redie at your honors comaund . . . And for my wyffes behavioure and paynes takinge, in solicytinge my shute, for reward thereof, she desier no more, but that I will ever be thanckfull and dutifull to your honor, as the cheif cause of her good dispatche . . ."

"I here owt of Scotland that the Kinge of Denmarcke havinge bene in Italie and in Norway, is already entred on his joreney towards Scotland, and is expected there the next wynde, nay some reporte is, that he is already landed in the northe partes; and further, that he meanes to come into England to see the Quenes Majesti, which if it shall so happen, I wold gladdie have your honor to certifie me her Majestes pleasure, what manner of course I shall hold with him? . . . Wheither I shall onlie intertayne him after a feastinge manner, or wheither I shall otherwise honor him, by makinge him knowe the force of the towne and secrettes of the walles, as by shewinge of him the towne? Which I hold in my owne foolishhe oppynyon, verie unfytt to be done, for that he may become a more dangerous and hurtfull enemye therto, then any other man can be." So I pray you let me know in good time. "It is further thought that M<sup>r</sup> George Yonge shall shortelie come up, as ambassador," to satisfy the Queen for the delivery of Cesford and Buckleugh; also that the Duke of Lennox and others come after.

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I pray your honor also to be "mindfull" of our pay, that Shepperston may come down in good time. Berwick. *Signed*; Jhon Carey.

*1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

June 13. 658. EURE TO CECIL.

I received her Majesty's letters of the 7<sup>th</sup> commanding me to observe the late treaty "compiled" by her own and the Scottish King's commissioners, which I will observe to my utmost skill and power. But having as yet only some few selected articles concerning the wardens only, sent by the Bishop of Durham on the advice of my Lord Treasurer, I humbly beseech your honor's letter to the bishop, &c., requiring him to give me a true general copy of the whole treaty, signed by himself and some of his associates, which may be a sure instruction for my proceedings. Craving that I may not be more narrowly tied to its observance than the opposites are, but free to requite them *pari modo et mensura*. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

*$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed: "13 Junij 1597 . . . Rec. at London the xvij of the same."*

June 14. 659. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

As I lately conveyed to your lordship by Mr Henry Sanderson of Newcastle, the copies of the bills of the Middle and West Marches, so now I send the like copy of the bills of the East Marches, lately received from Sir Robert Carey "warden of the same," with an "Extract," which I wish had been drawn out of the bills of the other Marches for your "more ease." By which I trust your lordship will find we had goodwill to have settled the business so far as in our power. We hope the remaining bills left to the several wardens will be redressed in convenient time, if the princes command the treaty to be duly executed. But I am sorry to hear, the first point of all, *viz.*, the interchange of rolls on each side, which should have been done by all on Friday the 10<sup>th</sup> instant, was not observed—thus causing the service to follow like to fail also, and it may be, the opposites will take advantage to break the delivery of the pledges, the principal redress for the bypast and future.

I see by persons well affected to religion and the state, and of good judgment in civil matters, "that there is great murmure and mislike of the special favour and countenance shewed to Joseph Counstable and his wife, as wicked and dangerous a couple as ever the north bredd (except alwayes David Ingleby and his lewd ladie). God forbid their hypocriticall submission, by the feare of death extorted as it were, should expyate so manyfold and heynous felonies and trecheries (percase treasons also) committed by them. What inveterate papist will forbear to receive preistes or Jesuites, yf to come to church *pro forma* maie serve the tourne? What preistes or Jesuites will forbear to land in this realme, yf they maye live in hope to be received? How dare any man adventure to apprehend any person of qualitie, when after so many yerres attendaunce and search, and sometymes not without great charge and greater perill, he shall see the enemie of God, his prince and countrie, to bristle himself, and to hope for a daie to take his taker; and in the meane season to see the adversarie waxe insolent, the weake in faith trodden under foote, the faithfull themselves to call the justice and pollicie both of lawe and magistrate, in question? These passions, my good lord, doe possesse the hartes of many, as also the tongues and penms of some. And I beseech Almighty God to strengthen and encourage her Majesties royall breast and hand, as also inflame and settle the mindes of the civill and ecclesiasticall governours, well and seriously to bethinke them of that most necessary and godly precept of the kingly phrophet, *Beati qui custodiunt*



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*"judicium et faciunt justiciam omni tempore.* But this cause would require as much larger discourse, as your lordships manifold affayres would have a shorter lettre. Wherefore . . . I humbly take my leave of your lordship, commending you to God and the word of his grace, which is hable to build further and to give you an inheritaunce among all them which are sanctified, as the apostle for his fairewell sayed to the Ephesians once for all." Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

*I p. Addressed. Indorsed. Two wax seals: Mathew's arms.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(Bills referred to.)

The English and Scottish bills fyled before the commissioners at Berwick as in Nos. 606-9 with some additions.

*Extracts.*

At the Tolbooth Berwick 2<sup>d</sup> Feb. 1596.—5 bills against Scotland for invasion and slaughters.

English bills fyled on men dwelling in the Merse:—

William Selby's of Grindon rigg, foul on William Davyson of the Craggsheale, &c., for 40 old sheep, price 12*l*.

Thomas Cuninghams of Tweedmouth, foul on Hob Cowan in Hawdon for a horse, 5*l*., and 15*l*. in money taken from him.

Thomas Pigg's warden sergeant, foul on William Davyson *alias* "the Devilles chaft blade," for 5 cows, &c.

Tho. Rontlege's of Killam against the bayliffs of "Edonbr" "for troblance of his trod in pursuit of a theffe or ij" that had robde him of vj<sup>o</sup> *li*. Qaytt by the commissioners."

Tividale—Sir John Forster's and his servant Thomas Awbernathe, foul on George Glenwhom, for 25 old sheep, price 7*l*. 15*s*.

Scots bills fyled by men of the Merse on the East Wardenry:—

George Hume's of Blayketer, foul on Henry Collingwood of Etell, for 4*l*. "parcell of his bond."

William Douglas of Iveley, foul on Hob Browne and James Selby for 76 sheep, price 22*l*. 16*s*.

David Hambleton's of Wetherburne myll, foul on Daad Smythe of Killam ford, for [ ] .

The Laird of Newton's for 100 oakes—quit by oath of the Laird of Corbytt.

English bills fyled on the Scots in Tyvydale:—

"M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Grayes esq.," foul on Davy Pyle of Myllhaughe, Raphe Robson, &c., by their confession for 36 "neat" and 10 horses, prices referred to the owner's oath.

The said M<sup>r</sup> Raphe's, foul on Tho. Davyson of Birnyrigg and John Robson of Over Crawlinghall, for 13 oxen and kyen.

William Haggerston's and his tenants of H., foul on Philps Androe Rutherfordorthe and Tho. Aynsley of Cleithaugh, for 16 oxen, price 32*l*., 5 kyen, price 7*l*. 10*s*., 5 mares, 3 horse, one foale, "one slue dogg"—prices referred to owners' oaths. More, for 20 marks, and 60*l*. as in the rolls.

Cuthbert Forster's, against Ja. Kerr laird of Corbytt for 19 "neat." Quit by said laird's oath.

M<sup>r</sup> Edward Graye's, and his tenants of Presson, foul on John Davyson of Hawdon, &c., for 25 oxen, price 50*l*., 3 kine, price 4*l*. 10*s*., and insight worth [ ] sterling.

Ra. Forster's of Owsgrasse, foul on Archy Trumble and Gib Lorreyne, for 6 oxen, price 12*l*., 2 kine, price 3*l*., insight, 5 marks.

Sir Robert Carey's for a mare and foal, price 40*l*., a black gelding, price

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20*l.*, foul by the assise on Dand Pringle of Hownam for the mare and foal, quit for the gelding.

Henry Rutherford's of Middletonhall foul by assise on the old and young lairds of Vaughopp for 5 oxen, price 10*l.*, 6 kine, price 9*l.*, a mare, price 40*s.*, and insight, 6*l.*

Richard Rutherford's foul on Jock Yonge *alias* "dafte Jocke," for 20 ewes and wethers, price 6*l.*

M<sup>r</sup> Swynburne's of Eglington, foul by the Goodman of Gateshaw principal for 5 score ewes and wethers.

Andrew Storie's of Rosdon, foul by Adam Storie of the Elfe hole on Alexander Dixon of Nether Bolton for a mare, price 5*l.*

John Selbyes of Learmouthe foul, by M<sup>r</sup> James Hume laird of Corsby on James Yonge of the Knowe, &c., for 5 bolls malt, 17*s.* the boll.

M<sup>r</sup> R. Carre's of Fourd foul on the Laird of Mowe by his confession, and charges "deburst for the vower" to the plaintiff's oath—for 7 score ewes and wethers, price 42*l.*

George Harbottle's of Tugglehall on Tho. Burne of Awton burn, &c., for a gelding, price 20 marks, 3 nags, price 6*l.*, a mare, price 40*s.* Quit by the assise.

Thomas Smythe's of Norham foul upon Marke Kerr laird of Ormstone, for attempting to kill Sir Robert Carey's men, and taking away 600*l.* sterling, by "there owne" confession.

Scots bills of Tyvidale upon the East Marches of England:—

The Goodman of Johnsonburn's foul on Jo. Collingwood of Cimiston.

Ja. Humes of the Style for 4 score "swyne" upon the sworn men of Twedmouth, referred to the commissioners.

The Tutor of Belchester's for 4 kine, a "stote" and 2 horse, foul on Oswald Lauder by confession.

Alexander Pringle's of Stitchill on Jo. Clennell for a bill of 16*l.*, referred to the commissioners.

The Laird of Billye and the Laird of Hoprigges, upon Jo. Reveley of Humbleton for a band of 240*l.* "Scotts," referred to the commissioners.

Davyd Edmeston's of Charter howse on Jo. Glarner of Fourd for 10 kine and oxen. Quit.

The Laird of Langformagus on Charles Dod of Tylmouth, foul, &c., for 3 score sheep.

Thomas Maughlen's "pedder" in Duncce, on John Hiekes in Berwick, modified by the commissioners to 20*s.* sterling.

M<sup>r</sup> George Lawers of Basse upon Hobb Myll of Branxton for 2 mares, foul by Cuthbert Johnston of Berwick.

"Rich laird" Spence's on Captains Carvell and Haynes for non entry of Mathew Skeale of Norham, or to pay 16*l.* sterling, referred to the commissioners.

The Laird of Bemersyde's on said Mathew Skeale for 8 oxen, foul and agreed.

Jo. Hume's of Midlethred on Will Lorreyne of Kirkharle for 2 mares, foul by Geo. Selby of Grindon.

Edward Trotter's of Totherick upon the Laird of Clennell for 4 old sheep, referred to the assise.

Patrick Hume's of Renton on Tho. Armstrong of Cheswick for a gray horse, referred to the assise.

David Renton's of Bylly upon Rich. Pott of Ashett for 5 nags, foul by his confession.

Ja. Trotter's of Fogo upon Ja. Davyson of Lynbrigs, foul for 8 kine and oxen.

The Laird of Belyster's upon Tho. Armstrong *alias* "Boltsfoote" for 4 "stirkes and a oxe," referred to assise.

"Finis." Total English bills 210, Scottish, 125.

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43½ pp. Copy by Carey's clerk and another hand. Indorsed partly by Burghley: "14 Junij 1597. Copie of the bills of the Est Marches both for England and Scotland from the B. of Durham."

## June 16. 660. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

By your letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> you were pleased to remind me that last month you had signified some information given in to the Privy Council against me, of "abusing" her Majesty by getting full pay for the Yorkshire men-pressed for horsemen, though I had diminished their number.

I think I wrote lately to your lordship that I was no deceiver of her Majesty, and now humbly crave you to admit me to trial in presence of your "judicial seate," and that my accusers may be commanded to justify their information, and I myself dealt with according to my desert.

Your lordship is pleased to say you are not satisfied with my former answer, in view that divers men of good credit in my March have certified on oath further matter to maintain the former information.

The reports under my hand to your lordship and others of the Privy Council, on the ruined state of this March at my entry, and the experience I since had of it, made known to the Bishop of Durham and other commissioners for the border: "the cancred sore long festred and harbored among the gentlemen themselves, now stirred and searching the depth of the wounde, penetrating the entralls and secrettes therof, for my good service staude burthened by the oathes of some of vawe as the sole decayer and present ruynner therof"—to which as concerns my self I send here inclosed my answer, craving that their oathes may be "counterpoysed" by a strict inquisition, as it shall please your lordship. What concerns Raphe Mansfeld in defrauding the Queen for his 30 men, or abuses in his government, I pray may not be imputed to me, yet I dare venture to say he has a good answer. As for entertaining ill disposed men in the Queen's pay, it will be found on due inquiry, that few or no fit guides to the waste are to be found in Redesdale, who are not in danger of the law—but I think he will justify himself from retaining in pay any notorious murderer or thief, so charged since my entry—nor is any complainant "debarred" by him from prosecuting any such man detected in Sir John Forster's time.

William Fenwick of Bitchfield's presentation (if he made it) that he had only 10 soldiers, is contradicted by himself—for he had 40 several times by my order, though it is true some were his sons, servants, and kinsfolk,—for he said to me that lying at Haughton he stood in need of such as lay near about him, and he could best trust "att all suddaines," and such as could maintain themselves—he being as my bailiff, not keeper of Tindale. The like reason when I allowed 20 soldiers to M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick of Wallington then keeper of Tindale, moved me to allow him 9 or 10 of them to be his own men in pay; whatever he says now.

I cannot call to mind keeping any Yorkshire man's horse, and dismissing the man, or getting letters from the justices thereon—but assure your lordship any such horses if with me, shall be delivered. And if the Council order that the "first pressed" men shall remain in pay, unless I have their leave to discharge them, I will obey—praying however the liberty a private captain has, to remove the unworthy or insufficient man at discretion, supplying the vacancy. I will venture my life, that a stranger to this country shall not bring a band of 80 stranger horse without endangering his service, unless he have a small mixture of native countrymen.

I can give no other answer than formerly as to entertaining Nicholas Weldon—or as to the charge of entertaining landholders in pay who by their tenure should find horse and arms for service, but what I have said, of their inability though commanded—the expediency of retaining some of the headmen of clans—and the absolute refusal of divers, as Henry Woodrington and

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his tenants to harbour the Yorkshire men or give their horses grass in fit places.

I must pray your lordship give me leave to relate my griefs—first, that your “heavy countenance is bent towards me,” and your former love turned to jealousy. Second—the underhand manner in which those charges have been got up by my open enemies, and never presented in open sessions, assises or warden courts, but allowed by the commissioners to be proceeded with, neither myself nor any of my servants being called to answer. I humbly pray your lordship to procure her Majesty’s leave that I may come up to Court and answer these several charges,—with your warrant that Edward Gray my now deputy, or some other fit person, may supply my place till my return from my purgation—disposing of me then as you will, for I am restless and bereft of comfort while lying under these slanderous and malicious accusations. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

3 pp. *Very closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 18. 661. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Remembering the soldiers’ pay, I pray it may come in good time, and that “yoner honer will caues Master Sheperston to be uoe staye therof bey his lingeringe abesens, to hinder us and proffitt himselfe; wherbey yoner lordshipe shall doe a great good to this littyll commone welthe and precuer yonerself maney a pooer bodeyes prayer.”

Though it is dangerous dealing with things far above my reach, yet I cannot fail to certify your honour of what comes to my hand, referring the truth or falsehood to your wisdom. There is nothing worth writing of in Scotland, for there is neither true nor honest dealing among them, but only winning time to serve their own turas. Touching the King of Denmark coming to Scotland, I send inclosed what I have heard thence, “word bey word,” taking it for what it is worth. “We ar verey ill used in ouer vittelles styll, wherof I have littyll comfort to complayn, tyll I maye com to speake fase to fase.” Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

June 19. 662. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Having received your letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> instant touching the Scots King’s proclamations for prohibition of English cloths, wool, money, and such like, I sent of purpose to Scotland to learn the certainty, and have this day received the answer, which I inclose to show your lordship their intentions. It is thought here that the King’s only object is to get himself some money of his merchants in order to buy them out again; for it is thought if they continue, they should hurt themselves “(there merchantes I meane),” more than any other.

On conferring with the mayor and customer here, they see no hurt than can arise in England thereby.

The 25<sup>th</sup> instant is the day fixed for exchange of the pledges at the West ford of Norham—where I shall have all things in readiness. If things are done as they ought to be, the borders will be in good quiet. When I last came down, M<sup>r</sup> Secretary told me her Majesty was pleased I should return to Court after the commissioners had ended and pledges delivered. Therefore I mean by God’s grace to do so, unless I hear from your lordship to the contrary. “I have litle to doe and gladly I wold be resolved what to trust to, which by returnyng to Court I hope to effect.” Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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June 20. 663. WILLIAM CLOPTON TO BURGHLEY.

Under your honour's warrant of 11 March last, I have paid 250*l.* to the Bishop of Durham and the commissioners, all but 17*l.* due Sir William Bowes, which shall be allowed him in payment of his arrearages and rents due her Majesty. Your second warrant of 10<sup>th</sup> April I did not pay, as the "imprese" was not demanded. Under your third warrant of 21<sup>st</sup> May last, I have paid the Bishop 72*l.*, D<sup>r</sup> Colmore 36*l.*, but Sir William Bowes and M<sup>r</sup> Slingsbie have not yet sent for theirs. The last allowance to the Bishop and D<sup>r</sup> Colmore being 108*l.*, it will please your lordship to answer to M<sup>r</sup> William Fisher deputy auditor of Yorkshire, who will in exchange convey it to Berwick towards my assignment for the present pay, which will be very hard to make, for the "great dearthe and visitacion of the plague" in these north parts, where many of the Queen's rents are due. Sledwich. *Signed*: Will'm Clopton.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Small wafer signet: shield quartered—1 and 4 a lion rampant; 2 and 3 a cross pattée?*

Inclosed in the same:—

Note of the money paid as in the letter.

"Sir William Bowes allowaunce I purpose to detaine towards the paiement of his arrearages and rentes, which are above thre hundrethe poundes." *Signed*: Will'm Clopton.

1 p.

June 22. 664. SCROPE TO SIR W. BOWES.

"Brother Bowes"—though I had advertisement from my lord ambassador and you to provide the pledges in readiness by the 25<sup>th</sup> instant at the place appointed, yet I had no notice of the place till your last, and as the commissioners chose not at their departure to give me any knowledge of the beads of their articles, it seems strange to me that so distant a place from this March should be chosen, with such short warning to me. Understanding from them since, that the pledges were to be entered by the 1<sup>st</sup> July, and having prepared myself to follow this course, though it is almost impossible for me to perform it so far off, or to accomplish their chargeable desires, I will do my diligence to have the pledges ready, and supply what is then wanting afterwards. Carlisle.

1 p. *Copy by a clerk. Indorsed.*

June 23. 665. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I inclose such news I have eveu now from Scotland. Under the Council's warrant I have summoned the Carletons "to make thire repayre up," and they give out they will do so. I would gladly have been personally present to answer, and have written very earnestly to Sir Robert Cecil to procure my leave, begging your lordship's furtherance. But if I cannot, I shall send a man of mine fully instructed in all the circumstances. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Postscript.—The Carletons will name no day for their departure, whereby I might provide "one to keepe that place," yet their friends give out they will trouble the frontier, so I hope your lordship will cense the soldiers to repair hither.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph; as also adress. Indorsed.*

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June 25. 666. PLEDGES DEMANDED BY SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

Copy of the indent signed by Sir George Home knight and M<sup>r</sup> George Younge, late commissioners for border causes, expressly sent by the King to perfect this indent: which was delivered to Sir William Bowes knight the Queen's ambassador to the King, and expresses the names of the pledges demanded by Scotland to be delivered at the west ford near Norham the 25 June 1597 at 10 hours before noon.

TYNDALE.—Gib Charleton of Boughthill; Lowrie Robson; Lyell Robson; Rowy Milburne of the Cambe; Jock Dodd of Grenehaughe.

REDESDALE.—Rob. Hall younger of Moncrethe; John Hall of Gressonfeilde; John Reid of Troquhane; Allan Heidley of Hatherweeke; George Wanlasse of Durtresse; Peircy Pott of Yeirdupp; Tom Coxson of the Woolawe; John Snawdon.

WEST MARCH.—Wills Arthur Grame of Nederby; the Goodman of the Mote; Wills Georde of the Faulde; Tom Storie of Howend; Sym Taylor Ninian; Rowy Forster of Carsopfoote; John Grame of West Linton; litle George Haverington of Brunehill; Dands Quintin Nixsone; Riche of Cancroupe Rutledge; Anthony Edward Armstrouge of Wilzeton; George Bell of Bowbancke.

The Larde of Paston; Rafe Reveley of Hamilton.

To be delivered at the place aforesaid the day and hour named. "Signed: " George Home, M<sup>r</sup> George Younge."

*Item*, follows the names to be delivered pledges for Scotland.

WEST MARCHES.—John Armstrouge of Hollace; Jock Armstrouge "Kinmonth Jock"; Georde Urwen *alias* "Kanghe"; Will Bell "reid cloke"; Hobby Urwen; Edward Carlyle of the Limekiilne; Will Grame "Clothmans Willy"; David Johnston of the Reid hawe.

LIDDESDALE.—Symy Armstrouge laird of Mangerton; Symy Armstrouge young laird of Whittasse; Will Elliott of Larestane; Arche Elliott son to Martin; Will Elliott of the Stele; John Nixson of the Eshes.

TEVIOTDALE.—Rafe Aynsley of Clythaugh; Jock Burne younger of the Cote; Rafe Burne; the Larde Frezell of Everton; William Hall; Dand Davison; Rafe Mowe of Mowe; William Tate of Cheretrees; Rafe Hall of the Sickes; Dand Pringle younger of Hownam; Jock Robson of Osnam; James Young of Feltershaw; James Younge of the Cove.

1 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Contemporary copy. Indorsed*: "Coppie of pledges to be interchangeably delivered by the commissioners according to the indents."

June 25. 667. CERTIFICATE BY LORD HOME, &C.

"At the West fourd beside Norahame the 25<sup>th</sup> of June 1597. The quhilk day Alexander lord Home commissioner diredted from the King his Majestie off Scotland to sie the entrie of the pledges appointed be the leat commissionares be effectuat be delyverie of the persones nominat at Edinburghe, and broucht to the sayd place be the Laird of Bekleuche keipere of Ledisdell and Schir Robert Kere warden of the Medill Merche: lyk as also to heave reseaved the Inglesishe pledges from the handes of Schir Wiliame Bowes leat commissionar, and ambassadour for hir Majestie: the saydes lordes commissionares metinge day and place abonwretene, for thair first acte ordeinel ane vene to be taikoe of the pledges on athere syd quhairby thay myght knaw quhae were absent and quhae present; quhilk done ooe athere syd be some quha particularlie knewe theme be the face, thair was fund absent of the Inglesishe syd, four of the pledges of the West Marche onlie: and of the pledges for the Scottishe syd, the hail oomber

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"that was nominat for the West Merche, togethere withe tua of Liddesdell and three of Tevedell. This donne, eftere some ressoning, Schir William Bowes embassador forsayd, offered to entere the Inglishes pledges mane for mane, quhome the Scottishe commissioner sould nomiut for his pairt : and seing thayr was some wanting upon ather syd, was contented that ane new day sould be appointed for the perfecte entrie of the absentes.

"This being thought ressonable be my lord Home, hee caused Schir Robert Kere and the laird of Bukcleuche to be informed thairof, quha war neir besyd withe thayr pledges. Thayr ansuere was, that in respect thay had hearne be dyverse wardenries, ane equall nombre of pledges was not ane sufficient suertie of redresse to thayr wardenries : and therefore desyred that the hail Inglishes pledges might be delyvered. Quhairupone my lord Home tuek occasione to repayr touardes theme him self, and tuek withe him Schir George Home of Wedderburne, quha eftere certene speches to the effect forsayd praised theme withe ane direct ansuere.

"Quhilk ansuere my lord Home desyred myght be set doune in writt undere thayr handes : lyk as thay did to the effect falowing : to witt.—

"That thay were contented and offered to entere thayr hail pledges for suertie of redresse to the three opposit wardenes of England, provyding thay myght heave the hail pledges of Ingland delyvered of the thre opposit Marches for suertie of the harmes susteined be theme. The quhilk ansuire being imperted to the said Schir William, seimed wonderfull strange : neveretheles that all thinges myght be left in quyet, he was content to accept of that nombre of pledges quhilk thay had present, and to delyvere the hail nombre of Inglishes pledges quhilk he had thayre present to my lord Home, upone conditione that iff hir Majestie were not contentid thair-withe, the pledges upone nathere \* syd sould be redelyvered : and soe alsoe iff the King his Majestie were displeisid : lykwayes that iff the remanent nombre of Scottishe pledges were not enterid be ane certeine short day, se monie as thayr was meir of Ingleshe sould be sent hame.

"This also being shewed to the sayd keipere and wardene, thay still refused the entrie off thayr pledges : alledging that the rowe subscribed be the Laird of Wedderburne and M<sup>r</sup> George Younge did not contene the pledges that thay demandit, and that some were absent of the pledges thayrine contened.

"The commissioners for baithes pairtes seing na bettere effect of thayr laboures, the day being spent, brak upe eftere thay had maid proclamations that mane Ingleshe nor Scottishe sould molest others contrayr the peice, untill sik tyme the pleasure of the princes war furthere knowne. . . ."  
*Signed* ; Alex. I. Home, George Houme.

2 pp. *In a Scottish hand. Indorsed.*

June 26. 668. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL

"I cannot at lardge dilate" to you the proceedings between the four commissioners, for I think Sir William Bowes will shortly send your honor "the wholle discourse." But I will briefly relate their days work to you.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> hereof as appointed, the pledges for England were ready at the West ford of Norham. Sir William was there met by the Lord Hume and Sir George Hume—the Lord Eurye and myself staid with our horse and foot half a mile off ; Cesford and Buccleuch doing the like.

The commissioners on both sides were willing to do justice : but Cesford and Buccleuch with frivolous delays held them off from 10 A.M. till 8 at night, and at last seeing ours ready to be delivered, and the commissioners pressing them, "then in playne tearms thei tolde theme that thei wold not

\* Athere ?

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delyver them, and that none els should delyver them, except the King him self did yt." Whereon their commissioners desired this answer in writing, which they had, and Sir William Bowes has got the copy. Then they both departed with their men, leaving Lord Hume and Sir George to end matters. Lord Eury and I being called, the King's commissioners told us how desirous he was for justice going on, as they were also, and would acquaint him with the conduct of his two officers, doubting not he would disgrace them. Then we parted, Sir William going south, and I to Berwick. I think the King will either deliver them to the Queen for contempt, or else they will "leape owt" as fugitives. If not, "ther is a further drifte in yt, then ys yett apparent." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

\* I pray you acquaint my lord your father herewith.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Rec. at Grenewich the second of Julye." *Sean wafer signet*.

June 26. 669. HENRY LEIGHE, &c., TO CECIL.

As directed by Lord Scrope, we repaired to the meeting yesterlay at the West ford near Norham, with 8 of the principal pledges for the West Marches, who were "vewed" by the opposites, and for any we wanted, we offered present delivery of a better man, till we got the principal, expecting the like "correspondence" in delivery. The Laird Johnstone opposite warden, was not there nor any of his pledges for the West March; so there was no fault in us on Lord Scrope's behalf, as the Lord Eurye and Sir Robert Carye will testify. Berwick. *Signed*: He. Leighe, Richard Bell.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*.

June . 670. PRESENTMENTS AGAINST LORD EURE.

*Extracts.*

*Under 20 heads*:—

1-4 are dealt with in his answer No. 652.

5. That he received 600*l.* or 800*l.* from Yorkshire to provide horses, but did not.

6. Arch Bell and Edward Young two of the horsemen, confess voluntarily that they brought this money.

11. That assistance was denied to John Browne "one of their fellowes."

12. That the lord warden has taken exceeding great fines from his tenants of Sturton grange, *viz.*, of one whose ancient rent was but 40*s.*, he took 48*l.* for fine, and raised his rent to 50*s.* Refused their goods offered in lieu of fines, and imprisoned some of them at Hexham, till they agreed to give fines—60*l.* for a farm.

13-17. The charges against Nicholas Weldon, "Black" Will Ridley, John and Lyonell Charleton, and William Shaftoe, are dealt with in Eure's answer *ut supra*.

18-20. Allows fugitives to increase by negligence. Seizes goods for his own use, not the Queen's—also those of honest men as well as felons.

2 pp. *Indorsed partly by Burghley*.

June 27. 671. EURE TO BURGHELY.

As directed by the commissioner and the ambassador, I in person conducted the pledges for my March to the West ford near Norham on the 25<sup>th</sup> instant, delivering them to the hands of Sir William Bowes, to whose

\* Holograph.



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relation of what followed I refer your lordship, where he wisely and stoutly discharged his duty. This delay gives me occasion to renew my suit for relief of this March, beseeching your lordship to vouchsafe to take the experience of Sir William Bowes thereon.

I also beseech you "to procure me leewe of the royall staite of hir Majestie and honorable table," to give my answer in person to these malicious slanders as to these 80 men under my charge, when I may also more fully make knowu to you the pitiful state of this March. I would farther know her highness's pleasure for their month's pay now very nigh, and for their continuance, as they cry daily for the same. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary*: "22 Junij 1597.  
... *Wafers signed as before.*"

June 28. 672. JOHN BROWN'S REPLY TO EURE.

"A brief colleccion of the principall poyntes of the Lord Eures answeres to the late inquisition for Border faultes: with a short replie thereto."

*Extracts.*

[The first part consisting of 21 unnumbered heads, repeats the charges, combating Eure's answers in some detail. The 6<sup>th</sup> accuses him of slandering the county of Northumberland in saying they need the Queen's pay to incline them to honest courses, and to withdraw the headsmen from combining in secret friendship with Scots; and the writer proceeds]—"Yeat for myne owne parte, I thinck his lordship whose auncestour led our countrie, gentrye and comons, in that daye of thaire great perdition, himself also having taste of our kyndness, of all others hathe least cause to note us with this odyous cryme. But your lordship and the honorable sages of England can well testefie, and our services beare recorde of our kynde affections to that honorable Sir W<sup>m</sup> Drurrye, and all the governors of like worthe emongest us. And then Scotland made intercession for that which we nowe be<sup>gg</sup>."

The 8<sup>th</sup> charges Raphe Mansfeild with daily haunting the "arche bloodye enymie" Sir Robert Carre, whose "alluringe, wakerye, highe and malycious spirit" the border feels.

Though the Lord Warden professes his desire to see good religion flourish, yet under the 21<sup>st</sup> head it is asserted he cannot deny that a "fellow" John Clarke the most notorious papist of the north, who has infected many of the gentlemen and their houses, and whose children abuse the poor ministers with open reproach and violent hand, has had access to the lord warden, and is now returned to his house at Alwick where he and his children are made officers and rulers: which the Bishop of Durham can affirm.

Finally, though Lord Eure says he has answered every particuler charge against him, Lord Burghley is requested to get his more direct answer to 13 questions.

1-4. Relate to the horsemen—days of truce—prosecuting fugitives, &c.

5. Why he denied aid and justice to John Browne upon his deadly feud and bond against that famous thief and murderer Jock of the Cote Scotsman?

6. Why he took assurance for his "cozen" Thomas Percy at Cesford's hands and left out the said Browne?

7. His officer Raphe Mansfeild's allowing M<sup>r</sup> Rotherford a Scot-man's flocks of sheep to pasture within his keepership, whose sons are known robbers of Englishmen?

8. The secret conveyance of Cesford by his lordship's most inward friends—Ralph Mansfield and John Lisle to Toplif?

9. "How Sir Robert Carre came by that horse bought at Toplif for 55*l*. I

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take it, and which waye Sir Robert Carre was reconveyed into Scotland"?

10. Mansfeild his officer's carrying Englishmen into Scotland "to combat before Bawleugh, where the one murdered the other"?

Lastly—for his suspicion against the gentleman porter of Berwick, and objections against M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington, "I forbear to speak"—their own answers and the general vote of the border show the value of their service and presence. "They are undoubted right Englishmen, neither of theym of noted disposicion to grace ane ill man, nor impugne aucthoritie in any sorte, but for the true service of the Quene, and the right and generall good of the countrey . . . And I maye boundlie speak itt and justlie avouchte it to the moste worthiest, that they are twoe of the chief pillars upholdinge that dwynge people, and the honour of the Quene on those Marches, also accompted by the malycious enymies of this estate as their noted adversaries." *Not signed.*

3 pp. *Closely written. Annotated by Burghley. Indorsed by him:* "28 Junij 1597. Jhon Browns replication to the Lord Eures answer."

June 29. 673. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

By my letter of 26<sup>th</sup> from Chillingham, I reported the "successe" of our meeting for delivery of the pledges at Norham—the Lord Home and the Laird of Wedderburne then promising me, as the time served not, being 9 hours in the evening, and my Lord Eure and I having near 20 miles to ride that night, they would set down under their hands what had passed between us that day. For surety in conveyance thereof, I sent to attend them M<sup>r</sup> James Swinoe one of the Queeu's gentlemen pensiouers in Berwick, who hath before served well herein. I send you a copy of his letter herewith, containing some things worthy notice, specially that this certificate under Lord Home and Wedderburne's hands, is a transcript of their report to the King. They have only left my desire unsatisfied in this, *viz.* "that I requested the verie copie *totidem verbis*" of the answer which Buccleuch and Cesford gave to the commissioners under their hands, both as it contains material circumstances, and also shows the direct breach of their promise therein, "namely, that yf I wold deliver all the pledges which I had there, they wold deliver suche as they had showed"—thus in that point salving their honour, "*videlicet*, that their offer was onely to deliver if they might have all the pledges, which word (all) beinge here left indefinite, did indeede plainly expresse all suche pledges as I hadd there showed." For this reason I made the larger offer of such advantage to them, "bicause I sawe them drawne into this *dilemma*, that eyther they should breake their promise, which I secretly understoode to have beene by them made to their theives, which was that their should be no deliverie made of them, or els, that they should breake their promise instantly given under their handes." But as it is, this act will make them odious to their well disposed countrymen, as I saw by the "honest gentlemen of the Marce," to whom I laid them open "in calme tearmes" at my general speech on parting.

I also inclose your honor the letter to me from Lord Home and Wedderburne, intending as they desire, to return them a double thereof under my hand. It may please you to keep in safety their certificate and the letter, because they may be of use hereafter.

I have also sent your honor my uncle's last letter to me to show "what conceipt is hadd of the Kiuges resolution in this deliverie, and indeede I was credibly enformed that he sent twice or thrice on Tuesday and Wednesday, immediately after our leave taken at Fawckland, that Buckclugh should eyther enter his pledges or be committed: whereupon proceeded that earnest and partiall dealinge by the counsell with us in the matter of the pledges, certified to your honor in my former lettres, easly discovering their

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affection to this justice, and their cunning abusinge the Kinges facilitie, both in this and more, to the detriment of both the nations."

I have told the ambassador of our meeting with all the speed I could, that he might "enconoter" the first report to the King. I shall also send him a double of this certificate, which with Lord Home's letter came two days later to my hand than it should, by the negligence of the posts. By my riding three whole nights together on the borders for the necessity of this service, "I find myselve distempered, so as yf I favour my health for fyve or six daies, I trust her Majestie will conceive no offence . . . From my howse at Bradley." *Signed* : Will'm Bowes.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(1) (Certificate by Lord Hume and Wedderburne.)

No. 667, *ante*.

(2) (Their letter to Sir W. Bowes.)

"Pleis your lordschip resseave frome this beaer this dayes work sett donue in writt, as it was promised, and subscryved withe our haudes; quhilk we desyre yow to consedere of and returne ane double of the sammeine to use, subscryved be yow." Desiring your continuance of desire to justice and to expect a happy end though interrupted. 25 June 1597. *Signed* : Alex. l. Home, George Hoame.

\* "Mouy thingis wold I hawe writtin unto yow, bot that necessitie ower rewillith my desyre, yow preessing speeddy advertesment. And I now hawing spent thairon this nthir nychtis watche, desyryng yow thairfoir to be contented with that quhairwith I do not content my self, till laser may mend all."

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed* : ". . . June 26, 1597."

(3) (R. Bowes to Sir W. Bowes.)

"Honourable sir. By some destemperance felte in my weake bodye at my retourne hither, and soone after my departure from you, I was dryven to take and keipe my bedd for 3 or 4 houres: wherin nowe I have (with Godes helpe) well recovered my healtie."

I have received to-day "confydent" news that the King of Denmark was lately in Norway to take order with his governors and captains of castles, to reform the disorders there—and thinking his sudden and covert repair thither, would best accomplish his desire, he gave out and pretended to pass into Scotland. But things in Norway being settled, he is back in Denmark.

It is told me by letter that the King has told Lord Hume to postpone delivery of the pledges for the West till Monday next, as Johnston cannot be ready till then. If any others hinder matters, "the King is resolute"—as I here tell you as near the writer's words as I can. I hope you will let me hear of your proceedings at the meeting to-morrow at the West ford near Norham. In other matters you shall "(with Godes grace)" be satisfied by my letters to be at London before you come thither. "At Edenburgh in hast the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of June 1597. Your very loving unckle." *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed* : "To the honourable his very good nephew Sir William Bowes knight." *Indorsed*.

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674. SCROPE TO SIR JOHN STANHOPE.

Inclosed I send you the last attempt of the Scots against the West Marches, accompanied with the Grames and Carletons—praying you to acquaint M<sup>r</sup> Secretary that M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave, whom the country much desires if the Queen please to make trial of him, in my absence, may be sent

\* What follows holograph of Wedderburne.

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down before further spoil is done, or else that M<sup>r</sup> Secretary or you, write to M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther commanding him to take the office in hand in my absence, and have a care to keep it quiet, and her Majesty will be "mindfull" of his service. For the gentlemen all say that these troubles are procured by him and his friends, which I pray God be not true, though there is great appearance thereof. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph*. *Addressed* : "To my honourable frende Sir Jhon Stanhope knight." *Indorsed*.

July 5. 675. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

The late "untowardnes" of the Scots regarding the pledges, and their insolence and vaunts of revenge, so greatly aggrieved my men of Tyndale, that they have made a roade into Liddesdale, bringing off booty and cattle, and slain an Elliot of Martin's clan called "Martin's Gibbe"; which action though without my privity and against the treaty, I pray your lordship's assistance in defence of. This slain Elliot was a notorious offender in England, and besides, being a soldier and trained in war, was a captain and principal leader, and of chief account; so his death may greatly avail this poor country. Hexham. *Signed* : Ra. Eure.

Postscript.—I humbly beseech your lordship I may have leave to go sometimes to my house at Wittou not past 7 miles or thereabout distant from my March. For the plague is so dispersed through the country, that the Queen's justices of assise on careful consideration held no assise in this country: and I am forced for doubt to remove my wife and most part of my family, "the infection beinge within a myle or two of me on every side—yea and I feare within Hexham towne."

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signet*: quartered.

July 7. 676. EURE TO CECIL.

As the Scots have made malicious reports of me to their King, I have thought good to make known to you "seasonable with truth" the late events befallen, that though it may seem "offensive, taken in this season," yet with your countenance the poor men "actors therein" be not discomfited, the rather as the same "presedentes" have been done often to us by the Scots without redress.

On Sunday night last the 3<sup>d</sup> instant, some Scotsmen came in and stole from a "poore creature" in Tyndale 3 kine; when the fray rose, and some of my men from the Waste, joined the company mostly footmen.

They failed to rescue these goods for want of warning; but knowing of a number of cattle to be had, the soldiers without a leader ventured into Liddesdale with the country foot, and in a "loane" where the cattle were folded, belonging to Martin Elliot and his clan, they "raysed" 200 cattle, 100 sheep, some goats, nearly 20 horse and mares. They entered his "sheeld," and in the violent resistance, "one Martins Gibb Elliott light in the handes of one Dodd of Tyndale (which Doddes kinsemen the said Elliott had formerlie slaine), yt pleased God, this Elliott for the punishment of his sinns, was by the said Dodd now slaine, some others wounded." This clan of Elliotts are great offenders to England, Arche the son of Martin a great rider. Martin's Gibb now slain, with others defended Martin's tower, when besieged by the "ould" Lord Scrope and Sir John Forster. He was brought up in the wars in Flanders and France, and has since been a leader to that wicked race, and I trust his death shall not be offensive to the Queen since his heart was no better to neighbourhood.

The overthrow of our chief leaders and continual spoils have so "drained" this March, that I humbly crave we may have 200 horse more, when I trust

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in time to suppress the insolent pride of the "Lard" now governor in Liddesdale, who at the late meeting at Norham, and at all times, offers disgraces to the Queen our sovereign. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 7. 677. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Being at this very instant returned from Yorkshire, and receiving these short accounts, thought good to inclose them. So soon as I know how things go here I shall certify you. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

"Occurents out of Scotland."

The King of Denmark is gone back. A great inquisition is devised against the Catholics by persuasion of M<sup>r</sup> Bowes.

Lord Hereis is convict afore the Secret Council for giving a great sum to "Ladelanes"\* who thought to have surprised the "Ile of Ailsay" for the Spaniard.

Border affairs are in great dispute and not fully condescended on. Johnston is hardly watched on here by the Hamiltons and Maxwells.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

July 7. 678. PROVISIONS BOUGHT FOR BERWICK.

A brief note of the provisions bought for the garrison from Michaelmas 1596 till 7<sup>th</sup> July 1597, with charges, &c.

Wheat, 959 qrs. at 42s. 3d. per qr.; rye, 456 qrs. at 35s. 3d.; malt, 909 qrs. at 26s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. [besides sundry other provisions], in all 5967l. 7s. 9d.

Proportion of those remaining on 1<sup>st</sup> August 682l. 15s.  $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Rye sent since 1<sup>st</sup> August, "but bought longe beefore" 100 qrs., 200l.

Remainder not yet sent to Berwick nor delivered by the sellers, "but forthwith to be received." Wheat, malt, pease, &c., value 282l. 3s. 4d.

The money account.

Received in February from Exchequer, 2,315l. 16s. 10d.

Received from the receivers in part of mouey due for victuals delivered to the garrison in the half year ended at the Annunciation last, 1,400l., 3,715l. 16s. 10d.

Against which:—

The provision of victuals bought by Vernou and Swifte	
as above	5,967l. 7s. 9d.
And so laid out "more then hathe anie waie been received" the sum of	2,251l. 10s. 11d.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Written by their clerk. Indorsed.*

July 10. 679. RICHARD GRAIME'S ARREARS.

Arterages of Richard Graime gentleman, bailiff of the manor of Askerton parcel of the baroney of Gilsland late the possession of Leonard Dacre attainted.

CUMBERLAND.—Arterages and issues of office due for the said manor at Martinmas in winter, 38 Elizabeth, 55l. 18d.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

\* Barclay of Laidyland.

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July 10.

## 680. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

By your letter of the third I find to my discontent, your lordship is not satisfied with my answers to the accusations of the jury, and that divers other complaints are presented requiring answer.

I humbly pray you for the love of justice, to confront the accusers and accused in presence of her Majesty, that justice may be done.

According to your pleasure, I have made known to the soldiers that no warrant will be had for the last 2 months' pay, or for continuance of it farther; wherein I am hardly beset in this time of feud and my March so weak.

I humbly pray you vouchsafe me a copy of the general verdict, that I may prepare my answer to the objections wherewith I am not yet acquainted; and that my humble petition may be presented to her Majesty's hands, to whom I appeal for trial. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

## July 11. 681. EURE TO THE QUEEN.

Petitioning his "moste gracious and dreade sovereigne" &c., as the "sole myrror" of justice for leave to present himself on his knees at the footsteps of her throne, to answer the charges against him. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: "To the Queenes moste excellente Majestie." *Indorsed.*  
(1) Another copy of same.

## July 13. 682. SCROOPE TO CECIL.

"At the late Assises holden heere at the cite of Carlel" the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> instant, two notorious thieves, viz. "Jhon Grame *alias* Jock of the Peertree, and William Grame *alias* Will of the Layke of Eske" in Cumberland, lately taken in the "over" part of the county for stealing certain geldings, colts and mares, and sent by a *mittimus* from a justice of peace to the Queen's gaol here to be kept till due trial; yet the "gayler" under the sheriff of the county "that now is, as it now falleth forth to bee well knownen," not only kept them in his own house, never putting them in gaol as directed, but suffered their wives and friends of the country of Eske to have daily common access to them; wherby the prisoners devised with their friends named in the inclosed "sedell" and others yet unknown, and on Tuesday last the 12<sup>th</sup> the second day of the assises about 4 A.M., some of them came to the gaoler's house in said city and took away the two prisoners, having horses ready for them: while others of them "with gunnes and dagges" lay in wait outside of the city gate, to shoot or stay any who should pursue, and when the felons were clearly gone, followed to protect their retreat. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(Note of those who aided the rescue.)

"Jhon Grame of the Laike, Georg Grame his soune; Richard Grame of Aikshawehill; William Grame sonne to Hutchins Richie; David Grame his brother; Watt Grame brother to Jock of Peertree; George Grayme *alias* Geordie Carlel."

## July 15. 683. EURE TO CECIL.

It is my duty to certify what happens here, though not my fortune to report "comfortable actions, but rather the contrarie." Though I am

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slandered as the ruiner of this my country, my conscience witnesses that I speak the truth that its ruin is increased by the "perverse, basse and vyle" condition of our own people in the March, and look for no better as their officer, hoping some other may be more fortunate in my place.

On Thursday the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, Buccleuch I think in proper person, though I am not certain, with the force of Liddesdale, some horsemen out of East Tividale and the West March in proportion to his own, had assembled at hunting, not unknown to me; but the negligence of this country suffered the entrance of his men into Tynedale, thus showing the three opposite wardens' consent to outrages in disobedience to the King. That morning, Watt Ellatt *alias* Watt of Harden, with other East Tividale lairds had 300 or 400 able horsemen, laying an ambush of 300 or 400 foot, "brake a day forray a myle beneathe Bellinghame, spoiled the townes men in Bellinghame, brake the crosse, toke all the cattell upp the water to the number of thre or fower hundreth bestes at the leaste, hath slaine three men of name and wounded one almoste to deathe, fired noe houses. The fray rose and being brought to me at Hexhame about ix<sup>h</sup> or x<sup>h</sup> houers in the morning, I rose myself with my houshold servauntes, caused the beacons to be fired and sent the fray che way rounde aboute me, and yet could not make of the force of the countrie iiii<sup>xx</sup> horsemen and some six score footemen. I followed with the horsemen within twoe or three myles of Scotland, and except M<sup>r</sup> Fenwicke of Wallington, together with the keaper of Tindaile M<sup>r</sup> Henry Bowes, ther was not one gentleman of the Marche to accompanie me, or mett me at all; and when all our forces were together, we could not make twoe hundreth horse, nor above twoe hundreth footemen. . . . With shame and greife I speake it, the Scottes went away unfought withball." The dishonour to her Majesty by the insolent pride of Buccleuch, her greatest enemy if his power were equal, is intolerable, and I fear to the shame of manhood, I shall sit without revenge, unless you assist me with some forces. For the country has no spirit to do anything, or furnish themselves for service. I humbly beg that Sir William Bowes and the commissioners may relate to you the pitiful state of the country, and pray you for leave to come to your presence to do the like. If you would grant me "some assistaunce of horse," and order by letter 200 foot of Berwick for 5 or 6 days' service when I call for them, "I will adventure the bringing of Baclugh quicke or deade, to the Queene, or hazarde myne owne life in the action, yf so it please God." I beseech your honor to speak with Sir William Bowes how necessary and beneficial this might be. I will write more particularly in my next. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

Postscript.—I am persuaded that this is but a beginning of their malice.

1½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Rec. at Grenewich the xx<sup>th</sup> of same." *Wafer signed*: *quartered*.

July 15. 634. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

In precisely similar terms to the preceding. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed*: *quartered*.

July 17. 635. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

"This Sonday being the xvij<sup>th</sup> of July, Hughe Birde bailife of Tynmothe and servaunte to the Earle of Northumberlande, . . . in searching of Scottishe shipp nowe kaitchie come into the river of Newecastle, hath found a Scottishe gentleman called M<sup>r</sup> John Wedderborne as he tearmothe him selfe, disguised in marrieroes apperell and that of the meanneste sorte. By his discourse he saith he is a follower of the Lord Bothwell, and came from thence

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some twentie dayes since, toke shipping with a Scott att Bullyn, landed at Yarmouth, where as he saith he sawe M<sup>r</sup> John Colvyn shipped for the Lowe Countries, and eschewing his companie leaste hee should bee knowne, hee toke another Scottishe shipp, wheriu one M<sup>r</sup> Dent of Newcastle came. His errand which hee secmethe to make knowne to me and Hughe Birde, is that the Lord Bothwell should send him into Scotlaud with purpose to use all the meanes possible to take away the life of Sir Robert Kerr—and hee hearing these broyles betweene the wardens and us, dothe desire to make the same knowne unto me, not craving myne ayde in the same, but relying upon his owne force and freindshipp. The manner howe he will doe the same is by traynes of powder in the castle at Halleden to blowe him up, or otherwise to intercept on the way or surprise him in some house. This Wedderborne hathe the Franche tongue reasonable well and hath served in Fraunce on pleasure not under anie charge: he informethe that the King of Fraunce is nowe before Amyenes, and that he was employed by the King to have brunt a madrill of the Spanyarde wherin victall was, who with twoe Franche captaines undertaking that service, profered their service to the Governour of Amynes, and the secrete service being formerlie discovered, the twoe Franche captaines were hanged and this man pardoned for that he was a Scottissheman.

“These vauntes, together with the wise cariage, his birthe and manner of disguising, yealding unto me apparaunte suspicion of more devilishe practises then he revealeth, I thought good to stay him in the safe keeping of the said Hughe Birde till your lordships further pleasure were knowne to me for him. The personne of the man is thus to be decerned—of reasonable stature, verie square bodyed, bigg legged, one or two scarres in the height of his foreheade, faire complexined, yellowe berded, the haire of his heade like unto white amber a little rounde bauld on the crowne of his heade, his left arme from the hight of his shoulder to the ende of his fingers on that syde, of each side of his arme and hand, is spotted, as reade as bloode. He conveyed lettres from Yarmouthe as he saith to some the Lord Bothwells freindes, but I feare they were lettres of greater importaunce. He seemeth to be verie cunning in Staite causes, whose wisdome overreaching my small skill, I presume to make knowne thus much to your lordship, craving knowledge of your honorable pleasure with speade, what shalbee done with the man. He is an ingyner, proffering to make for me petares and garnettes, ingynes of warr, in both which I am contented to bestowe some waiste money upon him till I heare your lordships pleasure, to the ende he without suspicion may remaine with pleasure.”

On the last rode of which I told your lordship, there was chosen men of these clans of the West March—Armstrongs, Bells, Carlills and Urwines—from the Middle March of East and West Tividale, the Rotherforths, Younges, Burnes, Mowes and Pyles; of Liddesdale, the Ellottes, Armstrongs, Nixsons and Crosiers, with the lairds of Liddesdale and Tividale. “The laird Baclughe as is thought, not in presence, but colorablie at Edenburghe,” but his household servants and chiefest friends at it. “I humblye pray your lordship . . . comferte me so muche as to assiste me to doe one honorable dayes service in adventuring the gayning of Baclughs heade and yf your lordship like, Sir Robert Kerres likewise, which with the grace of God, might be performed with a small assistaunce, the joynte forces of the three wardens, and some helpe out of Barwicke.” Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Inlorsed. War signed as before.*

July 17. 686. EURE TO CECIL.

A similar letter to the preceding. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Inlorsed*: “17 July 1597. Lord Eure to my master.



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M<sup>r</sup> John Wedderburne stayed by the captain of Tyamoth. Rec. at Greenwich the xxj<sup>th</sup> of the same." *Was signet: quartered.*

July 17. 687. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I have written to you already of the Grames' prond attempt about taking away Jock and William Grames "from the sheriefes gaole." Their great brags of the favor they say they got at London puts them in greater glory than ever, but for that, I do not believe it, but rely on your father's and your own favor against these notorious villains, "which be now at the hight (I hope) of thire pride." At the last assises of Aplebie, Gerard Carleton, Thomas's son, "would needes have forsed a thiefe to have excused Gaye Carletons death, the theife being condemned to death: but he prayed him to holde him excused: and Gerard was so inportunat, that at length the theife brust out in these wordes 'that Gaye Carleton was privie of 6 or 7 fellonies which he knew; and for Tho. Carleton, that he was the notorionest theife that was in that place.'" I was not present to hear the words, but the judges can certify you of this and what men they are.

Lord Eure has I think certified you of Buccleuch and his company's outrages in Tindale. "The nexte turne (I suppose) wilbee onres." I pray you we may have the Queen's authority to revenge, and some assistance from Berwick.

"Yeesterdaye olde Gerard Lowther departed this transitorie life to goe and yeelde an accompte of his stuardship in the Soveraygne Court."

On the return of my man from Scotland, I shall certify his news to my lord your father, who will impart them to you. Carlisle. *Signed: Th. Scrope.*

1½ pp. *Holograph; as also address. Inlorsed. Wafer signet: quartered.*

July 18. 688. MUNITIONS AT BERWICK.

Berwick, 18 July 1597.—A brief note of the most serviceable munition, &c., in the store at this instant.

Callyvers furnished, 395; pykes, 1073; long bowes, 294; lance staves, 620; light horsemen's staves, 922; arrows, 95 "sheif"; "Almayne corselettes," 122; "Flandres corselettes," 114; spades and shovels, 470; pick-axes, 342; long carts, 10.

1 p. *Contemporary hand. Inlorsed.*

July 18. 689. ORDNANCE, &c., AT TYNMOUTH.

"The remayne taken at Tynmonth castle xvij<sup>th</sup> Julij 1597, anno regine Elizabethæ xxxix."

BRASS.—A saker without wheels, lying in a stock decayed. Another, dismounted. Falcons dismounted, 3.

CAST IRON.—Culverin, mounted on bare wheels, stock and wheels serviceable "as she standethe." Demiculverin, mounted on bare wheels, stock and wheels decayed.

The above being utterly decayed, the charge for repair is estimated at 44l. 15s. 2d., as by the particulars will appear, viz.—

8 ton oaken timber, 20s. a ton, for 7 carriages with transoms to same, 8l.; land and water carriage at 12s. a ton, 72s.; English iron for binding the carriages, 1½ ton at 14l. the ton, 21l.; 4 sawyers at 10l. each daily for 12 days, 40s. Naves, 7 pair at 5s. a pair, 35s.; "felloes," 91 at 8l. a piece, 60s. 8d.; "spokes," 176 at 2d. a piece, 29s. 2d., in all, 6l. 4s. 10d.

Extraordinary laborers to be employed in the time, 78s. 4d.

1½ pp. *Contemporary hand. Inlorsed.*

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July 20. 690. DECLARATION BY WILLIAM SELBY.

"The new declaration and report of the woordes passed the xx<sup>th</sup> of July 1597 betwixt M<sup>r</sup> Jhon Carie governor of Barwicke and William Selbie gentleman portar of the sayd towne, set downe by the said William Selbie within one quarter of an hower after they wer spoken, *viz.*"

The 19<sup>th</sup> July being advertised that the Duke, the Earl Marshall, Sir Robert Carr, and many others, were with Lord Hume in Hume castle, about 10 miles from this town, I told M<sup>r</sup> Carey, who said he had the like intelligence.

About 11 "a clock" that night, I sent for the clerk of the watch and told him, willing him to see that those going out next day "to scurry," should according to ancient order, go with jacks and spears, and to order them to have "a vigilant eye" about them, lest some of "that company should come into the Bowndes previly to espy our order of watch and scurridge."

I also told him I had been that night at locking the upper gates next Scotland, and when the watch came, I thought them "verie slender," asking him how many watched every night? He began to tell me their stations, which I told him to give me in writing, and meant, if not sufficient, to confer with M<sup>r</sup> Governor as to amendment.

Next day "the xx<sup>th</sup> of July," the clerk asked me and I gave him leave to acquaint M<sup>r</sup> Governor therewith, if he would, knowing the governor would allow it, "I being a counsayler" and having right to know the number and changes, if any, of the watch,—in good faith meaning no ill to any man, but only the good of this place, and discharge of my oath and duty in the Queen's service—and that which I asked of the clerk is known to the soldiers here that have watched "eyther in scowt or search."

M<sup>r</sup> Carey at 2 p.m. the same day, sent for me about the pensioners' wages, which ended, M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Bowes and I walked into "M<sup>r</sup> Governors gardine," into which he came himself 4 or 5 times "with a verry angry countenance" making show as though he had something to say to one of us. When we parted, he met me, and I going back to the garden with him, began "in a frendlie manner" to tell what M<sup>r</sup> Bowes and I had been talking of. Also that when I took leave of my Lord Treasurer, he said the Queen was at great charge for works in Berwick—that I said I was ignorant thereof, for none told me—when his lordship replied it appertained to me to know, and he looked to hear from me as from others before any works were taken in hand, and also of the musters. While talking, I saw his countenance alter, and then he said, what had I to do asking the clerk the number of the watch? I said I sometimes went about the walls to "search the watch," and if I knew not their number, I could not tell if any were wanting. "In a great fury he would not allow of hit. I was contented."

He said with "vehemenencie," now he saw the report was true—"that I sought to looke into him." I said, neither into him nor any other, but thought it my duty to see to the Queen's service and the safety of this place. "He had me look well to my self, for he would make me doe my dutie and that he would be even with me. I answered I was made already, and he could not make me againe, but he might comaund me and I would obay him. Being in his gowne, he said in great fury he wanted a weapon: I answered, he needed to use noe weapon against [me] . . . He said he would geve thre fyngers of his hand to have me, in that caise he hath had me. I answered, his lose of his fyngers would be greater nor his gaine, and yf he knew any thing by me, otherwayes then an honest and trew man, I askid him noe favor. He said he would writ to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, to know yf the Queene had sett me to be an overseer to him? I told him I had noe such office, and I wondered what moved him to use theise wordes to me. He conteneewing in his bitternes, I said I would leave the towne, because I would avoyd his

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quarrelles, and then he shold governe all him self." Since then, he told the clerk of the watch that if he had given me the note I required, "he would have hanged him over the walls."

Though he took this occasion, he had and has something else on his mind, which so far as I can learn is that he thinks I have informed her Majesty and my lord Treasurer, of the abuses in this town, and thinks himself "touched." *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

2 pp. *Indorsed by the Secretary's clerk.*

July . 691. CONSENTS BY GILSLAND MEN.

"These presentes testiffyethe and beareth the recorde, that we and others whose names are here underwritten and specified, doth confesse and frelie acknowledge ourselves jounctlie and severallie" contented and pleased with the indents and agreements between the right honorable Lord Scrope and Sir John Carmichael of that ilk knight, touching the freedom of such of us as were taken prisoners at the late day foray in Gilsland, also such goods cattle insight and "skaithes" then sustained, and sworn to by us, confessing ourselves greatly beholden to his lordship for obtaining such redress, and daily praying for his health and prosperous estate. Witness our hands the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1597.

"The names of the tenants spoyled at the lait daye forraye being comytted the xx<sup>th</sup> daye of Julie 1597."

. . . BLAME (?)—William Bell, John Bell, Richard Bell, Thomas Bell, Humfrey Bell, George Bell, David Peares, Stephen Peares, John Courten, Alexander Thirlwaye, David Bell, Isabell Bell, Henrie Bell, John Mylburne, Robert Parman, Peter Bell.

NETHER DENTON.—John Forster, James Davison, Thomas Bell, Emond Bell, Christoffer Bell, Richard Hetherden, John Bell, Isabell Hetherden, Humfrey Bell, John Bell, George Richeson, Edward Bell, Henrie Bell, David Hall, John Halle.

OVER DENTON.—Peter Bell, John Bell, Jefferey Bell, John Bell, John Bell, Thomas Tweddell, Edward Thirlwaye, Margaret Bell, Humfrey Bell, George Bell, William Newton, "with dyvers other, and prisoners to the number of 100 persons taken at the sayd rode."

1 p. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed*: "Copie of the consentes of those that were taken prisoners and spoyled within Gillisland."

July 21. 692. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I lately certified you of Buccleuch's "mightie" invasion of the Middle March, leaving particulars to my lord Eure's relation: assuring you the next should be ours, as has proved too true. I begged Thomas Carleton to let me know the time he was setting out for London, that I might put a deputy in his absence; but had no attention to my reasonable request. Yet I directed strict nightly watch specially among the Bells over whom I had greatest authority. For all this, on Tuesday last, 600 of Liddisdale ran a day foray at 6 o'clock A.M. on those poor Bells, carrying off about 200 head of cattle, and 100 horses and nags—having laid "ambushment" to take the poor men following the fray—also many prisoners to Scotland. The officers and country here, as they got ready, also followed, but (the Grames unwilling to enter Buccleuch's office) they went into another part of Scotland great offenders to us, and brought some cattle, how much I know not yet—"which cattle, the Grames rift from our men, by the way returning home."

I heartily intreat you (as I have very often written to the Council) to let us have some speedy help to withstand these incursions, and also to favour us by allowing the officers and oppressed people to take their own revenge when

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they best may, which will embolden them in defence. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Postscript.—I pray you certify me if the soldiers may be hoped for, for I have 200 men lying here, and yet they threaten us.

$1\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signet as before*.

July 21. 693. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Sending such advertisements as he has even now received from Scotland. That he has written to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary on Border affairs, to whom he refers his lordship. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*.

July 21. 694. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

"I presumed to go to my house to Wytton, where my wif stayed being sick; and I remayned some ij<sup>o</sup> or iij<sup>o</sup> dayes," in which time news came to me of Buccleuch's outrages on my neighbours in Bewcastle and Gilsland, with other news delivered to me this day. To my simple judgment, seeing we got no redress,—the grace and favour those wicked instruments have of the King, often threatened but seldom punished—the shameful course to the Queen's ambassador Sir William Bowes at Norham on 25<sup>th</sup> June,—the approval of their disobedience by the Scottish council—the King's fair show to receive the pledges into his own hands—Buccleuch's threats "chaising of" his pledges, seeming desirous to present them to the King—his present peace with some, and remission of others—"confirmeth (in my thought) dissimulacion in the Kinge, tolleracion and approbacion of theis wicked instrumentes, and provident preparacion in the Kinge, rather to annoy us, then by justice to recomfourth us Inglish."

Robert Anderson a Scotsman of "Dundley" in Angus, being at Newcastle, reported to M<sup>r</sup> John Wedderborne (the man of whom I lately wrote) that the King has secretly charged all the leaders of his country, to have all persons between 16 and 60 in readiness on 20 days' warning, especially on the Border, telling them the Queen of England intends royal revenge for late indignities, and he intends nothing but war, and has sent M<sup>r</sup> John Colvyn to the Low Countries to press the States for their promises "maid at the baptysme," and crave farther aid from them—and if not given, threatening to join the King of Denmark to make war on them.

I present these, true or not, to your lordship, craving you to cause a view and muster to be taken of the men and horses in this March, that her Majesty may know her strength; also that you will cause the ruined places to be viewed, whereby you will see the stratagem of the Scot to make an open passage on our frontier for the entry of an army: "and haith by litle and litle, murdered and taken away the worthyest gentlemen leaders of our countrie: the which foretelleteth the event of the proude threates and preparacions thatt now are maide."

I am ready on being allowed, to repair to your lordship and make known more secrets of our distress here. Wytton. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed* by Burghley. *Small wax signet: a bend cotised charged with 3 annulets*.

July 21. 695. EURE TO CECIL.

In precisely similar terms to last. Wytton. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: "... R. at Greenwich the xxv<sup>th</sup> of the same."

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July 22. 696. RICHARD MUSGRAVE TO BURGHELY.

Whereas by privy seal dated 10 July 1595, her Majesty granted 200*l.* yearly for repair of her storehouse at Newcastle, called "the Mannour," under which I received 200*l.* myself, and secondly for last year by this bearer my servant William Marton, who delivered to your honour a book showing the particular charges for the first year: I have now sent him with a book showing the last year's charges for the same house, and to entreat your honour for an order for 200*l.* for this year. I informed you of the great decay of the carriages of the Queen's ordnance in Tynemouth castle, and had your reply to send the cost, when a warrant would be issued. But not having received it, thought good to send a second note of the same—also note of the remain of all the Queen's munition in my charge.

Having but little ash timber in store, and the workmen likely to be idle, I presumed to move the bailiff of Chopwell woods to let me have 40 ton to make carts, cartwheels, handspikes, &c., for which I humbly desire your warrant, as also one for more timber for this year's work. If you please to examine this bearer, he will let you understand, how under colour of a lease for her Majesty of the underwoods in Chopwell, these will go to waste most likely, though most necessary for her use. Berwick. *Signed:* Kychard Musgrave.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: shield with 6 annulets—3, 2, and 1, a mullet on chief point. Crest: two hands holding an annulet. Clear impression.*

July 23. 697. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Master Rafe Bowes has brought the half year's pay and paid the garrison to every man's content, which I hope will "prolonge your life and contine your helthe longe, beinge beged at the handes of God bey the humbell and hartey prayers of so maney poer-men, whoe doe dayeley praye for you." I have also received the Council's warrant for certain works which I caused to be presently taken in hand, especially on the water side, for which the time is somewhat late. The rest cannot proceed as they should, for we can get no victuals out of the palace for our workmen, "wiche will caus the workes to goe but slenderley forward, bey resun theye have nether meat nor money."

I have no foreign news worth certifying, but if there be not some better order taken, the most part of Northumberland will be laid waste next the Scottish border. I have often written to your honour that it might please the Queen to send down some fit man as governor, alleging many reasons, as my want of authority, which I now find true. "For that the gentyllman porter havinge gon thorowe with his last bad cause so well, and havinge in sted of his dwe punishment for so fowell a matter, reserved faver and credit extraordinary, is nowe pufte upe withe suche preyd as he thinks ill delinge a vertue, and rewardes to prosed from dangerus attemtes: for havinge escaped so well in his laste bey his cunninge untrewthes, so formaley beforehand plased in ther hedes to whoes hearinge it was to come, he thinks nowe like wayes to win himselfe fame bey borninge Diauas tempell, for he hathe sines his comminge hom hether, preveley witheout aney order, insinewated himselfe into my ofes, and beinge demanded bey me the cause in my owen garden, I havinge byn befor verey sike, and but neweley gotten out of my chamber, he did ther fall out withe me and braved me in suche comparinge maner, as I was never so used in my life, nether cold I a borue it if resun had as littyll reuled me as it did him in the quarrell between Master Graye and him, wherin he ded so myghteley indanger the towen. He dothe not styke to saye he will have to doe in all thinges as well as I, beinge a noffeser as well as myselfe, countermandinge allredey men uppon there alegans con-

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trarey to that wiche I befor had commanded;—thus terifeyinge and thretoninge my officers withe whom he hathe nothings to doe, sayinge and perswadinge men that I am but in a maner governer not absolout governer; wheruppon his usinge me in this brave maner, the compeneys of the towen gether together and in parteyes doe focke, some mormeringe what this shold mean, others muteyninge agaynst the government and stat and everey humor fittinge his owen cogetasiones, all eyes staringe bothe good and bad. What the sequell herof will be, himselfe styll kepinge a counsell at his howes for all men to utter ther venime agaynst me, sendinge about into all the corners of the strefes to inquere of my delinges, and not so muche as of my owen domestycall affayers, but he serches and inqueyers after, to the intent to leybell agaynst me if he cane gett aney matter worthe wryghtinge. But I hope he shall hardley fynd caues enofe to calle me up. But shewer my lord this towen is in a wonderfull uproer bey his bad delinge withe me and the worsor sorte take advantage to scorne of my aughteorctey; wherfor I praye yon my good lord, if his good desertes and faythefull servis have deserved suche credit and trust withe her Majesty, that she will have him my fellowe governer, then rather lett me be taken awaye then the least danger or perill shold happen to the towen bey aney muteney or ill disposed persunes. And shewerley my good lord, I doe deseyer uppon my knees, if so it ples her Majesty, that I may be taken from hens, so I may goe as I came with her Majesties good favor, the wiche rather then to want I wold deseyer to be torne in peses withe wild horses. The resun whye I nowe so deseyer to leave this plac is for that I knoe I shall have suche a register over me as I cane hardley escape; besydes if aney mischefe or dishoner shold happen to this towen I am perswaded he wold be glad and rejoyse for my disgrace: so fyndinge him that shold be my assistant to be my resistant, I have resun to deseyer to be absent or at the least to have on suche that shold reule us bothe, wiche good my lord, procewer even for the saftey of the towen wiche is fare out of square sines his comminge hom . . . He hathe further sent awaye his ij nevnes,\* the on a captayen, and the other a soger in this towen, to the see in our flett that is gon withe my lord of Essex, without ether my prevetey or ever askinge of me leave, haviuge his charge in this towen." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Inlorsed.*

July 23. 698. WILLIAM SELBY TO CECIL.

This day I received the inclosed letter from Reger Aston, servaut to the King of Scots, with earnest request that I would send it with speed to your honour, as it concerned her Majesty's service. And though I have no direction from you to receive or forward each, I sent it by post, hoping there is no fault, and praying your instructions in a like case. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Inlorsed.*

July 25. 699. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

As last year many beinous spoils, &c., were done by Buccleuch in Gilsland, the chiefest procured by Thomas Carleton the land sergeant, as remains on record by Hetherington's examination: "so now upon Wednesday last (as the whole countrey suppose) the chief frinds of Tho. Carleton in Scotland to the number of 600<sup>th</sup> (wee preventing by night watches the inconvenienses when men were secure)," ran a day foray on the Bells in Gilsland, taking "200<sup>th</sup> horses [oxen?] and kye, 40<sup>th</sup> horses and nagges" and a

\* Nephews.

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number of English prisoners. "The conductors for the Englishemen were these—Will Tailler Tho. Carletons man, Gayfry Carleton and yong Heardhill," who were his counsellors, and as is well knowu, do nothing without his procurement, and the Scots were the greatest friends that he and Brakinhill have there. I assembled the people to pursue them, but finding themselves unable to "incoenter with Liddisdaill upon the suden," they went to Kinmonth and took "300<sup>h</sup> horses and kine," which I ordered to be delivered to the poor people in Gilsland, "but the Grames reft them all from them by the waye : and as M<sup>r</sup> Eglington and divers others of the companie do affirme, they had Kinmonth prisner and lett him goe." But though I fear this is true, I mean not to bring new charges against them : yet finding these disorders, &c., daily increasing, the poor people forced to leave the country for want of redress from Buccleuch, notwithstanding the King's show of justice by putting him in ward, I earnestly entreat you to move the Queen, not only for the "bandes of Barowik" to remain here for defence, but also in the meantime, she would be pleased that 40 of the garrison horse be sent to Gilsland, to imbolden the people to remain on their farmholds. "Thus much I have writen to my lord Chamberlayne, and now to your lordships only selfe, I send you herinclosed bothe a lettre that Baclughe wrote to a great man in Scotland to afferm more then I have writen : and also a coppie of the examination of the men, confirmed by Baclughe ; assuring your lordship that if they may have condigne punishement, all shalbe affirmed, so I may have leave to come up, to bring with mee the proofes for the same, though it will hinder mee of many good advertisementes ; but the matter is of recorde, and to apparant, and the least is to acknowledge a truth ; and I wilbee advised as it shall please your lordship to advise mee. And therefore I pray your lordship to let me know by M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie what you wishe me do doe." Carlisle. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

3 pp. *Holograph* ; as also address. *Indorsed partly by Burghley*.  
Inclosed in the same :—

(1) (Buccleuch to a great man in Scotland.)

"I acknowledge my selfe debt-bound unto you many wayes, and shall God willing according to your direction, addresse mee to Edinburgh agayne the twentie daye of June to bee at your lordships owne house before I come to my lodging. In the meane tyme, I praye your lordship to send mee worde by this bearer, what, and how farr yee have accorded with my Lord threasorer in my matter? and gife he hes full comission of the Duck of Lennox to delle in that purpose like his owne arbitrement, or gif hee bee limitat to certaine boundis and articles, that your lordship wilbe so good as to obtayne mee the coppie therof to bee sent hither, that I maye bee advised therewith, and thereafter I shall declare to your lordship my opinion by touge, to th'effect we may the mar casalyee bee brought to concord by your lordships good intercession.

"Wheras your lordship desires by your lettre to know of mee what borderers of England were my greatest frinds for the recovrie of Kinmonth, I remeember I told your lordship that matter at full leuth when I returned to Edenburghe efter that turne was done : yet to satisfie your lordship, I assure you that I could nought have done that matter without great friendship of the Grames of Eske : and speciallie of my guid frind Francis of Cannabie, and of his brother Langton, frinds to my brother Bothewell : and of Walter Grame of Neytherbye who weare the chief leaders of that clan . . . From Sawile\* this 12 of June 97. Your lordships guid and affectionat frinde Baclughe."

\* "Hawik"

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$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed*: "A coppie of the lettre the Lard Baclughe wrote unto a great mau in Scotland."

## (2) (Examination of Andrew Grame.)

"The examination of Andrew Grame taken before the right honorable the Lord Thomas Scroope, lord warden," &c. : "and Sir Robert Carey warden of the East Marches of England, touching the breaking of her Majesties castle, and the takinge from thence Will of Kinmouth, and his knowledge therin, as followeth." *On margin*.—"Taken at the castle of Carlel the 25<sup>th</sup> of April anno 1597. The castle was broken the 12<sup>th</sup> of April 1596."

"This examinat saith" that about 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1596, he went with Richie Brackenhill and Wills Jock from Brackenhill's house to a place called Carvuley, above the house of Simme Tailer in England, and there they met with Thomas Carleton, Lancelot Carleton his brother, and one Thomas Armestrange : and from thence they all rode together to a place called Archerbeck, in Scotland, where they met "the Larde of Baclughe, Gybb Elwood *alias* Robes Gibb, and Walter Scott *alias* Hardinge ; and at thire meeting, Baclughe asked of them where the rest were? at which the sayde Brackinhill presently plucked forth of his hoses a lettre, and gave it to Baclughe and saith hee thincketh that will serve him for the rest ; and upon sight therof, Baclughe sayd, that Hutche and Rosetrees might well have bene there : and Brackenhill answered, what need more then all there hands at that lettre for performance of the same? and then Thomas Carleton sayd, 'For all your hast, except you make some waye with the watch, you cannot prevaile.' To which Wills Jock answeares, that som of the watters were made privie therwith, and it weare a dangerous thing to make any other acquainted : and then Lancelot Carleton sayd, 'If this come to passe, it will make an end of my Lord Scroope, and devide M<sup>r</sup> Salkeld and him.' And this was the effect of that he did heare. But he saith they weare together foure houres, that he did not know nor heare anything. And he further saith that at the sayd meeting, lettres and speeches were about the breach of her Majesties castle of Carlel, and the deliverie from thence of Kinmouth, as the said Brackinhill told him—and that all the Grames mett at the Sandbeds the day before, as the sayd Brackinhill likewise told him. Thomas Armestrange dothe confesse as muche as is above sayde. Baclughe."

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy in same writing as last. Indorsed*: "A coppie of the examination of Andrew Grame. Subscribed by the Lard of Baclughe."

July 26. 700. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Understanding on the return of my man from London, that the Council desire to be further satisfied of the "prufe" of the witnesses touching the breach of Carlisle castle: though I have already certified their confessions made twice before, and thought them sufficient, yet I have had them again examined thereon, and on some other articles which I see by my man, their lordships were desirous to be informed on, and send them inclosed to be "shoed" to their lordships, as you think convenient—all which the witnesses are ready to prove in person.

The Scots made a great incursion on Friday night last in Gilsland, taking 14 score cattle and nags and many prisoners, and I appointed a rode to have taken place on Sunday night last, on some of the offenders, summoning (among others) men of Graystocke barony under government of "one M<sup>r</sup> Dudley"—it fell out, as M<sup>r</sup> Dudley himself tells me, "that one Gerrard Carleton sonne to Thomas Carleton, accompanied with John Grame *alias* 'Allreames,' uncle to Wills Jock Grame, and a sonn of the said Wills Jocke



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"called 'Jocks Wattey,' servant to Lancelott Carleton, in the night tyme, as the men appointed for that service were orderlie goinge towards the doinge of the same, came to the said M<sup>r</sup> Dudley and his companye: and there the said Gerrard Carleton did verie evill intreate dyvers of the companye of the said M<sup>r</sup> Dudley, beinge but symple countreyemen, so as they were therbie greatlly discouraged disgraced and hyndered from the performance of the said service"—using also "greate wordes of disabilitie" to M<sup>r</sup> Dudley to discourage him. Whereby and other misdemeanours, "the said service was at that tyme utterlie frustrated and disappointed," which if suffered without sharp punishment, will be a great danger in futura. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "26 July 1597 . . . Rec. at Greenwich the xxx<sup>th</sup> of same."

July 27. 701. EURE TO CECIL.

The 23<sup>d</sup> of this month, 200 of my March assembled—chiefly foot who were spoiled and nearly beggared in the last roade at Bellingham: and made a roade into Tividaile, intending reprisal on their chief spoilers, but lighted not on them, and spoiled the town of Newbegine belonging to the Laird of Farnihirst, driving off 100 head of beasts and the horses about the town, with household stuff. This will be complained of and aggravated, as Farnihirst is well affected to the Queen's ambassador and of honest disposition, and we are in love and favour: therefore I pity this loss should fall on his tenants, rather than on those who better deserved it. Yet if some of them were at the Tindale roade, they are worthy punishment.

My lord your father comforts me by his letter, that he will procure my trial before her Majesty and the Council, trusting I may also have your countenance therein, whereby I may prove my innocence of the charges brought by my enemies. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax quartered seal, good.*

July 27. 702. EURE TO BURGHELEY.

[Gives the account of the raid on Newbiggin as in last No.]

This day by 4 A.M., I received your letter of the 22<sup>d</sup>, which has given me greater comfort than any letter "of long tyme," giving you many thanks for the same, and craving your means to procure my repair to answer the presentments against me, and that John Browne and some other of the jurors, as M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick of Wallington and others of the best sort, may be commanded to appear, "and I wishe to God that my chefeest enimies of this country, viz., the Woodringtons and William Carnaby," may be present to accuse me.

For those whom your lordship desires me to name to you for deputy warden in my absence, there is M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Gray of Chillingham whose house is within the March, "his strength the moste of the East Marche," M<sup>r</sup> Edward Gray his brother, who lies at Morpeth in the heart of my March, whom I have sometimes employed, M<sup>r</sup> Robert Delavall who lies in Castle ward, nearer Newcastle, far from the dangerous services of the country: these with M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick of Wallington, are of the best sort of the gentlemen in this March. "Yf your lordship please to have the names of strangers gentlemen serviceable in Yorkeshier, there is Sir Thomas Fairefax the younger, M<sup>r</sup> Richard Godericke and such like, all which I houldie like Bayarde present to your lordship, though I knowe your lordship hath more perfect calendar of the worthy gentlemen of the country." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

Postscript.—The Lairds of Bneclench and Johnston were both committed

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to Edinburgh "tower" for not delivering their pledges to the King. In a fray by Johnston on Dumladericke and Sir Robert Kerr's people, two of his men were slain.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 27. 703. JOHN HARDING, &C., TO BURGHELY.

While in discharge of our duties, we stay "shipp and goodes" for her Majesty's rights, M<sup>r</sup> Mayor sends away the ship, and though we set "the Quenes marke" on the goods, he disregards it, puts his own on them and keeps the goods, alleging your lordship's pleasure "that neither freman nor stranger shall paye custome for goodes inwardes," and thus the stranger passes away "without employment, for ought that we cann doe." We thought good to acquaint your lordships hereof, as he has been mayor these three years together, and is loath to leave the place.

There lately came to this port 10 craiers all with foreign commodities, and the mayor says, if the Queen's custom is taken, it would drive strangers away. The answer is, the Queen's due being taken, "may take away his benefite," but discourage no stranger, for they are most willing to pay it, if he did not hinder it. Berwick. *Signed*: Jo. Harding, Jam' (?) Lany, Jo. Watson.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "The officers of the port of Barwick . . ."

July 28. 704. JOHN CAREY, &C., TO BURGHELY.

The mayor and corporation have moved us to consider a controversy betwixt them and the customer. On the late arrival of 2 small ships with a little timber, some deals and spars, he demands custom which they refuse, for none was ever paid on "the like sithene Barwick was English"—and also, as your honor heretofore in like case ordered the officers to forbear the same. And as we see it is but a small matter that comes yearly, and yet so necessary "to cherrise and entreat the stranger, which otherwise will not come," we being required, pray your accustomed goodness herein. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, Will'm Selby, Rychard Musgrave.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: the toren seal, faint.*

July 28. 705. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

Sending him "such small occurents as this instant can afforde," with assurances of his lifelong devotion. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

"Scottishe occurents."

Many Scots gentlemen are come out of France, "in marveillous good equipage, and on the new mode, halfe Frenshe and halfe Spanishe, with fathiers on thire fore heads. Eyther of these according to his grandeur and creadit, are desired to solicit men to returne with them in Franse for service of that King.

"Her is a new matter put into the Kinges head, to wit, that the landes of the earledom of Marche did somtyme appertayne to the crounne: and therefore should now be called back. The ground wherof proceeds, that they would have the castle of Dunbar to be boylded agayne, and his Majestie to dowell there as in an ordinar palace, that the countrey by his presence may be reformed in all points, and the rents therof appointed for his susteuanco.

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This matter is now highly in question before the seaut; and his Majestic gives great presence and attendance thereon.

"Among other gentlemen of reputation, Sir James Lyndsay hath brought writings frae the King of France and from the Bishope of Glaskow: what they contayne shalbe advertised at another season.

"Jhonston is to be tryed by his peares at Sterlinge the 16<sup>th</sup> of Agust next, and is to bee kept in prison heere to that daye.

"The King dares not set Buclughe at libertie, though many make sute for it, for displeasing the Queene: howbeit, I feare his inprisonement will not prove long. Anguss Makonell hath slayne the Irlande knight, as the report is come heera. Therefore his sonne is inprisoned in the castle of Edenburgh."

‡ p. *Written by Scrope's clerk.*

July 29. 706. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO WILLIAM SELBY.

"It hath been very strange to us to heare of your proceeding with M<sup>r</sup> John Carey, to whom her Majestic hath commytted the government of her towne of Barwycke, wherin you have gone about to crosse him both underhand in all thinges, and lately have used your selfe towards him, farre from that regard which it becommeth you, considering the place he holdeth; being such if it be true, as, if he had not used more discrecion and greater pacience, then by your provocacions some other man peradventure would have done, there might have growen some suche inconvenience as would have ben bothe very dishonorable and very prejudiciall to her Majesties servyce. In consideracion wherof, wee have thought good for prevencion of the same, to lett you knowe that if you shall by any meanes goe about to disobey his commandmentes in what concernes her Majesties servyce, or by disseminating any disgracefull reportes, seeke to drawe his auctoritie in question (out of any perticuler spleene of yours towards him) the place considered, and the circumstances of all thinges in those partes, which stand but upon tyckle termes, it will prove a matter of such nature as you will hardly be able to aunswer. And therefore wee do hereby commaund you to avoyde all manner of contencion, and to carry your selfe as becomes you unto your Governor, and if you have any matter wherwith to charge him for misgovernment in any thing towards her Majestic of his dutie in the towne, it were a fyttter way for you, by wryting hither or otherwise, to make it knowne, then whisperinglie or contentiously to nourishe a faction against him. And thus, not doopting but you will reforme your selfe of theis thinges, wherby wee may have no mor cause of complaynt, wee bydd you farewell."

1½ pp. *Draft by Cecil's clerk. Indorsed:* "29 Julij 1597. Copie of a lentre from some of the lordes to M<sup>r</sup> Selbye gentleman porter of Barwicke."

July 30. 707. EURE TO CECIL.

I convened the gentlemen of the best sort here on the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant to consult as to the best means "to suppress this raiging furie of the opposites, and insafe themselves." They answered that though by general consent and my authority, a spoil might be made on the enemy, they know not how to defend themselves afterwards—and are unwilling to take any revenge on the "speciall malefactores, but rather on the honest persone whose goodes are easilie compassed." Though we agreed on good orders for watches, rising and following frays, &c., it was concluded that without help, these are insufficient, and they prayed me to urge their suit on you—which is that if the Queen would vouchsafe 12*l.* a day for 200 horse, in four bands, with the wages of 4 captains, 4 lieutenants, &c., till the country regains its strength, to "remaine certeine for 5 yeares": they will furnish them with horses and armour out of their common funds without levy or assessment on any other

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country. In addition, they offer to furnish horse and armour for 100 more men so long as the other 200 remains, likewise paying them 12*l.* *per diem*. They crave her Majesty to leave the appointment of the officers and men to the warden and 12 of the gentlemen of the Middle March elected by him.

I humbly pray your "favorable protection" of their humble suit. Their offer amounts to 6000*l.* for furnishing 300 men with horse and arms at 20*l.* for horse and man—and they give 2000*l.* yearly to maintain the 100 men and their officers, "which in five years amounteth to ten thousand poundes, both which are within seven (?) thousande poundes equal to the Queenes charge in these five years, which out of so poore a countrie voluntarily proferred, I trust by your honors meanes shall gratuslie be accepted of her Majestie." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[July ] 708. ROBERT VERNON TO BURGHEY.

Petitioning that the money in the receivers' hands over and above the payments authorized by his lordship, may be paid to M<sup>r</sup> Swifte in satisfaction of money due to M<sup>r</sup> Clarke of Linn, and M<sup>r</sup> Ofelie of London for provisions bought of them and expended since Michaelmas last.

For the 3000*l.* received by M<sup>r</sup> Swifte, &c., out of Exchequer, he petitions that on his own and M<sup>r</sup> Swifte's account being made for the whole year ended at Michaelmas 1596, that the "surchardge" thereof he allowed them, towards answering "the saide" 3,128*l.*, and "what there shall wante to be paide" to Exchequer by the receivers, out of such sums as shall be due for victuals delivered to the garrison and works within the said half year, and that M<sup>r</sup> Coniers may receive their month's books to finish the said accounts sooner.

Also notwithstanding his honor's order to stay proofs against his sureties, and that he should procure others to replace those dead (which he has done),—yet M<sup>r</sup> Fanchawe having still sent proofs against them, and had some of their lands "extended," has so terrified some of his new sureties that he is driven to seek others elsewhere. Therefore he prays a "supersideous" to discharge these proofs till further order.

Also to consider his past losses for which he has petitioned, and allow any sums granted by her Majesty therefor, to be employed to buy victuals, without troubling his lordship for "imprestes." And for further losses, to consider the same "in consciens," seeing they have arisen in the Queen's service, and most part for want of due payment of her grants to him. *Not signed.*

1½ pp. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed.*

[1597.  
July ] 709. SURETIES FOR R. VERNON.

The names of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's sureties for whom he desires a "supersideous."

Thomas Vernon, William Leversage, Thomas Smethwicke, Thomas Duncalf, John Morton, Robert Folehurst, Robert Aldger, Thomas Manweringe, Roberte Sparke, Ralphe Leftwich.

Those that are dead.—John Gryffith, 200*l.*; Thomas Vennables, 300*l.*; Ralphe Doue, 200*l.*; Thomas Lee, 100*l.*

¾ p. *Written by his clerk and another. Indorsed.*

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[July ] 710. NOTE AS TO BERWICK GARRISON.

That the garrison and works be paid monthly beforehand, which impressing 7000*l.* half yearly to the treasurer beforehand, will do. Then the garrison may either deal with the Queen's store, as they and the victualler agree, or provide themselves in the town.

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If this be liked, there must be a staple of victuals, also bakers, brewers, &c., ready, on occasion arising. This way of victualling will "cutt of the greate userie" of the said town, and in my opinion is best for the Queen and the soldiers. *Not signed.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *In same hand. Indorsed.*

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July .] 711. RATIONS AT BERWICK.

[Ranging from  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$  on a flesh day, to  $5d.$  and  $3\frac{3}{4}d.$  on fish days.]

The horse from Michaelmas till May day—either with oats at  $6s.$  per quarter, 2 bushels weekly,  $18d.$ ; or beans and pease, at  $14s.$  per quarter, 1 bushel weekly,  $21d.$

*Memorandum*—That since they are no longer compelled to take his victuals, if they take for flesh days they must do so for fish days also.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Written by Vernon's clerk. Indorsed.*

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July .] 712. RATES OF VICTUALS AT BERWICK.

Rates received by the surveyor for the soldiers' victuals *per diem*.

[Ranging from  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $3\frac{3}{4}d.$  *per diem*, according to the season and whether a flesh day or fish day.]

1 p. *Written by Vernon's clerk. Annotated by Burghley. Indorsed.*

[July .] 713. THE SOLDIER'S DAILY ALLOWANCE.

"A computation of one souldiers allowance for one daie."

Bread, 12 oz.,  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; beer, 3 pints  $1d.$ ; cheese,  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb.  $2d.$ ; butter, 1 qr. lb.  $1d-5\frac{1}{2}d.$

Bread, 12 oz.,  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; beer, 3 pints  $1d.$ ; beef,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb.,  $3d-5\frac{1}{2}d.$  By the day,  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; by the week,  $3s. \frac{3}{4}d.$

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Burghley.*

[1597.] 714. DIVISION OF THE WEST MARCH.

[An imperfect note of the subdivisions, Carlisle and its socage tenure, Bourgh barony and Holme lordship, where it ends abruptly.]

1 p. *A broad sheet. Indorsed. Noted by Burghley as "entred." Similar to the first 4 paragraphs of Vol. I. No. 743 by Edward Aglionby.*

1597. 715. SURCHARGE FOR VICTUALLING BERWICK.

[In three parallel columns—(1) the cost to the Queen, (2) the price as issued to the garrison, and (3) the surcharge, which is brought out for the year 1597 as 2915*l.*  $4s. 8\frac{1}{2}d.$ ]

2 pp. *Broad sheet. Written by Vernon's clerk. Indorsed.*

Aug. 1. 716. PROVISION AT BERWICK.

"A declaration what graine and other provicions remaineth within hir Majesties pallace or office of victuelles, the firste daye of Augustij 1597."

Wheat, rye and meal; in all, 138 qrs.

Malt, 186 qrs., 4 "ken," 3 pecks.

Pease, 18 qrs.

Oxen and kine, 8; sheep, 72.

Fish: Warehouse cod, 2,200. *Signed: Thomas Clarke.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed.*

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Aug. 1. 717. RICHARD SWIFTE TO BURGHELY.

I have now almost two years spent my whole time making provision for Berwick, "and that with so great charge and trouble as I have not had the liek in all my lief before"; and though it has been very chargeable to her Majesty, from the great dearth and want of means, yet seeing I have done my best, and by myself and my friends provided money, "when I could not have it from her Majesty, to buy at the cheapest times and places, whereby no smalle matter hath ben saved,—as would soone appeere yf but half of that which hath ben bought this yeere weare now to buy," I trust your lordship will consider both of my own and my men and horses' continual employment, and the very great charges caused.

For M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's "interteynment," part whereof you would have to serve for me: 338*l*. of it was paid last year to one Richard Clerk merchant of Lyn who had often petitioned your lordship for provisions supplied. The rest was paid by me to other like petitioners, at Vernon's request, and is all thus spent. Having wearied myself and my friends with "continuall taking up of money," I am not able to continue this service any longer, for want of money to make provision and defray my own "travail and charges," and crave to be dismissed, that I be not blamed if want fall out at Berwick after Michaelmas, as I fear it will, for then corn, unless "laied for aforehand, will not be had for money, as I have found by experience." When the books are made up after Michaelmas, I will be ready to account for this year, as I am now for the former year, "which accompt upon our oathes taken by a baron of thechecquer," was long since delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Auditor Coniers, who has it fully perfected. *Signed*: Rich. Swifte.

*1 p. Holograph; as also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a Pegasus.*

Aug. 2. 718. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

The officers of the palace have intreated me to send a packet of letters certifying their wants to Master Vernon, also your honour what store of victuals there is here, for your careful thought. They understand that Master Swifte is minded to provide no longer than Michaelmas, so they doubt the winter provision will be "bothe dangerous and scant." They have done what they can "near hearabotes in this conterey, wherin theye feynd them selves desperat and clearley voyd of all hope to be releved—so as this towen is shortley like to be in a prettey case, wiche is alredey belegard about withe the plage in so extrem a maner, as that it is in all the townenes in the conterey rowend about, even to the verrey gates of the towen, so as we nether dare soffer any of the conterey to come into us, nether dare we not kepe any markett wherbey to have any susteynans out of the conterey. So as beseydes beinge beseged withe the plage, in suche sort as we knoe not what townenes in the conterey is free, we ar like enofe to be well stored in the towen withe famin, wherof all the conterey is alredey well furnished . . . unles ther be better regarde had for the provision of the palles then I see yett any likeleyhud of . . . Out of the conterey we are to loke for no relefe, wiche is, bey the plage, the famine, and Scottes, almost layed waste alredey." The town will never be helped without a governor sufficiently furnished with "honer and aughtoretay, the only remede for maney mischeves. I wold to God the Queens Majesty did knoe howe muche she standes in hir owen leyghte to kepe me hear styll in this sort, and not to soffer me to com up, if it wear bout for a daye, that I myghte treweley sertefey her of the stat of this conterey—wherin I myghte do her better servis in an hower then I cane do hear in all the dayes of my life, and I ame shewer if her Majesty did but knoe in what pooer and miserabell

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estat this towen and contere is in, she wold be content to forbear me hear a whill for her better instrucion." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Aug. 2. 719. JOHN BROWNE TO BURGHLEY.

I humbly crave your favourable answer to my petition to the Council, touching my humble suit for relief in "a grievous deadlie fead," overburdening me and my poor friends, &c., whose estates, by the spoil of the Scots, and extreme charges in defence, are weakened and disabled; "with assistance to obteyne deliverie of Jock of the Coate, adjudged my prisoner in the last treatie . . . Humblie beseachinge your good lordship (for that I have longe attended here to my great charges, and by reasone of your lordshipes late sicknes can with no reasone importune access to your honor), to perdone this boldness in presuminge to wryte, and voutsafe me your good lordshipes moste worthie and ever providenŷ ayde for my relief in this busyness." *Signed*: John Browne.

½ p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary*: "2 Aug. 1597. M<sup>r</sup> Browne of Barwick to my lord." *Browne dates it "1596" in error. Small wafer signet with device.*

Aug. 2. 720. NOTES FOR INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMISSIONERS.

"Greenwich, August 2, 1597. Remembrances whereupon to drawe her Majesties directions to be given to the Bishop of Durham and Sir William Bowes."

*Under 11 heads—incorporated in the next No.*

1 p. *Broad sheet. Official fair copy. Indorsed by Cecil*: "Articles for an instruction for Sir W. Bowes."

Aug. . 721. INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR W. BOWES.

Directing him to repair to the North and appoint with the Bishop of Durham a convenient place near the Border for delivery of the pledges on both sides, summoning the English wardens to attend with theirs: as the King has offered to have his wardens ready to deliver the Scottish pledges in exchange, and promised that if any pledges are lacking, the warden himself shall be delivered to the Queen. If any English pledges are missing, the wardens to have others ready for delivery in their room. As the Scottish Council write that the Scottish warden of the West March "is removed" who should deliver the pledges, a long day may be taken for that March. But for the Middle March there is to be no delay, and the wardens are to agree on a day, "fitt for the Queene to lymitt the Scottish King to be ready." For the disorder in the Middle March and dissension between the warden and principal gentlemen: the Bishop and Sir William are to let Lord Eure know her Majesty's sorrow at the state of affairs, her unwillingness to condemn him, and that she has appointed them personally to hear the complaints so made, and if they find they have been greater than there is cause, through misunderstandings and unkindness, they shall (with due regard to the main points concerning the Queen's service) use their best diligence and discretion to reconcile the differences, "by making ech others to know their errors aparte." They are also to let him know that though the Queen has hitherto found little benefit to the country, by the support given him, yet she will allow 20 horsemen besides the 80: and finding how apt the country is to throw imputations on the warden, she means to choose two fit persons to be captains of the horse divided into companies of 50, and those to be looked out for her choice by the Bishop and Sir William. Above all things, they

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are to examine the complaints against Mansfield and those who received Carr, so that if proved, "they may be made examples." Also to look into the truth of the defaults of the keepers of Redesdale, Tynedale, captain of Bewcastle, land sergeant of Gilsland, and steward of Brough, taking order with the wardens. Also what horses Lord Eure has to supply the "new band" of 100, and how to make up deficiencies.

Also to see that the wardens observe the meetings according to the late treaty, for redress—and finally, to take order for places to keep the pledges, —those for England not to be carried beyond Edinburgh, and those for Scotland "on this syde Yorke, yf it may be."

2½ pp. *Official fair copy. Indorsed*: "August 1597. Instructions for Sir William Bowes to be imparted to the Bishop of Durham."

Aug. 3. 722. JAMES VI. TO SCROPE.

Signifying that he has sent to him his trusty councillor Sir John Carmichael of that ilk, to confer with him on the best means of redress of offences committed on the West March since the dissolving of last commission. Falkland. James R.

1 p. *Copy by Scrope's clerk. Addressed at foot. Indorsed.*

Aug. 3. 723. EURE TO CECIL.

Referring to the slanders against him, declares his conscience is a better testimony of innocence than 24 witnesses—begs M<sup>r</sup> Secretary's mediation in the meantime with her Majesty.

On Monday last the 1<sup>st</sup> instant at Sir Robert Kerr's request, they met near Stawford, where Sir Robert protested his willingness to serve her Majesty by quieting the Borders. Desires M<sup>r</sup> Secretary and the Lord Treasurer to let him make it known "by secrett worde," not choosing to put it in writing,—and wishes leave to repair to him for this purpose. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

Begs M<sup>r</sup> Secretary and the Council to support him in taking revenge of Buccleuch's continued malicious courses against his March.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 3. 724. EURE TO BURGHELY.

To the same effect as preceding No. 723 giving his reasons for meeting the Scottish warden more fully, and his wish to impart their conference verbally to Burghley. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 3. 725. THOMAS PARKINSON TO BURGHELY.

The occasions of the variance and dislike betwixt the governor and the gentleman porter, as I credibly understand, are chiefly these. First,—Upon the coming of the Earl Marshal, Lord Hume, Sir Robert Carr, &c., "near unto hws," the gentleman porter spoke to the clerk of the watch to cause the "scowryors ryed the boundes with jack and speare," that if any of these lords came near to view, they might see some provision in good sort—"wych was nott in enye other mans hede, and is generally bear comendid." Second—M<sup>r</sup> Porter meeting the watch one evening, thinking some of them unfit, told the clerk to be careful to place a sufficient watch, asking the whole number that did watch, a thing well known to all the captains, officers, and others. "Howbeit this is nott well tacken by M<sup>r</sup> Governor, whitch truly is wondorfull." The third cause is the works



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here, which I think M<sup>r</sup> Porter as yet has little looked into. A friendly conclusion of this is to be wished, for "truly to speack my consciense, the gentilman porter is a man that may yll be wanting in this plaise, and a man that no man can towth. I wishe a good agrement, whitch I cannott se howe yt can be—unles hir Majesty send down some nobill man to be governor here. I will forbear to complane of the intolerabill abwces and this yere more then ever: and I se nothing towardes this poor town and contrye bwtt ruinn by oppreshion. I pray God Almighty pwtt in to hyr Majestys mynde to send som good governor in tyme for remedye of the lamentabill estait of thes partes." Berwick. *Signed*: Thomas Parkinson, maior.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*: "4 Aug. 1597 . . ."

Aug. 4. 726. WILLIAM SELBY TO CECIL.

Acknowledging the Council's letter on the dispute between Carey and himself, an answer to which letter he incloses. If the information by Carey is true, he deserves no favour at the Lord Treasurer's or Cecil's hands—as when he sued for his place, the former was pleased to offer bond for his behaviour, and Cecil moved the Queen for his preferment to it. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wafers signed*: faint.  
Inclosed in the same:—

(Selby to the Council.)

Denies the accusations made by Carey, recited in their lordships' letter to him. If true, he admits himself worthy of great blame, for he cannot plead ignorance how he should behave to his governor. He has served the Queen and her "prejenotors" in England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and the Low Countries, for 48 years, has commanded horse and foot, governed towns, and served under several governors in Berwick, and never till now was charged "to be contencious, disobediante, whisperinglie," or otherwise factions against his governor or commander, as now he is charged "in generell woordes." Humbly beseeching that he may be charged "in pertecelers," and so brought to trial, when if not cleared he offers to submit to due correction. Concerning the matter on which Carey grounds his complaint, he has sent "the very truth" inclosed, to show his lordship that he, not Carey, had cause to complain, and only forbore it, on Carey's sending to him to say, that if he would "lett the matter fall and not writt theirof," he would do the like—yet he wrote secretly, sending his letter by his servant "to the nixte post, and not by the hordenerie post," lest Selby should know.

The only "particuler" between them that he knows of, is that Carey cannot endure his looking into or meddling with any faults or abuses in the town. So if her Majesty and the Council free him of blame for neglect, he will meddle with nothing but the security of the gates as appertains to his office. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wafers signed*: faint.

Aug. 4. 727. JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

"I understand bey my lord my brother, howe muche I ame bowend to you in your honorabell favor towardes me in a matter lateley fallen out betwen the gentyllman porter and me; wherbey I cane no waye requyett your honorabell keyndnes but bey my love and dutyfull willingenes ever redey to doe you aney serves wherin you shall employe me: withe asseweraus that nether your honer nor aney other shall ever defend a bad matter for

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"me, nor reseave disgrace in awensering my caues. I shall thinke longe to doe you sume exceptabell servis, in requoytall of your honorabell favers undeservedly done to me—and so good ser, belev of me.

"The newes hear is onley that Bucklughe is at libertey uppon causion to deliver into the Kinge his pleges—and that Jhonston denyes to deliver his, for that he is feeded withe the Maxwelles, and dares nott deminishe his strenghe bey deliveringe his frendes, but offers to render his offes to the Kinge, and he to putt into it whom he will. The Kinge himselve likewayes makes great sheawes of justes, but I fear all is but cuninge to win tyme," for they are continually riding and committing outrages on all hands. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Aug. 4. 728. SIR R. CAREY TO CECHL.

"By your last letters you gave me to understand that I should take no hould of your speachis concerninge her Majestys giveinge me leave to cum up after the commition was endid. Your honor may assure your self I will dooe nothinge that shall be ether displeasinge or offensive to you, although I be by this meanes voided of clayminge the Queenes promis: yeat suche is my state and hard fortun, that ether I must perrishe vnder my burthen by continewinge heare as I dooe, or els I must hazard to cum up, and indanger her Majestys fearfull displeasur, which will be worce to me then dethe. I feare to seake leave is the way to lay a straygther commandment of me to continewe wher I am, and to stay heare any longer as I am, in good faythe will be to my utter overthrowe and the discredit of her Majesty servis, which I esteame so deare, as I choose rather to commit my self to her Majesty pleasur, hopinge in her mersey, then to run into an imminent danger, which want of mayntenans will drive me to, if I seake not with alle speade to releave my self." Besides my duty here, I have to acquaint the Queen and your honor with the misery of the country, and how to amend it without charge to her or the country, "and in suche sort as never borderers lived more hapier then thay shall dooe if my counsell may be hard and followed." If I wrote "my meynd, it may be gaynsayd, or greater ocaotions may make it neglectid," but when I am there I will make it so plain as to be easily granted. A better time to come up I could not have chosen, for this border is quiet and "never les stelling in." I leave a "very sufficient" deputy, Mr Rafe Ker of Fourd, and my brother will assist him for defence with horse or foot—but I hope there will be no need. "The premiss considered, I meane by Gods grace, to be very shortly with you, hopinge in your honors favour, that if for my contempt the Queene be muche offendid, you will in your accomodid goodnes, dooe your best to soften her displeasur, and I dooe not doubt but by that tyme she shall knowe the reasons that moved me to cum up for the great good of the cuntrey, she will thiuke me an honist man and pardon any contenept." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 6. 729. WILLIAM SELBY TO BURGHLEY.

I most humbly beseech your lordship not to condemn me on any information against me from Mr John Carey, for he has taken such hatred against me without cause, that I hear he will do me all the hurt he can. "Yea so much he told me (in effect) to my face."

The first ground is [Here he describes the visit of the Earl Marshall, &c., to Lord Hume, and his orders accordingly for good watch as in No. 690.] The second [his complaint of the feeble watch and question as to their

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number as in same]. The third cause of offence is, my telling him your lordship found fault with the cost of the works here, and we were all blamed for it, with the answer I gave you.

These, I assure your honor, are the grounds of his displeasure, especially my asking the clerk of the watch their number, which is known to all the captains, officers, clerks, &c., here that have watched, which I hear is more than 200 men.

His threatening me that he would be even with me, and that he would have wanted the fingers of his hand to have me as now, and wishing he had a weapon, with other hard dealings, "I will refer" till I know the charges, and come to answer. "Y: I have offended, it bath bene in coucealinge and too much tolleratinge the abuses of this place, committed by him." Berwick. *Signed*; Will'm Selby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: shield, Selby arms impating another (quartered) coat.*

Aug. 7. 730. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I find by letters from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes, the King's willingness to justice and offers to her Majesty, which makes me think we shall have great quietness henceforth.

I hear also the King has referred the time for interchanging pledges, to her Majesty. "Sure sir, it were very expedient . . . that the pledges might furthwith be delyvered: for nowe present begynnes the tyme of the yeere that theves wilbe most busyest, and if quick delyvery be made, nothing will more terrifye them, and make them forbear . . . These occasions will cause my staye here till I see what will becomee of all thes proceedinges. And thei being once ended, I hope I shall with lesse offence to her Majestie returne to Court to seeke my discharge, or a better assurance." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Aug. 9. 731. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

On receipt of your lordships' letters as to sending up Andro Grame and Thomas Armstrong, I signified your direction to them. Whereon Grame earnestly asked if I was to go up or not, and if the Carletous and Grames were to be then tried fully of the offences they charged them with? I replied, I could not satisfy him, the matter being only in your lordships' wise determination. Whereon, he said that if he was only to be re-examined in the cause whereon he had already been three or four times before the Bishop of Carlisle, &c., he thought it had been certified to your lordships "or this." And if I examined him again before some of the justices of peace of the county, he would willingly re-affirm all he had said, which he thought might serve till your lordships please to bring the "parties" to trial, when they both, with myself, will be ready to attend your lordships.

The said Armstrong, within the last 14 days has heard of the murder of his brother Riniou Armstrong near to Askerton castle where Thomas Carleton dwells, and has been sore troubled in mind, and in maner distracted: so "I have had moch to do to appease him in his sayd farie, and now (I thanck God) he is in som reasonable sorte recovered: yet not very able at this tyme to travell"; and agrees to the like course with Andro Grame.

This Andro was the first man that voluntarily offered to inform me of the secret, assuring me that none in all England (except the 2 Carletons and 2 Grames) could tell of it "save Thomas Armstronge." So keeping Grame close, I apprehended Armstrong, and a fortnight after examining him on

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other matters, I asked him where he was "such a daye" (being the day all the faction met at Archerbeck in Scotland)—he said "he was at a place in Gilsland." Whereon I said he dissembled, for I knew he was riding that day with Thomas and Lancelot Carleton, and met Brakinhill and Wills Jock at Carwinley: at which words he prostrated on his knees, and sayde 'none could have told your lordship that, but the traytor Andro Grame'; and upon that, he began and in every matteriall point he accorded with Grames first speech."

I send herewith one George Hetherington, who will I trust inform your lordships that Thomas Carleton and the other Carletons were the chief occasion of all the Scottish spoils last summer in Gilsland barony, now her Majesty's.

The said Andro Grame and Thomas Armstrong have not charged the Carletons and Grames with any offence, except conspiring for breaking Carlisle castle and taking out Kinmont. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph*; as also *address to the Council*. *Indorsed*: "... Lo. Scroope to my master ..."

Aug. 9. 732. SIR W. BOWES PETITION.

By the Council's letter, he was commanded to attend the commission for Border causes when warned by the Bishop of Durham: the bishop "peremptorily" called him, and he set out for his house in Derbyshire on 8<sup>th</sup> November last, repairing first to Auckland then into Northumberland, whence he reported the state of the Marches to the Lord Treasurer. Since that day "till this present" the 9<sup>th</sup> of August, he has been continually employed at Berwick, Carlisle, in Scotland, being twice called up to the Queen's presence, and "is to receive new instructions for his repayre agayne to the Borders." Wherein already 274 days are past, viz. 52 days in Scotland, from the 5 of May till the 26 of June."

The charges already expended by him in this service, "as he is well able to shewe," amount to above 600*l.*, whereof he has only received 33*l.* of M<sup>r</sup> Clopton. He humbly petitions the Lord Treasurer, in respect of his "longe employmente, great charges, which before this service be done, is like to mount to neare 500*l.* losse, and his great dammages in neglectinge of his mynes, sutes, &c., to give order to M<sup>r</sup> Skinner to deliver to the said Sir William imprest monie 300*l.* upon accompt. And that his lordship would be pleased to procure her Majesties gracious allowance of 40*s.* *per diem* since his entrie into Scotlande, to the ende of this service, to the better supporte of his decayed estate, to be made fitt for her highnes service. Or if her Majesties warrant shall not stretch so farr to Sir Williams reliefe, his humble petition to the Lord Treasurer is, that where one Antonie Arrowesmithe of Eglestone, dependinge upon the lordship of Rabie, by his late attainture of fellonie, hath forfeited his lease of Eglestone into her Majesties hands: his lordship and M<sup>r</sup> Chauncelour of th'Exchequer wold graunte the said lease to Sir William for some reasonable fyne, accordinge to the true valewe thereof, to be notified unto them: which, in respect he is her Majesties stewarde and constable of those landes, besides the regarde of his expences in her Majesties service aforesaide, he hopethe will be founde reasonable."

Note—For 274 days from 8<sup>th</sup> Nov. till this 9<sup>th</sup> August at 20*s.* *per diem* (deducting 52 days in Scotland) 222*l.*

52 days (5 May till 26 June) in Scotland @ 40*s.* 104*l.*

	Sum total 326 <i>l.</i>
Whereof received of M <sup>r</sup> Clopton,	33 <i>l.</i>
So remain	293 <i>l.</i>

2 pp. *A broad sheet*. *Indorsed*: "xj Aug. 1597. Sir W. Bowes his petition for his diettes."

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Aug. 10. 733. SCROPE TO CECIL.

The opposites, with a great number of the disorderly dependers on Buccleuch, had assembled for another great attempt, prevented by the late "extremitye of wether," and I having mustered a sufficient number of men "aboute a purpose," likewise disappointed through the "contageousnes" of the weather: the Laird of Carmichael came hither by the King's special directions, to confer with all the officers and borderers opposite, not only to free all prisoners made, but to make full redress of all cattle, sheep, &c., whatsoever taken at the late rode of Gilsland—" (heare ys large promises, but I feare me they will bringe foorthe poore meaninges)," and finding his great willingness to labour to effect the same, and that he desires for 5 days to journey among the officers, &c., I must be content to stay any incursion, trusting to hear from him with a full answer.

Last week, the Gilsland Bells and others spoiled, made a rode in Scotland, bringing off some cattle. One special man was hurt, rather thought to be killed, another brought prisoner to England. I have apprehended two of those who spoiled Gilsland, and hope to make use of them, if Carmichael cannot perform the King's promise. And if the Scots continue their wished incursions, I must be forced (as often before) to desire your good offices in sending hither the captains and their companies with all expedition.

And if this hope of peace by "M<sup>r</sup>" Carmichael's protestations shall prove true, which I rather attend to, in hope by your good means and my lord your father's to have leave to come up, and then satisfy all your honors of the Council on the matter betwixt the Carletons and me, if all I have hitherto done may not suffice—I presume to stay the witnesses till my own coming. But I send you the man who all this time has had the custody of Grame and Armstrong, to satisfy you by his presence if any such violence has been used to make them accuse the Carletons (as the last have alleged); also one Hetherington a witness against them for resetting George Simson a Scotsman, before and since the Gilsland murders and incursions.

I have sent some farther matters touching the Carletons and Grames to my lord your father, whereof I hope he has acquainted you. I have a man in Scotland, on whose return I hope to know the "drift" of this M<sup>r</sup> Carmichael's employments, whereof I shall inform you both. Carlisle.  
*Signed:* Th. Scrope.

1½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 11. 734. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I have written "somewhat" to the lords of Council in general as to my not sending up the witnesses against the Carletons and Grames now. But as I have always "layde open" more largely to you than any other councillor, "what I could urge against them," so have I found you "more strickt" towards their offences, for which I am greatly beholden.

For my excuse, the true cause of not sending them now proceeds of my hope to have leave to come up my self, and they with me, by your good means: when I could be present at the examination of the wrongs done me, and then clear myself I hope.

"As also in a more perticuller, to conclude with your lordship about those matters, wherunto I finde a good inclination in my boye since his coming downe, if the same shall seeme so convenient to your lordships selfe, and the partie; a course in which is my most wished desire, so standing with your lordships good liking."

I hope my leave shall be easily procured, if this peace go forward here, wherein M<sup>r</sup> Carmichael is the worker, also, as "M<sup>r</sup> Richard Musgrave hath bene a longe suter to be my deputie here, upon notice of your lordships good liking therof, I can very well agree to authorise him—but not otherwise."

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I send up the man that was keeper of the witnesses Grame and Armstrong, to show your lordship their usage since they first came to me : and that they were not forced (as alleged) to accuse the Carletons, "by any extreame manner whatsoever, or other promises of reward"; also one George Hetherington, a witness against them for reset of George Simson Scotsman, before and after certain March treasons. Carlisle. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Was quartered signet : broken. Notes by Burghley on fyleaf as to the Musgraves, Carletons, &c.*

Aug. 15. 735. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I hope your lordship is satisfied with my not sending the witnesses, for the reasons in my last,—chiefly, as for the good redress assured by Carmichael for the late "hurts" in Gilsland (and we have had none other of any moment), and the peace and quietness like to ensue here—I may have leave to come up and bring them with me, "if so your lordship will yet have it—which under favour (mee thinckes) should not be necessarie, for that I perswade my selfe your lordship sees the truth of every particuler by those examinations remayning with your lordships of the counsell, and other circumstances better knowen to your lordship in perticular, as those lettres of Baclugh, the true coppies wherof I have sent unto you lordship : and yet I could and shall manifest more whensoever I shall have fitt occasion." Meanwhile I must tell you I fear some mischief when I send them ; for it being "bruted" they were on the way, I hear that Ambrose Carleton and others lay in wait for "three dayes together at Spitell upon Staynemoore and other innes," with intent either to rescue them or practise some "caving plott" with them. This being secret, I cannot prove but by their lying in the way "having noe occasion," which I think you will account sufficient ; but that they so lay "well horsed and provided for som such exploit" I can prove beyond denial.

This "accident" and my other reasons I leave to your consideration, humbly desiring you will "hasten to send sharpe sensure of thire offences : the rather for your lordship and M<sup>r</sup> Secretarye have allways thought these examinations (soe often confessed before my self and other justices)—sufficient recorde for prooffe without any necessitie of the witnesses in persons ; which opinion (let mee still be bound to your lordship) to retayne, and accordingly to proceed to a final end, not yeelding by thire clamors (which is nought but clamor) to serche further into the matter, which is as playne as playne may bee : in which dooinge I shall never forget to do your lordship any office of love or service that tyme and occasion may minister."

I am of late advertised "by one neare her Majestie" that her pleasure is to send them home "justified." If true, it will be vain "for any to sit in my place of government . . . For myne owne part, I rather desire a most private life, then such dishonored regiment." My refuge is only in your lordship, and my honour lies in your hands, trusting to find you the patron of my just cause, by their sharp punishment and disgrace—"for justice can do noe bodie injurie." Carlisle. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

Postscript.—I inclose such Scottish news as are "extant."

2 pp. *Holograph ; as also address. Indorsed.*

Aug. 15. 736. SCROPE TO CECIL.

On the Laird of Carmichael's "now" return from Scotland, I find the great pains he has taken with Buccleuch and others to accomplish the King's special commands, to free all prisoners and make full redress for the goods, &c., taken from the Bells of Gilsland at the late incursion. Proclamation has been made for unconditional release of the prisoners,

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and for answering the bills sworn to in Carmichael's presence; and 2 Scotsmen are delivered to remain here till these matters are fully accomplished to the complainers' satisfaction. I herewith inclose a copy of the indent between the Laird of Carmichael and me, intreating you to acquaint my lords of Council therewith. The Laird has very earnestly intreated me to meet with the Laird of Buccleuch, to hear what he will say, "whose desyre I have not contraried."

To-morrow he takes journey to Lord Eure at Hexham, whither I purpose to accompany him, and come back here with him, before he returns to the King, Carlisle. *Signet*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Indent with Carmichael)

Indented at Carlisle 15 August 1597 betwixt Lord Scrope lord warden, &c., and Sir John Carmichael of that ilk knight, "for the bill of Gillsland" committed 20<sup>th</sup> July before.

"For the whilk bill, aswell for the freedome of all the prisoners their suerties and casioners, as also for the payment of the wholle goodes and geare sworne by the parties offended and lykwise indented: the sayd Sir John Carmighell knight haith entered and delivered unto the sayd Lorde Scropp Sime Armestrange of Maingerton, and John Scotte servant to Sir Walter Scotte of Brankxhame, and haith borrowed\* the same to remayne at free warde within the citie of Carliell aye and while they obteyne the said Lord Scropes lycence, and not to departe without the sayd Lord Scropes lycence had and obteyned thereto."

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Copy by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed.*

Aug. 17. 737. CONFERENCE OF EURE AND CARMICHAEL.

The effect of Sir John Carmichael's conference with Lord Eure, before Lord Scrope and M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther on Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> August 1597.

Certain notes set down at Hexham, betwixt Lord Eure lord warden &c., and Sir John Carmichael of that ilk knight, "taking burden on him for Sir Walter Scott of Brankisholme knight."

That the said Sir Walter Scott "sall cause make proclamacion thorowe all his office, that na man sall take upon hand to ryde in England," specially within Lord Eure's charge of the Middle March: "(and gif it sall happen as God forbid it doe), that anie offence be committed by anie within the said Sir Walter Scottes office or landes or name, upoun notice given by the said Lord Eure, bill or bills being sworne immediately within xij dayes after the recitt of the said note, deliverie salbe made; and gif the partie interest cannot file the bill according to the common order, the said Sir Walter sall doe his diligence to trye whether it be foule or cleane, so far as in him lyes—not that he salbe bound to file or cleane it upon his honour, but so farr as he can learne, and that to be done *bona fide*—and in the meane tyme, all things to stande in quietnes while there Majesties pleasures be further knowne."

Likewise all attempts done since 6<sup>th</sup> August instant by any within Sir Walter's office or keeping, shall be satisfied, and delivery made within 12. days after delivery of letters, or demand by Lord Eure. Carmichall.

1 p. *Official copy. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "The effect of the conference betwene the Lord Scroope and Sir John Carmichell."

\* i. e., pledged.

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Aug. 18. 738. EURE TO CECIL.

I received your letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> August on the 15<sup>th</sup>, importing the delivery of my letter to you by my son, the Queen's command to Sir William Bowes to inquire into the "presentment" against me, and that you should get knowledge from me of Sir Robert Kerr's "overture," instead of my repairing to Court "as yet." My delay in reply arose from Sir John Carmichael coming hither by the King's command, he and Lord Scrope being here from the 16<sup>th</sup> till to-day, when they departed.

Sir John made known to me in presence of Lord Scrope and Mr Richard Lowther, the King's direction to him to repair to the Borders and publish his proclamation of peace, on pain of death "and his further displeasure"; requiring the same from those in my government.

He offered in behalf of Buccleuch, the strict performance thereof, with restitution of justice for all future attempts committed by any of his office, "requiring a presente and personall meeting of my parte with the Laird of Baclughe, not for deliverie of justice—for that he thoughte there was little to be demanded since the Kinges proclamacion—but that by the appaurance of our meeting the wicked might be awed to forbear their cruell and furious attemptites—this is the full effecte of Sir John his message."

Whereto I answered, that the indignity to her Majesty should first be satisfied, also the murders, &c., done by Buccleuch, redressed, and then if her Majesty pleased, I would meet him in peace or otherwise—thinking it better for us to meet and "give a stroke of justice att that meeting" to deter the wicked from their practices and comfort the distressed English—and I named one or two of Buccleuch's last incursions in my March.

He replied that his commission did not allow him to deal in such cases, only to command future peace, and promise future redress, leaving others to the commissioners. Whereon he and I subscribed interchangeably a brief conclusion, which I send your honor hereinenclosed, and the personal meeting was deferred "till some stroke of justice bee had."

These offers of peace from Buccleuch are but for fear of the Queen's "royall revenge, not for true love of justice nor speciall favoure to the Englishe: the which I leave to your more honorable consideration, fearing Baclughe is a tyme taker."

Sir Robert Kerr at our secret conference, signified the impossibility of divers borderers making satisfaction for bills filed on them—the discontent of others at giving pledges for such impossible redress, which he feared would hinder the King's desired course of peace and his own—also he knew divers evil disposed who would "brangle" that estate and not spare their labour to effect it. He assured me, if the Queen showed him favour, he would not only tell her who these "distarberres" were, but would show how to suppress them and be an actor himself therein. He also promised to purge himself of all former complaints against him, to continue peace while in office on the borders, and do her Majesty extraordinary services in Court, making known those who oppose her.

He begged me not to put these heads on paper, in case it turned to his blame, but to present them by word of mouth to her Majesty or such one of her Council whom it pleased her to depute—promising on her acceptance he would find means that the King should employ him as a messenger to her Majesty, craving meanwhile her honourable promise of his safety, and he would hereafter satisfy her of all particulars, and other things whereof he would not acquaint me, yet should all be available for her Majesty's honour.

I humbly beg this letter may only be seen by her Majesty, or by whom she pleases to commit the secret besides your honor, and that my credit may be reserved.

He craves undelayed answer to this message, which I pray may be speedily remembered: I enter into no commendation or approbation of his offer.



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Yet he is a principal man, a warden, having the King's ear and love as one of his chamber: "the strengthe of the nobilitie in Courte, with the Lorde Humie on the Borders, the malice and offence betwene Baclughe and him: he as I say, is one and the likelieste to procure and continewe a peace and settled government, and a principall meanes to overthrowe the disturberres of the peace and evill disposed, with the easie charge to hir Majestie and honorable contente." Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 21. 739. SCROPE TO CECIL

Both in respect of the King's letter to me, copy whereof is inclosed, as also from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes the Queen's ambassador, and the earnest solliciting to me by the Laird of Carmichael, alleging that no dealing will take effect to the pacifying of the Borders, "withowt my personall meatinge with the Lairde of Bucleughe:" and specially as the Queen's good pleasure was to retain in her own hands "the repairing of that prowde indignitye" against this her castle, wherefore I have her Majesty's letter: I was moved yesterday to keep a meeting with him "contrarie my mynde," but as he came over and met me in England, I could not well refuse to hear what he would say. And therefore have for the present "cou'discended" for Liddesdale, as by the inclosed indent will appear, "leaving the holdinge hand" to any further dealing otherwise than it shall please her Majesty and the Council to direct me, whose good pleasures I desire with all possible haste.

The redress for Liddesdale is but on trial, and as the West Marches are now without a warden, and greatly annoy this border, I right heartily intreat you to hasten the captains and their companies hither. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

I also send copy of the consents of those taken prisoners and spoiled in Gilsland.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "21 Aug. 1597 . . . R. at Havering the xxvij<sup>th</sup>."

Inclosed in the same:—

(Indent with Buccleuch.)

"Indented at Cannonbie holme the xx<sup>th</sup> daye of August 1597, betwixt the right honorable Thomas Scroope knight, lord Scroope of Bolton, lord warden of the West Marches of England towards Scotland, and the right honorable Sir Walter Scott of Branks-holme knight, lorde of Lyddesdalle."

First.—The said Sir Walter obliges himself, not only that the Laird of Mangerton, already entered for the relief of the prisoners, and redress of the goods, &c., in the bill of Gilsland sworn before the Laird of Carmichael, shall remain in Carlisle till the prisoners are delivered and the bill satisfied: and as the said Sir Walter entered one John Scott his servant likewise for the bill, Lord Scroope is pleased on Sir Walter's "mocone," that he return home, another sufficient man being entered in his place "upon Tuisdaye come eight daies" the 30<sup>th</sup> August, to remain in the city without departing or escaping, until the prisoners be freely released, and the bill satisfied according to the King's special proclamation.

Second—it is agreed between them that for release of the prisoners and redress of the goods, &c., a meeting shall be kept at Creshoppe foot on said 30<sup>th</sup> August, to make delivery of such goods, &c., as can be provided, before their deputies.

Third—that for all offences, &c., committed since the last commission dissolved, between England and Liddesdale respectively, the bills shall be made up and enrolled against the said day, and interchanged, and a future

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day for redress set down: and likewise the names of the several outlaws of England and Liddesdale shall be delivered "ower." Scrope. Baclughe.

1½ pp. Copy by Scrope's clerk. *Inlorsed.*

Aug. 28. 740. SCROPE TO CECIL.

According to the Queen's pleasure I have made proclamation "for the stave of theft," so I hope we shall have quietness, though I know not for how long.

In obedience to the Council's letter, I have sent the witnesses "with as great expedition as ever I could: the lettre was seven dayes a comminge." Assuring myself still of your "inmutable" favour in my just suit. Carlisle. Signed: Th. Scrope.

1 p. *Holograph; as also address. Inlorsed by Cecil's clerk: "27 Aug. 1597 . . ."*

Aug. 28. 741. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

I perceive by your lordships' letters of 16<sup>th</sup> August, that you are not satisfied with my reasons for not sending up Grame and Armstrong, as I had hoped, thinking you would have weighed as much their examinations, as their testimonies in person—being taken "4 severall tymes" before myself and other justices, "always agreeing in one, save before the comissioners"; the cause of which difference, with all the examinations, are already with you. My usage of them also, wherein I dare boldly say, with submission, there is nothing but common and honourable course of justice, "and most playne evidence of thire not to be favored misdemeanours." Yet in performance of my duty and reverent regard to your lordships' wisdom, I shall with all dispatch I can, convey them to your lordships, reminding you meantime of Hetherington's testimony, whom I have already sent up, as to the spoil of Gilsland by means of Thomas Carlton.

Now as it seems they exclaim and weary you with their clamor of my malice and their innocence, my proceeding against them on persuasion of the Bells, and not from just occasion offered to myself—I will desire leave to acquaint your lordships in part how I have been dealt with by them since I entered on this government.

"Som 3 weekes, or therabouts, before the dispatch of my Lord Keeper that now is, and M<sup>r</sup> Attorney into this countrey [about ?] the Dacres lands (which your lordships may remember), Thomas Carleton comes to mee when I was intering my cotch to goe see the bushope, and with protestations of love, he tells mee, he must impart unto mee a matter that touched mee neare in honour, which was, that the Lowthers and Grames were combynded together and had layde a plotte that against that same cominge of my lord keeper and M<sup>r</sup> Attorney, all the broken men of Scotland that were thire friuds, should sett upon this wardenrye in extreamest outrage, to the intent (as he sayd) that it might be justly informed her Majestie of the ill governement of this place—wherupon consequently Richard Lowther would worke by good friuds and make great meanes to bee warden agayne. I demanding what certentie he had of this tale, he answered Thirlway his sonne tolde it him, and M<sup>r</sup> Fetherston reported it to Thirlway: and thus it came of their own trybe. I thought it not convenyent to say much, or to make much adoe of it at that tyme, for since the matter was then to receive hearing betwixt her Majestie and my lord William,\* it might perhaps have bene construed malice in mee towards them. But sure I am Thomas Carleton will not deny this: and that great spoye was comited accordingly, my lord keeper can (at his

\* Howard.

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beinge here I thincke) too treuly remember." After this, when, on complaint of the whole country, I discharged Thomas Carleton from his office, "then in revenge, trayterouslye with his associates, he conspires Kipmonth his rescue and deliverie," about which under your direction, I procured the coming up of the Grames, with whom your course for their submission is fresh in memory, to which I added somewhat, wherein I thinke they confess guilt, and I have it under their hands. But I would not now have called them in question, but for your lordships' special letters on sending up Grame and Armstrong's examinations.

Now while the Grames were in London, Thomas Carleton took occasion to see them, and wrought the spoil of his office by Simson a Scotsman, as Hetherington now with you, can testify. And ever since he has been the cause of all the spoils of his country, as the certificate under the hands of most of the gentlemen which I sent by my servant Baynes, plainly shows: and if they still deny it, and your lordships are not satisfied, I humbly entreat the right of every subject, to be brought face to face, when I shall prove all I have avouched. And as this can be in no other place than before your lordships, I still earnestly entreat leave to come up, the rather as the Border is now quiet and assured by Carmichael and Buccleugh, as the indents which I sent to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary will show. Nor need the Carletons fear the loss of their goods, as they insinuate, nor have the Bells spoiled them, as they tell your lordships: "indeed I thincke it will faull out, that William Tailer, Thomas Carletons chief man, and young Hurdhill, his second selfe, and Godfray Carleton, were all thire guydcs to bring the host of Liddisdavill for overthrow of the poore Bells. And Dick Ritchison his servant brought them to the place where the ambushe layd, so that they were taken prisners."

But not to trouble you longer, the country being quiet, and my service not so much required for its good, while my presence with you is necessary for my honour, I hombly take my leave, renewing my suit for my speedy coming in defence of my government, "which hanges thus discontented." Carlisle.  
*Signed: Th. Scroope.*

3 pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*

Aug. 28. 742. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

I perceiue by my man (which I grieve to hear) that the Council are taking a milder course with the Carletons and Grames, than at first conceived, and will nowise proceed to examine the matters, till the other witnesses come up in person—whom I have now sent with the speed I could. So I now rely on your favour in my just cause.

"And since I have acquainted your lordship with that which none else dothe know,—I meane Buccughes lettre and his hand to the examinations, which a man of good sort in Scotland will avouch: and as at my coming up (which I still hope on by your lordships good meanes), I have more matter sufficient, as your lordship shall see (soe they may receive the hight of thire deserts), yet will I reaveale nothing more to the Counsell till I understand your lordships well wishing pleasure, by which in all humilitie I will most willingly bee directed."

I leave myself entirely in your hands, with thanks for many past favours, and the present probation of my honour, "now if ever, in extreame hazard of ship-wrake: well maye I saye, in more then hazard! for I am advertised by an assured frinde neare her Majestie, that her Majesties pleasure is, not only to pardon, but to restore them to former libertie, wherewithall I am well pleased, nor do I greeve, so that her highnes order withall that the truth maye bee knowne, lesser then which (mee thinckes) I should not dout, the cause so concerning her Majestie and the good of this cuntry." Let me tell your lordship, that having of late called some before me for outrages committed, "even in my nose," here is their answer, "that they will upp to

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"the Counsell, where they shall have thire harts desire." Such is the effect of the Council's letters, that "I stand as an idle beholder," without power. And if her Majesty pardon and restore them to their offices, and have them justified too, it will be in vain for any to sit here. "Why I thus feare (I may tell your lordship) I have more reason (which I pray your lordship keep secrett) for at my brother Bowes his being at Bolton, with my sister his lady (though I could not see so much beholden to my brother), yet I learned by a speciall frinde, that one Huins Sir Jhon Stanhopes man, wrote a lettre to my brother in her Majesties name by his maisters direction, as he sayde, requyring of my brother to labor an atonement between the Carletons and mee, and that her Majestie would have them pardoned, and if I would not condesend, that then at my brother his coming up, the least worde he should speake should serve for that purpose, which I thincke hee hath not spared to do. And I am besides advertisad from Scotland, by one of account, and withall very inwarde with the Grames and Carletons, that the Grames Carletons and Lowthers are conbynd, and bound to one who is sutor for my place, and the bounds remayne in London with a gentleman which was somtymes towards my selfe.

"Now (my good lord), matters standing thus, and the country being at quoyet, and so assured to continew bothe by Carmihell and Buclnghe, I intend for a season to repayre to my house at Bolton with Emannell my sonne, the better to free my selfe from suche insolent bragges and prond discountenance, as (I perswade my selfe) none with any meane patience indure."

If they return justified, then I humbly intreat that by your means I may with her Majesty's favour, leave this place where I am dishonoured and my service discontented her. "I canot in a good conscience supplee this place, and see a swarme of most wiked men triumphe in thire lewdnes, unable to correct them, nor yet to have them reformed in the hiest court: neyther yet to see wikedness reigne without check." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2½ pp. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*.

Aug. 28. 743. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHELY.

Upon the 11<sup>th</sup> instant I received from Sir William Bowes a letter of the 4<sup>th</sup>, requiring me by her Majesty's command, to join him at Newcastle or thereabouts, for further Border services under instructions which he then thought he should bring with him by the 18<sup>th</sup>. The 16<sup>th</sup> I wrote to him at North Allerton by post, that, as in my opinion we were like to do no more good on the Scots than already "(which was none at all, such ever hath been, and ever wilbe their delaias and deceiptes)," and in the re-examination of the Middle March matters, which concern the lord warden, I foresee how hardly the jury will digest it, to have their sworn presentment questioned, and reversed by another jury—especially now when notwithstanding all means used, they are too few or too weak to combine against the opposite nation. "Neither doe I suppose but that he,\* who hopeth to be most releved by the second inquisition, will therby be most aggrieved." Having all this while neither heard from above, nor from Sir William Bowes, to whom "I made knowen the generall infection, I saie not at Newcastle only, but over all Northumberland," as your lordship will see by the inclosed letters from the governor of Berwick and Sir Robert Carey, I thought it necessary to refer the whole to your lordship, also the unseasonable time of year in harvest: desiring your resolution "both of daie and place, if our journey holde, as I would be right sorie it should, and will hope well it shall not, at the least untill God of his great mercie withdrawe his hand."

\* Lord Eure.

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I forbore to answer the inclosed from my lord of Dunkell till I heard or saw Sir William Bowes, and will protract time a little longer, till your lordship directs me thereon; for it may be but to gather what they may expect at our hands.

The money "resting on my hedde" in Exchequer, due by the collector of the tenths of subsidies, he promises to account for next term, and to discharge all that is or shall be received. "Suche as concerne my selfe, to witt my sole paymentes for myne owne see, I should have been bable to clere the better and sooner, if I mought have been spared of the ce li, which I have lent her Majestie upon a previe seale at forthnights warning; and if I maie be eased of these and the like journeyes, especially whyle I am in first fruites: for howsoever it be esteemed above, these occasions and employmentes are verie chargeable, not only to her Majestie, but to some of us. Which to me verily is nothing yrksome, but her highnes maie and shall as reddily command of me and all that myne is, as of any suche poore servant or subject she hath. Only I humbly crave that I maie receive in the Exchequer that ordinarie favor especially for this yeare, which manie of my place and their officers have been wont to finde. Howbeit I shall, by Gods leave, cleare all sometyme this next terme, if no parte therof maie be forborne untill the beginning of Hilarie terme." Stockton. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Holograph*; as also address: "To . . . the Lord High Treasurer of England, the lord W. Burghley, at the Courte." *Indorsed*.

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (John Carey to the Bishop.)

"Hearinge bey report that your honer withe others of her Majesties commiseners for the border causes, are shortley to be hear, I thoughte it my dutye as also fitt, to make your lordshipe forkuowen withe the danger therof," that you may appoint another place, or "defere it tyll it shall pleas God to spare the great dangerusnes of this great infection bey sikenes."

The plague is very great in this country, almost no town free hereabout, nor most of the neighbour towns in Scotland: so that we have put down the market in Berwick, suffering neither countrymen nor Scots to come in, to keep it out if we could. And if you and the commissioners come hither and call the country together, this will be impossible to prevent. I refer the "consideration" to your honorable wisdom. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed by the Bishop*: "The Governor of Berwick, 26 Aug. 1597."

(2) (Sir R. Carey to the Bishop.)

"Understanding from above, that her Majesties pleasure is your lordship with Sir William Bowes and some others" shall come to the Border, I must advertise you that the sickness is so dispersed hereabout, that above 40 towns are infected, and it still increases. So vehement is it, that it "consumes wholle howsholdes and fewe or none ever escapes that is once infected therwithall."

I think it very dangerous to have any meeting or concourse of people while it continues, for it is spread all through Tyvidale and the Merse of Scotland, and my brother has closed the market in Berwick, and suffers none to enter the town. If your lordship pleases, you may either proceed with business on the West Marches " (the country being cleare that way), but certenlye for any meetinges to be had here, yt wilbe the best course to differre yt, till God pleases to cease this greavous sicknes that is now amongst us."

The East March is quiet and little stealing. The pledges are ready for

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delivery when you please to send for them. "These thinges considered, I meane by Godes grace to make my repair to Court, eyther better to establishe my authoritey in thes partes, or els to resigne yt upp to whome yt shall please the Queen to command to it." Berwick. *Signed*: Rob. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by the Bishop*; "Sir Robert Carey, 26 Aug. 1597."

## (3) (The Bishop of Dunkeld to the Bishop of Durhám.)

"Brother, in respect of the ocasionys ye haiff be your ambassadeur resident heir his daylie intelligence fra Ingland, I lukit this lang tyme for ane letter fra yow, bot I sie I man breik silence: and albeit for the present I haif na uther subject bot to understand of your gud health, I think it sufficient, for your cowntresie schawin to me and my companie in Beruik and Carleill makis me sollist thairoff. God grant that our panis tane on that turne be not ineffectuall." Our wardens blame England for not keeping the "peremptorie" days, saying you had not the same men ready to deliver that were promised. But their excuse will not serve the King, for he will have his wardens either deliver their pledges or he will deliver themselves. He detains Buccleuch in ward till he delivers his pledges; Johnston is doing the same, and Carmichael has ridden by the King's order to Johnston's wardenry to bring in his pledges, and speak to Lord Scrope thereon, as some are fugitives reset in England. Cesford has obeyed, so it only remains to have a new day of delivery whereon the King is to send to the Queen, whom he is resolved to content in all things. "This on my conscience, is his Majesties very mynd," therefore let not your Council stand on a day, but the sooner the better. If you see Sir William Bowes, commend me heartily to him, for at his departing I happened not to be "quher he lay to bid him gudnicht." Edinbergh 16<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1597. *Signed*: P. Dunkell.

1 p. *Holograph; as also Address*: "To his speciall gud lord my lord bischope off Durrhem in Ingland." *Indorsed by the Bishop*.

## Aug. 744. OVERTURES AS TO THE BORDER.

*Under 5 heads not numbered* :—

(1) That the pledges be respectively delivered by the \* next, or the wardens themselves delivered and kept in ward.

(2) That a day be appointed for redress of all offences since the dissolving of the late commission.

(3) Proclamation in the princes' names to be made ou both sides of the March, inhibiting all hostilities or incursions while the commission sits, under the severest penalties.

(4) That as Johnston is likely to be removed from his wardenry and his successor cannot deliver the pledges there till settled in his office, which can hardly "be befoir Michaelmas nixt," the Queen to authorize her resident ambassador to agree with the King and Council on some day "neir the said feist," or on a short day for Teviotdale and Liddesdale, and a longer day for the West.

(5) That so soon as the pledges are delivered, the King shall send one "of his awin" to the Queen, to satisfy her in reason, touching the petition presented in her name by Sir William Bowes her late ambassador. *Signed*: M. G. Young.

1 p. *Probably extract from Minutes of the Scottish Council. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Overtures for quieting the disorders on the Border." *Injured by damp*.

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## 745. REPLIES TO THE KING OF SCOTS' PROPOSALS.

"Concerning my opinion touching the two articles propounded by the King of Scots"—I think none of her Majesty's wardens will be against the first, and "I like so well of it, as I desire it may goe forward." For on the wardens' denial or delay of justice, the appeal by letter to the princes is so tedious, and sending messengers "on every particular accident," so chargeable, that it is seldom undertaken, and before we can settle the first matter, they give us something else to think of: "for they hold him a man of very small reckoning, that in delay cannot by the last ill turne, make the first to be forgotten."

For the time of meeting, I think Candlemas more fit, for the terror of present justice is always a greater bridle to these border thieves, "who will never lightly steale hard before Lammas, for feare of the assises, but beeing once past, they returne to their former trade: and unles in such yeares as they cannot ride upon the wastes by reason of stormes and snowes, the last moneths in the yeare are theyr cheife time of stealing: for then are the nightes longest, theyr horse at hard meat, and will ride best, cattell strong, and will drive furthest: after Candlemas the nightes grow shorter, all cattell grow weaker, and oates growing dearer, they feed their horses worst, and quickly turne them to grasse."

The last article, "I can no way like of it, beeing only good for the Scots." They are sure of justice here, but we find it impossible there, where our men can get no protection to prosecute, and the Scots law cannot force them to answer for want of evidence. Even themselves, when they mean to make an example, can only get judgment by a "vote of the cuntrey," no man daring to appear as a witness: though sometimes procured by great men and great means, while the poor are helpless. Besides, under colour of prosecuting suits, the bad of both sides could meet and plot and practise their wicked devices. Instead of which, I think the commissioners that are to be sent to examine the wardens' actions, should have authority to hear and determine all noredressed complaints for last year, and do justice to those who cannot have it from the wardens before their coming.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *In a clerkly hand. Indorsed in another (Cecil's?)*: "Sir Robt. Cary, brother G. Cari, R. Lane."

*Perhaps from Sir R. Carey.*

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## 746. REMEDIES FOR BORDER DECAYS, &amp;C.

Certain remedies for strengthening the Borders and reforming divers decays in Northumberland.

*Under seven general heads:—*

(1) RELIGION AND SCHOOLS.—Her Majesty having divers demaynes of abbeylands, tithes, and impropriate parsonages in Northumberland, of great yearly value, now leased for years: part of the surplus profits to be employed to maintain preachers and 3 grammar schools, still reserving the ancient rents. Commissioners to inquire their improved value—the tenants to be drawn to reasonable compositions—divers are recusants.

All non-resident ministers, and others "whoe cannot preach," with benefices worth 40*l.* *per annum* "clearlie," to be removed. No recusant, or anyone whose wife is a recusant, shall bear office or place of rule in the county.

(2) DEFAULTS IN JUSTICES OF PEACE.—Each besides his oathe, is to keep quarter sessions—to watch markets, corn, &c., rates—record examinations, &c., do his best in office, and bail no felons unlawfully. A clerk of markets to be "erected" as there is none in the county.

(3) DEFAULTS BY SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS.—The late sheriffs to be sent for by pursuivant, to make accompt. Fines and amerccments of sessions and gaol deliveries (never now levied, though leviable) shall be accounted to the sheriff as part of his allowances.

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The bailiffs of the Queen's manors, &c., to account for escheats. These conditions to appear in their patents, and good bonds to be taken for their yearly accounts. "They deceave her Majestie of great profittes."

(4) DEFAULTS IN "COMEN" PERSONS.—Writs of *quo warranto* to be prosecuted by the Attorney General against those who seize escheats, and claim liberties.

That it be March treason for a borderer, man or woman, to intermarry with Scots borderers.

Enhancing rents—heavy fines—letting to Scotsmen, to be yearly certified by commissioners, and the offenders severely punished in the "Sterchambre."

Gentlemen who have left their dwellings to be warned by proclamation to return or be severely punished as above.

(5) THE OFFICE OF LORD WARDEN.—(1) To keep monthly days of truce, unless "letted" by weather. (2) In default by the Scots warden, to give letters of reprisal, and assist the parties grieved. (3) To prosecute English fugitives harboured in Scotland, and deal with the Scots warden to proclaim Scotsmen harbouring them, March traitors. "This agreaeth with the treaties." (4) At each truce day to demand redress against murderers, burners of houses, perjured, or "thrise fyled." (5) To do his best to fyle on honour, the Scots warden doing the like—if not, to give equivalent only to the Scot. (6) To make no delivery but on days of truce, on receiving the like. (7) To seize the goods and flocks of Scotsmen "staff hyered" within the Marches, and forfeited by the treaties. (8) To punish resseters of Scots fugitives, or who have Scots servants. (9) To keep a warden court half yearly, or oftener if need be. (10) To account yearly to the auditor and receiver at Newcastle, of escheats for March treasons. (11) Not to deny challenge to any man arraigned of March treason. (12) To enlarge none convicted of March treason without the Queen's pardon or warrant. (13) To cause his "jaoler" and warden sergeant to answer all "escapes, &c.," as the case requires.

The warden should take his oath yearly at open assises to perform the above. "For note, non of the wardens of England or Scotland are sworne, &c., as they ought to be by the treaties."

It is fit that 4 chief gentlemen of the wardenry be joined in council with the warden.

(6) FOR STRENGTHENING THE MARCHES WITH HORSE.—All who enjoy the Queen's castles and fortresses on the north side of Tyne, to be enjoined to residence and hospitality, and to keep as many horsemen as the yearly profits they receive will maintain. Commissioners to inquire and certify the state of the castles and profits—how used, and how many men and horses formerly kept. "Itt were requisite that the right honorable the Earle of Northumberland, whoe hathe great revenues in that border, dyd maynteyne some gentlemen of honorable callinge, or worthie desert, in his castle at Alnewick." 150 horse under some good commanders, would sufficiently defend the East and Middle Marches as now. If it pleased her Majesty, 60 of the 80 horse of Berwick, may be drawn forth to the Marches, with augmented pay. This will save charges, as they furnish themselves with horses and armour. The 20 left are enough at present for the town. And by the establishment, the Marshal should keep 20 horse, the treasurer 20, and the gentleman porter 6, for which they receive allowance yearly. Other 80 may be furnished by Lord Eurye without further charges; for he received that number from Yorkshire—"part in horses, part in money, as is generallie said."

For maintenance of all these, if it please her Majesty there may be deducted out of 1163*l.* 5*s.* or thereabout given for entertainment to the pensioners in Berwick, whose places are but at her pleasure, 1000*l.* yearly. The residue of the same being 163*l.* 5*s.* to be distributed among such of thew "old or maymed soldiers," at 10*d.* *per diem*.

Lastly, a special commission should be directed yearly to men of worth and



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integrity in these parts, to inquire and report on all defaults, &c., concealing or misemploying the Queen's profits, &c., on the borders. This will save her great charges in sending commissioners, prevent offences, and strengthen the borders greatly.

2 pp. *Indorsed partly by Cecil's clerk*: "Aug. 1597. Remedies of divers decayes on the borders." *Small wax signet fastening a green silk string: a shield charged with a falcon, wings extended*: 'G.D.' at sides.

Aug. . 747. GRAME AND ARMSTRONG'S EXAMINATIONS.

Breviat of the several examinations of Andrew Grame and Thomas Armstrong, for proving the conspiracy of Thomas Carleton, Lancelot Carleton, Riche Grame *alias* Brakinhill, and John Grame *alias* Wills Jocks, with Buccleuch and other Scotsmen, about the breach of Carlisle castle and taking away Kinmont the prisoner there.

First.—They were examined on 25<sup>th</sup> April last before Lord Scrope and Sir Robert Carey.

Second.—About May thereafter they were again examined before the Bishop of Durham, Sir William Bowes, Dr Colmer, and Mr Slingsbie, the Queens commissioners—and although Grame on some indirect means, denied his former examination, yet Armstrong adhered to it; and Grame afterwards retracted his denial.

(3) On last day of same month, they were again examined before the Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Scrope, John Middleton, esq., a justice for Cumberland, &c., when Grame and Armstrong on oath affirmed their first confessions—Grame on oath declaring how his wife procured his denial.

(4) On the late return of my man from London, learning you were desirous to know more, and what usage I had given them: I about 26 July last called the said Grame and Armstrong before the Bishop, myself, John Middleton, &c., when they both most plainly affirmed their former evidence touching the breach of Carlisle castle, and release of Kinmont, and utterly denied that I had used any hard dealing to them. All which at more length is already certified to your lordships.

1½ pp. *Written by Scrope's clerk. — Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. . 748. CLAUSE TOUCHING BUCCLEUCH.

A clause in her Majesty's instructions forbidding us to intermeddle with Buccleuch's act at Carlisle castle.

You shall be informed by Lord Scrope of "the violent fowle action committed by Bucklughe in breaking of the castle of Carlisle, and forcibly taking away of a lawfull prisoner": wherein we have by our letters demanded satisfaction of the King of Scots by delivery of Buccleuch, whereto we have had no satisfaction but committing him to ward in S<sup>t</sup> Andrews castle. Though the King has answered, that it should be heard and ordered by commissioners, "yett considering the fact hath been so manifest and violent, and is not inquirable whether it hath been don or no as a matter of doubt, you shall if any speache be moved thereof unto you, forbear to treate thereof with the opposite commissioners as concerninge Bucklughes violent act, but shall allege that we expect a further satisfaction from the Kinge for that fact": yet as it is likely that the commissioners will speak in defence of the act, pretending that the prisoner Kinmouth was not a lawfull prisoner, you shall do well to be informed thereon by Lord Scrope, so as to have sufficient

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matter to answer them, if they object anything against Lord Scrope for taking and detaining him. "*Copia vera: T. Duresm.*"\*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed.*

Aug. 749. OUTRAGES BY LORD SCROPE.

Note of the wrongs, &c., committed by Lord Scrope and his deputy, on the Border opposite him.

First.—Taking of Rob Grahame out of his own house, already complained upon by the King to the Queen—"being a Scottisman borne, baptist, mariit, and bruing land in Scotland," answerable and servant to his highness' warden, yet retained straitly in prison by Lord Scrope.

Second.—Foraying away Will of Kinmont's goods from his own house, by "him self in person being at that present in his Majesties handis and prison." Lord Scrope himself has the particular of that "heirschip," for his highness sent it to him, and a letter requiring redress and to desist in future, on which condition his Majesty would abstain from complaint.

Third.—Not content with the former injury, Lord Scrope has caused another raid on Will of Kinmont—burning his houses, spoiling his goods, and killing two men—conducting himself as though he were warden of both Marches, and imagining that he had commission from both princes to punish and ride on the disordered people of that border at pleasure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *In a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "Outrages committed by the Lord Scrope. Delivered by M<sup>r</sup> Aston."

Sept. 3. 750. THE COMMISSIONERS' FEES.

Note of payments by William Clopton esq., receiver of Northumberland as follows, viz.—

To the Bishop of Durham by warrant from the Lord Treasurer on 11 March 1596—for 50 days at 40s. daily from 6 January till 24 February following	100 <i>l.</i>
Sir William Bowes, Francis Slingsesbye, esq., and D <sup>r</sup> Colmer under same warrant at 20s. each <i>per diem</i>	150 <i>l.</i>
	<i>Summa</i> 250 <i>l.</i>
To the Bishop under the Lord Treasurer's warrant on 21 <sup>st</sup> May for 36 days at 40s.	72 <i>l.</i>
To D <sup>r</sup> Colmer in like manner at 20s.	36 <i>l.</i>
	<i>Summa</i> 108 <i>l.</i>

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

Sept. 5. 751. SCROPE TO BURGHELEY.

Your last of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant is received this day, wherby as I am sorry to hear you are not "well at ease (beseeching God dayly to graunt your lordship long and wished helth), soe I am not a litle comforted by th'onorable care your lordship hath of my matters."

I have already sent the witnesses up, though as yet I have not heard what is become of them.

Whereas on the Carletons pleading innocence, the Lords thought not good to return them here under my authority, lest their lives and goods were indangered: "God forbid that ever I should eyther with cruell Joab, bee a thirster after innocent blood; or with wiked Ahab, a desirer of other mens

\* These 4 words holograph.

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"goods! But my whole desire is, with good David," to labour in my government for peace and the common good. So if the truth may be confessed under their own hands "(which I intend to keepe secret for there owne credit sake, soe long as they shall not by any new capitall offence deserve the contrary)," so also if they acknowledge their faults, and are truly humbled, becoming servicable members under my government: in that hope I would sue for their absolution. But if otherwise they are to be justified and dismissed, I know it will be impossible for me to discharge rightly my service here.

"Now, whereas your lordship douteth that I have not Baclugh his owne hand to th'examination, and his unfayned lettre under his owne hand: as I would be loth that your lordship should dout of this my advertisement, having them bothe procured by an honest and substenciall man who wilbee ready to attest the same before whosoever: so for the further removing of all doubts in this point, I wilbe ready to send your lordship the true originall of the sayde lettre and examination signed, whensoever it shall please your lordship: only requesting your lordship so to use the revealing of them, that thereby heerafter my advertisementes out of Scotland may not bee hindered. And for your lordship farther satisfaction, I would have sent them unto your lordship, but that your lordship thincketh the testificat of a Scottishman will not bee thought of sufficient force in this case. Yet that your lordship may bee thoroughly assured of the undoubted truth of the fact, upon notice had, I meane to send them unto your lordship."

Your lordship thinks her Majesty would be content if I forgive and admit them to like service as they did to my father: that is the thing I desire, provided first that they confess the truth, and that their former offences may be "recompenced with more faithful service."

"As for the suting for my office, I assure your lordship I am by creadible men both Englishe and Scottishe, therof informed": and doubt not (if I come up by your good means shortly) to satisfy you fully herein "(though I wishe your lordship were allwayes so perswaded of mee, that I would bee very loth your lordship should heare otherwise at any tyme from mee then the truth is)."

As it seems her Majesty has been informed "that I company with, and give countenance to such as are popishlye affected (which grieves mee not a leetle to heare) yet as in this alsoe my hart doth cleare mee before my God, soe my actions being known unto men, I trust wilbee able sufficiently to justifie mee herin to her Majestie: and I praye your lordship to certifie mee whither any suche thinge hath bene reported to her Majestie? and I shall accept this for a very honorable favor from your lordship."

Not being very well, I intend to stay here at Bolton till I am advertised what final end the lords make of this matter: whereof, if leisure permit you, I would be right glad to hear. Bolton castle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2½ pp. *Holograph*; as also address. *Not indorsed*.

Sept. 9. 752. SCROPE TO BURGHEY.

I send such news as "even now" I procured from Scotland. For my own matters, "I wholly and soly relaye thereon," that the truth may "by your penetrative wisdom be brought to light, to the detecting of the wicked, and justifieng of the inocent: otherwise it is manifestly apparant by the insolent intollerable bragges of the frinds of my guiltie unpunished adversaria, that I shall never be able to execute justice in this place, as I instantly desire, to the discharge of a good conscience." Bolton. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*.

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Sept. 15. 753. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

The Bishop of Durham and Sir William Bowes have appointed to re-examine the presentments against me at Newborne on Tyne on the 20<sup>th</sup> instant: where I and the gentlemen "touched by the said jurie" purpose God willing to be. That day, as Sir William informed me, was set down for the delivery of the pledges at Norham: but on the ambassador's reasons to the commissioners they have altered it, as Sir William will make known to your lordship.

Your lordship's former favours, and especially now in defending my innocence to her Majesty, presses me to give most humble and hearty thanks. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed: quartered.*

Sept. 15. 754. EURE TO CECIL.

The day appointed by the commissioners, *viz.*, 20<sup>th</sup> instant, at Norham, for delivery of the pledges, is, as the ambassador in Scotland writes, "utterly disannulled," and that day to hold at Newborne upon Tyne, to reëxamine the inquisition against myself and others, where we all purpose to be. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Received 19<sup>th</sup> . . ."

Sept. 21. 755. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

Since inclosing my other letters to your honor and "her Majesties secretarie," I have received this inclosed from M<sup>r</sup> Bowes the ambassador, "this nyght at eleven of clocke, being (with your good lordships favor) in my bedd": which I dispatch with the others as hastily as I could, showing the King's answer as to the entry of the pledges.\* Having already caused my deputy to have ours ready for this March, as it is far from the West ford of Norham, and in truth neither of us knows what pledges are to be entered for the opposite West March, or for Liddesdale, as the commissioners only set them down "generally" without division of the offices. Bolton. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

"I have direction to my deputie, that no defect that shalbe in me."

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(R. Bowes to Scrope.)

On a late audience of the King, and my motions as to the pledges, &c., he declared to me, though the meeting had been appointed on the 20<sup>th</sup> instant at the west ford of Norham, yet the time was now "so strait," and this country "so visited with plague" all over the Borders, &c., it cannot be kept. He thought it meet, and promises for his part, that the commissioners shall meet there on the 29<sup>th</sup>, "then and there" to exchange the pledges for the East and Middle Marches, and will send Lord Home and Sir George Home of Wedderburne, authorised. And being resolved to discharge the Laird of Johnston from the wardenship of his West Marches, and "plant therein the Larde of Dumlanrig"; for this and other business, he was determined to repair to Dumfries towards the end of this month, expecting that some of the pledges who refused to enter to Johnston, would submit to himself. And as Johnston if discharged, cannot present the pledges, nor can Drumlanrig till established in the office—he desired that the 7 pledges for that March be respited till 20<sup>th</sup> October next, and their delivery be in some

\* 4 lines obliterated here.

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convenient place on the West March. For the full delivery on the 29<sup>th</sup> instant at Norham, he offered, that if Johnston "(presentlie in the castle here at Edenbronghe)" either refuses or cannot deliver "the west pledges," then he will deliver Johnston to satisfy her Majesty.

Yet as it may be inconvenient to accept Johnston, who is "now in displeasure with the King, and so feaded with some of the pledges and others, as they will practise his ruyne and purchase their owne safeties," I having no warrant to change former appointments, received these as the King's offers which he promises to perform, on her Majesty's acceptance. Having reported them to the Lord Treasurer and Sir William Bowes, I prayed in my letter to the former that your lordship might be speedily advertised of her Majesty's pleasure. Edinburgh. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary. Wafer signed (Bowes): faint.

Sept. 21. 756. EXTRACTS FROM PRESENTMENTS AGAINST EURE, &C.

"Detectes summarily drawn out of the former presentment of the gentlemen jurors of thEast and Middle Marches of Englande upon their oathes against the Lord Eure lord warden of the Middle Marches and his officers, &c., and delivered by the right reverend father in God Tobie bushop of Duresme and Sir William Bowes knight her Majesties commissioners, to the said lord warden and other the persons following, at Newbourne haugh the xxj<sup>th</sup> of September 1597, *Regine Elizabethæ xxxix<sup>to</sup>*."

*Extracts.*

Against Lord Eure.

- Art. 1. Failure to keep days of truce.  
 3. As to the 80 horsemen and their disposal.  
 4. That he denied John Browne aid against the Barnes, who pursued him for slaughter of one of their name—and denied him justice on a bond against Jock Burne of the Coate, although he took assurance of Sir Robert Kerr for Thomas Percie, who was also present at said slaughter.  
 5. His heavy fines on his tenants.  
 8. His reset of Welton, Black Will Ridley, John Charleton and other outlaws, &c., formerly named.

Against Raiph Mansfeild.

- Art. 3. His misuse of the 30 horsemen allowed him.  
 8. Reset of Lionel Charleton.  
 10. Hunthill and Littleheugh Scotsmen have "sheeperaikes" of him, and gave him 20 score sheep of "one Dyeforcalde Scottishman."  
 12. His extortions of 15 score head of cattle and 400 sheep—conveyance of Cesford to Toplif to buy a horse—caused 2 Englishmen to fight before Buccleuch at Hawick—till one was slain.

Against William Fenwick.

- Art. 3. Misuse of his 10 horsemen.  
 8 and 12. Reset of outlaws—and oppressions in his office.

Against Nicholas Whitefeild.

12. Misappropriation of felons' goods.

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Against John Lisle.

Art. 12. Assisted in taking Cesford to Toplif.

" *Copia vera* : Tobie Duresm.\*\*2½ pp. *Indorsed*.

Sept. 22. 757. THE COMMISSIONERS TO EURE.

Requisition by the Bishop of Durham and Sir William Bowes, the Queen's commissioners, to Lord Eure lord warden, &c. "At Newborne haugh the xxij<sup>th</sup> of September 1597, *Regine Elizabethæ xxxix<sup>to</sup>*."

Signifying, that though the Queen had allowed him 80 horsemen to strengthen his March, with little benefit as yet to the country, yet she was pleased to be at the charge of 20 more in addition. Requiring him in the Queen's name to inform them, 1. Where the 80 horse be? 2. What number of the horses are with him? 3. What furniture was sent home and what remains? 4. In what serviceable state are the remaining horses? 5. How the wants of the 80 horsemen can be supplied to make up the new band? So that her Majesty or the country may be charged with no more than the 20 new men. Moving him for an early answer. " *Copia vera* : Tobie Duresm.\*\*"

1 p. *Indorsed*.

Sept. 22. 758. THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE EAST AND MIDDLE MARCH JURIES.

Requisition by the Bishop of Durham and Sir William Bowes the Queen's commissioners, &c., to the gentlemen of the two juries of the East and Middle Marches; "at Newbourne haugh the xxij<sup>th</sup> of September 1597, *Regine Elizabethæ, &c., tricesimo nono*."

Whereas in your late certificates in answer to our articles, you notified to the Queen's Majesty among the causes of the decay of your country, sundry great oversights in government both by Lord Eure lord warden of the Middle March, as by Raiph Mannsfeilde keeper of Riddesdale, William Fenwicke keeper of Tyndale, and Nicholas Whitefeilde bailiff of Hexham, officers under him: whereon the Council having demanded account of the Lord Warden, he hath so replied, that her Majesty conceives that "misunderstanding" rather than "matter," has caused this mislike between her warden and you; and has commanded us "to travell seriously" in examining and composing these dangerous differences, and we having had sundry conferences with you severally and together now require you as follows:—First—Whereas the examination consists in the review of such particular charges, as your presentment imposes on the lord warden: we find by the exception taken by him, that the matters are conveyed in so general terms, that neither direct answer can be made, nor judgement grounded thereon—and require you more particularly to deliver the material and important points and due circumstances in writing "(as wee have more at large by our speech moved you, and needes not heere to be repeated)" this we think best both for the lord warden framing his answer, and our discharge, and especially satisfying her Majesty. As it has been intimated to her, that "sinister respectes of displeasure" borne by you, or persons of credit with you, towards him and his officers, hath moved the others to "touch" his lordship and them further than her Majesty's service required: we in her name move you, besides the above particulars, to "sett downe the dyrect proofes, with the persons names, the tymes, places, and other due circumstances in like cases requisite." And as this may seem to you "to expose the

\* These 4 words holograph.

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persons of the informers to more perill then were convenient," we assure you the same shall be made known to none but her Majesty and the lords of her Council, who "will carry it as beseemeth all parties best." Lastly we earnestly require you that in deed, word, and countenance, you will behave yourselves Christianly and dutifully to the lord warden, conforming yourselves to such peaceable accord as your consciences must needs teach you to be agreeable with the law of God, and necessary for the estate of your miserable distressed and wasted country. "*Copia vera: T. Duresm.*"\*

1½ pp. *Inlorsed.*

Sept. 22. 759. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

"I have received her Majesties writ to attend the parlement," and am preparing to repair to Court as soon as I can. This causes me to remind your lordship of "the former proceedings between your lordship and mee touching my sonnes marriage, which I greatly desire, if it may soe stand with your lordships goode likinge, to have concluded before my returne into the country.

"I have sent my sonne for avoyding losse of tyme, to Oxforde, where (God willing) he shalbe ready to be sent for as shall please your lordship eyther to be married (which I most desire) if our proceedings grow to such end as I hope they shall: or otherwise too be disposed of as shall please your lordship. And my selfe wilbee also readye to give suche assurance for the full perfecting therof as shall stand with your lordships pleasure. I am bolde to signifie thus much to your honor, to th'intent your lordship may take consideration therof before that tyme, for I would bee sorie to have this conclusion further deferred, havinge so apt occasion now to perfect the same. I have given order that such of my evidences as I hope wilbe needfull, and also my learned counsell, shalbee ready in the begining of the nexte terme to attend suche as your lordship shall for that purpose assigne. And I meane to acquaint my wife, and other my sonnes honorable frinds, with our proceedings in the premises, after I shall nderstand som part of your lordships pleasure therin, and not before."

I inclose such occurrents as I have from Scotland . . . As for the Carletons: if your lordship be not yet persuaded of their guilt, I hope to make it manifest at my coming up, and then to be directed as you think best for me. I have sent M<sup>r</sup> Secretary a copy of my instructions to my deputy in my absence, and requested him to show it to your lordship first. Bolton.  
*Signed: Th. Scrope.*

1 p. *Holograph; as also address. Inlorsed.*

Sept. 22. 760. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I see her Majesty has been informed I was to blame for not having my pledges ready at the day, and also for prolonging the commissioners' stay at Carlisle, as my people were not ready to answer: which both were most untrue, for the pledges were all ready except two of the Grames, for whom I offered to deliver my deputy. Yet you know how little power I have over them: "wherin Sir William Bowes might have certified her Majestie, and had done himselfe nothinge but right." The commissioners were but 6 weeks at Carlisle, for a month of which they could not resolve how to begin, and in 10 days they filed above 2000 bills of the Middle and West Marches; "which was done in great hast, but I fear they wilbe slow enoughe in deliverie!"

Having received her Majesty's writ to parliament, I intend to set out for

\* These 4 words holograph.

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London shortly. Meantime I send you a copy of the instructions for my deputy in my absence, which I pray you first show to my lord your father, then to the Queen and Council. Bolton castle. *Signed* Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also address: "To the right honorable his very loving frinde M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie," &c. *Indorsed*: "22 September 1597. Lord Scroope to my master . . . Instruccion given to M<sup>r</sup> Leighe to governe the Marche in his absence."

Inclosed in the same:—

(Instructions by Scroope to Henry Leighe, esq.)

*Extracts.*

*Under 12 heads:—*

- (1) To keep the peace, and prevent incursions into Scotland.
- (2) To proceed with Buccleuch or his deputy according to the late indent between Scroope and him, taking the latest offences first, "for examples cause."
- (3) To have the pledges ready for delivery when called for by Sir William Bowes.
- (4) As to dealing with persons complained upon by Buccleuch; and if "fowle," to cause them, or their officer or master to be answerable, failing the principal.
- (5) To confer with the chiefs and special men of all surnames to keep good order, and neither to ride in Scotland, nor assist Scots, contrary to the truce.
- (6) To persnade all border men to suffer no Scots riders to enter England, or return to Scotland to the harm of Englishmen, but to spy and watch for prevention, as they tender the warden's "good lykinge of their service."
- (7) To call before him, and direct the officers next the border to have dne watch kept, and their men ready for service.
- (8) As to following frays under penalties for negligence.
- (9) For "plumpe" watches besides the ordinary watch.
- (10) On truce days to have a sufficient number of the best horsemen with him.
- (11) That all Scroope's own servants who ought to keep horses, be presently furnished, and ride with Leighe when ordered.
- (12) As Scroope would do if occasion required,—to take advice and counsel of the oldest and most experienced gentlemen of the wardenry in all matters of importance or difficulty. He is to take the advice of Scroope's "cosin" Richard Lowther, and his "verie frendes," Nicholas Curwen, James Bellinghame, Thomas Strickland, Wilfryd Lawson, John Mydleton, and Edmond Dudley, to whom he has written in that behalf.

2½ pp. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed.*

Sept. 23. 761. THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE COUNCIL AT YORK.

The Queen's pleasure being that the Scottish pledges be kept about York, we require your grace and the rest to command the sheriff of York to be ready at Croft bridge with his furnished men, to receive the bodies of about 20 pledges from the sheriff of the Bishopric "by bill indented," on 2<sup>d</sup> October about 11 hours in the forenoon, and conduct them safely to York, to be kept by your grace and the rest in safe custody till her Majesty's further pleasure. Newbourne. Tobie Duresme, Will'm Bowes.

½ p. *Copy. Addressed at foot*: "To the most reverend father in God, our very good lord, the lord Archbishops grace of Yorke and the rest of her Majesties honorable counsell established ther." *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*



1597.  
Sept. 23. 762. RALPH GRAY TO THE COMMISSIONERS.

"The answere of Raphe Gray of Chillinghame esq<sup>m</sup> to the severall artickells of inquierie extracted onto of the presentmentes made by the juries of the East and Mydle Marches in Januarie 1596 —by the lord Bushop of Durhame and Sir William Bowes knight delivered to the said Raphe Gray in Newbarne haugh the xxij<sup>th</sup> of September 97, anno regni Regine Elizabethæ xxxix."

*Extracts.*

ART. 5.—Levyng excessive fines on his tenanta, as shown by certificates to the late Lord Lientenant, now with the Lord Eure.

ANSWER.—I aver that never since my entry to my land, have I taken any such fines of the tenants in my manors; and for the most part, have taken none. And if any such presentments have been made to the late lord lieutenant or Lord Eure, now warden, the same are untrue, as follows, *viz.*:—for the lands of Hortoune, which I have held those 26 years, the rental of assise whereof is about 80*l.* yearly, and the lands of Chillinghame late in the tenure of Sir Thomas Gray my brother, which I have possessed these 7 years past, rental as above, about 300*l.* yearly—I aver and will prove that I have not had or taken of the whole tenants or tenements thereof, more than 380*l.* for all fines, for these respective times.

ART. 10.—That "sheeperaykes" on his lands of Blackheddon, are let to the Laird of Corbett a Scotsman. And his lands of Shotton are let to and inhabited by the Taytes, Scotsmen—and his lands of Heathpoole are also let to Scots.

ANSWER.—Blackheddon is the jointure of my lady Gray, never in my possession, nor can I at present dispose of it by law. In Shotton town I have a tenement of 40*s.* rent, wherein one George Tayte a Scotsman born, was placed by my brother Sir Thomas Gray, 16 years ago, at the late Lord Hunsdon's request, and is there ever since. The country knows that Tayte has spent his blood rescuing Englishmen's goods. Any other Taytes there belong to other gentlemen, I having no more land in the town.

For Heathpoole, I have only a tenement of 40*s.* in the town, inhabited by one George Gray, the rest belongs to others.

To show you the commissioners, that it is against my will for any Scot to occupy my lands, I of late took 20 score sheep of the said Corbett, and other Scots tenants of Blackheddon, for depasturing in Aylsdon near there, and hold them by law without making satisfaction.

I never let any my manors to any Scotsman, or consented therto; and if any of my tenants have done so, it is unknown to me,—but if so, I will see it reformed. *Signed*: Ra. Gray.

1½ pp. *Indorsed.*

Sept. 24, or soon after. 763. RICHARD FENWICK TO THE COMMISSIONERS.

Certain articles with particulars offered to the Queen's commissioners, "by Richard Fenwicke of Stanton esq<sup>m</sup>., to justifie parte of his offers made to the Lord Eure the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of September 1597."

*Extracts.*

There have been within the last 20 years, 16 murders, all "protected and overseene" by Sir John Forster lord warden and the justices of peace—and none so "cherished" as murderers, thieves and March traitors. He was the happiest gentleman that could get their favor. "Wherefore God hath laied his heavie scourge on the said wicked cuntry." Thomas Fenwick of Stanton murdered by Roger Fenwick of Rodley, his nephew. Raphe Hyn-

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mores of Whelpinton, murdered by Roger Fenwick of Harterton and Cuthbert Rochester of Cammo—[10 or 11 more names follow].

The felonies, &c., overlooked by Sir John Forster while warden and the justices and best gentlemen, "woulde fill a large booke."

M<sup>r</sup> Edward Talbot being a stranger, was for 3 years offended with me for not forgiving one Thomas Reade a great thief, who had stolen 11 score poulds worth of beasts and sheep from me. And M<sup>r</sup> Talbot caused Raphe Bullocke of the Spittle hill, forgive one Edward Hall of Yarpupp for stealing 20l. worth of horses and household stuff one night.

Within these 10 years, I saw 30 great famous Scottish thieves taken robbing in England, "and the said Richard Fynwicke at that time justice of peace," having taken 7 of them, and desiring Sir John as lord warden to restore to the poor subject the goods stolen by the Scots, and strike off the latter's heads by the ancient Border law, the said lord warden and William Fenwick of Wallington "were at whott wordes" with me, and refused my motion, setting all the thieves at liberty, 5 or 6 of them being taken robbing 20 days after and again set at liberty. "For that and other my forwardnes in justice, the said lord warden made frendes and gott me out of the commission of the peace, which I was very gladd of, seeinge not one of my fellow justices willinge to doe their dueties . . . If that oppressed cuntry had but one justice that feared God and loved hir Majestie, were better then all those we have at this time."

Sir John Forster also beheaded one Roger Hall of Sholmore dwelling next the Scots, "for a small offence: where I have seene xx<sup>th</sup> able men, and vij<sup>en</sup> or viij good geldinges reddie to defende their cuntry from the Scottes; soe that ever since the said Sholdmore bath bine waste, beinge xx<sup>th</sup> yeares sithens, and no dwellers but two or three sheppardes" of Sir John's, keeping 2000 or 3000 sheep of his; and 2000 or 3000 sheep remaining day and night 5 or 6 miles within English ground near, are John Rotherforth's lord of Hunthill, and William Rotherforth's, great Scottish thieves, who these 12 years have resettet in their houses 10 or 12 banished English thieves. And these Rotherforths' friends and banished thieves, have often murdered and robbed hundreds of the Queen's subjects: and no man's sheep durst go there but Sir John's.

It was not his being warden put the great thieves down by law, "but the foresaid Richard Fynwicke," who took a great thief Anthony Hall of Ellyshawe, whose friends came to Richard's house within two days, and offered him 7 score beasts for Hall's life, and five score Halls of his surname offered to be Richard's bondmen for his life. Richard wrote to Sir George Heron keeper of Redesdale (who had protected Hall) that he would complain of him to the Queen, which forced Sir George to apprehend 12 great Redesdale thieves, and the said Richard being foreman on their trial at a gaol delivery at Hexham, they were all condemned and hanged: Richard also followed to death by her Majesty's laws, one Clement Hall of Burdhupte, another famous thief, whose friends offered 9 score beasts for his life, and to forgive the death of all their friends before brought to the "gallowse" by Richard's means.

About 12 years since, he brought to Sir John Forster then lord warden, "one Hobett de Hall a famous theefe," who had murdered 2 of the warden's servants and deputies of Redesdale, George Lyleborne and William Harris—which thief offered Richard 100l. in money for his life. So there is never a gentleman in the Middle Marches able to say those 20 years that they have prosecuted the Queen's lawes against "unie greate theefe but the poore frendles theeves, except the said Richard Fenwick, who hath lived these xxx<sup>th</sup> yeeres at defiance with all the greate theeves of bothe England and Scotland—which said theeves have left the said Richard nether beaste nor sheepe, but his landes lyinge waste!

"It maie appeere unto your honor and Sir William Bowes whoe loves God and hir Majestie, soe manie wicked trees soe deepe and soe longe time planted,

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"which hath spred soe manie brâinches, and these xx<sup>th</sup> yeeres but soimne of the poorest brâinches taken awaie before my Lord Ewre came, if it woulde please the said Lord Ewre to put an axe in the same Richardes handies, with the power of his anethoretic, by Godes helpe the said Richarde shall cutt the greatest trees awaie, that all the brâinches shall die, to the glorie of God, hir Majesties sweete hartes desire, and the welthe of the said oppressed cuntrey and the said Lord Ewres honor and fame for ever."

As for the fining of Lord Ewre's tenants, I was in comission, and they paid the fines willingly, as they may very well do, "the landes beinge the best ground in all the Middle Marches, and the said tenantes put to no bondage, which bondage is almoste as greate an oppression to the poore commons in the said Middle Marches as thEste, for there is of my lord Eagles, Sir Henry Wetherintons and manie gentlemens tenantes in the said Mydle Marche, woulde give double theire rentes for their farines and more, to be eased of the said bondage, and greater fines taken of hir Majesties landes by those have leases from hir Majestie, and sundrie noble mens landes and gentlemens in the said Middle Marches, then the said Lord Ewre means to take.

"I did see since my Lord Ewre came to be lord warden, that which I did not see in xx<sup>th</sup> yeeres before, which is foure or five score theeves and Marche traitors,—manie of them gentlemen and greate theeves—at a'gaole delivery and a warden court, arraigned at the barr, and Henry Wetherington, William Fynwicke of Wallington, and the best gentlemen in the Midle Marche on the said theeves trial, yett none condempned but poore friendles theeves : and all the Scottishe theeves that came to the said Lord Ewres handes since he was lord warden, are beheaded ; which was not done in xx<sup>th</sup> yeeres before.

"There is never a gentleman in the said Middle Marche can charge my Lord Ewre that they caused anie of the said foure or five score greate theeves to be apprehended, or preferred anie indictmentes, but the said Richard Fynwicke, who indicted six of the greatest gentlemen theeves, some of whome beinge arraigned for life and death, were acquitted by a jurie, though they were knownen to be guiltie : soe that the Lord Ewre is not worthey to be soe sore blamed, as the gentlemen of the cuntrey woulde have him—but, as your good lordship preached in Righton church, that we have a hundred eies to see others faultes, but wee are as blinde as the moulde with shape of eies, but cannot see our owne faultes."

As may appear to your honor and Sir William, Lord Ewre has no way maintained these great thieves and March traitors, but has used "all his godly wittes" to amend the people's wicked life, "which will not be but by force of hir Majesties lawes, and a man of God that knowes by experience the flatterie and dissemulacion of the greatest and the best gentlemen in the said Marche : for if Jesus Christ were amongst them, they would deceave him, if he woulde heere, trust, and followe their wicked counsell!

"Whatsoever he be from the hiest degree to the loweste in the said Marche, that will denie these perticulers to be true, I hope with v<sup>c</sup> oathes to prove them : if those faile, and hir Majestie will graunt me licence, I will by law of armes with sword and dagger prove the same against all men—wishinge rather to die xx<sup>th</sup> deathes then live to see the glory of God, the princes lawes, and the welth of my cuntrey, trodden downe with the Divells servants, which easely maie be amended."

Most humbly I pray your "good honor" and "that worthie knight" Sir William to acquaint her Majesty and the lords of her Council herewith, "cravinge pardon for my rudnes and lacke of lerninge in penninge these perticulers, havenge proved them by experience with losse of my bloode and worldly goodes and contynuall daunger of my life." Signed: Rychard Fynwicke.

2 pp. Broad sheet. Indorsed by Barghley's secretary: "17 No. 1597. —Richard Fenwick of Northumberland." Date of reaching him (?)

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Sept. 24. 764. ANSWER TO THE COMMISSIONERS BY THE JURIES.

"Northumberland, xxiiij September 1597 at Newborne.\* — The answer of soe manye of the gentlemen of the juryes for the Middle and East Marches as are nowe present, to the requisycion delivered by the right honorable the Bishop of Durham and Sir William Bowes her Majesties commissioners."

*Extracts.*

(1) We deny that any private reasons have induced us to charge the Lord Warden or his officers, but only the "unresisted and nredressed rapynes of the Scott," still continued and increased, as the commissioners may see, even in the time of their presence.

(2) Though Lord Eure and his officers have jointly demurred and refused answer to the severall presentments against them, as too general, we, the gentlemen present, reserving to our absent fellows, and ourselves, further explanation and proofs—at the commissioners' request, proceed to set down from memory some of the particulars of our presentments. Touching the 80 horse—Raphe Mansfield confessed that he had 30 of them at Harbottle and Otterborne, and we have other evidence to that effect: also that 5 or 6 of them are his servants, but we desire no more than his written denial.

We have said that divers of them are landholders, and so bound by country custom to keep horses—and we propound to him if these "are not of this sorte," viz., Thomas Hall of Otterborne, John, Raphe and Thomas Halls of Gressousfield, Edward Hall of Yardeup, Roger Hall of Rochester, George Hall of Burdupp, Uswyne Hall of Releas, Percyvall Hall of Ellesdon, Thomas Hedlee of Hatherwick, Robert Hall of Knightsyde, William Wanles of Gresles, James Reade, George Carre and Lyonell Robson of Harebotle? These are Redesdale men, and lie dispersed at their dwellings, to our judgment thus unserviceable, evident by their neglect of services.

We have said that divers gentlemen have come to Otterborne and Harbottle "with the fraye," hoping for aid in rescue, but not getting it. This is on good evidence already given, and some of us know it in our own experience.

We have said that the Scots are not discouraged nor the English border assisted by this garrison, and believe it on our consciences. Some of themselves admit to us they could recount no services or rescues, save a "dryft of the goodes of Alneham." But the many rodes of the Scots and the general outcry of the country, manifests it.

We said some of them were felons and infamous, as the records of indictments show—viz., the said Percyvall, Edward, George, Uswyne, Roger and Robert Halls, James Reade and William Wanles, and many more of them are suspected. And as the commons say, these Redesdale men are more fit to be punished, than trusted for defence against thieves.

We said that Mr Fenwick confessed that 10 of the 80 horse should be with him in Tyndale, and 7 of them are his sons and servants, lying dispersed, which is useless; and we say so still. And as they should lie together being so few, their pay makes the country no stronger than before without it, and is their own private gain merely. For the remaining 40, which ought to lie at Hexham under the Lord Warden, we had good evidence that in his answer to the Lord Treasurer, he only admitted having 20 there and within a mile of it. Nor will he deny that 10 were his own household servants, which we think unfitting so to serve, and likewise draw the Queen's pay.

We have said others are landholders—whereof we name Raphe Fenwick of Dilstone 2 miles from Hexham, Anthony Stokoe, Edward and Mathew

\* Heading written by another hand.

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Robson of Newebrough, 4 miles thence—Quintin Forster of the Millhills, 5 miles, John Ogle of Bellsey, 8 miles, also Alexander Heron a landholder, and John Charleton of the Bowre, both notorious and infamous for felonies—Lord Eure can name others.

We can only find 13 who came out of Yorkshire; all the others departed, and their horses, we are credibly informed, were appropriated by the Lord Warden and Ralph Mansfield—the latter sold one to the said Wanles and others to the new men. The Lord Warden had 600*l.* or 800*l.* from Yorkshire to furnish horses, of which we see no trace.

We have said, when warning was brought to Hexham of invasion or burning of a town, no more than 5 or 6 men could be found ready. The invasion was one threatened by the Laird of Johnston on M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick of Wallington, and the town burned was Henshaw.

We have said these 80 men never did any good service; and we think so still, as we never heard of anything worthy of mention. But as his lordship knows them better, we humbly crave he may "particulate" them.

[They repeat the charges of not keeping truce days—denying aid to John Browne—levying heavy fines on tenants and imprisoning 2 by name at Hexham—also resetting Weldon and the other felons before named—appropriating the escheats of others named, to his own use.]

The presentment against Ralph Mansfield and John Lisle for taking Sir Robert Carre to Toplife, was testified by some of our fellows on oath. He was said to be disguised with a blue cap on his head, and in a plain suit like a serving man or yeoman. At buying the horse at Toplife, either Mansfield or Lisle required William Robinson bailiff of Toplife who sold it, to let "that playne fallowe," meaning Sir Robert, try the horse; for if he liked it, they would buy it. He was seen afterwards to ride it at the day truce at Stafford. Since then, Robinson confessed to one of us above, but he did not know him to be Sir Robert, that Lisle was the chief dealer, and paid him 55*l.* "or neare thereabouts": also that Sir Robert sat at the table in the hall like a serving man, but when Robinson came up to them in the chamber, he was sitting at the table head, and commanding wive to be given to Robinson, the latter heard the servant attending "answere him (my lord) wherat the said Sir Robert Carre frowned upon the said servant."

As to the presentment for taking an Englishman out of Mansfield's office to fight with another before Bucleuch, it was testified on oath by some of our fellows. To explain it, his name whom Mansfield took to Scotland is [ ] Hall, and his name who was slain is [ ] Coxon.

For William Fenwick's misguiding his 10 horsemen, and extortions on the poor in his charge, we need say no more than that he has confessed, which we take to be sufficient evidence.

For Whitfield's seizures of escheats of felons, &c., in Hexham and Hexhamshire, he alleges authority under his patent, for which we crave either his oath or denial in writing of these seizures.

Lastly, having at the requests of you the commissioners thus explained and amplified our former presentments—albeit they were sufficiently certain in the chief grounds and points—we think his lordship and the other parties aggrieved, ought not to delay their answers, especially since the service is her Majesty's, they the offenders, and we but such as you elected and enjoined to make the inquiry and certificate, which we have done as the evidence and our consciences led us. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Fenwike,\* George Muschampe,\* John Ogle,\* Lancelott Strother,† M. Erington,† John Chreswell,† Robert Woddrington,† Ro. Delavale,\* Rycharde Fynwyck,\* John Horsley,\* Robarte Mytforthe,† John Browne,† James Swenoo,† Thomas Swynhoe,\* Thomas Bradforth,\* Ra. Carr,\* George Ourd,† Tho. Ord,† John Ourd,† Martine Ogle,† Nich<sup>as</sup> Forster,\* Roger Proctor,† Cutlibert Proctor.†

\* "esq<sup>r</sup>." added by another hand.

† "gent." added by another hand.

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7 pp. *Double broad sheets. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Each sheet signed at foot "Tobie Duresm." His private wax seal affixed.*

Sept. 26. 765. THE COUNCIL OF YORK TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> instant "late at night," we received letters from the Bishop of Durham and Sir William Bowes, copies whereof we inclose, as to receiving certain hostages to be sent out of Scotland, to remain hereabout—and not knowing the Queen's pleasure how they should be kept, as the high sheriff is to receive them by indenture—we humbly pray your honorable direction therein. York. *Signed*: Matth. Ebor., E. Stanhope, Ch. Hales.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed: shield with 2 keys in saltire (York) impaling a fesse between 3 cushions. Crest: An open book, "M. E." at sides.*

Sept. 26– 766. ACT OF THE KING OF SCOTS AND COUNCIL

29.

"At Lithquo the xxvj<sup>th</sup> of September 1597.

(1) "It is thought meet that the Lord Hume and lard of Wedderburne shall keepe the 29<sup>th</sup> day of this moneth at the foorde of Norham, accompanied with six well affected gentlemen allanarly, and their opposites delt with to meet onely accompanied with the like number, by reason of the prescut infection on both the Marches."

That Cesford shall attend with his whole pledges, and if Buccleuch is there with his, the whole to be interchanged. If Buccleuch's pledges come not, Cesford "shall aye" enter his, or his own person, to the opposite commissioners, to remain in custody of Lord Enre or other "indifferent" nobleman till they are entered; and if Buccleuch come alone, his own person shall in like manner be entered for his pledges. If neither Buccleuch nor his pledges are present, "he and whole Liddesdale shalbe prosecuted with sword and fyre, by his Majestie in proper person. To this effect that proclamation be instantly dispatched, charging the sherefdome of Striviling, &c., to meet his Majestie at Pebles upon the xj day of October next."

The "ambassad" to be dealt with, to afford them no receipt in England—"least otherwaies his Majesties paines that way, might proove ineffectuall."

Meanwhile Buccleuch and his cautioners to be immediately charged to enter their pledges under the pain in the act made thereupon.

That Fernehirst be also charged to enter his to my lord Hume to be forthcoming on said day on like pain.

*Joannes Skene clericus Registri, &c.*

(2) "At the west foord of Norham, the penult of September 1597."

Whereas on our the commissioners' meeting on this the day appointed by our respective princes "for reciprocall deliverie" of the pledges, we find 2 awanting on the English side, and on the Scottish side for Liddesdale 4, and of Tevidale east and west 6: it is agreed that this action shall not break thereby, but be continued till Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> October next at this place at 10 A.M. without prejudice of any former directions given to us by either of their Majesties. Alex. L. Hume, Willi<sup>m</sup> Bowes, George Hume.

$\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Both written by Bowes' clerk. Indorsed: "The acts of the King and Counsell concerning the deliverie of pledges the 26 of September 1597. With the indent of the commissioners at the west foorde September 29, 1597."*

1. *Another copy of the act of Council only.*

2. *Another copy of the indent.*

$\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *In same hand. Indorsed.*

1597.

Sept. 27. 767. R. BOWES TO SIR W. BOWES.

On receipt of the letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> from the Bishop of Durham and yourself, at my access to the King, I made known to him her Majesty's pleasure and instructions to you for an early meeting to exchange the pledges; and that you with assent of the wardens, had fixed the 29<sup>th</sup> instant at the west ford near Norham, when you will attend with the offer of her Majesty's pledges, expecting the like for Scotland; earnestly urging that this might be without further delay. The King, assuring himself that "this dyett," and the delivery of all the pledges, to have been presented to himself and council at Lithquo on the 24<sup>th</sup> or 25<sup>th</sup> at furthest (by Buccleuch and Cesford) should have been perfected, and for the West March pledges he would deliver Johnston's body to her Majesty, therefore promised performance, and confirmation by order of "this late assemblee." Yet on Sunday 25<sup>th</sup> hereof, he was certainly informed that 3 of Buccleuch's pledges coming with 4 others, had broken away, refusing to be entered: and Buccleuch was in earnest pursuit of them, promising they should be ready at the place appointed, or to deliver his own person, whereto the King sent Sir John Carmichael to see to Buccleuch's obedience. It is thought he may exhibit the pledges, yet most think he will not hazard himself in the power of Lord Hume and Cesford.

The latter is loth to deliver his pledges, unless Buccleuch does the like: and I hear that Sir Robert will rather deliver himself than his pledges—doing this both to satisfy the King's earnest desire, and also to preserve them by his own danger and hurt, trusting also to satisfy the Queen for them, and make his own defence to her in other things to be objected against him, as may be to her acceptation. The King desires that on Sir Robert's delivery for the pledges, the Queen may please to give him liberty on good security, and for good offices to be done by him. These overtures are commended to me by the King to be presented to you, which I leave to your consideration. As this estate is so changeable and the progress of these matters so uncertain, I moved to have these orders, &c., of the King delivered to me in writing, and got them, but so "tardie," that Lord Hume had left Lithquo before, and therefore I could effect no change in certain matters therein, which therefore is left to your discretion, sending you a copy of this instrument enacted by the King and Council and signed by the Clerk register.

"My presente estate is such and so diseased as I cannot write at such length as I would, neither in such forme and substance as is requisite: wherein I right hartilie pray you at this time to pardon myne errours which shortly God willing, shalbe reformed." Edinburgh. "Your loving uncle, Rob<sup>t</sup>. Bowes."

2 pp. Copy by Bowes' clerk. *Inlorsed.*

(1) *Another copy in same hand.*

Sept. 28. 768. SCROPE TO BURGHELY.

I have received your own and M<sup>r</sup> Secretary's letters touching putting off the delivery of the pledges, and appointing a fit deputy in my charge during my absence. On the 23<sup>d</sup> I certified M<sup>r</sup> Secretary how I had left my wardensry, sending him a copy of my order: but not hearing of its receipt, it may please you to know that I appointed M<sup>r</sup> Henry Ligh my deputy warden in absence, and having my pledges ready, sent him to the commissioners to know their directions and order things accordingly. I am now on the way to my house at Langer in Nottinghamshire, and intend staying there on some private business till I hear how your lordship likes the order I have taken with my deputy, and receive her Majesty's warrant for my coming up; which I humbly pray your lordship to hasten and send me there. Doncaster. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Inlorsed. Quartered wafer signed.*

1597.  
Sept. 29. 769. ACCOUNT OF THE TREASURER OF BERWICK.

The account made by Raphe Bowes for his father Robert Bowes esquire treasurer of Berwick for the treasure received and paid to the garrison, &c., for the year ended Michaelmas 1597.		
Received from these receivers—viz. William Clopton esq. Northumberland, 400 <i>l.</i> ; Thomas Scudamour esq. Yorkshire, 800 <i>l.</i> ; and Roger Rant esq. Lincolnshire, 3000 <i>l.</i> ; in all . . . . .		15,000 <i>l.</i>
Payments to the Lord Governor, officers (6 captains) garrison, &c. [detailed]		15,31 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 10½ <i>d.</i>
Works and officers' fees, 68 <i>l.</i> 22½ <i>d.</i> ; extraordinary charges in the ordnance for the year, 168 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>		
So in surplussage, these payments being over and above the receipts		31 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 10½ <i>d.</i>
Against which, the remain of the lord governor's fee not paid, besides the duties to the church and poor deducted, for both half years . . . . .		662 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
So remains in this accountant's hand . . . . .		347 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 9½ <i>d.</i>
[John Carey is paid 260 <i>l.</i> as marshal; 94 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> as chamberlain; and 1,380 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> as captain of 100 foot; Sir William Rede captain of the Holy and Ferne islands, and 100 foot, 1,743 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> ; Richard Clerke preacher, 50 <i>l.</i> , &c.]		

‡ pp. *Written by Sheperson. Flyleaf lost.*

Sept. 29. 770. ESTIMATE OF SURCHARGE AT BERWICK.

The surcharge arising of the provisions issued in the year ended at Michaelmas 1596 [as detailed] is 2,115*l.* 16*s.* 11¾*d.*

"*Memorandum.*—All kinds of provisions have ben this yeere and yet are much deerer then the last yeere, so as estimating the surcharge of this yeere by the surcharge of the last, we cannot sett it at lesse then *celi.* above that it came to the last yeere, which will make this yeeres surcharge to amount at the least unto . . . . . 2,315*l.* 16*s.* 11¾*d.*

‡ p. *Written by Swift. Indorsed:* "An estimat of the surcharge in issuing victualles to the garrison of Berwick from Michaelmas 1596 till the said feast 1597."

Sept. 30. 771. DECLARATION BY VERNON AND SWYFTE.

Declaration of the charge for moucy received by Robert Vernon and Richard Swyfte for victualling the garrison of Berwick for one whole year ended the last of September 1597, and the provisions "for and towards this yeare now presente."

Remaining in "our handes" the last of September 1597 [as detailed], 820*l.* 2½*d.*; received by Mr Swyfte out of Exchequer, January 1596, 2315*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*; and we have received and are to receive for victuals issued, &c., 3469*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*; in all, . . . . . 6604*l.* 19*s.* 4½*d.*

Against which:—  
Paid for victuals, freights, &c., wages and necessities [detailed] . . . . . 7753*l.* 9*s.* 11½*d.*

Thus laid out "by them" more than they have received 1148*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.*

Against which:—  
Received by Vernon from Exchequer, September last 2000*l.*  
So rested at Michaelmas towards provision for the year ending at Michaelmas 1598 . . . . . 851*l.* 9*s.* 4¾*d.*



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Against which :—

Provisions, grain, cattle, &c., bought to be expended in the year 1598, is	202 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
And so the provision already bought besides freights, wages, &c., amounts to more than has been received	1173 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>¼d.</i>
1½ <i>pp.</i> <i>Written by their clerk. Indorsed.</i>	

Sept. 30. 772. EURE TO CECIL.

Though I doubt not Sir William Bowes has already acquainted you, I make bold to report yesterday's meeting at the West ford near Norham. It took place at the hour assigned, the principal persons accompanying the Queen's commissioners, being Captains Boyier, Thompsoune and Twifford with their bands of foot, the deputy warden of the East March, with M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Gray, M<sup>r</sup> Brudforth, M<sup>r</sup> Swinnow, &c., attended with the garrison of Berwick, as befitted her Majesty's service—"the sighte whereof with the strengthe of foote, is a stronge bulwarke against the Scott."

As advised by Sir William Bowes, I attended, desiring the principal gentlemen of my March to attend me: but only M<sup>r</sup> Rattcliff, M<sup>r</sup> Claveringe, M<sup>r</sup> Whitfeild the Queen's bailiff of Hexhamshire and M<sup>r</sup> Carnabie came, the rest "foreslowed" their service. And M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick of Wallington came to the field meanly attended, and showed no love but rather contempt for me his officer. "The waters grew extreame raging, and the weather intemperate," yet Sir William Bowes with a select company and the horse of Berwick passed the water though deep, and conferred with Lord Hume, Sir George Hume, and Sir Robert Kerr, the most part of the day, till towards 4 o'clock Sir William Bowes required my presence in Scotland. At my coming over, they prepared to call the pledges of each nation, when all of Liddesdale were defective, save Sim Armstrong who is now in Carlisle castle for Lord Scrope's bills, and Martins Arche Elliott who entered. Of Tevidale there wanted 6 of the 14 pledges. On the English side there wanted only 2 in my March, not through wilful disobedience, but sickness of the parties. So that day's service ended for lack of time, night coming on and the sun set before we parted out of Scotland. The commissioners continued the service till Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> October, at same place, hoping the Scottish defects will be supplied by the King's honourable promise, and God willing, no sickness shall excuse the delivery of the pledges of the Middle March, or give the Scot cause for evasion through our default.

I have in person attended at the place appointed by the Bishop and Sir William Bowes for reexamination of the scandalous accusations against my self and my officers, from Tuesday 20<sup>th</sup> September till Friday night the 23<sup>d</sup> of same—but in this time I could neither press the jury nor obtain through the commissioners delivery or proof of the several accusations against me. Thus, I obeying only on the Queen's command, and subjecting myself to a public trial, though not removed from office or disgraced by her Majesty, I pray your furtherance either to the punishment of these scandalous informers as you think best, or strengthen me by your assistance to the better executing of my office, thus in a manner defaced and contemned by many of the country through the triumphant boasting of their tolerated and well accepted information. Morpeth. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

My letter is dated here being on my return from Norham.

1 *p.* *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 30. 773. EURE TO BURGHEY.

To same effect as the preceding. One of his pledges had been grievously wounded by the Scots, and unable to attend. The other was danger.

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ously ill. He urges the Lord Treasurer to assist him by sifting out the truth of the opprobrious accusations against him and his officers, which he could not effect at Newburn. Morpeth. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 2. 774. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY.

I have sent "out of hand herinclosed" my news out of Scotland, "wherby I perceave that things will faull out" as I heretofore advertised.

We have made two of our pledges sure at Carlisle. I have written this day to Mr Secretary, intreating him to procure her Majesty's warrant for my repair to London, which I humbly pray your lordship to further as soon as you can. Langer. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

"Postscript.—What bee th'occasions of the Lord Simple, your lordship shalbe advertised or it be longe."

1 p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

"Occurents out of Scottland.

"The King hath writen to Liddisdail for the pledges wher he sent for them, but they could not be found a good while after: sa as the King was fayne to send the second tyme, and they were brought within 20<sup>th</sup> miles to the King, but they understanding the cause, fiedd back agayne fra him, sa as he\* was compelled to writ to the King in that matter, and with all speed he\* came back with sax score horsemen, but fand them not at thire awne howsis. They sould have been delivered at Norhayme the 29<sup>th</sup> of September, according to the Kingis promise to Mr Bowes, and Baclughs promes by writ to the King. He wilbe for this fault put in prison agayne till he pay 5000*li*. sterling: but this is all done to ween tyme, for the King meanes so [no?] such matter, as I wrote before.

"The Lord Simple of Scotland is at Carlel: he is convoyed in the countrey first by the Lard of Newby, received by the bailive of Burgh at the watter sayde, and fra them by † southwart: for what occasions I canot learne, but he hes bene at Newbie these 20 dayes bygayne.

"I pray your honour keepe als close this and all uthers thinges proceeding that my dooings be not knoen herin: and as for uthur porposes requyred by the last lettre, I care not how open they bee, they wilbe sa open of themselves by tyme."

¾ p. *Copy by Scrope's clerk on similar occasions.*

Oct. 2. 775. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I am greatly beholden for your honorable letter, proceeding "out of your kinde love to me." You write that I am determined to come to London without the Queen's leave, and have left Henry Liche my deputy, and the other gentleman "but his assistants: which considering the qualitie of the man, and the disposition of his life, is much misliked, whom, since my coming to the wardenry, I have not found the soundest,"—yet I thought all would be well till my return. "Nevertheles, thoughe Henrie Liche be proclaimed for a tyme (which I never ment should be longe), upon recite of your lettre, I have written unto him to lett Mr Richard Lowther bee his superior at dayes of meetings, and in any other matters of importance, and to take his advise in all thinges—thoug for his honestie I would not swear—which I hope will satisfie her Majestie and the Counsell." I have

\* Buccleuch

† 4 or 5 words cancelled here.

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now written to Henry Leigh to signify this to M<sup>r</sup> Lowther. We have had the pledges ready 4 or 5 times, to my own and the country's great charges, and Leigh has taken sufficient bonds for their appearance. "I commanded him to goe to my brother Bowes, and to bee directed by him, whom I thincke cannot erre; and soe I assure my selfe there shalbe noe deficiencie in mee." Seeing these things so settled, "as I lay heare at great charges and woulde bee great trouble to returne to Carlel," I hope by your father's and your good means I may soon obtain her Majesty's warrant to repair to London: "for I intende not to remoove untill I have received the same."

I am "dett bound" for your manifold favors. Langer. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed*: "To . . . M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, one of," &c. *Indorsed. Quartered wafer signed.*

Oct. 3. 776. SIR W. BOWES TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Since I parted from you at Newburne, where we handled that part of our instructions regarding Lord Eure, the two juries, and the under officers of the West and Middle Marches, I attended the other part concerning the pledges.

The 20<sup>th</sup> of the last, appointed by our wardens, being thought too short, the King required the 29<sup>th</sup>, yielded by us. On the 24<sup>th</sup> he had his convention at Lithqo, where Buccleuch was summoned to bring his pledges, 3 of whom escaped on the way and he has not yet recovered them. Hereon the King and Council passed an act sent to me by the ambassador under the clerk register's hand, a copy whereof I inclose, as also of the ambassador's last letter, to show the course of affairs.

On Thursday 29<sup>th</sup>, Lord Eure, myself, M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Gray and his brethren, William Fenwick, Francis Ratelyff, Robert Clavering and others, repaired to the West ford about "x houres," attended by a convenient number chosen from places safest from the plague, trusting our safety to the horse and foot of Berwick, who in soldierly order met us at the tryst. "After assurance given and taken, I passed over Tweed, which was so great that some of my followers were endangered."

I found Lord Hume and the Laird of Wedderburn, the commissioners, accompanied by Sir John Carmichael, "younge" Cesford, Farneherst, and other gentlemen. Lord Hume showed me the King's direction under his hand, commanding him to attend that day and place till sunset, and without fail to deliver all the pledges, or the wardens making default. He added that though at our last meeting he wanted both the King's authority, and force of his own followers, to satisfy me, yet now he had both he would undoubtedly please me. As I was very willing to find this forwardness, "so was I greived with a privitee which I covered, of our owne default, namely, that two of our pledges were wantinge, the one indeede verie sicke in holde, the other negligently overseene, as it seemeth to me, rather then purposely withdrawinge himselfe, both by the omission of the Lord Eure and his under officer. This defect discontented me deipely, bycause I sawe in the reckninge I should be heerby meerely uncapable of the good offers mentioned. Nevertheles to putt it to the best prooffe I coulde, I entertayned first, the request of the Lord Hume"—that finding Cesford ready at the King's command to enter himself for his absent pledges, I should speak with him, which I agreed to do. Cesford showed himself willing to enter to Lord Eure, but with this condition, "that he should be freed to return upon the entrie of his other pledges." I being lothe to "terrifie" him from entering, yet more lothe to give conditions not fit to bee kept, "tempered" my answer thus—"That her Majestic expectinge no other then the deliverie of the pledges accordinge to the indent, had instructed me no further. Neverthelesse to entertayne that honorable performance made by the King,

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"of his promise before signified by his lettres to her Majestie, I wold receyve Sesforde into the Lord Eurie his keepinge, and recomende the condition unto her Majestie with speede, from whom no other could be expected then her usuall, gracious, and honourable proceedinge, so well notified to all the worlde, and especially tasted of by him selfe, as he himselfe had acknowledged to the King in my hearinge." Hereon Cesford paused, neither misliking nor accepting my answer, but seeming to await the arrival of his pledges under their bonds.

Then Sir John Carmichael treated with me in Buccleuch's behalf, offering such pledges as he had, and sufficient men for those absent. To make things equal between Buccleuch and Cesford, "I yeilded with much adoe," to spare each of them one pledge till a future day, if they delivered the rest instantly, or entered their own bodies, redeemable on their pledges entering and her Majesty's approbation of the above condition. "Butt I founde my selfe not cunninge ynough to halt before suche creples: for then required they to have all the pledges on both sides brought to the place and viewed, which when I could not refuse, and that our want must needs appeare, I was asked how I wold make good the two that wanted"? I answered they might either then and there have abler men delivered, or else the very men wanting, to be delivered in 3 days. Hereto Wedderburne replied with these words—"Patere legem quam ipse tuleris," which replie was insisted upon with such stiffnesse as I could not remove."

Hereon conferring with Lord Eurie, I thought best to appoint another day, and continue the action of delivery till then. And having spent the day till sunset, we sat down and subscribed this short indent, a copy whereof I inclose. At parting, open notice was given by the wardens and deputies present, joining their hands, that instant delivery should be made for all attempts during "this *interim*" till the appointed day the 8<sup>th</sup> hereof.

"This journey hath beene paynefull and dangerous to us that travelled, by reason of exceedinge stormes of snowe, winde, and rayne, and thereby the waters so great that the most of us that passed over them, rode wett in our saddles, which being added to ridinge in the night, as for my parte I did, 5 or 6 houres 3 nightes together, I have had a right paynefull and unpleasant journey."

The answer from Lord Eurie and the gentlemen of the jury will be prolonged by those journies, as we cannot report so soou. I wish your lordship to certify such part of the premises as you think best, till I return from the Border, to find you (I trust) at Aukland about the 12<sup>th</sup> instant. Bradley. *Signet*: Will'm Bowes.

3 pp. Addressed. Indorsed by the Bishop: ". . . R. by George Maughan the 3 of October, hora noctis S."

(1) Another copy attested by "T. Duresm."

3 pp. Indorsed.

Oct. 3. 777. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

As her Majesty was pleased in the beginning of last September, to employ me again in her Border service, along with Sir William Bowes, and since then her Majesty's writ of attendance at Parliament the 24<sup>th</sup> instant was brought to me: conferring yesterday with Sir William on his return from Norham, and seeing those frontier affairs will be protracted longer than we looked for, for reasons which we shall advertise in a few days, I am in some perplexity, and therefore beseech your lordship to resolve me of this doubt, whether her Majesty wishes me to remain here for the service touching the pledges, bat chiefly for settlement of the differences between Lord Eurie and the gentlemen of his March, &c., or that I make my personal attendance at parliament! So unless I receive an express countermand to continue my

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abode here, "I purpose, God willing, to take my journey southward the common highe waie to London upon Thursday the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of this moneth . . . I humbly betake your lordship to the grace of God; who be mercifull nowe at the last to this most miserably afflicted and mortally infected country." Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also *address*. *Indorsed*. *Waz seal* (*Mather's*).

Oct. 4. 778. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

Recapitulating the heads of the late instructions to himself and Bowes. First—exchange of pledges with the Scots. Second—to deal with their own borders. (1) Laying 100 horse there. (2) Examining charges against Lord Eure, &c. (3) Compounding the differences with the gentlemen of his March. (4) Examining what has become of his 80 horsemen. (5) The decays of the West March, and lastly full redress at March meetings. That some success in the first may be hoped for on Saturday next, if the Scots perform their promises. Commending greatly Sir William Bowes' conduct of that branch of the Queen's commission, "and how discreetly, as also strongly, he kept his grounde both with Sir John Carmichaell the most expert borderer, and with Sir Robert Kerr the most subtile shifter of them all. Wherein few men, but Sir William Bowes, could (in myne opinion) have walked so warily and safely amidde such thornes." And though the personal execution was wholly in his hands, yet they had many conferences and deliberations together, sending joint letters to the wardens, the ambassador, the governor of Berwick, the sheriff of this Bishopric and the Council at York—who are all ready to receive the pledges.

For the rest of their instructions, his honor will please forbear expecting any report till Sir William Bowes returns from the next meeting with the Scots, when they will together relate their diligence. But in the meantime this is "a taste of the rest." Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

1½ pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Waz seal* (*Mather's*).

Oct. 4. 779. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

It has pleased the Almighty to visit of late with the plague the town of Hexham very nigh my house there, whereby I am constrained on the sudden to remove with my whole family to my own house at Wittoun in the bishopric—distant 7 or 8 miles from my March—to avoid the danger to myself and household. But I have left such directions to Edward Gray my deputy wardeu and other gentlemen of the better sort, as in my judgment will be most beneficial in my absence. And I shall be often repairing to such places as are not infected, to advise them: so in case the malice of my enemies suggests any complaint, I beg your lordship to take notice that the above is the sole cause of my sudden departure.

I am also desirous with your approbation, to come to London in obedience to her Highness's writ to parliament, as also to make known by word of mouth, how I have been dealt with by the slanderous reports of my adversaries, who as far as I learn, whisper in secret, but will not publicly stand up to "avarr" them. Lastly to kiss her Majesty's royal hand, to whom I call the Highest to bear me record, I never gave cause to be hardly thought of. Relying on your favor, which I protest no one thing ever grieved me more than the want of it, as I fear of late too plainly appears. Wittoun. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

½ p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.

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Oct. 4. 780. EURE TO CECIL.

To same effect as the preceding, rather more fully. Wittona.  
Signed: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed: quartered.

Oct. 4. 781. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

After Sir William Bowes had on Sunday last declared to me his proceedings as to delivery of the pledges, I desired him to set down the same in writing—which he has done far better than from his mouth I could have expressed it. Wherefore I have chosen to inclose his own letter herewith, and have by this post sent a copy to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Cecil, also copies of certain overtures at Lithquo on the 26<sup>th</sup> September—of a letter from the ambassador to Sir William Bowes on 27<sup>th</sup> and of an indent between the Scots commissioners and him on the 29<sup>th</sup> touching the pledges: and send your lordship copies likewise, thereby the rather to vouchsafe me answer to my letter of yesterday, containing no other matter but to learn by your means her Majesty's pleasure, whether I shall remain here for the rest of the border service, or repair to parliament according to her Highness's writ? On other affairs "I have somewhat more enlarged at this present to M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie." Bishop Awkland. Signed: Tobie Duresm.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed: "... A doble of a lettre formerlye received." Wax signed as before (Mathewe's).

Oct. 7. 782. SCROPE TO CECIL.

On perusing your last letter, "I being then in som hast, mistooke the right meaning thereof, not marking that it was a full warrent authorising my coming up: but as it is counted a sufficient satisfaction in such as have erred (wherunto all men are subject) to confesse thire fault," you will please accept this excuse. On Monday next God willing, I mean to set forward. I received to-day a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Edward Standhope, that the pledges' delivery is deferred "a seven-night," but I think it will be as well then as now. Langer. Signed: Th. Scroope.

1 p. Holograph. Addressed.

Oct. 9. 783. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Since receipt of your honor's letter of 19<sup>th</sup> September, I have continually expected the coming of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon, hoping for a better preparation of victuals, seeing he has had so much out of Exchequer: but we are in the same state as when I last wrote to you. I hear he has gone back to London. Our horse garrison were to take up their horses at Michaelmas, but they are still out in very poor estate, for there is not a bushel of horse corn in the palace. So all are driven to the market, and both town and country are undone. I pray you cause M<sup>r</sup> Vernon to have more care of us.

Your lordship reminds me of my often writing for a governor. If you knew the want as I do, you would say I had reason. But you answer me still, that her Majesty's pleasure is that Lord Willowbee shall come when he is able. I have heard that a very honorable and worthy man has been also nominated for the place—your own son Sir Thomas Cyclic, who I hope is both well and able to come. Wherefore I pray your lordship let not Lord Willowbee's disability keep us from so great a benefit. "And lett him I pray your lordship content himself to take a litell paynes, for his countreis good. To which ende he was borne, the place beinge both honorabile and profitable."

I fear her Majesty will soon lose a very honest faithful and careful servant,

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Maister Bowes her ambassador. M<sup>r</sup> Bowes his wife has waited here a good while for his coming, but his care in service has kept him, till now he is grown so ill, that on Wednesday night the 5<sup>th</sup> he sent for her, and she is gone to him this Thursday morning in great haste. The messenger told her he is very weak and hardly like to escape—but she intends to bring him here if alive and able to travel, hoping the change of air will do him good. If he dies, there will be many “shutors” for the treasurership, wherein your honor will do well to have a care who should be placed, for the good and ill of this town depends on the goodness of the treasurer and victualler.

There is a great appearance of trouble in Scotland and “welltor” in Court shortly—the sequel thereof you shall hear when I understand it. Berwick.

\* “Sines Mysteres Boweses partinge from hens, I heare her husband is amended and resonabill well, but he cannot continewe longe.”

I briefly tell your honor of the proceedings as to the pledges, for Sir William Bowes will write more at large. “On Freydaye the vij<sup>th</sup> of this instante Ser Williame Bowes came hether to Barwike tyll the next daye, beinge the appointed daye for metinge. He went from hens in the morninge accompenyed from hens onley wite to hundred fottmen and the fower scoer horse gareysun of this towen. He came to the west ford of Norham about x a cloke in the morninge: shortly after, came my lord Hume wite all his partey, unto whome Ser Williame Bowes went and parleyed tyll Ser Robert Keer came wite his compeneyes, and after him came the Lerd of Buckleaghe; wiche befor they wear all com together it was paste iij a cloke. Then fallinge to ther bissenes, wherin ther wear maney delayes bey the Scotcs: but in the eand they fell to calinge for pleges. Buckleughes pleges beinge the ferst that wear caled for, he awensered he could not gett his pleges, but he wold deliver his sune for them: wiche beinge denyed bey Ser Williame Bowes, he presentley wite out aney cavelinge offered him selfe, sayinge he knewe the Queens Majesty to be bothe grasius and mersifull, and he wold committ himselfe to her mersey. Wheruppon he was reserved, and sent over the water to ouer men: then ded the Scottishe commissioners call for ouer Midell Marche pleges, whoe wear presentley sent over, and also ouer pleges for the East Marches. The pleges of the Midell Marche wear caled for and delivered all. Then wear we to call for Sesfordes pleges for East Tevedall, and Sesford came to them with his pleges redey to deliver them, but not witheout a strategem to serve his torn: for he makinge a sheawe that he was redey to deliver, even presentley as they wear a deliveringe, my lord Hume, the lerd of Wetherborn, Ser Williame Bowes, and Sesford him selfe, beinge all on a closter to gether standinge, on that Sesford had appoynted, shotte of a pistoll, and witheall the same man that shott the pistoll laye downe alonge uppon his horse redey to fall of, and cryed ‘Slayen, slayen’: wite that another cryed ‘Tresun, tresun’: wheruppon the fraye began, and all ouer sogers on the fare seyde of the water shott to or iij voley of shott, but it was so darke and they so fare of as I thinke the did littyll harme. But this stear beinge this sodenley mad, my lord Hume him selfe caughte Ser Williame Bowes in his armes bedinge him not to be afrayed, for he wold take suche part as he did, and sayd they shold shott thorowe him befor the shold hort Ser William, and mad other of his frendes and followers in like sort to take the rest of the gentyllmen that wer wite Ser Williame Bowes, whoe wear Master Raife Graye, and Edward Graye, and Roger Graye his brethern, and Master Claveringe, Master Herrey Bowes and Master James a Swinhowe. The wear all that wear wite the Ser Williame at that tym, all wite my lord Hume verey honorabeley garded and careyed them wite him to Hntun hall wher he mad a great sopper for them: and after sopper, sent them home hether, ackompenyed wite a Captayen Graye a kinsman of his owen, and garded wite a compeny of horsemen to

\* Remainder holograph.

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"Barwike about xj a cloke at night. He ded use him verey honorabeley as he hathe behaved him selfe in all this acsion, wherin he have ever indeverd himselfe to doe her Majesty verey good servis, wherin if it wold ples her Majesty to take knolege that she hers of his willingenes ever to doe justes, and so send him thankes, it wold incorege him. Nowe shold (!) I not forgett Sesfordes parte, whoe presentley uppon the fraye, beinge a thinge bey him loked for, and he beinge befor provided for it, he presentley gott to horsebacke withe all his compeny and awaye he went without aney moer hort dune, for that was all he loked for to put of the deliverye of his men. So all ouer Berwike men, seinge they cold doe no good, bey resun of the darkenes, for that they wer on this seyd the water, and the Scottes so suddenley gon, ouer men came marchinge hetherward to Berwike withe Bucklough in ther compeny, whoe is nowe hear in this townen. It was so late ear the parted at the ford, as it was x a cloke befor they came hear." Berwick.

We have yet no provision for our horse garrison. I pray your honor cause Master Vernon to have more care of us. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

3 pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 9. 784. DECLARATION BY SIR WILLIAM BOWES, &c.

"Barwicke, October 9, 1597.—A true reporte of the materiall circumstances hapnyng the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, in the meeting between the commissioners of both the reumes for delyvery of pledges at the West fourd near Norham."

"The importance of the action in delyvery of pledges (as whereupon depended the first fruit and lyfe of the late treatie, and therewithall the revyving of the annuient and necessary justice on the Borders)" caused Sir William Bowes the sole commissioner, hearing of great gatherings of men on the Scottish Border to attend the meeting, to advise with M<sup>r</sup> John Carey governor of Berwick, and M<sup>r</sup> William Selby gentleman porter, how best to carry out the service.

It was resolved that 80 horse and 200 foot of this garrison with the pensioners should be under command of the gentleman porter, with whom Sir William and he marched to Norham, there awaiting the deputies of the East and West Marches with their pledges, and the Northumberland gentlemen appointed to be there by Lord Eurie, who was driven by the plague from Hexham and remained sick at his house at Witton.

Sir William meeting "the said companies of Northumberland on a height" whence the Scottish companies might be seen thoroughly armed, gave him just occasion "to laye before the Englishe there uncomelie repaire to that meteinge, with soe slender furniture, as for the most parte wanting ether jackes or speares, or both, earnestlie reproveing that negligence, as a princi pall occasion of those heighe dishonors of freshe memorie, receyved at the Reidswire and the Cocklawe."

After assurance on both sides, Sir William sent M<sup>r</sup> James Swinhoe, a serviceable and discreet gentleman, to Lord Hume and the Laird of Wedderburn, signifying the many great reasons for extraordinary care in the business, requiring from them a confierence at the "water syde," with not above six on either part.

This being agreed to, Sir William in presence of the gentleman porter, M<sup>r</sup> Raph Gray, M<sup>r</sup> William Fenwick and M<sup>r</sup> Robert Clavering, laid before the commissioners the many bruits of the ill disposition of the Teviotdales and Liddesdale, to delivery of pledges, "which matter since yt touched soe nearly as with the hard choice ether of beggerie or death, so many, so strong, and so adventrous persons, being soe greatlie favoured by the Lords of Sesfurd and Bauclenghe," of which the commissoners had been eye witnesses before—therefore he wished that Lord Hume would draw his forces down



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“ into the west end of the long narrow valley on the Scottes syde upon the brinke of Tweed, which was the place of meteing,” and that the 280 Berwick horse and foot “ might be bestowed on theast end of that valley ” so that the meeting of the commissioners between these forces might be so guarded, that no ill disposed person dare attempt to come to the place “ uncalled.” Hume and Wedderburne had already arranged otherwise, *viz.*, “ that Sesfurd alreddie come, and Bucklughe expected, should preciselie keepe quarters limited to them and their companies, about half a myle of, and that the Lord Hewms people, about the number of 600, verie well furnished, should keepe the mydwaie between them and the commissioners, impeaching all approach on the Scottes syde, which was not by the said commissioners directed. On a banke hanging over the narrow valley and the place of meteing, were bestowed some choice companies of Wedderburne his followers ; and for that in debate of this matter, the feades between Tyviotdale and this guarison, with some other circumstances, seemed to make there presence lesse convenient, the oposites order was commended by the foresaid gentlemen accompanyng Sir William : being further agreed upon, that the English shott should be bestowed on the Englishe banke of the ryver, and the horsemen employed where they might discover all approches of the oposites, to give notyce upon all occations to Sir William and his companye.”

At conference, “ Sir William pressed there receipt of the Englishe pledges all there presente, though one of the nember were dead, yet was he brought and presented at the place. The Lord Hume pressed the reparaire of Sesfurd his pledges, whereof as before, soe lykewyse now, great delaye was made ; by the most favourable conjecture because the sayd Sesfurd was loth to be before Bucklughe. A great part of the daie was spent in expectation of Bucklughes comming, untill 3 of the clocke, at which tyme his approach was noe nearer then within two myles ; soe as the Lord Hume was dryven to ryde to him, to drawe him to the place. Baucughe being come, he delivered the Kinges lettres to Sir William, written in his owne behalf, wherenunto Sir William required he might gyve answer in hearing of the lords commissioners : which answer was this,—that albeit the purport of the lettre intended the Lard of Baucughe to be alreadye entred and delivered to the Queen before that his heighnes lettre was to be delyvered or take effect ; yet since an answer was instantlye required in honorable and direct sinceritie, he must answer the Kinges lettre thus.—That her Majestie havinge soe long expected the putting in effect the first poynt of the treatye (to witt) that pledges should be reciprocally delivered, and the same poynt directlie promised to her Majestie by the Kinges lettres, expressing that at the daye and place appointed to that end, Sesfurd and Bucklughe should ether delyver there pledges or be entred themselves : and the said promise ratified by his heighnes and directlie commanded then and ther by the Lord Hume to be put in execution : he the sayd Sir William being instructed from her Majestie no further, then on her behalf to delyver the pledges and to receive performance of the Kinges promise in sort aforesayd, seing his authoritie stretched no further then to receyve, he could interteyne no other conditions then to receive the pledges or the officers makeing default ; onely he would acquaint her Majestie with the Kinges desire signified in his sayd lettres, and seek to know her pleasure for answer to be gyven therunto.

“ This answer drew Bucklughe into some deliveration and staye, so as the night drawing on, Sir William was inforced to propound in short summe to the Scotishe commissioners, that the Englishe pledges were there upon the ground, and that he did there deliver them on her Majesties behalf to satisfye the honor of her word, eftsoones requiring the oposytes to receive them, and to acquitt ther King in honor by lyke conformytie. Hereupon the Lord Hewme and his collegue pressing Baucleughe, he willinglye offered him self to satisfye the Kinges honor, and being then instantlye delyvered to Sir William, he delyvered him in chardg to the gentleman Porter, appointing

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"some gentlemen and the greatest parte of the Englishe there present, to attend upon the sayd B. his guard and safe conducting to Barwicke. Imediatlie Sir William proceeded to the delyvering of the Englishe pledges, procuring two gentlemen to be sent over to view the dead corps; who returned to the commissioners upon their knowledge that it was the persone demanded. The rest of the Englishe pledges of the Mydle March being called man by man, they all appeared and were delyvered into the Lord Humes hand. And wheras ther was question put upon the name of Lyell Robson one of the sayd pledges, ther were presented 3 of that name for the Lord Hewme to chuse upon, upon his lordships promyse, that he would give us the lyke justice in one of the Davisons, which wanted his addition.

"Whilst the commissioners dyd attentively prosecute ther busienes, yt became now soe darke that noe man could read any writing, and by some unwarinesse of them which should have kept of the Tyviotdales from aproching nearer, sundrye of them had previlye conveyed themselves into the place where the commissioners were, of which number one discharging a pistoll, as is made evydent by sundrye testimonyes of the Englishe which sawe him, he bended downe his bodye towards the earth and cryed with a pityefull voyce, that he was slayne. Another cries owt aloud, 'Treason, treason,' at which shoves the small number of the Englishe which were on horsbacke to guard the pledges (supposed to be under the number of thirtye there remaining after ther delyverye), drew to the furd, and a sudayne noyse and tumult grew generall in the place, the Scotishe gentlemen of the Humes guarding the Lord Hume, drawing ther swordes rushed close together upon ther cheife; Sir William standing next to the Lord Hewme, challenged the assurance. The Lord Hewme answered earnestlie that his lyfe should be as sure as his owne, and imbracing him in his armes, both the lord himself, and the lades of Wedderburne, Ayton, Hutton hall, with sondry others of the Humes, together with Captaine Andrew Gray, sett ther bodies soe close about the Lord Hewme and Sir William and the rest of the Englishe gentlemen, as Raphe, Edward, and Rodger, bretheren of the Grayes, Robert Clavering, Henry Bowes, James Swinhoe, with some fewe others, as it was not possible to stryke them with any weapon. Now the shott before mentioned to have bene layd on the English brink of the ryver, perceivinge the English horsemen fle, the tumult to growe greater by the numbers of Scotts horsemen comming downe the banke, and soe many swordes making show in the twilight about Sir William and the Englishe gentlemen, judging the worst, sudainlye gave a volley endeavoring to beat back the horsmen disceding downe the banke, which they tooke to be of Tyviotdale, but in deed were for the most part of the Lord Hewmes troupes; the sayd shott without intermission are supposed to have bestowed about 200 bulletes, and yet by the gracious providence of God, slew no man, but forced all men with the speed they could to quitt the place. The Lord Hewme could not be otherwise satisfied in his care then to have Sir William together with him self upon one horse, and the forenamed Scotishe gentlemen did ether furnishe the Englishe gentlemen, or tooke them up behynd them with the speed and closenes they could, shifting them selves from the danger of the shott; and soe passing over the banke toward Scotland, mett with the Lard of Sefurd and his troupes of Tyviotdale, who as he sayd was then bringing downe his pledges, earnestlie excusing him self of any pryvitie in raising that tumult. The gentleman porter haveing the conduct of Bucklughe, with the guard of the Barwicke horsemen and the pencioners, bestowed his chardg in the strongest house which came to hand in the towne of Norham, in the kepeing of M<sup>r</sup> William Fenwick of Wallington, M<sup>r</sup> John Browne, with a sufficient guard, and retiring to stave the tumult on the Englishe syde, was encountered by some messengers from Sir William to gyve intelligence that he and his company were in good safete and would passe on towards Barwicke on the north syde the ryver.

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"This course was thought best to avoyd further danger, rather then by bringing the companies nere together now in the night, to hazard more hurt, especially some beakons being then perceived on the Englishe syde, to be sett on fyre by the feare and follye of some unarmed and disordered flying Englishe men. The Lord Hewme intreated Sir William to supp with him at Hutton hall about 4 myles from Barwick, which being done, he with his company was convoyed to Barwick. The towne had the same night taken alarme from the scoot on the north gate, by discovery of some Scotishe horsemen supposed to be seekers after Bucklughe.

"This Sundaye, the Lord Hewme came to this towne and dined with M<sup>r</sup> Governor: after dynner upon advertisment from Sesfurd, his lordship signified to the governor that Sesfurd was at the Bound rodd desiring leave to come into the towne, and drawe to some good point for the deliverye of his pledges. For answer hereunto, M<sup>r</sup> Governor advisinge with Sir William Bowes and the gentleman Porter, and fynding that the Englishe pledges alreddie delivered and scaped in the tumult could not be brought together againe butt with tyme, and that should minyster Sesfurd new matter of delaye, he haveing now thrice spent the whole day in motions and showes, without perfecting ether his own entrye, or delyverye of his pledges according to his former promyses to the King, and the Kinges letter to the Queen, together with his heighnes directions given to the Lord Hewme, both the last meeting and now, that he should see hym eyther enter himself or his pledges—yt was therefore answered to the Lord Hewmes motion, that the King was to be advertised of the breach of the assurance and faile of Sesfurdes delyverye according to his heighnes said promis and direction. And albeit his lordship had soe honourablye acqyttt himeself by his earnest indeavour to repayre the sayd breach, yet seing Sesfurd had now thrice disapointed that purpose, it seemed not to stand with her Majesties honor, to make any more meteinges with him, but to be better satisfied; with new signification to be made thereof to his heighnes and her Majesties ambassador, or such other course as her Majestie may be pleased to use for her better satisfaction. And albeit ther were just reason to advertise her Majestie to the full, of his lordships merritt in the particuler behavoyr of him self and his frendes for gyveing safete to her commissioners under his trust, yet the world would thinke that the generall cause so heighlye concernyng her Majesties honor and the state, could not be bettered by these tickle adventurs, but that these evill accidentes must be layd upon the delayes, and the delayes upon the delayers, which was apparently in this case the Laird of Sesfurd, at whose hand better reason must be required on her Majesties behalf, from the King. Concluding that common reason veriefyeth, the best plaster may be a remedie, but not a recompence to the least wound.

"This is a true declaration of what hapned at the last of the 3 meteinges for deliverye of pledges. This tumult fallinge owt at the very ending of the Englishe delyverye, Sir William purposing at the instant, havinge discharged the Queen in honor, and avoyded all cavilous answers accustomed, to have bydden the Scotishe commissioners farewell." *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes, Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

6 pp. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "1597, 9 Oct.—Declarcion of that which hapned at the delivery of pledges."

Oct. 10. 735. JOHN CAREY TO LORD HUNSDON.

Since my last letter, no other "accident" has fallen out, but Sir William Bowes coming to Berwick on Saturday night so late. "The next day beinge Sondaie, as I was comminge from the sermond in the forenone, one comes to me and told me that my lord Hewme was at the gate, and desired he might speake wih the Ser Williame Bowes and dyne with me: whereupon I caused the ward that did then wayte upon me from church, to go upp with

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"the keyes and to lett him in. Who havinge showed him self so honorable the daie before, I could not refuse so smale a curtesie."

After dinner, he made many great protestations of his readines to serve her Majesty: "all which I toke as Scottishe curtesies, and so entertayned them." Then he said that Cesford was in the "Bowndes," desiring to come into town and confer with Sir William Bowes and himself what course was best: but Sir William considering the dishonour done the night before, and the shifts and devices by him, which had caused so many delays, was unwilling to let him come in: so lord Hume departed, and I know not what became of Cesford, nor what will become of these affairs in hand.

I understand from Sir William that he means to leave "Booclongh" here with me: I entreat your lordship that I may not become the jailor of so dangerous a prisoner, or at least that I may know whether I shall keep him like a prisoner or no? for there is not a worse or more dangerous place in England to keep him than this; it is so near his friends, and besides so many in this town willing to pleasure him, and his escape may be so easily made; and once out of the town he is past recovery. Wherefore I humbly beseech your honor let him be removed from hence to a more secure place. "For I protest to the Allmightie God, before I will take the chardge to kepe him here, I will desier to be pnt in pryson my self, and to have a keeper of me!" For what care soever be had of him here, "he shall want no furtherance whatsoever witt of man can devise, yf he him self lyst to make an escape." So I pray your lordship "even for Godes sake and for the love of a brother," to relieve me from this danger. "Ye and rather then fayle, I pray you ymparte the same to her Majestie," for the first night he came, "we had a larum, and he was asked for by them that made the larum." I fear no force, but his escape by secret stealing, which cannot be prevented, if he but gives consent. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

1½ pp. *Addressed:* "To the right honorable his verie lovinge brother, the Lord of Hunsdon, lord Chamberlen to her Majeste and one of her highnes most honorable pryvy counsaill." *Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Oct. 10. 786. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHEY.

Your lordship understands by my letters to Mr Secretary and from the Bishop of Durham, the progress of affairs; and the part concerning Lord Eurie and the Northumberland juries, will be certified to you on receipt of his lordship's answer. What happened at the third meeting for delivery of pledges you will understand by the declaration set down under my own and the gentleman Porter's hands—wherein you will perceive (1) my receipt of Buccleuch, whom I have delivered to the governor of Berwick till her Majesty's further pleasure; (2) the King's letters in his behalf, which I send herewithal, my answer thereto being signified more at large in the said declaration; (3) the strange delays made by Cesford in withholding his pledges, in direct breach of his promises to the King; in satisfaction whereof I see no other course can be expected than that of "his brother in lawe" Buccleuch, who has deserved better herein by his voluntary action, than Cesford; (4) the dangerous practice by the tumult, showing "this desperate people will leave nothing unassayed to hinder the generall justice." Herein I am loth to speak of my own peril, yet must not conceal from you that I have lately had sundry advertisements of their desire "to cutt me of from stinging them any mor." And though I was on the same horse with Lord Hume, "yett one thrusting into the companie, drue my dagger at my backe, and yet by the good providence of God, had yt imediatlye snatched from him by the young Lard of Eaton,\* who attended my safete with exceeding

\* A "Hume" added by Bowes on margin.

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diligence and love"; (5) you will see Lord Hume's honorable care and many other "religious gentlemen" of his name, to preserve the assurance; in acknowledgement whereof, I beseech your lordship that some signification of her Majesty's good acceptance may be made to him. Lastly—your lordship will see our "strait" answer to Lord Hume as to Cesford's coming to Berwick, and our opinion for insisting on his entering himself rather than his pledges: to which effect I have certified the ambassador, urging the King by him not to rest content with half pleasing her Majesty by Buccleuch's surrender, yet withholding Cesford. I think if the proof be not suppressed by fear, that Cesford set on foot a like practice for a tumult at the second meeting, by means of an Englishman, who on better advice gave it up. Her Majesty will please give directions how the one or both (if Cesford enters) may be bestowed; for no place in the north but will find itself greatly burdened to keep "these fyrebrandes."

In hope that this service will soon draw to an end, I humbly recommend to her Majesty, by your lordships mediation, "the consideration of my particular estate, that in respect of my sutes in lawe, see much importing me, the comfort of my wyfe, that hath had me but a yere, and wanted me as much, and for other reasons much concernyng my pryvate estate," that I may be discharged with such expedition as the necessity thereof permits; resting always willing and ready both by my prayers and service to advance her Majesty's commandments. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Bowes).*

Oct. 11. 787. SCROPE TO CECIL.

As directed, "I wrought to M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther, . . . ordaying him principal of the wardenry" in my absence as appears by the inclosed. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

½ p. *Holograph. Addressed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Lowther to Scrope.)

" . . . I receyvvd your lordships lettre, and shalbe ready to do your lordship any service or M<sup>r</sup> Leigh any pleasonr. M<sup>r</sup> Leigh ys hear with me at this present, bycause I could not go to him, my wyf being lately departyd to the marcy of God. So dutyfully I taik my leave in haist, bycause M<sup>r</sup> Leigh can not stay. Lowther, vj<sup>th</sup> October 97." *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

½ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 11. 788. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

[To much the same effect as the letter No. 786 to Lord Burghley, to the inclosures wherein Cecil is referred.] He finds that their own men fired a greater number of bullets on himself and his party "ruffled together," than he reported, and it is a marvel so little harm was done. He especially commends Lord Hume for her Majesty's acceptance of his good offices, and the rest of his name in preserving the peace, "beinge indeed a number of honorable gentlemen above all other parts of Scottlande, religious, well affected to her Majestie." Recommends this more especially, for there is "more inwarde kyndnesse betweene that lorde and Sesfurde then is commodious for her Majesties occasions in these parts"—and if Hume finds his service acceptable, he may induce Cesford to enter himself in spite of his "exceedinge wariuesse." He now finds that the Scots were nearly 1500 "excellently appoynted," the English (except the Berwick force and the gentlemen) not worth mentioning for service, and doing as little when it came

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to prof. He will be very "curious" now to receive Cesford's pledges, unless the Queen commands him, and will only confer with Lord Hume, who is deeply engaged in the matter, hoping thus to bring it to a good conclusion.

Signifies the great debility of the ambassador in Edinburgh, who exerted himself far beyond his strength crossing the water in dangerous tempests to negotiate these matters with the King: and though recovering from extreme peril of death, is pressed by his friends to come to Berwick for change, and to avoid the plague in Edinburgh, leaving his servant Nicolson in charge there.

Begs that the Queen will give particular directions for the disposal of Buccleuch and Cesford (if the latter enters) for sundry persons he finds in these parts, very curious (and not without reason) to intermeddle with them. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Bowes).*

Oct. 14. 789. LORD HUME TO SIR W. BOWES.

I received your last at Home yesterday and perceive your "efald"\* and upright intention to deal plainly. Whereas you have given the Queen your mistress good account of my honest behaviour, in that case I have already discharged myself in reporting your friendly and honest meaning to the King, by my last message. But I have just cause "to take hardly and complaine that clause of your lettre, whereby you give out to have delated to the Queene my parte of the late tumult, in the best maner. Wherein truly I had neyther part, portion, or ought adoe with the hacke † more nor yourselfe or any man els was in the feild, Scottishe or Englishe, which shall both appeare by the effect, and neyther you nor any gentleman els can deny. Wherein soever you have engaged your credit or any thinge els to the Queene in my name with warrant, mak accompt not onely to be disburdened thereof, but farder, my dutie being reserved to his Majestie my maister and countrey, weill also serve her most humbly after my power, and hold hand to the doinge of all the good offices possible for maintayninge of the peace and quietnes of both the countries." And where you say the King commanded me to deliver Sir Robert Kerr "his selfe," failing entry of his pledges, which you say was undone in his default only: true it is that such both was and is his Majesty's pleasure — but the last part of your "allegence" hitherto appeareth no way to me, neither is it "in qualifiet," nor in my opinion easy to be done. "Alwaies if you wold doe soe muche for your selves as to prove that pertinently, me thinkes I have so farr our the gentleman that I might absolutly promise to deliver you his person."

To that you call the third part, for performing of all promises, you may be assured if you perform your own to have ours performed. As you have kept all appointments truly, so have our men, as you know.

Where you give out that Sir Robert Kerr "disapointed" the three meetings, it is more "nor" I could perceive, but even if true "(which is not granted)" that neither he nor Buccleuch were prepared, yourselves were in like case. Lastly you intreat me as a private friend, by your private letter, to deliver Sir Robert, as having failed to satisfy the King by entering his pledges. I cannot comprehend this desire, for to all appearance he craves nothing but to do this. And I am certainly told by others, that he had them all ready the last day, to deliver if possible, had occasion served—as a man knowing his duty, being not only the King's subject, but "domesticke servannt" and knowing well his pleasure. What you perform, he will of necessity be obliged to do—either deliver his pledges or himself, or be ridden on and declared a rebel, which I am persuaded Sir Robert will not merit for anything earthly. As you have written freely to me as a private friend, so

\* On margin "uniforme."

† Act.

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have I replied; and you may look to have performed all promises by his Majesty, me, or any man else having power: also to be challenged for your own promises, "especially for the redelivery of those pledges were at my command demitted for preserving of the peace, safety of your own lyes, that were gentlemen of England, and other verie important respects. Remittinge to your wisdom and aunswere, what tyme place and forme ye thinke fittest for fynishinge of your foresaides." Home. Subscribed, Alex. Home.

2 pp. Copy by Bowes' clerk. Addressed at foot. Indorsed.

Oct. 14. 790. SIR GEORGE HOME TO SIR W. BOWES.

"I received not your lettre till this eveninge, els had I not stayed to aunswere. I wonder why my cheife should cast of any parte of this busines upon me, for he knoweth that since he hath been employed I have received no direction from Court but suche as come by his hand: and have bene appointed with him onely for his information, which if he had folowed, wee had done with least adoe. For my opynion to him on Saturday before wee had from you, and before Teveotdaile came, was, that he should not dryve tyme with Sesford as at other tymes, but that he should imediately after his cominge demaunde his pledges and send him home againe, and thereafter come to the meetinge with you." He thought it good, but did it not till he saw what Buccleuch did. So I cannot interfere, it being in his hands. I would be glad to meet you, but cannot come with "my lord cheife" except he desire me. "I thinke this last tumult touched him more in honour nor I feare he comprehended: and I thinke there is wronge done me in my owne ranke, which wilbe best purged by the tryall and punishment of the deed doer, who by some I heare is called an Englisheman, but I shall fynd proves to try, that after the shott he rode upp at the bray to the Scottish companyes; and many presumptions have wee who yt should be. I could doe much to gar you ken the man who he is. And if my lord wilbe earnest, he might doe mche to gett it tried upon him. But take it as wee will, our assurance is violate, and I wishe that my lord cheifes freindshipp with Sesford were but after the comon maner." If he should get possession of the pledges, you will be "sone at a point." I advised him thus at parting, but have not heard siuce. For myself you shall want nothing wherin I can do you pleasure. My lord has heard from Court and I doubt not you have "from your uncle or this tyme." Wedderburne. George Home.

1½ pp. Copy by Bowes' clerk. Indorsed.

Oct. 15. 791. BURGHLEY TO CECIL.

"I have sene the lettre of Sir William Bowes with the declaration of hym and Mr Selby of the desastur by Norham ford, and the Kinges lettre sent with Bucklogh: wherupon I am perplexed what advise to gyve for answer, for that hir Majesties honer is herin interested, except honorable amendes be made.

"Which in my opinion must be, by Sesford rendiryng of hym self to the Quene, to answer for all his pledges, and that must be doon by the Kinges commandment, which wold be sollicitid by our ambassador, and by meanes to be used to the Lord Hume, for hym to sollicit it to the Kyng, by informyng hym of Sesfordes contempt. And if hir Majesty will not wryt to Hume allowyng his good offices, yet my lord Chamberlen or Sir Robert Care being known to hym might wryt to hym as commendyng of his actions, in the Quenes name.

"If hir Majesty shall now forbear to wryt to the Kyng until it be seene

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"whither without delay Sesford shall enter, as that shall fall out, so hir Majesty may wryt more precisely.

"I thynk it unmete for Bucking to remayn in or neare the frontyers, but ether in Barney castell, wherof Sir William Bowes hath charg, or in on of the Erle of Westmerlandes howses in the Bishopryck, or in Pontfrettest castell; and wher the Kyng moveth that he might be well usid and delyvered upon bond, he may be so comforted privatly, with hope: but I thynk it good that satisfaction be made for Carlile befor he return.

"Sesford also if he shall enter, is not to be kept neare the borders, ther being places ynough in the west partes of Yorkshyr.

"I can not well understand what is become of our English pledges; who if Sesford shall come in, wold be delyvered into Scotland. My hand is owt of frame to wryt more or better. I was occupied ynough about the Cites request. 15 October. 1597. Your loving father." *Signed*: W. Burghley.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed by his secretary*: "To my lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight hir Majesties principall secretary." *Indorsed*.

## Oct. 17. 792. EURE'S REPLY TO THE COMMISSIONERS.

His reply to the commissioners' requisition made 22<sup>d</sup> September 1597.

(1) The 80 horses are in the countries whence they were levied and pressed, to my knowledge for the most part.

(2) But 5 remain with me—1 lame and unserviceable at grass; 1 spoiled and tired in service, also at grass; 1 whose rider fled for felony; 1 whose rider left the realm, and 1 whose rider fled service.

(3) As the men furnished themselves for Border service, I have no furniture—but that of one man was burned with divers of my own.

(4) I know not in what state the rest of the horses are, for months past, they left me weakened and spoiled.

(5) As my judgment therein is but weak, I humbly crave to be spared advising how the wants can be supplied to make up the new band. I have already answered part in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> articles.

As to the information to her Majesty that the country received little benefit by these 80 horse: my former answer and the report of the best affected in the country, will acquit me before her Majesty. *Signed*: Ra. Enre.

1½ pp. *Partly written by himself. Indorsed*: "The Lord Eure his answer received the xvij<sup>th</sup> of October 1597, to the requisition of the commissioners made to his lordship the xxij<sup>th</sup> of September 1597."

## Oct. 18. 793. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

Your honor would see by my letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> to my lord your father, and my declaration, &c., inclosed, the issue of the last meeting for delivery of pledges. I hear out of Scotland that my answer to the King's letter is expected, which I still forbear to give till I receive her Majesty's direction. By my letter of 11<sup>th</sup>, I informed you of the governor of Berwick's desire to be relieved of Buccleuch, and my wish to know her Majesty's orders therein. Also I signified my course with Lord Hume regarding Cesford—which stands thus. Lord Hume having heard from the King, sent a messenger to me with a short letter, "and longe reference in credit to the bearers report." But finding the messenger deal "so sleightly" with me, I gave up intermeddling thus, thinking it not safe to adventure the Queen's cause thus. Lord Hume seemed "covertly to take in ill parte," that Cesford was refused entry to Berwick when he was there—and in answer to my letter proposing meeting, he said he was no commissioner in Border causes, but would get Wedderburn to meet me. This I refused, and said so much



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to Wedderburn, a copy of whose letter in answer to mine is inclosed. "This gentlemen true and upright dealinge from the beginning of this service, besides the overtures made in this his lettre, doe well deserve my especiall remembrance, and commendation of him unto her Majestie."

Cesford after the tumult, fearing the King's displeasure might deliver him to her Majesty, made great show of entering himself: but finding himself assured of Lord Hume, "and both they jointly havinge made their way in Court, by the high and smothered quarrell entertayned against the Duke (whereof I doubt not but that your honour hath better advertizement then I can give) they begann to show themselves opeoly, not onely refuseinge the offers of entry of Sesford him selfe, but to stand upon tearmes and conditions for th'entry of his pledges." On first eight hereof I wrote to Lord Hume, and his reply drew this other letter of mine "to give him some parte of suche his due, as upon better advice I conceive his carriage to deserve of this her Majesties right and service." The copies of these three letters are herein-closed. "And if your honors leisure may serve to peruse them admitting the tediousnes, you will easely see the Scottishe humour better discovered by their owne penns then I am hable to lay them open by myne"—for I confess I too easily conceived an opinion of Lord Hume's well deserving, than I find "seconded" by better proof: for which default I most humbly crave her Majesty's pardon. And since I see no hope of Cesford's own delivery, without her Majesty's insisting with the King procure it, I must await her Majesty's direction as to receiving his pledges if they can be had, or no. For though Lord Hume was pleased to challenge my promise for re-entry of our pledges (in which "concept" I leave him in my later letters) I made no such promise, merely signifying my opinion that they would find no receipt in England, but be answerable under her highness's promise. In my last letter to my lord your father, I humbly entreated, that as this service—as I hope, is now closing, "I may be dismissed to followe my lawe cause, and many other urgent particulars in my private estate"—wherein I crave your assistance for my disburdening. Bradley. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

*2½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: indistinct.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Sir W. Bowes to Lord Hume.)

I waited at Berwick the return of my messenger from your lordship, till the afternoon of the 14<sup>th</sup>, when being pressed by the Queen's service I took my journey to the Bishop of Durham, then "instantly" setting out for Parliament, whereby your letter coming later to hand, I must entreat your acceptance of this later answer to the several points.

First.—My delation to the Queen of your part in the late tumult. My answer is,—perchance misreading my words, or misunderstanding my language, you have mistaken my "sence." For unless my memory and my "reserved" copy deceive me, my words are, not part "of" the tumult, but part "in" the tumult: "and in our language the word 'part' signifyeth sencibly in this place, not 'portion' but 'behaviour': so as my meaning may not be gaithered, your lordships 'portion of' this tumult, but your 'behaviour in' the tumult." So my words can receive no other interpretation, when I say "I have reported your parte unto her Majestie in the fairest tearmes of honour and true performance. Now yf I had knowne and thought otherwise, that my selfe should make my selfe a lyer, and that to my most dreade Sovereigne, recorded under my hand to an honorable person of another nation, as suche a heape of absurdities, as you cannot thinke I coulde committ."

Secondly.—As to his highness' commandment to you to deliver Sir Robert Kerr, failing entry of his pledges: I confess myself beholden to you for showing me the King's letter, to my great contentment. Your lordship

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acknowledges by implication that Sir Robert did not deliver his pledges: "but the clause by me added 'onely by his owne default' your lordship sayeth doth no waies appeare: and if I can doe so muche for my selfe as to prove that pertinently, your lordship thinkes you have so fair over the gentleman that you might absolutely promise to deliver me his person." My answer is "first, to the last clause, that I thinke my selfe muche bounde unto your lordship for this honorable option given unto me, and I am right gladd, that the Kinges commaundement, your lordships power over the gentleman, her Majesties contentment, and this option given by your lordship to me on her Majesties behalfe, doe so well concurr in one point, seeinge the same may pertinently be proved thus.—He that by possession then and there onely, could deliver the pledges, beinge demanded, yett delivered them not, he onely makes default: but Sir Robert Kerr then and there havinge possession of the saide pledges onely, beinge demanded delivered them not, therefore Sir Robert Kerr onely therein made default. Both the propositions appeare by your lordships owne lettre thus farr—First, that Sir Robert Kerr had then and there his pledges, and could deliver them, but did not. That I demanded them on her Majesties behalfe, I hope needs no prooffe, and therefore I doubt not but your lordship will make good that your offer of the former option accordingly. Besides, yf yt may please your lordship to looke further into this matter, you will see the failinge of delivery could not growe, but eyther from my not demandinge, or your not commaundinge, or Sir Robert Kerr his not performinge; alwaies you and I will easely excuse the first twoo, and therefore no way Sir Robert can avoide the last."

Thirdly.—You answer to my third point, that if I perform, you will do the like. I reply thus—Having already performed our "due," I require the like from you. "The antecedent of this reason I prove thus"—Nothing was to be done by me then and there but "tender and delivery of our pledges." This appears by your own letter acknowledging "your demission" of them, necessarily implying they were regularly in your hands, as I know you will not deny.

Fourthly.—I heartily thank you for saying I have performed all appointments—but you must excuse "me for discenting from you in conceipt," that you have done the like. "I understand the word 'appointment' to consist of tyme, person, place, and action, all concurringe in one purposed matter, which matter, beinge in this case the delivery of the pledges, or the wardens themselves, with the other circumstances suche as needes no recital, is not kept."

Fifthly.—As to your three answers on Sir Robert Kerr's "three severall disappointentes." First, your own speech to me and the report under your own hand sent to me, proves the "untowardnes" of Buccleuch and Cesford at the first meeting, not having half the number of pledges with them that I had; and now I can prove that Cesford drew Buccleugh into it. Second—Cesford spent the whole second meeting in "showes" of entering himself, and I am told, brought his pledges armed with jacks and spears, but not near the place of meeting—though we waited till the day was done, to the hazard of our lives. His manifest intentions need no farther proof.

Sixthly.—As to your remark on not comprehending my private request to you for Sir Robert's delivery,—you "altogether mistake me." I only forbore the public pressing of the matter, thinking from his words to myself at our second meeting, as to her Majesty's mercy during his banishment, &c., that he would enter quietly by your mediation rather than incur the indignation of the two princes. The quiet of the Border, your own honour, and Sir Robert's protestations, only moved me, "and so I pray your lordship to apprehend yt."

Seventhly—to conclude: You assure me of performance of whatever the King, yourself or any other, has promised, and that I shall be "chalenged" for redelivery of the "demitted" pledges. I accept the former assurance,

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and expect the performance accordingly. And will duly appoint the time and place for putting the same in effect as the Queen's business will permit, and advertise you with all expedition: "Bradley, this xvij<sup>th</sup> of October 1597."

3 pp. Copy by his clerk. Indorsed: ". . . October 18, 1597."

Oct. 18. 794. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

While I was yesterday on my journey from Wetherby homeward, this inclosed packet was delivered to me from Lord Eure, without any letter. It contains merely an answer returned on the 17<sup>th</sup> instant, to the requisition by Sir William Bowes and me on 22<sup>d</sup> September, requiring his reply by the 4<sup>th</sup> October at furthest, or that otherwise we would certify his silence. "Howbeit partly by reason of Sir William Bowes his twice travaile to the West forde nigh Norham, and partly by my late absence from home (belike) some sixe daies on my journeie towards London, some poore advantage is sought and founde how to make some of them excusable for their so long delaie, or to accumbre me singled from Sir William Bowes." Nevertheless I send by this gentlemao M<sup>r</sup> Henry Sanderson of Newcastle, the verdict of the East and Middle Marches gentlemen jurors, being under her Majesty's late instructions to Sir William Bowes and myself, thoroughly reexamined and as deeply "peaced" as we could, "to forbear all sinister respectes whatsoever, and perticularly to specifie the circumstaunces of such imputacions, as they had formerly presented." Which they profess to have done "with all integritie, calling to mynde their former corporall oath": and have set it down under 23 of their hands, who as I remember are those who intermeddled in the matter at first, and dwell in Northumberland.

You will please receive herewith two requisitions made by us—one to Lord Eure for the 80 horse, for his answer: the other to the said jurors, whereto their second presentment is directed. To which they would have me sign my name on every page, "least it should seem to be corrupted, as they saie boldly their contraries did object against their former inquisition." Which troubled both them and us exceedingly for a day or two: but in the end nothing appeared but plain and honest dealing. Your honor with this shall receive their second presentment of the same, or even greater disorders, abuses, &c., than aforesaid: to which Lord Eure and his officers have "even now (while I am in wryting this lettre)" sent answer in a packet-addressed to me from his lordship "at Wytton, where he now dwelleth," yesterday at noon. This answer should have been made by the 4<sup>th</sup> as aforesaid, and so soon as I get to my house at Awkland, and can take copies for Sir William and myself, I shall dispatch it to your honor with expedition. "The while Northumberland, I assure your honor, is in worse case then if it were barbarous, and will yet be worse then it is, yf where defaultes be founde apparant, they be not censured in some condignely, and punished in others egregiously." North Allerton. Signed: Tobie Duresm.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Was signet (Mather's).

Oct. 19. 795. LORD HOME TO SIR W. BOWES.

At the King's special order by his letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> instant, I sent my own servant to Berwick with a letter, appointing a short day and certain place for prosecuting "the publique langsum affaires" at last, praying the like from you. Finding you gone, and no certainty of your return, I went to Court to learn the King's pleasure, who I found not only willing and desirous to have everything done by his commissioners to content the Queen, "but also most instant and curious to see the author of the late tumult tryed and found out," that if of this country, he may be condignly punished. And I intead to use all diligence herein by myself and friends.

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Seeing the King's good will, and doubting not the Queen's, I in most earnest and friendly manner request you, as by word and writ you have sundry times promised, plain and sure dealing in your commission, so you would conform thereto with all convenient haste. And I pray your early answer, how and when I may be assured to see you prepared to disburden yourself according to the princes' will, and ye shall not fail to find me with like resolution. Linlithgow. Alex. Home.

1½ pp. Copy by Baces' clerk. Indorsed.

Oct. 20. 796. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

Hereinclosed your honor will receive the answers of M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Whitfield, M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Mansfield, and M<sup>r</sup> William Fenwick to the commissioners for Border causes, to the "detectes" drawn out of the former presentment of the gentlemen of the East and Middle Marches against them; with the answer of Raiph Graie esquire to certain articles by the said gentlemen against him. The copy of the said "detectes" is also sent for better "application" of the answers.

As I trust your honor has received by M<sup>r</sup> Sanderson the later presentment of these gentlemen jurors in particular support of their former inquisition touching Lord Eure and his officers, it will please your honor to consider that in our requisition made to these gentlemen at Newburne, we promised them secrecy under our hands: lest the "utterance of their presentment, contrary to our worde, and their expectation, may breede further inconveniences betwene the lord warden and them: which are already too great and too many for the quyetnes and safetie of that unhappy countrie." Wherefore I earnestly request your honour to peruse the said requisition, "and to take precise order for the discharge of our creditt therein, howsoever the view thereof shalbe never so desierously coveted by such as it most concerneth." For the gentlemen were with great difficulty drawn to name their secret informers as to these disorders, and we would never have got them to do so but for our promise—for they thought it very strange to have their former verdict called in question. "I doubt not your honour will sort these papers to the rest," till time serves to consider this action in all respects. Bishop Awkland. Signed: Tobie Duresme.

\* "Sir,—by M<sup>r</sup> Mansfeldes answere your honour will fynde howe he doth ease the Lord Eure of the burden of the xx<sup>iiii</sup> horsemen: and againe howe he hopeth his lordship will relieve him for the conveye of Sesforde into this realme, &c."

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Seal broken.

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Raph Mansfield's answer.)

The answer of Raiphe Mansfelde captain of Harbottle castle to the articles presented by the East and Middle March jurors to the commissioners at Berwick.

ART. 3.—Neglecting to rise to frays, and misuse of the horsemen under his charge.

ANSWER.—Since appointed "in Marche 96" till Michaelmas following, I was but 2 days and nights absent from Harbottle, and any who came found me and 20 men ready to rise. I laid the other 10 in Redesdale, as then thought best for the country. About Michaelmas, when Lord Eure gave me leave to go to Yorkshire for 3 weeks or a month on private affairs, Henry Woodrington brought a supposed fray to a place called the Peales, telling one Wille Unnes "a simple foole" to warn the soldiers at Harbottle, who

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presently set out and not knowing how the fray had gone, divided, and 8 of them came to Woodrington. On examining the matter, they found no goods stolen, "but practised . . . to picke an advantage against me." Another time the said Woodrington "sent the fray" about 8 A.M., which was no usual time for a fray, and there has been no day foray since I came, so the men having before been falsely alarmed by him, and so late in the morning, made no such hast as they should, "which faulte is not to be excused." Other than these I have not heard of. For Otterburne, there never was any brought there since my time, as I will aver on my credit. As for some being my own servants, or freeholders, and most of them notorious thieves, I confess that some of the Yorkshire men who could not live on 12*d* a day, got their meat in my own house, besides the trumpeter and clerk and 2 Berwick men, who had served under me in the West Marches—all this besides their pay—and if this is a hindrance to the service, or a want of the number, "I must confes I have done amise to my costs"! As to freeholders: as the Yorkshire men grew weary, I with the lord warden's consent, supplied their places with the most serviceable and honest men in my charge, and that with great care. As for their being "notoriuse and famouse theaves": at the lord warden's entry to office all had "the benefitt of the realme" and are ready to answer any charges. And they are such men as the best of these gentlemen of the jury employ when needed—"especiallie M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington, to whome the most of them are verie neare of kinne." But I cannot answer "that they have not offended the law."

Their accusation that I confessed the lord warden had charge of 40 horsemen, is false. I said I had charge of the whole 80, and refused farther particulars. And I appeal to the country, who can witness that they have not been so free from Scottish raids these 40 years; and I myself will undertake to answer the whole loss of Redesdale and the "tenn townes" since my entry, with 40 head of cattle. "Noe man can serve in everie place; and I suppose noe man of judgement will thinke this coulede be done with idlenes or evell government."

ART. 8.—As for resetting Lionel Charlton and Edward Hall and buying 2 gray geldings for Sir Robert Kerr: I answer, that without the lord warden's privy, I never employed Charlton, and Hall is ready to answer any charge. I have bought, 4 or 5 geldings in Yorkshire since I came here—"but that I ever sould or gave anie horse or mare to Sir Robert Kerr, or by any meanes he ever had anie of me, I absolutelie denie, and will justifie yt to be most false and untrew."

As for resetting William Shaftoe and William Lawson: Shaftoe and one William Hall of Cartington were sent by M<sup>r</sup> Henry Woodrington to me, asking me to meet him at Fairnam. Lawson was never in my house or company—Shaftoe has cleared himself by law.

As for George Hall of Burdup a thief and fugitive, being one of my men: I answer that Sir John Forster while warden, at the suit of Sir Philip Sydney, with whom Hall had served in the Low Countries after breaking the law, allowed him to live here. He is ready to answer any charge.

ART. 10.—"It is most unjuste and false" that the Laird of Hunthill or William Rotherford of Littleheugh, enjoy a "sheep rayke" on Coquet head by my toleration. The ground belongs to one Fenwick of Brenkburne, by whose leave the sheep depastured in Sir John Forster's time, when they were taken by one Richard Fenwick of Stanton; to whose great loss, Sir John made him redeliver them, as they were taken without consent of the owner of the ground, or commandment of the warden, according to the treaty—"which presedent hath been a caveate to me for the taking of them." I admit taking some sheep from "Dye for could," for betraying my "pretended" service into Scotland to Sir Robert Kerr, who with 200 horse lay in wait to entrap me, but I escaped.

ART. 12.—I refer to the lord warden to satisfy her Majesty on my part in

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Sir Robert Kerr's coming to Toplife, &c. As for the abetting the fight of 2 Englishmen before Buccleuch at Hawick where one was slain: it is false and untrue that I took any man to Scotland—but 2 English fugitives, some time of Redesdale, one accusing the other of crimes, did combat before Buccleuch. At the instance of their friends I went there to dissuade them, but prevailed not, though accompanied with some English gentlemen. I found Roger Woodrington appointed "a tryer." When I saw one hurt in the knee, "I ran and parted them," suffering them to fight no longer. Of this there is credible testimony both English and Scottish.

The charge of my extorting 15 score cattle and 400 sheep is a manifest untruth, and none but a Northumberland witness would testify it. To my knowledge I have not had since my entry "which is two yere cum Martinmas," half that number of cattle nor 100 sheep "by the benefit of my office." And if any can charge me with wrongfully taking goods, nay if the country of Redesdale cannot prove that I have lost most part of the forfeitures due me, I will admit myself culpable. I beseech you accept these answers, and will verify the same either by oath, or by my sword against any chief gentleman accuser, if admitted, or any other trial to find out the truth.  
*Signed*: Ralfe Mansfield.

Received by me in a packet from Lord Eure at Northallerton 18<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1597. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

$4\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Indorsed by Eure.*

(2) (Reply by Whitfield.)

PROPOS: 12.—That he as bailiff of Hexham hath seized great store of goods of felons and suspected felons in Hexham and Hexhamshire, without account thereof.

ANSWER.—I have not to the best of my remembrance seized any man's goods unlawfully since I was steward and bailiff of that Liberty: or done anything not warranted by her Majesty's special grant. *Signed*: Nycho. Whitefelde.

Received by me in a packet from Lord Eure at Northallerton 18<sup>th</sup> October 1597. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Eure.*

Oct. 20. 797. REQUISITION FOR DELIVERY OF CESFORD.

The requisition of William Bowes knight commissioner for the Queen of England, given under his hand to Lord Home and the Laird of Wedderburne commissioners for the King of Scots.

I William Bowes knight, &c., require you Alexander lord Home and Sir George Home, &c., that whereas at our meeting for reciprocal delivery of pledges at the West ford of Norham within the ground of Scotland on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, you the said lord Home showing me letters under the hand of your Sovereign, commanding you at that day and place, either to deliver the pledges required for England from Sir Robert Kerr laird of Cesford, his Majesty's warden, or else Sir Robert's own person: whereon and the requisition then and there made by me for her Majesty, you the Lord Home "steedfastly promised and gave your honorable word" that you would do one or other as commanded. But as the same was not done by entering the pledges that day, through Sir Robert's default, I hereby require you the commissioners to enter his person into the hands of the Governor of Berwick, or of myself, within England, at a day to be set down in writing by you and signified to either of us, before the 5<sup>th</sup> November next, and at the usual place of meeting near Fouldon between the hours of 6 and 9 A.M., thereby to content her Majesty, perform the honourable word of your Sovereign, and your the Lord Home's promise. Bradley.

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Copy by his clerk. Indorsed.*

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Oct. 22. 798. SCROPE TO HENRY LEIGH.

"M<sup>r</sup> Ligh. Since my coming up I have bene with her Majestie whom (I thanck God) in all my life never used mee better nor more graciously, to the confort of my frinds, and grieffe of such as wishes it otherwise. Where I tooke occasion to moove for your coming up, but she grew in suche a rage with you, that I had moch a doe to pacifie her, answering that she merveled how you durst so do, I being absent, and Scotland so uncerten: and that she had given a great sute, and 40 pound the year since my intering the wardeny, by meanes I made in your behalfe to my lord Thesaurer, and yet you have done noe service, but when any sturte was, you were ever at London: and much more, which I have noe pleasure to write. I answered how careful you were to looke to my place in my absence. For the yeelding up of the deputie-ship, I appointed M<sup>r</sup> Lowther for your sake, by reason of the greate kindnes and familiaritie which was growen between you of late, or else in good troth, I had appointed another, and by reason he was once officer himselfe and therefore noe disparagement to you to give him the name.

"For Armstronge and Ellwood, her Majesties pleasurè is that they bee kept in the pledge chamber till my returne; and if you like not of this coorse to make him the head, then you may tell M<sup>r</sup> Lowther that it is my pleasure that he stay there till my returne, which in good faith shalbee shortly, and then I will chuse one my selfe, whoe shallbe very glad to receive it. For her Majestie will have another beare the name, and I thought none more pleasing to you then R. Lowther." London. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Tell Henry Baynes I marvel at hearing not out of Scotland, and to let me hear often from thence.

2 pp. *Holograph*. *Addressed*: "To his very loving friende M<sup>r</sup> Henry Ligh esq. at Carlell." *Indorsed by Leigh*: "Your honor may perceve by this howe I have bene dallied and played withall at his lordshippes pleasure, contrary to my honest deservings."

Oct. 23. 799. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

Your letters of the 17<sup>th</sup> instant signifying her Majesty's gracious acceptation of my weak service, and the good report thereof by my lord your father and yourself, have given me much comfort in many crosses and difficulties.

Since the date of these your last, I certified your what had passed between Lord Home and me, with copies of our letters, and of one from Wedderburne, whereby your honor will see my reasons for changing my "concept" of his lordship as more deeply engaged in Cesford's favour than "true honor can bare out." Though I have hitherto dealt only in a private manner for Cesford's entry, I am ready and desirous to make a plain demand in writing as the Queen's commissioner, on those of Scotland for his entry, under the King's command and their own promises: and would have put this in effect already, had I not found it disapproved by some whose judgments I preferred to my own. But now seeing by your letter that her Majesty is pleased to insist on demanding Cesford's delivery, I see not how it could be better made than for the reasons above alleged—and to certify the King if they refuse to obey it, thus taking for granted his former commandment, and involving no new question with the King.

As you seem willing to receive my opinion for bestowing Buccleuch in some safe place:—First, I think Barnard castle "altogether unmeete, as well by the seyte, yt standinge at the foots of the great wastes and mountaynes, all open without inclosures to the verie grounde of Scotlande: as also because a great parte of the principall wall undermined and shaken in the late rebellion, ys now fallen flatt to the earth: for repaire whereof I had be-

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"come sutor to my honorable lord your father, yf this last yeares employment had not farr otherwyse busyed my thoughtes."

I think some more inward part in a walled and well governed town, as York or Hull, is more convenient: "where both solitarines may bee lesse discomfortable to the gentleman, muche favoured in his owne country, and watchefull heed with good guard may be ready at hand, with lesse needlesse charge eyther to the Queene or suche person as may have him in keepinge." But whether the old manor at York which the Archbishop occupyes not, or the cittidell \* at Hull are fit to receive him, I cannot say, but his grace and the Council may better advertise you hereon.

As for our pledges, whether they remain in Scotland or otherwise, where-in you require knowledge: Lord Home said in his letter, the copy whereof was sent you, that he dismissed them, but I know not where they be, though I have earnestly required Lord Eurie his deputy officers, to get the custody of their bodies with all possible expedition—for I think by the tenor of the King's letter to the ambassador (a copy of which was sent to my lord your father), that he thinks him self "touched in honour" to have delivered Buccleuch, and received "no caution for the parte of Scotland." Our answer, that this is the fault of his own commissioners, I have sent to the ambassador with other intelligence for this service, "so farr as his great weakenes and want of health will permitt." Bradley. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: device indistinct.*

Oct. 23. 800. JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I received your honor's of the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, with a letter from her Majesty therein, and have "done my beste indeavour to performe the contentes of them both": but Lord Hewme "is over the water on Fiffe syde," far from this, and I hear nothing of his return. As to your direction for my conference with Sir William Bowes on the fittest place for keeping "Sir Water Scott," Sir William has been at his own house ever since the meeting "for the deliverie," and this morning I have a letter from him that he is appointed "by your honors" jointly with the Bishop of Durham for further Border service. So in his absence I have conferred with the gentleman porter here, and our opinion is that it will be very "unconvenient for Boocloghe to be kept in any place of either Northumberland, Busshoprick, or Yorcksheire," where it will be impossible to prevent Scots and English resorting to him: and he will become too privy with those countries, "which may be hurtfull." Also it will be impossible to prevent his escape, if he has a mind to it: seeing that the laying 2 or 3 horses will soon take him to Scotland, and "hee cannot want men redie to do him that pleasure." So we both think he should be "with some speede removed into the sowthe, nere about London," where you can dispose of him at pleasure. And for performance, "it may please your honor to understand, that M<sup>r</sup> Porter, beinge now chosen for one of the Parliament howse, and havinge other urgent occasions of his owne, by shutes of lawe, will presentlie come up, who may if it so please her Majesti to like of it, bring up Boocloghe with him."

He is very desirous hereof, and will remain here till further direction from your honor. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1¼ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed: "... Received at Whithall the xxix<sup>th</sup>."*

Oct. 23. 801. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

There is yet no manner of provision come from M<sup>r</sup> Vernon, neither for horse nor foot, and all are in great extremity, both town and country

\* "Or blockhouse," written by Bowes.



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undone, all being "driven to ley upon the markt," which breeds great dearth for all the appearance of plenty. "Ouer Border causes I fear is layed a bed in the water of Ser Williame Boweses minerales." I hear the ambassador in Scotland is a little amended, and means to come here this week, if his strength serves him: but his weakness is such, it is feared either he cannot come, or if he does "it will eand him." There is little hope of his recovery: "wherfor my good lord, as you have ever stod my honorabell good lord and frend, even so nowe if your lordshipe shall thinke me a fitt mane or aney waye worthey of suche an offes, if he chauns to dey, wiche God forbed, and that you will bey your honorabell meanes procuer me the same," I have an office here already worth 100*l.* a year, which you shall dispose of to any of your friends fit for it, who must be one of the council here. For the marshalship, "I will be veery well content" that her Majesty bestows it on any other who pleases her. "I wold only reley upon that offes bothe for the good of the townen and for the better servis of her Majestie; and for assewerans, I will put in no better plege then my nowen hed, my wife and childern, to be used at her Majesties pleser when soever I shall be fowend to deseve her . . . deseyeringe your lordshipe to kepe this to your selfe." Berwick. *Signed:* Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary. Swan wafer signet.*

Oct. 23. 802. WILLIAM SELBY TO CECIL.

"I am chossen a burges for this towne," and was about setting out for the parliament with the governor's consent; but this day he sent for me and earnestly requested me to stay till he heard from my lords of the Council: "for he said he thought yt might be that they would apoynt me for the convoy of Sir Walter Skott to the Cowrt: who I have here in my house, beinge comyted to me (at his first entry) by Sir William Bowes and M<sup>r</sup> Governor—which charge I wold a bin loath to have undertaken, but they urdged me therunto, saying yt was for her Majesties service."

If it is your pleasure he come up under my convoy, then I desire your lordships' instructions thereon, whether I should bring him with a sufficient guard, "or that Sir William Bowes, M<sup>r</sup> John Carey and my selfe, should take his hand and fayth, that he should not escape, but remayne as true prisoner: and whether he should come up upon her Majesties charges or his owne?"

I hear for certain from Scotland that Sir Robert Kerr is sometimes minded to enter himself and not his pledges, and "other sometime" his pledges, not himself. The former course in my simple opinion, were far better. For if these two were in her Majesty's power "without coudition," these borders might live in quiet.

"The good intertayment of Sir Walter Scott for the time, may be an incouragement to cause Sir Robart Kerr enter him selfe." Berwick. *Signed:* Will'm Selby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed:* ". . . Received at Whithall the xxix<sup>th</sup>."

Oct. 24. 803. RALPH CARR TO SIR R. CAREY.

"Reyght worshepfoll, my denynt remembered. Thes ar to lett you onderstand that of late the Skots have ben verey bessy with in your chardg, and thay rest not a neyght bot ar spoylen the contrey in won plas or other. The xxj of this month at xij at neyt the Skots came to Lermowth to the number of fouer<sup>s</sup> and feftety hores men all jacke and gred<sup>t</sup>, and leyted

\* "Hondreth and," scored out.

† Graith (?).

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in the medst of the touen gatte, bracke open and foressebley tocke and reffe away all the tonen noett to the number of 120 hed of cattell, and ij or 3 and teenty nages and mears, to the otter ondoeng of the pore touen, if thay get no redres,—and opone the xxij her of at neytt thay came to Norrom touen abowtt the leyke number and mentt to herreyd the holl touen : bot the wach descreyed them and gave warneng to the touen, so that thay wher in a reddeynes to defend themselves ; and at ther first aproch, fyenden them selves rested and the contre in armes to resest them, deschariedg half a dosan pestols at the fyrst that came touerds them, and so returned with out any hortt done, save only one Gavin Rechchesons eldest sonne was shott in to the theye with a pestall : it is thought he will not be the wores. Being dreven from thenes, thay tocke in ther way homward Est and West Neubegen and carreyd away all the goods to the number of xl hed of catell and v nages and meres. Ser, et is grouen to that pas here that if ther be not speddy and better order taken then is yet, the contre well in shortt tyem be quitt over thorneu. The Skots say playenly, ther shall a neue warden com douen and you com douen no more, and that tell ther com won douen to remayen her stell, thay well tack ther plesener ; and steke not to say that thay well make ther ouen peas at any tyem. Trewly ser, if you have a intencion to conteneu here, youer stay most not be long from henes if you go, for an et rede youer hands from the chardg with all the sped you may, for the longer it remayens as it doth, the mor the contre well be spoyeled and youer selef thought not desarvinge aud descredeted. Pardon me good ser, in speekeng this playenly, I hould et my deuty and et is treuth all that I say and exeptt youer selef or som other com douen quickly, the wholl border well be layd wast. Et is the Borens, the Prenggels, Youngs, and Davesons that ar the chef spoylors of the contre. . . .” *Berwick. Signed : Ra. Carr.*

*1 p. Addressed : “To the reight worshefull Ser Robart Carey knytt warden of the Est Marshes and capten of Norrom.” Enclosed in No. 810.*

Oct. 24. 804. EURE TO CECIL.

“I doe make bould still to present in breafe the gall of my misfortune, that in the countrie where I was borne and my parentes have lived, I should be so envied, as by the verdict of the jury and the sequell therof appeareth plainly.” I had hoped that in face of my country and presence of the jurors, I should have been questioned of my faults. But though myself and officers attended, this is “frustrate,” and the jurors have delivered to the commissioners the averment of their former verdict. Nay I fear new and false informations against me and my officers have been handed in secretly by the jury to the commissioners, and withholden from us. Knowing my innocence of all unhoneest actions, I boldly crave by your honor’s means and her Majesty’s gracious favour, I may defend it before your lordships, and pray to have speedy answer hereto. Wittoun. *Signed : Ra. Eure.*

*½ p. Addressed. In-versed. Wax quartered seal and label.*

Oct. 24. 805. EURE TO ANTHONY BACON.

“My honorable and deare freinde, I returned aunswere to your last kinde and loving lettre the xix<sup>th</sup> of Octobre by post, which I doubt not is come to your handes ere this.” According to your advice, I rest yet from coming to Loudon, but am galled by the favour the commissioners showed to the jury, thus animating them to new and false charges as I hear, which I see not how to stop without my personal answer. If this is not allowed, I see nothing but my infamy and ruin, unless the lords of the Council strengthen me with their powerful authority, and publicly punish my adversaries. I hear Lord Scrope is at London leaving a deputy, and Sir Robert Carey also at Court with a deputy in his government.

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"I pray you vouchsafe in worthe a Northumberland nagg, but proceedeth from the hart of a moste faithfull freinde, noe Northumberland flatterer. Your honorable acceptance shall bynde me, beseeching you vouchsafe it for the worthie respect of your faithfull freinde, valewing noe gifte can be esteemed worthe the satisfaction of love, but that trifles sometymes doth plainly denote the remembrance and well wishing, which I present to you." Wittoune. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed*: "To my honorable loving freinde M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Bacoune." *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary*.

Oct. 24. 806. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Signifies the increase of dangerous evils in his March which the Bishop of Durham and Sir W. Bowes can confirm.

The pride of the opposite borders grown intolerable, "thundrethe" daily threats against his March, and nightly forays are made; yet his people either from fear or unwillingness to serve her Majesty, refuse to rise to these, caused by the evil influence of the jurors who lately accused himself and his officers, to which he and they have not been allowed to answer. He urgently demands a trial in his lordship's presence and begs with all speed a "comfortable" answer. Wittoun. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

"Post.—In the tyme of the sicknes, M<sup>r</sup> Edward Gray executeth the place as my deputy warden, and I finde that neyther theyre countriman whome I appointed my officer, neither my selfe as stranger unto them, can draw them to good order or obedience: wherof I pray your lordship take seasonable knowledg for the good of the poore countrie."

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: quartered, &c., as last.*

Oct. 24. 807. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

I send copies of three documents showing the state of the case as to the Queen's Border pledges—(1) Lord Home's letter pressing me to meet him for new delivery of pledges; (2) copy of my reply to the ambassador's letter, received yesterday after my despatch to you, showing at large my "concept" for proceeding in these affairs, which I hope you will interpret favourably, "yf in this straitnes of tyme," I have done less sufficiently than requisite, and vouchsafe further direction with all possible expedition; (3) copy of my requisition which I now send to the Scottish commissioners, on the grounds as appear in my said letter to the ambassador.

My purpose is, after a small pause, to answer Lord Home's letter, and put off time, till I have your instructions, which I hope will be by 1<sup>st</sup> November. Or if, in answer to my former letter, I receive direction sooner, I will proceed with him accordingly. Meanwhile I shall arrange my return to Berwick as best for this service.

I entreat that Wedderburn's name in his late private letter to me may be suppressed, lest his chief hearing of it "may worke his wracke and displeasour."

I say nothing of the tumult in any of my letters, doubting that if prosecuted, it would but hinder the delivery of Cesford, affording the opposites ground of delay and evasion, and putting off "the true tryall, which doubtles wilbe suppressed so longe as Sesford is so awfull as he now is." Your wisdoms see, I doubt not, that his delivery so imports the Queen's honor, and the quiet of these borders, that it "must even now or not at all, be roundly prosecuted." Bradley. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "... Received at Whitball the xxix<sup>th</sup>."

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Oct. 26. 808. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

I inclose the King of Scots' letter to me in behalf of Buccleuch, humbly requesting your lordship, if thought fit, to present the same for her Majesty's view, and to instruct me how to answer this and the King's former letter to same effect.

By his letters of 20<sup>th</sup> to the ambassador, imparted to me, I conceive overtures are made for new commissions to try the late tumult, and new meetings for pledges, and think these prejudicial to the Queen's honour and service.

The first overture I gather to be a device mentioned by Lord Home to me the night of the tumult, and since spread abroad by rumour throughout Scotland, and not obscurely touched in the King's letter, *viz.*, that the beginner of it was an Englishman. The King intimates it more strongly "by an argument drawne from somewhat thereof advertised that morning: precedinge the tumult, to me." Though I hope my former account is sufficient, yet as there is an evident design to put off the delivery of Cesford or his pledges, and to disgrace myself—but under her Majesty's protection I hope to show "that truth is stronger then a Kinge"—therefore my answer to the King is this—"It is true that I generally suspected some trecherie that day: that I signified so muche to the Scottish commissioners: that I was verie warie to be free from all probabilitie of beinge any procurer thereof; but it is not true that I had precedent perticuler advertisement of the tumult which folowed.

"The grounde of my suspition was this: I was advertised that Sir Robert Kerr had practised with some Englishmen to make an affray at the meetinge: and I beleived this advertizement, both by the credit of the advertizers, whome I am ready to produce, and also by the disposition of Sir Robert Kerr, so well appearinge in so many publique perticulers in former passage of these affaires, as needes no recytall."

Secondly—My reason for signifying this suspicion generally to the Scottish commissioners, was this—I was earnestly desirous to avoid any breach of peace, and therefore sent a "choies" gentleman to Lord Home for a private meeting with six on a side, to order the day's action. Though my plan as to occupying the two ends of the valley was not adopted, I trusted to his promise, and was more willing to forbear taking the Berwick foot across the river, because they were too weak for Teviotdale and Liddesdale, and to avoid any affray, "beinge under xx<sup>th</sup> Englishe on the Scottishe grounde." But I placed "the shott" on our bank, ordering them, if they saw treachery offered to me, to "redeme the Quenes honour (though they could not save my person) by killinge more of them then possibly they could doe of ours."

Thirdly—My wariness to avoid a fray is shown, that as I must keep the appointment on Scottish ground, I rather hazarded my own life with a few, than risked touching the Queen's honor "with the least note of makinge trecherous affray."

Having so many witnesses, I trust it will please her Majesty "to turne this device upon the devisers, by givinge an honorable and speedy encounter to these dishonorable motives."

The second overture in the King's letter is thus—"We beinge as ueerely interested in honor as any others, by the late tumult false out at the meetinge of the commissioners for deliverie of pledges, our officer the Lard of Beaucleugh being delivered and na effectuall deliverie made on thother part, and the truce thereby broken on both sydes." It seems to me this is "a sufficient conviction on the Kinges syde for breakinge of the truce." But for her Majesty there must be other evidence—for I can prove by Lord Home's handwriting, that he demitted our pledges, "and demission cannot be without possession," which was formally done by me. "The lyfe of this device lyeth in this word 'effectuall,' and then the question groweth, whose

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"falt made it ineffectuall, and that falt will appeare to be in them that raised the tumult, which burden, because the Scottishe syde will not beare, it must be lade upon an Englishe trespasser": and the King being desirous to have this point well tried, old matters breeding new trials, and these trials new matters, "the worke is brought to the rowlinge of Sciciphus his stone, beinge in deede a coodicion and example fit for suche a snbject."

Thus your lordship will perceive his miserable condition who negotiates "with such a people, that both can or will say more for a falsehood, then for my owne parte I can doe for the truth." Though I trust the goodness of God will make it manifest, I am weary of dealing with them, and hope for early dismissal.

If I may give my opinion, I think with pardon, that favourable dealing with Buccleuch, and hearkening rather than yielding, to the King's offers on his behalf, till it may be seen what can be done for Cesford's entry, so as they may hope that the entry "of both their sonnes" might free themselves: this, added to the Queen's "round prosecution" of (1) the King's promise in his letter in August last, (2) his commandment to his commissioners in writing, and (3) the commissioners' direct promise to me—all for Cesford's delivery failing his pledges, it may be expected some good effect may follow "by crushing the heades of these enormities."

I beg timely directions of the course it shall please her Majesty to take, and till they reach me, I purposely withdraw myself from Berwick, for I dare not deny their offers expressly, nor do I think them fit for her acceptation. Bradley. Signed: Willm Bowes.

3 pp. Large folios. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: "I. M."  
Inclosed in the same:—

(The King of Scots to Sir W. Bowes.)

"Richt trusty and weilbelovit, we greit you hairtlie wele. As we have writtin to our dearest sister and cousin your soverane, requesting that the Lard of Buclench our officiar delivered for his pledges, may according to the custumable forme of borderares (yea used toward the maist notorious thevis), be fred upoun band, or the entrie of his onlie sone as pledge in his place for a certane space, that in the meantyme he may be enhabled to serche and trapt thes his pledges (betrayares of him and now becum fugitives) for his awin releiff, quhilk ye knaw can not wele be done without his presence in the contrie. Ebuif a (sen he is a gentillman quha hes kythed\* sa loyall obedient and affected toward the conservatioun of the peace betuixt the realmes) have we thought gude to deseir youre effectuall recommendioun to be interpunit in his favour toward our dearest sister your soverane, for his bettir furtherance in that his reasonable sute; sence his fredome may werk a mair effectuall satisfioun toward both ws and your soverane then his retentioun. Quharin ye sall do ws right thankfull and special plesour. . . . From our palice of Liulythgw this xx of October 1597." Signed: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed: "To our richt trusty and weilbelovit Schir William Bowes." Indorsed. Wafer signet (Scotland): a closed crown above shield.

Oct. 28. 809. EURE TO SIR W. BOWES.

The convenience of this messenger my servant, to whom I require your former promised favour in his good cause, moves me to answer your letter for recovery of the escaped pledges, "more tymely then as yett well prepared for the same." Raphe Mansfeild writes to me he has seen none of them since, and cannot find they repair openly to their owne houses, but will

\* i.e., shown himself.

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do his best, though not "as you required." I hear as yet nothing from Henry Bowes, of those in his office, but that "they stand warefully of their libertie," and desire death rather than second delivery, alleging that by law the bills were satisfied for which they were delivered; "and fearinge the ill usage which shall fall upon them, havinge taisted for the present both weavinge of their garmentes and weapons, knockinge and threatninge their persons, with reportes of the place and many other circumstances of terrour." So these things make them remain fugitives rather than lawful men as formerly. I pray you press me no further than my power will extend. Wittone. "Your verie lovinge freind and kinseman." Ra. Eure.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Copy by Bowes' clerk. Indorsed: Copy letter from Lord Eure to Sir W. Bowes, &c.

Oct. 29. 810. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

"Sir, I am sorry I cannot my self atend you, I have bin veri ill this last night and am nothing well alle this day, so that I dare not stur abrode: but to revive my sprits, a bought 2 of the cloke this afternone I resevid this letter inclosed from my depute y warden: wherby your honor may see the miserable estate of younder poore cuntrey, and alle for want of an absolut offiser to remayne with them. Good sir, be a meane to hasten my returne, or to rid me cleane of the place. If it pleas her Majesty to thinke me worthy ther of, let my patent be sined and I will returne with all speede, and ease her from further troble," and shortly bring the country to quietness. If she will send another, let me be discharged, and the other sent down, to save the country from further spoil. I will wait upon you myself so soon as able: and meanwhile beseech you to acquaint her Majesty herewith, that "wan way or other" she may take order for the poor East March. Somerset House. Signed: Rob. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Holograph; also address: "To the right honorable Sir Robert Cicell prinsipall secretary to her Majesty and chanslor of the Duché." Indorsed. Inclosing No. 803.

Oct. 31. 811. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

I am endeavouring to put her Majesty's pleasure as signified in your last letter of the 23<sup>d</sup>, into effect, thus:—First, I have earnestly pressed Lord Eure and his officers ever since the tumult, to get back the pledges into their hands, "that I may tender them on her Majesties behalfe, to the opposites," not standing on the fact of our former delivery. And though I have seemed to stand not on the pledges, wherein I hold the Queen discharged, but on Cesford's own delivery under the King's promise, yet in truth, I would have been nearer the end of the busiess, if I could have got the pledges—for to treat with them on the old indent, as though it had to be performed by us, had been to my mind a disgrace. My purpose was therefore, to perform that delivery before I promised it, yet still to insist on Cesford's entry, conceiving he would be glad to redeem it by delivering his pledges. But now being past hope of recovering our old pledges, as the copy of Lord Eure's letter inclosed will show you, I have made another overture, as authorised by your letter, by promising other pledges in their room, which I hope her Majesty will graciously ratify.

This overture and the inducements to bring it about, as of their seeking rather than ours, you will find in my letter to the ambassador, with the arguments to insist on Cesford's delivery, which is the other part of her Majesty's directions in your last letter.

"What shall succeed" thereon, I "will" advertise on hearing from the ambassador, hoping in the meantime that Cesford's fear will keep him and his people quiet. the rather as I hear the King ordered the pledges to be placed

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in his own hands on 28<sup>th</sup> instant, intending to keep them ready for delivery ; and I think his highness will gladly entertain my motion for meeting with Wedderburn to appoint new pledges, if it be that the old are not detained in Scotland, "as I have hitherto borne them in hand" that they are.

I have "this verie instant" received letters from the ambassador who writes thus—The King and Council are to convene at Lithquo to-morrow for the Border matters, and parliament session, &c. It is looked for that all Cesford's pledges shall be presented to the King and Council to-morrow, that being in possession, they may give order for their delivery, in acquittal of the King's promises. I dare not assure this however, for though the King shows "greate carefulnes herein, yett I finde the matter both shouldered with stronge postes sett against the good succession in those border causes, and also carried with great cunninge to put over every mischeife feared to fall upon these practisers." But as I shall understand further, I shall advertise you.

Thus your honor sees the sincerity pretended in Lord Home's last letter (of which I sent a copy) to deliver Cesford's pledges, and, knowing our "old" English pledges cannot be delivered, to shift off the delivery of theirs, "and that by a falt to be laid upon us." Unless the King gets Cesford's pledges in his hands, or be pleased to enter Cesford himself, "I am almost past hope of gettinge any pledges from him." Bradley. *Signed* : Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

2½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. *Wajer signet*: "I. M."

Oct. 31. 812. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"Ouer Border causes ar layed a water for ether deliverie of pledges or any other juste we so likeley to ensewe, unless it be revived from your honers above; the Scottes themselves wonderinge that it is so slackeley followed on ouer seyde, bey resun that Ser Williame Bowes continewes styll at his owen howes at Bradley, wher he hath ever byn sines the last daye of metinge, nether cane we hear any thinge wher he menes to com or what he determines: but shewer I ame in the mean tym the Scotess reyd ryghte wantanley. Her Majesties embassetur, he good gentyllman, canot followet it bey resun of his sikenes and great wekenes, whoes recoveriey is so muche feard as it is rather thought he cannot escape, and shewerley he is so fare gone as he cannot longe continew. Maye it therfor pleas your honer for that I knoe your lordshipe moves no seutes your selfe, to stand so muche my good lord as to caues Master Secretarey your honers sune, to move her Majesty for me, that if Master Bowes doe dey, that then I maye have his offes of tresserershippe of this towen; then maye your honer bestowe upon him or any frend of his whoe he shall nomeynat, my offes of chamberlinshipe of this towen, wiche is worthe on hundred powendes bey year, or if it so pleas him, he maye sell it and have feyve hundred powendes for it in redey money; wiche I will willingeley bestowe upon him, beseydes my love and servis, if his honer will take upon him to gett me that offes when it fales. And for the marshallshipe, I wold to God it wold ples her Majesty to thinke on sune fitt mane for it, for that if it wold ples her Majesty to thinke me worthy of the tresserershippe, I wold onley attend upon that offes, wherin I wold hope to doe her better servis then ever I have yett done, and perhapes I wold in sune yeares save her five hundred powendes in her purse. Beseydes, I ame nott fare in dett, wherbey to consume her Majesty tresser, and if it shall therfor ples her Majesty to except of me in that plase, wiche bey your honers good likinge maye be forthered, I shall thinke myselfe most happye and well rewarded for my maney yeares serves, and for my suppleyng the governers charge hear this ij yeares to my great charge with out any fee or allowans for it. Thus beinge boweld to trubell your honer, whoes oppinion I knoe the Queenes Majesty will take in this matter . . ." Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

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"I do not wryghte this to your honer that Master Bowes is yet ded, or that I wold have it yet moved, but that I wold not be prevented bey others when he dothe dey, knoinge ther wilbe maney sewters then for it, and if it will ples her Majesty to bestowe the plase on me, I maye the better continewe the plas of governer without fee."

1 p. *Holograph. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Swam wafer signet.*

Nov. 1.

## 813. JOHN BROWNE TO SIR WILLIAM KNOWLES.

After many open threats against me, both in town and country, for my late informing as to the abuses, &c., on the Borders, on Sunday morning last two of the Lord Euries household servants, viz. "William Browneles a notorious barretor and Fraunceis Wadlie, havinge pursued me in the night time to Richemond, did there lye in wate prevelie for me againste my cominge forth of my lodgiuge, and as I put my foote into the stirrup, they came prevelie behinde me and gave me divers greate woundes on the sodaine, one 5 ynches longe at leaste in my hinde head, one other on my left shoulder, and a third on my left arme, all behinde my back, and yet withall prosecuted so bloodthirstelie for my life as is incredible. My right thomb was cleare broken in peeces at the first tourninge of my bodie towards them, so that I was not able to drawe my weapon for my owne defence, therefore most hardlie escaped present death." They confess they have no quarrel of their own against me, but that "they did it for their lorde and masters causes," known to the best in England. Browneles also saying he was only sorry it was no worse with me; and being asked why they did it so barbarously, they said they did not care how they did it, and thought it best to surprise me.

They are in the custody of the Alderman of Richmond "till it appeare what will become of me at my next dresinge, but most like it is they wilbe enlarged, for hereabouts there lorde is a greate man, and my self a mere straunger." I humbly beseech your honor for love of justice, to acquaint her Majesty that this befell me as I was on my journey to London, and likewise to move for direction to the Bishop of Durham and chief men here, that these offenders may be kept in prison and duly punished; and myself "yf I overlive these woundes, secured againste the lord Eurye and his followers. Their savage dedes make mencion of there blouddie myndes againste me. Otherwise the terror of this murder and marteringe pretended and prosecuted againste me onelie for my good services to her Majestie, and faithfull demeanour to my countrie, will quenche the spirites of all men from ever daringe to attempt reformacion or discover offenders, be they never so manifest illdoers." It is lamentable to see the ruin of the Middle March daily increase, no officer "of worth" being resident, and lord Eurye himself lying at his house in the bishopric "this month together, also at the time of the last meatinge at Norham forde, where he was absent,—and for a great parte of this half yere last." So all is "open to the thief and illdoer." And this being true, "though my blood paie for speakinge," it is fit her Majesty and your honors should know it. "From Cuthbert Cowlinges in Richmond."  
*Signed: John Browne.\**

2 pp. *Addressed: "To the right honorable Sir William Knowles knight comptroler of her Majesties househould and one of her highnes moste honorable previe counsell at the Courte, with speed." Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Wax signet: a boar's head.*

## Nov. 1. 814. LORD HUME TO SIR W. BOWES.

Answer of Lord Home warden of the East March, and Sir George Home of Wedderburne knight, commissioners on the border, to

\* A good signature for a man with his right thumb broken in pieces.



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the requisition by Sir William Bowes, knight, commissioner for England.

Your requisition for delivery of the person of Sir Robert Kerr, grounded on "falzie" of the entry of his pledges on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, "presentes us good occasion to remember you, that the dne entry of the pledges answerable to our entrie of Buckclugh, restes as yett uneffectuate," notwithstanding the treaty, and your "honorable promise to me the saide Lord Home for their re-entry; which both in honour and reason mon preceid the interchange of pledges at the East and Middle handis; for whose delivery accordingly wee crave that a convenient day and place may be appointed by your answer betwixt and the eight of this next month, where we may be assured to receive them, or failinge of them, their warden in their steade accordinge to the order begun by us." Which done, we are content within 8 days after to appoint with you a "new convenient day and place" for interchange of the East and Middle March pledges, "and failinge of any of our number, to enter to you for the absent the person of Sir Robert, accordinge to the direction reiterate unto us by warrant from our soveraigne. Whereanent wee likewise doe expect your answer with all convenient speede, and therein that ye will cleare to us your meaninge anent the not delivery at that day of the pledges craved in the defalt of Sir Robert onely, that tryall may be taken thereof accordingly." "Kalend' Novemb'. 1, 1597." Alex. I. Home.

1 p. Copy by Bowes' clerk. Indorsed.

Nov. 3. 815. WILLIAM SELBY, &C., TO SIR R. CAREY.

Whereas since your departure, many incursious and robberies have been done here by the Scots (a note whereof we inclose) and they threaten us with more this winter, we intreat you in behalf of the distressed people "now under your chardge here," to be a mean for timely remedy.

Of late there have been "many perticuler quarrells" amongst gentlemen in the country, as the Riveleys, the Rotherfords, the Wallyses and Scotts, with others, wherein the warden heretofore took order and kept the peace. "You know they regard noe justice of peace here, but the warden; and for your depatie, they regard him least of all." Berwick. Signed: Will'm Selby, George Muschamp, Will'm Strother, Launclet Strowther, John Shaftow, Roger Selby, Christofer Ourd, Robart Wallis, Rowland Selby.

1 p. Addressed: "To the right worshipfull Sir Robart Carey knight, captaine of Norham, and warden of the East March of England forenest Scotland, at Cowrt or els where." Indorsed by Cecil's clerk: "The gent. porter and others of Barwycke to Sir Ro. Carey," &c.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Note of spoils.)

On 24 September 1597.—George Ourd elder of Newbigging had 8 "stottes and whyes" stolen thence, and same night from his son John Ourd mayor of Berwick, at the Grote heugh, four score sheep, by the Pringles, &c., fyled on the Merse.

On 28<sup>th</sup> September.—George Ourd of Tweedmouth had taken from Ourd, 6 oxen, by the Robsons in Chatte and Beareupp.

On 1<sup>st</sup> October.—The said George Ourd of Newbigging had 4 horses and mares taken there, by Thomas Henderson of Loughton, and John Young of the Spittle landes.

On 24<sup>th</sup> Oct.—3 Davisons, &c., in all 15 persons, came to Kilham fields and cruelly slew Renian Rontleidge going at his "wayne" bringing home his hay, giving him 20 wounds, and not leaving him till dead. Besides very lately 2 deadly hurt, the one at Heaton, the other at Twyssell hill," whence they took 16 oxen and kyne and 4 horses from the Lady Selby.

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"Moreover xxx<sup>th</sup> horse of the Scottes came to Bambronghe and ther had surprised Sir John Forster in his owne chamber, but that by good happ being espyed coming up the staires, his lady gott the chamber doore put to and bolted; who are supposed to have come of sett purpose to have slaine and tobd him."

On Thursday 27 October.—3 of the Youngs stole 9 oxen at Monylawes from M<sup>r</sup> William Selby.

Also taken from William Selby out of Gryndon rigg, five score sheep.

The Scots came to Dunston a lordship of the Queen's, within half a mile of the sea, broke up the doors, and took away 40 kyne and oxen.

1 p. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Nov. 5. 816. JAMES VI. TO LORD EURE.

Signifying his arrival "heir in persoun," to put down the broken men on the West March, and desiring if any of them take refuge in the Middle March, that Eure will be ready on notice, to concur in their apprehension and punishment, which being a benefit to both kingdoms, will be taken in good part by the Queen. Drumfreis. *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To our richt trusty and weilbelovit cousing the Lord Everis warden owir the Middle of England." *Indorsed*. *Wajer signet*: Scotland as before. *Post docquets on back*: "Receyved at Witton of John Bruse Scott the ix<sup>th</sup> of November 97 att vj<sup>e</sup> hours att night. R. at Morpeth 11 November at 11 in the forenoone. Receaved at London the xix November 6 clok at night by post."

Nov. 5. 817. JAMES VI. TO H. LEIGH.

To like effect; but that in addition, he has come to perform his promise to the Queen for delivery of the pledges, which could not well be done till his own arrival. Before departing, he will give Leigh as representing Lord Scrope, notice of the time and place of their delivery, that the Queen and her commissioners may be ready with theirs. Drumfreis. *Signed*: "Your loving freind, James R."

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: "To our trusty and weilbelovit Harye Ley warden depute of the West Marche of England." *Indorsed*.

Nov. 6. 818. HENRY LEIGH TO JAMES VI.

Acknowledging his letter, and that in the absence of Lord Scrope he will do as the King requests in regard to fugitives, hoping for the like towards any English fugitives. Carlisle. *Signed*: Henry Leighe.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Coppie of M<sup>r</sup> Leigh his lettres to the King of Scottes."

Nov. 6. 819. HENRY LEIGHE TO SCROPE.

The doubt I had in my last of the King of Scots coming to Drumfreys "is now dissolved," for this evening I received by "Robert of Newbie," his Majesty's letter hereinclosed to you. As the messenger desired speedy despatch, "I have presumed rudelie to make answeire, leaste by tractinge of tyme in sendinge for M<sup>r</sup> Lowther and others to take advise," his Majesty might conceive some discontentment, as the inclosed copy will show. I shall be ready to attend your directions to my uttermost power, or give place to any whom her Majesty thinks more worthy in your absence: "beinge free, I give God thankes, from all ambicione which maye impeache my dewtie, or any waye hinder the honor of her Majesties service."

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I will presently send for the gentlemen assistants named by your lordship and others of the better sort, with whom to advise, and will also do my best to have all the pledges in readiness to accomplish her Majesty's pleasure. Carlisle. *Signed*: He. Leighé.

"I give God thanks all things are in good quietnes, savinge the visitacion of God, which increaseth notwithstanding M<sup>r</sup> Maiore his dewtifull care to prevent the same, which I do assure your honor is therein as in all your lordship affayres most vigilant."

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Wafer signet*: A duck or gull.

Inclosed in the same :—

(Copy of the King's letter No. 817.)

Nov. 7. 820. EURE TO CECIL.

It may seem strange to you to be pestered with continual complaints of disorders in this my charge, but such is my fortune, that besides "forrayue daungers," I am slandered by the country, as your honor knows. These have been prosecuted by John Browne, "whose condicioñs shalbe maid known to your honor att large to be moste vyle and in this country appauntlie knowne. This man, supported by some my nighthe neighboures of hys rancke, hath not only maliciouslie spred his untrue and slaunderous reportes against my selfe, and quarrellous wordes against my servauntes, provoking quarrell both to my selfe in the presence of the commissioners and other gentlemen of the Midle Marche then attending me at Newburne: but also since hath avowed his threates of malice and murtherous intentions to these belonging me, as by the circumstances of his behaviou<sup>r</sup> appeareth— by riding in the Midle Marche with a ledd horse of M<sup>r</sup> William Fenwickes, him selfe armed on the body, and carrying peternell pistoll, his man with staff, and his companie on the day light armed and weopned as him selfe, he nor his companie receiving from me or anie belonging me injurious worde or occasion of quarrell, giveth juste cause to judge that his conscience accusinge him of moste vyle and badd dealing with me and those belonging me, labour-eth to doe some notable mischeefe and so avoyde his countrey, which in his consience he knoweth he cannot long brouke and continewe with if he receive the due measure of hir Majesties lawe.

"Likewise in the county palatyne of Durhame, his wordes being moste intemperate within a myle or twoe of my house at Wittoun where I lay, he riding with five came armed as I formerlie tould your honor, some with staffe, some with peternell, and some with pistoll, to thende to offense some belonging me as I suppose, and not finding fitt oportunity to quarrell, ranged to the towne of Richmonde, whome by chaunce twoe my servauntes whome I directed to attende me in my necessarie journeyes, were there aboute their necessarie occasions of their owne: the said Browne and his companie being in the streate where my twoe servauntes walked, a quarrell arose, the said Browne having a peternell in his hand offred to shote the same att one of these my servauntes, the which peternell as I am credible informed, was charged with fower or five bullettes att the leaste. It pleased God my said servaunt without further daunger to him selfe, wounded the said Browne, my servant having noe other weapon but a single Scottes sworde; it pleased God my other servaunte toke the staff from the other man, and with the same housed him and the rest of his companie, my said servant having noe other weapon but a Scottes sworde. This affray is by the Lord Bishop of Durham my neighbour aggregated with hys and greate extremity against my said servauntes; first, by lettres to the Alderman of Richmond, advising, and in her Majesties name requiring, the alderman to restraine these my twoe servauntes as common barratores knowne, with the

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"imprisonment of a month at the least without bayle, pronouncing not onely thanks from him selfe in so doing, but good acceptacion from some the lordes of hir Majesties most honorable privie counsell for the same; and withall extolling the said Browne with honor of his supposed place of recorder in Barwicke, averring his errande to be of necessarie service for hir Majestie, and him selfe a messinger of some of his lordship private lettres to my lord Thresaurer—by which meanes and his greatenes in these partes, my menn were restrained three dayes or thereabouts, and in the ende could not gett them discharged without entering recognisaunce of 400*li.*; which was done for the enjoying of their necessarie service of my men, though I think extream in lawe.

"My humble suite is that as these circumstaunces of the lord bushop his dealings dothe absolutlie denounce his secrete malice to me, and loving supporte of the said Browne, your honor wilbe pleased to stand my honorable freinde, as with your countenance to supporte me in my personall repaire to your honor, and let me be tryed of the truthe of these slaundrous informacions which this bravo Browne thundreth against me, and then according to your honor wisdom, either comferte me in the continuance of my government in this place, or dispose of me as it shall please you. I moste humbly pray that the likelihode of this sinister dealing of the lord bushop of Durham offred in the country may take noe place in your honors eares by his suggested informacions, to the disparidgment of my credit, till by due examinacion of both parties it may plainelie appeare my fault to bee more grevous than ever I hope it shalbe." Wittonn. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal; damaged.*

Nov. 8. 821. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

I send herewith copy of Lord Home's letter in answer to my requisition already certified to your honor.

To the seven principal points I answer briefly:—

(1) I have his own hand to show he demitted our English pledges, and I shall prove by some of them he took caution for his re-entry at his call. This point being "the ground of the rest, is merely insufficient."

(2) The treaty is satisfied on the Queen's behalf in this point, which cannot be questioned "without greate prejudice to her honor." He misconceives my promise as I formerly showed your honor.

(3) New delivery by her Majesty "is but a mistakinge." The overture by me, mentioned in my last letter to your honor, to meet Wedderburne if authorised, and offer new pledges for such as we cannot get "of the old," is yet unacknowledged by them.

(4) Their letter only reached me on the 8<sup>th</sup>, by whose fault I cannot say.

(5) The demand of the English warden "falteth in proportion." For the promise of entry of Buccleuch and Cesford was not under the treaty, but partly from the King's wish to satisfy her Majesty, and partly in punishment of their former notorious contempts. The two demands are not correspondent.

(6) This delay implies denial, breaking the treaty and the King's promise. At the meeting they partly satisfied for Liddesdale, by Buccleuch's delivery—for the other part, *viz.*, Cesford's pledges or himself, they did neither.

(7) "Their desire of clearing my wordes mentioned, is gropinge at noone day," as I have already shown to Lord Home—and any new clearing is mere triding.

I learn from the ambassador that my letter to Lord Home and the requisition, "were seriously scanned by the King and his counsell, and as

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"yt seemeth, this answere at the length sprung from thence by the Kinges privitie—as Wedderburne privately writeth to me."

Seeing they are resolved to stand upon redelivery of our old pledges, whom by Lord Enre's letter it seems not possible to recover, I see no good mean to bring this work to good conclusion, and humbly crave further direction therein.

I hear the King is on his way to Dumfries, where it may be he will expect concurrence in reciprocal delivery of the Western pledges, according to the former overtures—wherein it may please her highness to give direction. Bradley. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet*: "I. M."

Nov. 10. 822. JAMES VI. TO HENRY LEIGH.

"It being informit to ws, be our belovit Robert Dalzell younger of that ilk, that Florie Storie duelland upoun Eske within the boundis of your office and charge, is debtfull to him in the sowme of thre hundreth pundis, money of our realme, restand for the price of certane nolt and sheip coft \* be him from our said subject about Lambes last, quhairf he can have na satisfacioun bot delay continuellie used thairanent: quihlk hee moved ws effectuslie to request you to tak ordour that ayther the said sowme may be payit with convenient diligence, or that the person debtour may be committit in ward, and keipit thairin quhill he be compellit to do the same, as ye will do ws gude plesour." Drumfreis. "Your loving freind." *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: to "Harie Ley esquier warden depute," &c. *Indorsed by Leigh*.

Nov. 10. 823. THE MAYOR, &C., OF BERWICK TO CECIL.

Whereas it formerly pleased the Lords of the Council to make certain orders under their hands for restitution of certain rights and profits belonging to "our poore corporacion," which should have been executed by Sir Henry Woodrington then deputy governor here, and were entered in the "Councell booke" of Berwick accordingly: yet Sir Henry in his time from some private displeasure against us, and M<sup>r</sup> John Carey ever since, as these orders were established before his government began, and not particularly directed to be finished by him—have delayed the execution of them, contrary to their lordships' intent, and to our undoing. Wherefore we pray your honor to revive the said orders and our rights therein. Berwick. "The maior and comynalty of the towne of Barwicke." *Signed*: John Ourde maior, William Morton.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer seal (Berwick)*: indistinct.

Nov. 10. 824. GILLESLAND BARONY, BOUNDS, MANORS, &C.

"GILLESLAND.—The first lord of Gillesland baron of the parliament after the Conquest, was the Lord Vawx called Hubertus de Vallibus, and continued in that lyne until the 5 descent, called lykewise Hubertus, who left behinde him one onelie daughter and heire called Matildis Vawx.

"Thomas Multon a baron then of the parliament and lord of Burghe *super Zabulum, jure uxoris*, married the said Matilde Vawx, and soe conjoynd Gillesland and Burghe, and contynued in that lyne but to the 3, and all three

\* i.e., bought.

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"Thomas. The last Thomas Multon of 3, left one onelie daughter Margaret Multon heire of Gillesland and Burghe.

"Ranulphus Dacre of Dacre in Cumberland a gent. not of a hundred markes yeerelie, and att that tyme a freehold to the lord Graystock (whose heire Dacre afterwarde married) dyd marie the aforesaid Margaret Multon, and soe became lord of Burghe and Gillesland, in whose lynce yt did continewe untill George last lord Dacre her Majesties warde died. George last lord Dacre diel her Majesties warde, and left three sisters, Anne, Marie and Elizabeth.\*

"The baronie of Gillesland upon the south part beginneth att the head of Croglyn water, and soe descendeth downe Croglyn untill it fall into Eaden a principall ryver, and soe downe Eaden, untill the foote of Irdinge water, from whence the bounder dothe crosse by land over untill yt come to the Bishopp dykes of Crosby baronie, and soe from thence by the bounder over to the water of Leaven, and upp Leaven under the Harper hill to the foote of Kirkbeck, and soe npp Kirkbeck by Bewcastle castle to the head of Kirkbeck, and soe to the Wastes downe by Haslegill, and soe to the head of the water of Irdinge and dowae the water of Irdinge to the foote of Powle-crosse where Cumberland and Northumberland joyneth as the bounder carrieth to the head of Croglyn, where yt did begynae.

"In which barony of Gillesland their bee fifteene severall manners and fifteene severall bayliffes, all under the commaunde of the land sergeant of Gillesland as principall officer and marshall steward.

"MANNORS.—Betwixt Croglyn water and Gelt water, 6 bayliffes.

1. Croglyn, Robert Grayme; 2. Cumrew, John Dixon; 3. Castelcarrock, Stephen Hodson; 4. Aynstaplyth, [ ] ; 5. Cumerhotton, Francis Skaffe; 6. Heyton, Anthonie Knight; 7. Brampton, Lancelott Carleton; in which the market towne of Brampton and the castle of Naward standeth; 8. Talkyn, William Milborne; 9. Farleham, George Bell; 10. Neder Denton, Anthonie Carleton; 11. Over Denton, Edward Tweddall, betwixt Irdinge, Leaven, and Kirkbeck; 12. Irdington, Christopher Blenerhasset; 13. Walton woode, William Bell; 14. Treddermayne, Clemeatt Hethrington; 15. Askerton, Richard Grayme of Brakenhill. Besides manie others which have bene at the commaund of the land sergeant of Gillesland, and nowe taken from the obedience by the landlodes, as Lanercost, Corbye, and divers others." There should be 500 men in these to serve her Majesty, but there are not 15 able horsemen at this day.

"Within this fower yeeres bypast, the baronie of Gillesland was equall to the best part of the Borders in wealth and quietnes, and sence, I darre bee bould to speak yt, that tenne thousand poundes will not well and sufficientlie repayre the decaies and losses of the said country, her Majesties tenants and subjectes, by fier sword spoyle and oppression of the Scot and enimie, besides the great dearth and famyn wherwith the countrey hath bene punished extremelie this three hard yeeres bypast, and nowe last of all the plague of sicknes latelie fallen amongst them.

"In the said baronie their bee divers parkes for fallowe deare, and a great forrest of read deare called Geltesdale and Breariethwaite, wheare I have seene above a thousand reade deare att a viewe and course.

"In the same baronie their bee 15 severall parrishes and parrishe churches. The circuite of the whole baronie is above fower score myles." *Signed*: Thomas Carleton of Carleton, land sergeant of the sayd baronye of Gillesland.

2 pp. On a broad sheet. Indorsed partly by *Burghley*: "10 November 1597. Gilleslande with the xv manners and the perambulation therof."

\* The descent is shown thus on the margin:—“OF VAWX, 5—1 Hubertus, 2 Robertus, 3 Ranulphus, 4 Robertus, 5 Hubertus. OF MULTON, 3—1 Thomas, 2 Thomas, 3 Thomas. OF DACRE, 11—Ranulphus 3, Thomas 3, William 2, Hughe, Hunfray, George.”

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Nov. [10.] 825. INFORMATION BY THOMAS CARLETON.

That the Lord Dacre was the maintainer of Gilsland in former times, not the land sergeant: but the land sergeant maintained by Lord Dacre.

"The Lord Dacre for the most part warden, kept house and remained either in Nawart castle which is in the middle part of Gilsland, or els in Kirkoswald castle, which is within les then two miles of the southe part of the same. The land sergeaunt, then but a particuler servaunt to the lord Dacre, having in his absence the commaund and government of that whole barony of Gilsland, having for his maintenance the better to discharge that goverment, his chamber, stable, horse meat, allowaunce for his men, all the lords houshold servaunts, allwayes at the fewest 24 or 30, able and well horsed men, at his call and commaundement. The land sergeaunt his dew fee for that office only five pounds, and his lord and masters countenaunce, which was more then all the rest. And yet for all these, even when the Lord Dacre was in his greatest might and autoritye, the land sergeaunt did often find hard measures, and that countrie often suffred great and many spoiles and overthrowes, such as any and every border countrie in these parts hathe ben, is, and wilbe subject unto. And for one profe amongst many others, it happened the Lord William Dacre then being at his house in Nawart, a tenaunt of his was spoiled within a mile: the tenaunt which was spoiled, as the manner was and is, brought the fray to Nawart. The Lord Dacre rose out of his bed, and caused his land sergeaunt, at that tyme George Skelton, there in his houshold with hym, to ride forth to the fray, and sent with hym Sir Thomas Dacre his base brother and 35 gentlemen and yeamen all of his houshold servaunts able men and well horsed; but before they returned, the land sergeaunt George Skelton a gentleman greatly in his masters favour at that tyme, with 9 of the best and principall men in his companie, was slaine and murdered within England by the Ellots of Liddesdall, Sir Thomas Dacre with diverse mo, were taken prisoners by one Rynion Armstrang and his companie, the rest bothe of the houshold and countrie, wer chased and put to flight. Also in the quietest tyme of the old Lord Scroops most honorable government, Thomas Carleton then land sergeaunt, a man of great and long experience in those parts, was by a like train drawn forth to a following and taken prisoner by the Armstrangs of Liddesdall, his companie overthrowen, maimed with greavous wounds, and the countrie spoiled, untill the lord Scroop caused hym to certify the late Duke of Norfolk, who then had the tuition of George lord Dacre her Majesties ward, and therupon was allowed pay for 24 men: which continewed untill the countries wer better quieted. These accidents and such like, that countrie is subject unto at all tymes. Now the barony of Gilsland and the office is altogether her Majesties whom God long preserve and continew. If her Majestie do not maintain her officer, her servaunt can not defend the office, for since it came into her Majesties possession, the decay hathe ben for lack of maintenance with allowaunce and good countenaunce, which was allwayes, as is before set down, in the lord Dacres tyme, and somtyme since. For prooffe the better to discharge myne own dewty being her Majesties officer, and to let her Majestie and her Majesties most honorable counsell see that her Majestie may be better served in that place, and that countrie better preserved then ever it was in any Dacres tyme, I will undertake in her Majestie trew and faithfull service, either to bestow my life, or els to performe as is herunder set down, to serve her Majestie and defend my countrie, or failing the performance of any article undertaken, in part or all, let the allowance and fee be staid at the audit, untill every article herunder written be in every respect fully and dewtifully performed.

"Upon sufficient allowed maintenance, the land sergeant to do and performe."—

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1. To answer at every audit, and procure a *quietus est* thereat for all things due her Majesty for the barony of Gilsland.

*On margin.*—For there was formerly a receiver, but none of late.

2. To be ready with the whole barony at the lord warden's command to attend him, his deputy or constable in the Queen's service.

*On margin.*—For formerly the warden never had to do with office or officers.

3. To answer to the warden for every tenant in the said office, at every day March, &c., at command, under penalty.

*On margin.*—For the lord Dacre formerly answered for his tenants.

4. To satisfy "of myne own goods" every tenant spoiled by "Scotsmen or English to the value of vjd.," or deliver the offender to the Queen's gaol "in tyme convenient."

5. To bring before the justices of assises any tenant in the office to answer to the law, or myself to satisfy the complainer.

*On margin.*—For they sometimes spoil in the Middle March and some parts of the West.

And to perform these, let me have her Majesty's gracious countenance, as well as the lord warden's. For maintenance, let Gilsland be equal "in commodity" to its neighbour Bewcastle. "In my simple opinion (with pardon to speak it) the causes why Gilsland ought to be maintained as well as Bewcastle ar three."—(1) They are now both her Majesty's; (2) and alike subject to every "perilouse" danger; and (3) while she has little or nothing out of Bewcastle, there is above 200*l.* yearly answered to her out of Gilsland.

2½ pp. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary*: "No. 1597. Carletons information towching Gillesland."

Nov. 12. 826. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Since my last letter, Master Bowes the ambassador "came to this towen on Saterdaye the v<sup>th</sup> of this monthe wher he hathe remayened ever sines in verey weke estat, styll kepinge his bed and ever worse and worse, so as his wenekes makes all men thinke he can not escape: wherfor my honorabell good lord, as I have begune, so will I eand in presuminge of your honorabell faver, onley releyging myselfe therof, as a man resolut never to attempt any thinge ether displesinge or dislikinge to your honer, and yet if it shold so ples your lordshipe as to take good likinge of me or to thinke me worthey of that offes of tresserershippe, I wold then be lothe to be prevented bey any other therin, wiche I fear I shall if ther be not sume stope mad therof befor my lord of Essexes comminge to Cort; whoe I fear will crosse me in what he maye, having taken sume displeser agaynst me sines my comminge hether, what I knoe not . . . Prayinge your honer at the least to bestowe the borninge of this letter, for that it maye other wayes torne me to displeser."

These borders are in most lamentable condition, looking for and expecting justice, yet all is overthrowen, "as for exsampell in the wryghtinge of this littyll letter, I have byn caled downe iij severall tymes to se the freshe bledinge bluddey woundes and hortcs that have byn given this last night bey the Scottes, whoe never ley styll on nighte, to ouer pooer contereymen in reskeweinge ther owen goodes that wear taken from them: theye pooer men, sekings for helpe or relefe at any manes hand, and like masterles men, feynding relefe no whear nor any whome to mou themselves to, ar fayen to come to me, whoe have not to doe withe them, and yet ame fayen to releve them." Your honors must take better order, or the country will be laid waste and it then will be too late. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*



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Nov. 12. 827. JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I have expected Lord Hume in these parts ever since your last, but he has been "on Fyfe syde" till the 10<sup>th</sup>, when he returned to Hewtonhall 6 miles from this. I hearing, sent to him and we met yesterday upon the "Bownd roade," when I told him of the contents of the Queen's letter sent to me on the 17<sup>th</sup>, whereof he was glad to hear, and said he would be ever ready to do all good offices between the King his master and her Majesty. Yet I thought him "too much affected" to Cesford, though he said the only cause of his coming to these parts, was to go through with the indents for delivery of the pledges, which he and Cesford were ready to do; but though he had written to Sir William Bowes for a meeting on the 8<sup>th</sup>, he had yet no answer, "marvelinge thereat"; and is now returning "to beyonde the Fyfe againe," about his own affairs he says.

Though it is not my business, yet I must entreat and humbly desire some speedy order taken for reformation of things, or the country will be "cleane overthrowen" for want of a leader. They are nightly overrun by the Scots, "and even this night the Scottes toke away from a place called Longrigh, not farr from Barwick, a great pray both of sheepe and cattell: which beinge reskewed by our poore countrey men, the Scottes beinge an over partie, have hurte and wounded vj or vij of our men verie sore, whereof three or fower of them are hurt to the perill of death." The country men are "as sheepe without a sheepeherd."

I have further to remind your honor of Buccleuch, for in your last you wrote that her Majesty did not intend him to remain here, being "so unconvenient" for his safety.

Mr Bowes the ambassador has been here ever since Saturday last the 5<sup>th</sup>, very sick and weak, and hardly "like to escape it." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Sevan wafer signed.*

Nov. 12. 828. R. BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Finding myself so weak since brought hither, that I doubt being able to make the pay to the garrison for Christmas next, and my son Raphe Bowes having made the same for the first half year—as I trust to your satisfaction, —I humbly beg your lordship to vouchsafe to allow him to receive and make the pay for the half year ended at Michaelmas last, and thus complete the year's pay, directing also your letters to the several receivers to pay him the portions allotted for that service on his acquittance.

It may also please your lordship to give perfect order for payment to Mr Vernon and Mr Swyfte for the victuals delivered by them to the garrison, wherein I have directed my servant Sheperson to attend on your lordship for your pleasure, desiring favourable access and credit for him therein. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Bowes. (*In a tremulous hand.*)

¾ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed (Bowes): indistinct.*

Nov. 15. 829. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"I thought it my dntie to lett you understand that Mr Bowes is even verie nowe departed owt of this world, when wee all had most hope of his recoverie. I feare he have left a verie poore companie behynd him, of his wief and his sonne, whose poore estate (I thincke) will require your honorable favour towards them." His son M Raphe's humble request to your lordship is, that it will please you, he may as his father desired, have the indents for this half year's pay at Christmas, in respect that the receipt at the former half year is not so great as this, wherefore he had to advance

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part of it out of his own money, which must be allowed in this half year, besides his father's allowance. He is so honest and well conditioned a gentleman, that if his estate were as himself, I should think him very fit to succeed his father; but for many respects, as the towne, the Queen's profit, &c., I hope as your lordship has ever been careful in her Majesty's affairs, you will now place some honest wise and careful man as treasurer, praying whosoever it shall be, that the pay may be made before Christmas, for the sake of the town.

"M<sup>r</sup> Bowes departed this vaele of miserie this night aboute three of the clock, who died in a verie good and godlie order, whose end showed his honest lief; and thus with my humble dutie, referringe my selfe to your honorable consideracion, with assurance that I will willinglie performe what I have heretofore written, I end this tragicall discourse." Berwick. "This morninge at vj of the clock." *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Nov. 17. 830. RICHARD FENWICK TO BURGHLEY.

I have made many great offers to the Earl of Huntingdon late deceased, Lord Ewrye, the Bishop of Durham and Sir William Bowes, on behalf of this distressed country of Northumberland, which is at present undone, and nothing more common than murders, robberies, March treasons, &c.,—not more of late however than for the last 20 years. Some particulars whereof, as to the authors, and by whom they have been "bolstred uppe," I have heretofore preferred to their said lordships, but the wrong remedy hath been taken to repress these. However, the means whereby I hope to do so, I here offer by your lordship to her highness and your lordship's consideration, thinking myself in duty and upon my allegiance bound so to do, rather than see the wreck of the country drawing near and her Majesty's treasure wasted.

Your lordship and the rest of the Council will marvel that none in my country joins with me in setting their hands to these particulars—the truth is, there is no man in the country dares for his life to be known to do or think so much, but if her highness grant my requests, your lordships shall see a thousand gentlemen and yeomen both with oaths and hands, justify the truth of all I have said within 3 months, with many more particulars, or let a public example be made of me to deter others hereafter. "I protest before God, that I have no tenant or servant but he must lye in armer and wach till my return home: cravinge your honores spedye aunswere." *Signed*: Rychard Fynwyck.

¾ p. *Headed*: "To the right honorable the Lord highe Treasurer of Englaund." *Indorsed*: "The humble petition of Rychard Fenwick of Stanton in Northumberland esquier," &c. *Also by Burghley's clerk.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Richard Fenwick's offers.)

Offers to her Majesty to reform the present daily spoils, &c., in the Middle Marches by Richard Fenwick of Stanton esquire.

If it would please your highness to command Lord Ewrye or other to remain warden there, and appoint the said Richard as deputy under him, but for 3 months, with power to choose the captains of the 100 garrison men allowed by your highness for defence, the said Richard will take such a sure course that no true man shall have cause to complain of loss of goods, or if there be, Richard's lands shall be sold to make it good and your highness's laws so defended "as yf your highnes gracious eyes looked on him daye and night." The lack of this last has undone the country, and the magistrates, great men and mean officers, for this 20 years have sought their

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own security, and maintained thieves and traitors to the oppression of the "comminaltye" and just men.

"And lett his head be taken from him at the three monthes end, yf he perourme not all that he laythe offred," and prove the truth of what he says by the oaths of 100 gentlemen and yeomen. There are 1000 of these who dare not for their lives speak against a great thief either openly or in secret, to further justice, not so much for fear of the thief's displeasure, but that of the officers and great gentlemen who protect and defend those thieves.

He would also humbly entreat your highness, if you appointed him deputy warden as above, to allow him to bring to trial and judgment, "but 40 great gentlemen and yeomen thefes," and that their forfeitures might go to maintain 100 horsemen in garrison, besides the 100 already allowed, which would restore 500*l.* worth of goods to your poor subjects, stolen "within this seven years, by others the said great theifes steal fellows."

And to show your highness that he "shall sett feare of death, affection, and covetousnes aside (which three faltes in the magistrates of Northumberland, are the onely overthrowe therof) he havinge three or foure gentlemen comed of the best frendshipp in the countrie, who have married the said Richardes daughters and sisters, all of them great theefes, yet loving the said gentlemen very well, but hating ther wicked lief, they should be of the first he would bring to tryall and execution according to lawe, which would feare and terrifye a hundred others to offend, and make a hundred also confesse ther offences and submitt them selves to Godes mercye and your highnes." For nothing but this "overlookinge" of magistrates has caused so many murders and thefts.

The chief spoilers in your highness's three Marches are Englishmen who join the Scots, and if they were "taken awaye, which ys easie to be done," the Scots thieves durst not come "past 5 or six myles within your highnes pleuished ground of Northumberland"; whereas now they come 20 and 30 miles, robbing and murdering with English aid, and overlooking by the keepers of Tynedale and Redesdale.

This would save your highness the present great charges for defence, only the 100 horse for 3 months, for all your true subjects are willing to give double rents for their farms, and none will refuse but the thieves or their maintainers, which double rents will maintain 300 or 400 able horsemen on your highness's frontiers, whose captains shall be landed gentlemen of the country, and give bonds before the Council at York—so that in 2 years your highness shall have as many able men furnished with horse and armour, as "your worthy father of famous memorye King Henrye the Eight, had ther in his lief time"; for hundreds of your subjects would fain buy horse, but dare not, for the English thieves would steal them in a day or two.

These 3 or 400 men and captains "being of all surnames and kynredes of the countrie," would so terrify the Scots that they durst not enter.

And within 2 years your highness should not need to pay the Lord Warden, for the Middle March would pay it for their own ease.

"Yt would make teares fall from your Graces eyes," to see the wretched state of the country, and if any one shall inform your highness and Council that the above is not the only remedy, he respects not your highness's crown and dignity.

Besides his duty to your Majesty, and other causes, he is moved to open these matters, remembering the favour bestowed by your most noble father on his ancestors—"for his Majestie knighted Sir Roger Fenwicke and Sir Rauffe Fenwicke, great grandfather and grandfather to the said Richard, and Rauffe Fenwick also, father of the said Richard, and employed them successively in his Majesties service all ther lief tymes to be keepers of Tynedale, and the said Sir Rauffe Fenwicke the elder, was warden of the Middle Marches during his lief time."

Another cause is, that his losses and hurts have far exceeded any other

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man's, for within 12 years they have robbed him of 400*l.* in value, besides the lives of his near kinsmen and servants, and this because he has always opposed these robbers and thieves, refusing their favour, like others for their own safety—whereby he is “so poore that he ys not nowe able to make above xvj men horse and fote.” Between the 1<sup>st</sup> and last days of this October, he rose to follow 7 or 8 robberies done by English and Scottish thieves, the furthest off within three miles of his dwelling house. Therefore to revenge themselves on him, on 30 October last, “20 of thes great gentlemen theves, half of theme Englishmen and half Scottes,” and some his near kinsmen, came and robbed a poor widow within a mile of his house, intending thus to draw him out aud murder him. Though he partly knew their purpose, yet he pursued them with 11 of his men, and his eldest son only 16 years of age. On discovering them, he left his son and 8 footmen, while himself rode about to get more help, and in the meantime his son “being too forward,” with only 3 of his men came on 16 of the thieves in ambush to murder his father. They set upon the son and his 3 men, “shott five guns and dages at them, and tooke the soons horse; and yf he and the other three had not verry manfullie defended them selves, they had bene all slaine.” When Richard came up with the rest, the thieves fled, and he pursued them above 16 miles of “plenished” ground, with his own men only, for though he raised the fray in many towas, none durst or would rise, and on coming to your highness's castle of Harbottle, found no man there, so for want of aid he let the thieves go, and the poor woman lost her goods. *Signed: Rychard Fynwyck.*

3 pp. *Closely written. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary: “17 November 1597.” Annotated by Burghley.*

Nov. 17. 831. EDWARD GRAY TO EURE.

As your lordship may think it long since you heard how we proceed in service in your absence, I thought it good to certify—but as far as I see, the unwillingness of both the gentlemen and commonalty is such, as it is hard and difficult for me to stir them to action.

On Tuesday after I parted from you at Witton, the gentlemen of this ward met me at Morpeth, “where noe stand watche would be consented to, by reasone of my lord Ogell his stricte directions geven to his deputy Meringt Ogell of Tritlington, utterlie to refuse the same for him and his tenantes”: saying it was impossible for them to do it, though both his deputy and the assembled gentlemen thought it most easy, and no watch more necessary.

Theoreon I thought it fit to agree on some watch, in respect of the outrages by “our home theaves on the forraine borderers,” and moved “the plump watche,” which was agreed to and set down in writing under their hands, to be kept in 7 places by as many gentlemen of the ward, “viz., by Nicholas Thornton of Witton uppon Wyndgayttes edge with his divisyon; by Thomas Ogell of Hepscott at Hedley wood head; by the Lord Ogells deputy and the balif of Ughame at Hairlaw picke; by John Cresswell at Ughame Cockell; by Robert Witherington of Plessey at Fen end; by the balif of Chiveington att the Flower of Cheveley; and by my self or my deputy at [ ] foorde; and att every place everie leader to chouse oute xli<sup>th</sup> men oute of his divisyon.”

Since then we met on Monday 15<sup>th</sup> instant, both to take bound such suspected persons as I told you of, and to confer on “slew dogges.” I bound most of them named for this ward, and will get the rest as I can. “For slew dogges, I want a kallender whiche your lordship hathe,” by which I should call the dogs in their several divisions, and would gladly have it, if you could devise means to send it.

But at this meeting the gentlemen complained greatly of the country who should watch with them—saying they met with their “private companies,”

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but few or none of the country in each division would rise; wherefore they gave that watch up till Friday 19<sup>th</sup> instant, when we meet at Harelaw picke to view and muster the horsemen of this ward, and there think to conclude for a nightly watch at Rotheburie parke head with 40 men—being a place that the thieves who spoil this country cannot pass, but they shall come to them within a mile on any shout or fray. And we think by drawing this ward into 14 companies, the turn of each will come every 14 night. But this not to be concluded till you get notice, and I will make the gentlemen sign it.

I am about to direct Castell ward, Tyndayle ward, Alnwick and Cookdayle wards, to meet at certain days and places for erecting like watches, if it be only till such time as you return, to keep the country from spoil.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> I received from "my lady" a letter directed to you from the King of Scots, and have written to the keepers of Tindale and Redesdale in accordance, and also made open proclamation in Morpeth, Hexham, Alnwick, and Hawtwissell. Yet I thought it not fitting for me to answer the King, as my lady willed me by her letter.

Also I had another letter from her directed to your lordship from "Baclughe" at Berwick, to which I have made no answer—as he craves redress according to the "now" treaty and charges you with promise of concurrence, as you may see on perusing it: and as I had no direction for answering such letters, I forbear till I hear from you, desiring it may be with speed, and sending you the principal letters, reserving copies.

The King having come to Dunfrees, it is thought by some he lies there as much to take advantage of his own opportunity, as to suppress thieves, and I have therefore ordered all this March to be ready on an hour's warning.

Lord Hume is thought to be infected with the "plange," and it is reported many of his household are dead of it.

It is certain that Cesford labours all he can to keep his people from riding, but I cannot learn his intent therein, or get answer to the many letters I have written to him, for restitution of attemptates. Morpeth. Signed: Edward Gray.

"Newes wee have none here but that Mr William Eurie, William Cunstable and Henrie Woodring[ton] are knighted, and that Mr Robert Dowes ambassador for Scotland is dead at Barwick yesternight beinge the xv<sup>th</sup> of this instant."

2½ pp. *Addressed*: To Lord Eure as warden. *Inlorsed by Ceci's clerk, and in another hand*: "Received at London the xix November by post, being his first lettre, 6 a cloke at night." *Wax signet*: A lion rampant within a bordure inwecked: good.

Nov. 17. 832. JAMES VI. TO HENRY LEIGH.

As some of the broken men and malefactors within this our West March, have refused to enter and submit as directed by our Council, "we have resolved to passe forward in proper person upon them with fyre and sword upon Tysday next the xxij<sup>th</sup> day of this instant, to their exterminacion and wreike, as we wrote to you before and received their anent your dewtiefull and loyall answeare, for whilk we give yow thanks. Soe have we thought good right effectuallie to request and intreat yow . . . that yow wilbe in a redynes with some sufficient force, to remaine at the Mote of Lyddell upon Tysday next, at twelve howres, for hawlding them in at that syde, and concurrencie with us to their borning persuite and repressing, in seike particuler forme, as ye shalbe advertised at our first passinge downe in Anuerdell. Hearing also that ye have in handes some of the most vyle and notable theives of Annerdell, speyciallie one Sym of Puddingborne, whilk was taken read hand in their thiftice deedes, and ar sike as may weil be

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"spaired for their mischeivous mischeifes, comyted to the hurte of the good subjectes of beith the realmes, we have thought mete to desyre yow that gif your powre may so be extended in the absence of the Lord Scroope warden, ye woll ether cause they notorious lymmers be delivered to ws to be hanged, or ye woll cause hange them your selfe: and gif any wald intersed for their liefes, that yow woll account them as aucthers of their villanie and thift, and reject whersomever their suites thereanent, that seik wicked theives may receive condigne punishment, as ye woll kythe effected ther to justis and woll doe us right thankfull pleasure." Drunfrice. James R.

*I p. A copy by Leigh's clerk. Addressed. Indorsed by Leigh.*

Nov. 18. 833. SCROPE TO R. LOWTHER.

"M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, I thought my often writing unto M<sup>r</sup> Ligh to signifie unto you my will to accept the charge of the wardenrie in my absence, had bene sufficient to induce you to yeelde thertoo." But I see you not only neglected looking to the charge, but complained "above" that I did not write to you. I was not compelled to choose you, but I thought it would please M<sup>r</sup> Leigh better, as you were once officer. "And now these shalbee to commaund you to use noe further delaye, but to looke to that charge during the whole tyme of my absence, which I hope shall not be much longer: and at my returne (if you do well) Ile give your worship thancks, and shall then appoint such an one as shalbee fit for the place." Somerset House. *Signed: Th. Scroope.*

"I pray cosen Lowther, be a meane to stay your owne men from spoyling the cuntry: for thong I have forgiven them often, yet there is noe amendement yet."

*I p. Holograph; as also address at foot: "To his loving frind M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther esq<sup>r</sup>." Indorsed.*

(1) Copy of same letter in another hand.

Nov. 18. 834. THOMAS AND JAMES BELL TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

"Your poore and dailye suppliantes Thomas Bell and James Bell of Gilleslande," in the county of Cumberland, humbly show to your honors, in their own name and in name and behalf of their kinsmen the Bells of Gilsland, that whereas they have divers times complained to her Majesty and your honors, of their great spoils by the Scots, most especially "at the late daye furrowe in Gilleslande: at which rode there was 80 of your saide suppliantes the Bells utterlye beggered and spoiled and 60 of them taken prisoners, and carryed into Scotlande, and not above 2 other tenants spoiled, excepte frendes to the saide Bells": all which spoils and others before and since, were done only in revenge of their true service to her Majesty at Lord Scrope's command, "especiallie for the apprehendinge of 2 offenders, the one called Guy Carleton, and thother Thomas Armestronge," one a kinsman the other a servant to Thomas Carleton officer there—which act has not only occasioned the dissension between the Carletons and the said suppliantes, but is also the chief cause of the many incursions on them by the Armstrongs of Scotland, "accomptinge the same. after their brutishe manner, a deadly feed" and attributing the act to the whole surname of Bells, which are "above 500 men," all tenants and subjects to her Majesty in Gilsland and the countries adjoining; whereby unless some help is shortly provided, they will be "cleane rootted out from those partes"; and the rather for Thomas Carleton's hatred and malice towards them. Wherefore they pray "for Godes cause" to have some help. They demand nothing for their spoils in the said day foray—for by Lord Scrope's means they have been in some

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sort relieved,—but only for their losses before and since and “maintenance for the time to come.”

1 p. On a broad sheet. Addressed at head. Indorsed: “18 Nov. 1597. The humble petitioner,” &c.

Nov. 835. THOMAS CARLETON TO BURGHLEY.

Whereas your lordship has delivered to me a petition by one Thomas Bell and James Bell, against myself, brethren, and our name, I have in all truth and sincerity obeyed your command to answer the same.

First.—I know no such man as James Bell: and the other is not sent up (as he untruly says) in behalf of his surname, but to procure a pardon for one Thomas Armstrong who was condemned at the Carlisle assises “was a twelvemonth.” As for the great spoil in Gilsland: “true it is the like hath not happened in my time and memorie: and I have heard that one Christofer Bell brother to the said Thomas Bell the complainant,” brought in the Scots, and procured the said spoil (as others of the Bells offered to prove on oath who lost their goods then), where none escaped free but George Bell of Bowbanck and George Bell of Mylton, who were the sole takers of Guy Carleton and Thomas Armstrong, &c., and this complainant’s brother. It is untrue that there were 80 Bells beggared, &c., for there were never so many of the name in the country: but my brother Anthony Carleton (who was then here her Majesty’s prisoner), and my servants at Farleham hall and other our friends thereabout, were utterly beggared and spoiled, and have never yet got remedy.

Whereas he says there are 500 Bells tenants to the Queen, “I unswere there are not 50; and of those not 5 (besides the said complainant and the said two George Bells and their brethren),” that will join in his complaint against us, or think we bear malice to them. But their own conscience only accuses them of false witness against us “(which God forgeve them)” for we mean no malice against them or any other.

He has stayed here about this pardon, more than a quarter of a year, and never once spake in it till now, intending our further trouble, as he thought we had all been gone home: as indeed the rest are, and I only wait here for your lordship’s pleasure and resolution on the offers I gave you for Gilsland.

1 p. A broad sheet. Addressed at head. Indorsed.

Nov. 19. 836. INFORMATION OF CUTHBERT COWLING.

At Bishop Awkland 19<sup>th</sup> November 1597, 40 Eliz., the information of Cuthbert Cowling of Richmond vintner, taken upon oath before me Tobie bishop of Durham one of her Majesty’s justices of the peace and quorum in the County Palatine and one of her Council in the North, upon letters directed to him, &c., from the Privy Council.

*Inprimis*—he saith that on 29 October last between 6 and 7 o’clock p.m. came to his house in Richmond John Browne recorder of Berwick, Valentyne West a soldier of Sir William Reade’s there, servant to the Bishop, and one Morton servant to George Brigges of Newcastle upon Tyne vintner, and after all supping together, they went into M<sup>r</sup> Browne’s chamber where the said West delivered a box with writings and evidences of Sir William Reade’s, in this informer’s presence. After that about 9 o’clock they the said Browne, West, Morton and a servant of Browne’s “went to bedd all in one chamber untill after seaven of the clocke in the next morning being the Saboath daie. And after they had broken ther fast, M<sup>r</sup> Browne going to his horse at the doore, and having his foote in the stirrop, one of his

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"handes on the saddle pummell, and his other putting towards his pocquett for money to give to a multitude of poore folkes that stode about him, sodainly William Browneles houshold servaunt to the Lord Eure, with his sworde ready drawn came behinde him, and gave him a great wounde on the hinder part of his heade, and another wounde upon his left arme, and a thirde upon his shouldior, with so exceeding great force and furie, that had it not been for that the saide poore folkes did somme of them stande so as he could not reach him so easely as he would, but over one or two of their heades, he had slaine the saide Browne outright: and a fourth stroke he gave him in the neck, but it hurt him not: And after that this informer with others had gotten weapons, he the saide Browneles fledd, but was so fast pursued as he could not escape."

*Item*.—That Browneles and one Frauncis Wadely also Lord Eure's servant, walked together an hour or more before the affray, up and down near Cowling's door, to watch as it should seem for Browne coming out: and further "they pretended to seke a fleckt graie hoande with a reade collar, which they saide they had lost," and as is said, sought also in an alehouse kept by one George Key.

Further—he saw the said Wadlie take away the weapon of Browne's servant, "while th'afraie was in doing," and broke the point in striking at him. And then fled with Browneles, till they were seized and taken before the Alderman of Richmond: who demanding their reason for this assault, Browneles answered "the cause was knowne to a hundred and a hundred, and to the best in Englande."

*Item*—he heard his servant George Crafton affirm that Browneles said "he was sorie it was no worse,—meaning that Browne was not worse hurt."

*Item*—he confesses that Christopher Askough alderman of Richmond told him the bishop of Durham had written to him to take care that Browneles and Wadely should not be bailed till it was seen what became of M<sup>r</sup> Browne's dangerous wounds: at least for a month till he heard from above; and then the bail should be for their forthcoming as well as the peace and good behavio<sup>r</sup> also: and that he heard part of Lord Eure's letter to the alderman read, requiring him to bail them at his peril, ou bond for the peace only, as he had present occasion for them in her Majesty's affairs.

*Item*—he has known M<sup>r</sup> Browne many years, and never saw him, before, or at the affray, or since, behave otherwise than "as becometh an honest sober and peaceable man."

*Item*—that M<sup>r</sup> John Pepper of Richmond a gentleman of good credit, told him of late, that some "towards" the Lord Eure said they would get some to swear that M<sup>r</sup> Browne had his horseman's piece charged, and was ready to shoot at Browneles before the latter offered to strike him: which M<sup>r</sup> Pepper dissuaded them from, saying they would never get it proved, the contrary being well known. Tobie Duresme. By me Cuthb<sup>o</sup> Cowling. "*Copia vera*: Tobie Duresme."\*

2 pp. *Written by the Bishop's clerk. Indorsed*: "Copia," &c.

Nov. 20. 837. JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Though when Buccleuch came here, I wrote to my lord my brother how inconvenient it was, and it pleased you to signify to me by letter, that the Queen's pleasure was he should be presently removed: I have yet heard nothing, "whereby he continewes here still, growinge werie of the towne, and so more dangerous to be kepte"; and humbly pray for early direction from her Majesty for his removal. He greatly desires it himself, that he may answer and receive his deserts at her pleasure; and begs her "to

\* These 4 words holograph.



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"consider of him, in respect that whiles he is here, those in Lyddesdale, who are under himself, do nightlie ryde upon his frendes and folowers; even the same men who he should have delivered for pledges, are the men who are bowldest with him. It may please your honor to understand he doth demeane and behave him self verie well and orderlie in this place, as ever I sawe any man of his countrey." And if it please you to further him to hearing his answer, he shall be more bound to you, and all we think ourselves most happy.

The Scots are now broke loose, for there is no ambassador to complain to, and no governor nor warden on the borders to bid them lie still. Yet the garrison here are "still douge as they may: as this night they have taken three and kild one, and by verie yll lucke, mist sixe more." I have sent to ascertain about the expected "greate sturrs" likely to rise in Scotland, and shall report what I hear. So praying you to remove from us Sir Walter Scott, to send a governor, and see the tawn provided better with victuals, or we shall be in straits. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.

Nov. 21. 838. THE EXAMINATION OF CHRISTOPHER AISCOUGH.

Bishop Awkland 21<sup>st</sup> November 1597 (40 Eliz.) the examination of M<sup>r</sup> Christopher Aiscough alderman of Richmond on his oath, taken before me Tobie bishop of Durham, &c., under certain letters from the Privy Council.

*Inprimis*—he saith that on Sunday morning 30 October last, William Browneles and Francis Wadely servants to Lord Eure, having made an affray upon M<sup>r</sup> John Browne recorder of Berwick and wounded him, they were apprehended and brought to him the alderman, "after they had been pursued to their host house (called Mark Sober inholder) with clubs by the saide inhabitants": whereon they were committed by him to ward, and not dealt with till divine service was done; and examined in the afternoon on such points as appear in their examinations herewith.

Also—on Monday night the last of October, Robert Tailboyes of Thorneton in the county of Durham esquire, came to him offering him sufficient bond for the peace, and the "baylement" of the said William and Francis, as they were "towards" Lord Eure, and one of them a neighbour of his own, and required it as he said without Lord Eure's privity. He the alderman answered he could not bail them till he saw what became of M<sup>r</sup> Browne's life, and they should be bound "to the good abearing," which Tailboyes refusing, the alderman said he would confer with his colleagues next day Tuesday. Having so done, he told Tailboyes he might have Wadely on bond for peace, and Browneles "for good abearing," which he refused and said to the examine's remembrance he would enter no such bond and would have both or none, and so departed at 4 P.M.

Also—that on Wednesday after in the evening, M<sup>r</sup> Tailboyes came back to him with 2 of Lord Eure's men, who gave him 2 letters, one to him and his brethren, the other to himself particularly; copies whereof are hereinclosed. On their receipt, he conferred with his brethren, and next day they resolved that they would deliver them on recognisaunce: the copy whereof is also inclosed, and this was done, Browneles and Wadely being dismissed the town on Thursday afternoon. Thereon, next day being Friday, Lord Eure wrote to him two several letters, one requiring a copy of the Bishop of Durham's letter on Browne's behalf, and against his servants; the other willing him to take Browne bound likewise, or else return his lordship the recognizance for Browneles and Wadely, which he the alderman refused to do. Copies are herewith sent of these letters and the effect of his the alder-

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man's answers so far as he can call to remembrance. Subscribed, Chr. Aiscough ald". Tobie Duresme. "*Copia vera* : T. Duresm."\*

1½ pp. *Written by the bishop's clerk. Indorsed* : "Copic," &c.

Nov. 23. 839. JAMES VI. TO HENRY LEIGH.

"The specialis of the disordourit and brokin men quhome we intendit to have prosequite with fyre and swerd, haveing now cum in and submittit thame selfis to ws, and a few nowmer continewing rebellione, we have gevin direction this day to persew and borne thame, and as we have hard of your gude officis alreddy kyithit, in withstanding thair resset in thay boundis . . . Sa we desire yon this day to await with your forceis and hald hand that na ressett nor refuge be grantit to thame in thay boundis." Annand. *Signed* : James R.

¼ p. *Addressed* : "To our loving freind the lord depntie wardane of the West Marche of England." *Wafer signet (Scotland)* : indistinct.

Nov. 23. 840. JAMES VI. TO HENRY LEIGH.

"Haveing sum materis to communicat unto yow, tuicheing the wele and quietnes of the Bordouris, quhilk requiris your awne presence, we have thoctt meit heirby to require and desire you to repair to ws towardis Annand this Thnrisday the xxiiij of this instant, that particularie we may acquent yow with these materis importing the quyet of thir boundis." Newbie. *Signed* : James R.

¼ p. *Addressed* : "To our trustie and weilbelovit Schir Hary Ley wardane deputie," &c. *Indorsed by Leigh. Wax signet (Scotland)* : damaged.

(1) *Copy in another hand.*

Nov. 24. 841. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHELY.

By letters from the Privy Council of the 6<sup>th</sup> instant, to the Archbishop of York, myself, and others of the council of the North, and the latter's letter to me of the 12<sup>th</sup>, received the 18<sup>th</sup>, it appears that your lordships desire to have a true report of the late fray at Richmond upon M<sup>r</sup> Browne of Berwick and the parties under safe custody, as it "maie seeme they were procured to committ that outrage. Gods name be blessed, that hath geven your lordships suche grace as to be so carefull and circumspect to looke unto and into suche enormous practises and blondlie factes"! I therefore sent to Richmond for the most likely witnesses, to wit the alderman and one other of good account there, and send their examinations here-included, together with the letters directed to the alderman both for and against the malefactors, with copies of his answers, and of the recognizance that he took for their personal appearance, all subscribed and sealed up by himself as he desired. When the others come to me, I shall also send their examinations, if material. I have a servant now in London about some business " (his name is Valentine West, brother to John West that serveth M<sup>r</sup> Fanshawe) who can speake as directly to all the circumstances of that assalte as anie; it maie please your lordship to cause him to be examined, and as you have most honorably entred into notice of the cause, so to followe it to the end: least if this extraordinarie course of revenge be not presently interrupted by your highe authoritie above, the borders shortly be extended to Richmond, with the barbarous feedes therein accustomed. One suche example unpnnished in the executioners, or uncontrolled in the procurers, will breede intollerable inconveniences." M<sup>r</sup> Browne's life should be secured

\* These 4 words holographi.

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against both, and I fear will be in danger unless authority interpose effectually and instantly. If he has spoken or written against the Lord Warden, his officers or servants, what he cannot justify, or detected anything further than "that xxij esquires and gentlemen have twyse upon their corporall oathe presented and averred for her Majesties service, and the good of their distracted and distressed countrey, they maie take their action against him : but in suche inhumane sorte to purswe the lyfe of a trew loyall subject, and to oversee so manie notorious theves murderers and outlawes within their charge both Scottis and Englissh, is odious and horrible in any Christian commonweale. But this is more then nedes to your lordship, a speciall patrone of all innocent blond." Now that you have Lord Eure and his officer M<sup>r</sup> Mansfeild there, and also M<sup>r</sup> Percy constable of Alnwick and Morpeth castles, I trust your lordship will not forget, "amonge the nombre almost innumerable of your weightie affayres," to call on M<sup>r</sup> Percy for the late reset of Cesford, knowing him to be fyled both of murder and invasion : on M<sup>r</sup> Mansfeild for convoying him to Topcliff, which he would fain refer to Lord Eure's privity and consent ; and on my lord himself for a plain answer about the 80 horses out of Yorkshire and this bishopric, which stood the counties in 1600L, and which it is just that he should satisfy in other sort than hitherto, and without such verbal shifts as Mansfeild superficially alledges in his reply to our requisition, &c. For it is credibly said and proof offered, that 800L of the money was delivered out of Yorkshire in money, and it is verily supposed never was "converted" either to horses or furniture, so that there were never it seems above 40 of the 80 horses. But that will best appear on the muster roll "which we as yet could never see or heare of." When we speak of a horseman's furniture, this means, "everie horse to be of 15 or 16 handfulls highe, good and sufficient saddle brydle and gyrthes : for the man, a steele cap, a coate of plate, stockings and sleeves of plate, bootes and spurres, a Skottissh short sworde and a dagger, an horsemans staffe and a case of pistolla." All this should be forthcoming, according to the Queen's pleasure in the Council's letters extant, to be seen at York, and we expect it accordingly. Mansfeild and Percy should also be asked how it comes that for these 2 months or thereabouts, the Scottish and English thieves are quietly allowed to ride from the head of Liddisdale through Redesdale "to the very sea syde at and about Warkwork, as it were traverse by a diameter throughout Northumberland over and over, againe and againe, without impeachment" I wish myself once quit of these troublesome border affairs " (wonderfully betrayed by pusillanimitie of some, and malice of other, and avarice of both sortes)." I beseech your lordship to take order with my Lord Warden, that M<sup>r</sup> Ambrose Dudley your servant, an honest gentleman, and forward enough, may enjoy the benefit and credit of his patent of Bywell lordship and Bulbeck, in which the commandment of the men was never until now divided from the receipt of her Majesty's revenues. Bishop Awkland. *Signed* : Tobie Duresm.

*2½ pp. Holograph ; as also address. Indorsed. Two waz signets (Mathew's).*

Inclosed in the same :—

(1) The bishop to Alderman Aiscough.

Understanding that John Browne recorder of Berwick was yesterday wounded in perill of his life by two "notorious badd fellowes and . . . common barretours," both then apprehended ; requiring the alderman to keep in gaol and make forthcoming the bodies of "those desperate offenders and manquillers," not suffering them to be bailed for at least a month, and then only on very good bonds for their appearance at next York assises, that M<sup>r</sup> Browne travelling with the bishop's letters in the Queen's affairs to Lord Burghley, may have his life if he dies, or his limbs if he be maimed, duly answered according to law. Bishop Awkland, last of October 1597. Tobie

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Duresme. These two "lewde persons" should be very strictly examined apart, and their examinations taken in writing on the articles exhibited by Mr Browne. *Signed*: Chr. Aiscough ald<sup>a</sup>.

1 p.

(2) The alderman's reply.

The effect of my answer was that I required bond for their appearance, as his letter imported, but I doubted if I could keep them a month in prison, having sureties offered. And I had required none farther, than to appear at the next assises at our town, which I hoped he would think sufficient. That the weakness of our prison moved me not to refuse sureties, or to wish their speedy removing. "Laste October." *Signed*: Chr. Aiscough ald<sup>a</sup>.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p.

(3) Lord Eure to the Alderman of Richmond, &c.

Giving his account of Browne's previous demeanour and threats against himself and servants, complaining, that the latter are imprisoned while Browne is at large.

Requesting the release of Browne and Wadley on sufficient bond, and has empowered his friend and kinsman Mr Robert Tailbois a sufficient freeholder in Yorkshire and Durham, to enter recognizance in 80*l*. that his two servants shall appear personally at the next assize in Yorkshire or quarter sessions in the North Riding or town of Richmond. Demanding that Browne and his "copartners" in the fray shall also be taken bound to appear and answer as above to such matters as he shall prefer against them; and should they refuse such bond, then to convey Browne, &c., to the next gaol to lie there till security be found. Witton, 2 November 1597. Ra. Ewre. *Signed*: Chr. Aiscough ald<sup>a</sup>.

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp.

(4) The alderman's answer to Lord Eures "first two lettres."

The effect of my answer was, that the trespasses therein mentioned being remote and uncertain, and Browne's present peril considered, if he refused to find sureties, I could not with discretion put him in prison without endangering his life, and would deal no further therein without warrant from the Council in these parts. 4 November. Returning his lordship's men upon the recognizance following. *Signed*: Chr. Aiscough alder<sup>a</sup>.

(5) Copy of Lord Ewres letter to the Alderman of Richmond, "which came with his lordships first letter."

Though unacquainted, yet no stranger, being a known countryman, I advise you as a friend to be no party to the faction against me, but "to be equal towardis my two poore servantes, and that factious varlett John Browne: the secrecie whereof not knowne to your selfe, I praie you once agayne beware to enter to yt." Browne's hurt by fortune of my man, "is as David saieth, fallen upon hym that diggeth a pytt for another." He rides "armed with murtherous weapons as petronells, pistols, lancestaves, showing his thirste after bloode, pronouncinge quarrells to none but my people, having no cawse offred by my selfe or any belonging me: but sett to worke and followed my people intending no harme nor expectinge his presence, but repairinge to Richmond, as freeste from sycknes, for their necessary affayres, weaponed lyke serving men, not armed for offence of so well armed a company as Browne and his companye, neyther armed for defence of suche treacherous armed villayns as the said Browne, who seeketh the innocent blood of my poore servantes, &c."

I pray you therefore to release my men according to law, that they may repair to me for the service which my place requires. And show your equality in taking Browne and his company bound with sufficient sureties to answer his trespass to the Queen which I intend to prefer. Witton, 2 November 1597. Ra. Ewre.

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"This letter and the former had both one and the former answer."  
*Signed*: Chr. Aiscough ald<sup>n</sup>.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

(6) Lord Eure's third letter to the alderman.

I have your letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> this Friday, wherein it seems you are not resolved to take John Browne and his 2 companions bound to answer at the Richmond sessions of peace, as their trespasses are "remote" and fit to be heard elsewhere.

I pray you remember, my men are to serve me in "remote places," and though the fray (or assault as Browne terms it) happened in Richmond and you bound them to answer the sessions there, I doubt not the law will let you take like bond of Browne and his "removeable company" to answer there as well as my men, the former being "more dangerous and more rarelie to be founde answerable to the lawe, then my household servantes that make their contynewall abode with me." So pray consider this, or else return me the bond of 400*l*. and leave my men loose as the others, of whom I will take what benefit law gives me elsewhere. Witton, 4 November 1597. Ra. Ewre. *Signed*: Chr. Aiscough ald<sup>n</sup>.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p.

(7) Lord Eure's fourth letter to the Alderman of Richmond.

Thanking him heartily for releasing his two servants on bond, marvelling only at the extraordinary sum 400*l*., in a mere matter of peace and personal appearance. Hinting that malicious informations, uncontradicted, have induced him to take "this hudgetsome" and extraordinary bond, as if they were "runagates" and known offenders to the laws: and that he may be better satisfied of their demeanour, and the Bishop of Durham also may know that the informations against them are "suggested" and not on "juste grounde," requesting to hear what informations have been delivered to him, and also the favour of a view of the bishop's letter, or a copy, that the men's innocence may be made apparent to his lordship, as a "great ruler" under her Majesty in the County palatine. Witton, 4 November 97. Ra. Ewre.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p.

(8) The alderman's answer to Eure's last two letters.

The effect of my answer is that it was not for want of equal dealing, that I took no bond of M<sup>r</sup> Browne, &c., but chiefly the dauger, if committed, of his dying in prison of his hurts.

As for the bond, I hoped, with his lordship's favour, I might retain it for my own discharge, when called on. Desiring his pardon. 5 November 1597. *Signed*: Chr. Aiscough ald<sup>n</sup>.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p.

(9) Copy of Browneles and Wadley's examination, 30<sup>th</sup> October 39 Eliz.

The said persons brought before the Alderman of Richmond and asked why they came to Richmond? Of their knowledge of M<sup>r</sup> Browne recorder of Berwick and their purpose in assaulting him? Say

That they came this Sunday morning to Richmond from Archdeacon Newton in the Bishopric to buy woollen cloth, and Brownles seeing a Berwick man in the town, whose name he knows not, inquired of him if M<sup>r</sup> Ryveley of Berwick was in town? Who answered that "one M<sup>r</sup> Browne" was: whereon Brownles going up into "Fynkel streete" saw the said Browne going to take horse, "and there dyd assaulte and wounde hym"; and both say they have known him long. "But for the quarrell, they say yf M<sup>r</sup> Browne be inquisitive therof to understand yt, he may hereafter be satisfied; and further do not speake, saving that the quarrell (as they saye) ys for abuse offred to their lord and maister his followers." *Signed*: Chr. Aiscough ald<sup>n</sup>.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p.

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## (10) Copy of their recognisance.

That on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 39 Eliz.—William Brownles of Witton in Durham “yoman,” and Francis Wadley of Archdeacon Newton in same county “yoman,” appeared *in propriis personis* before me Christopher Aiscough alderman of Richmond and justice of peace there, and bound themselves each in 100*l.*, with Robert Tailbois of Thornton in the county of Durham esquire, and Mark Sober of Richmond aforesaid tailor, also present *in propriis personis*, as manucaptors each for 100*l.*, that Brownles and Wadley shall personally appear before the next assise at York, and also before the Council there on 12 days’ warning, to answer for their assaulting and wounding John Browne gentleman, recorder of Berwick, &c., as also before the quarter sessions of the peace at Richmond next after Christmas before M<sup>r</sup> Alderman and M<sup>r</sup> Recorder. And meanwhile to keep the peace against all her Majesty’s subjects, and specially the said John Browne. *Signed*: Chr. Aiscough ald<sup>r</sup>.

1½ pp. *Latin*. *Indorsed by Burghley’s secretary*: “November 1597. Copies of lettres towching the affraie uppon M<sup>r</sup> Browne.”

Nov. [11]—842. LETTERS BETWEEN BUCCLEUCH AND CESFORD.

2½.

## (1) Buccleuch to Cesford.

“Sir, upon some brutes before my entry here, they being that yow should have bin of purpose to have persued my life at the convention at Lithquo, seing I have not the oportunity, the same being but spred shortly before, and through my other earnest busines: I am now by these presentes to require that from yourself and under your own hand, I may be certefyed whether it was so, or not, and upon your faith, conscience, and honor, for my better warrant to beleve that which yow shall set downe hereanest. Seeing it is so materyall a point to mee, in regard of my life, and to yow in regard of your creditte, which I think every gentleman doth or should regard much; for that yow know ther is an indent of agreement betwixt our houses undischarged. And further if yow would pretend there hath bin some jarres amongst our selves since that indent, call to mind that since the Lord Sanquaire my honorable frend and your cosen, and Francis Mowbreay brought us to a comming together upon the feildes, that wee did ever continue tender when wee mett, which is holden to import an assurance untill the same bee cleerly discharged.

“So as if yow should have had such an intencion, either then or at any time since or before, standing in termes as wee did, as I am doubtfull the same could never have been approved by honor, nor the custome of the country, wherein wee live. In the which respect I am the more desirous to understand the certainty, and the rather for that I may the better know how to accompt of yow for the time past, and how to behave my self with yow in the time to come, and further yow satisfying your owne honour in the exoneracion for that which is past, I desire to know in the like forme, and with the like assurance under your hand, what your meaning shalbe towards mee for the time hereafter? to the effect, that thereupon I may take occasion to resolve anest you accordingly. Sa I leave yow. From Barwick. Your brother in lawe Buelugh.”

1 p. *Contemporary copy in an English hand*. *Addressed at foot*: “To the honorable Sir Robert Ker of Sesford the younger.”

## (2) Cesford to Buccleuch.

“Sir, I have received your lettre, which considered with the owne circumstances, I see not the reasons to move mee so deeply to satisfy yow, as yow were desirous of in your owne particular demand; since matters stand in such questionable estate (as presently they doe) betwixt [us] in your owne default by the wordes yow uttered publickly that day of your entry to your

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"people, wherein was given out at that instantt, that I should have practised for your life, or at least in your part of that service the touch of your creditte, which since in the thoughtes of all indifferent hearers is esteemed an unlosing of any former indent of agreement, yet the cause in itself an untruth, but notwithstanding blazed to the country, and in the mouths of so many, that honor will not admitte mee thus privately to resolve yow of any doubt preceeding that time, and the rather that yow pretend no further warrant, but uncertaine brutes, and if yow had, I were not obliged, the band dissolved, or at the least brangled by yourself, before your desire, that should tye mee, so my creditte in all respectes I regard, as yow doe your interest in the materiall point of your life; testifying, as being charged I will maintaine, I have had as due regard to the continuance of the indent of agreement betwixt our houses or the keeping of any other commoning that may bee interpreted assurance, as either pertayned to mee, or had reason given mee. Therfor my doinges is honorable and to the good customes of the country I was borne in correspondent (as easely the most famous may bee persuaded); for I have no mixture to the naturall and ordinary educacion, and so esteeme mee in time past, in honesty equall with any subject, and for time to come (God willing) my fame will give any man feare to accuse mee. Use your behaviour as ye list; and to resolve yow what hereafter my meaning is towards yow, as yow have or shall minister the occasion, expect to be too matched. Thus I leave yow. From Halliden the 13 November 97. Your brother in your owne termes Robert Kerre."

1 p. *Copy in same writing. Addressed at foot:* "To the honorable Sir Walter Scott, laird of Buccleugh."

(3) Buccleuch to Cesford.

"Sir Robert Kerre, I give yow a lye upon the defectes of that sett downe in the beginning of your letter, in respect of the matter offered mee thereby, and the cause given mee throughout the whole, if you should constantly bide by it as it standes written, for that I did report but a part of that which yow saie should have bin spoken to my people (as yow terme them) upon report and by informacion, the which yow have affirmed to have bin absolutely spoken, and in whole; and if that the speeches yow alledg should have bin also absolutely uttered and in whole, as yow sett them downe, there will no wise hearers, neither indifferent, nor partyall, hold them a cause to dissolve or brangle as yow meane the indent, and so to that which yow inferre upon your reason, I give yow the lye, if yow shall still affirme it. So as yow having no such reasonable cause to conclud the denyall of my reasonable requisicion as I think and confidently persuade my self: I am with greater patience then yow, yet once againe to demaund resolucion as I did by my former, either publick or private; that I may also well know, what your intencion hath bin, as yow have certefyed me, what it shalbee, and to my no greater care then yours, to the effect yow satisfying mee in that precise sort I have required, by your denyall I may the better know and bee persuaded of your honorable intencion concerning mee, and consequently of your honesty in time past equall with that of any subject as you bragge of, and otherwise confessing such intencion against my life, I may make yow a lyer in your absolute profession of honor, and in prosecuting the same in convenient time, if you shall insist, honorably yeld proof of my darreing against such causelesse ostentacion whereby may be gathered, what feare I shall have upon just occasion so accuse your future fame; or thirdly, if yow shall doe neither of both, which may bee taken to proceed from guiltinesse, or blinded pride, lett the world judg as it shall please. For my self, in respect of my particular interest and the suspicious appaurance, I cannot judg charitably of it. From Barwick the 24 November 1597. Your brother in na termes, Buccleugh."

1 p. *Copy in same writing. Addressed at foot:* "To Sir Robert Kerre of Sesford the younger." *Indorsed:* "Copy of Buccleughs lettre," &c.

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Nov. 13- 843. LETTERS BETWEEN CESFORD AND BUCCLEUCH.  
24.

(1) Cesford to Buccleuch, Haliden, 13 November.

1 p. Copy of No. (2) of preceding.

(2) Buccleuch to Cesford, Berwick, 24 November.

1 p. Copy of No. (3) of preceding. Both in the Scottish spelling of the originals. Indorsed: "Copie of a lettre of Sir Walter Scott of the 13 November to Sir Roberte Kerre. Another of Sir Roberte Kerre of the 24 of the same to Sir Walter Scott" (sic).

Nov. 25. 844. HENRY LEIGH TO SCROPE.

According to her Majesty's pleasure by your lordships direction, on Tuesday last I attended with convenient forces at the Mote of Lyddall, as the King required by letter, to stop recett of the Scots fugitives—but none came. On Wednesday I likewise set forward to the borders beneath Roclyffe, where I received this inclosed letter from the King, and according to its contents, I hope I satisfied the Lord Ocheltree, Lord Harrise, the Lard of Loughenvar, Sir James Sandelands, &c., appointed by the King to burn and subdue the fugitives about Gretney. They burned all that belonged to the Urwines of Gretneyhill, being sister's sons to Rob of the Fauld, for the slaughter of Lord Herries' brother late provost of Dumfries. They also burned Rob of Langrises, who was not well content therewith—the rather because he was under trust and assurance with Lord Herries. "And therupon ensued a prettie sport: for Langrises being Rosetrees sister sonne, did openlie baffell and reprove the said lord Harrise of treason, by bearing his glove upon a speare point; whiche by Jok of the Peartree, and the women of the countrie was so well manteyned with shoutes, as partlie by the thiknes of the smoke and partlie by their feare of our forces, which indeed did much exceed theirs, the Scotos begann to quickeu their march to almost running: and in verie truthe (by the reporte of Walter Graime who was at that instant amongst them) they had runne indeed, had it not been, that I sent twoe of your lordship's servants, M<sup>r</sup> Hutton and George Cruckbaine, and Rosetrees," to assure them of my assistance in whatever they did; wherewith they were pleased, and the service concluded, are all returned home. Next day Thursday, the King sent for me to speak with him, as the copy of his letter inclosed may show your lordship. I make bold to keep the letter as my warrant, beseeching you to cause the rest I have sent you "be well kept untill you retourne." So accompanied by M<sup>r</sup> Maior and some young gentlemen of the country, I went to Newbie, where I found the King accompanied with the Duke of Lynnox, the Earl of Glencarne, the Prior of Blantire, the Lord Ocheltre, the Lord Semple, the Lord Harrise, the Lairds of Lowghwenver, Johnston, Clobourne, Cokpoule, and others of good account: the lords Hambleton and Maxwell, and Dumlanrig, being goue from Court by the King's command. His Majesty sent first M<sup>r</sup> Roger Aston one of his chamber, and then Sir John Carmichael, to entertain me till he rose from council. "Which done, he came forth to a greane, and there did use me verie graciously, and walked up and downe and conferred with me a great while towching the state of the Borders." He seemed resolved to reduce his own to obedience, and satisfy her Majesty with justice, purposing to leave a lieutenant behind him—some say the Duke, others Lord Ocheltre, but it is not yet resolved. He seems not content that after Buccleuch's delivery, the English pledges who escaped that day, were not again sent as Sir William Bowes promised. It is not unlike he will soon be ready to deliver his, for most of his "dissobedientes" have entered to him. As he says himself, he expects to hear from her Majesty or her commissioners to like effect: yet I think there will be some motion made to alter and change some of ours and theirs; as in their better consideration not well chosen at



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first. Therefore that we may be ready, I would be glad to have your direction, what course to take against any of our pledges, who shall break their faith and bond. I cannot yet accuse any, "for they all say well," but would be loth to trust too much and "drive all to the last day." But I have forborne to meddle in it, "because of the uncertaintie of the place: for if M<sup>r</sup> Lowther had entered, I did not doubt but he would have effected all things, noe man better—but if God did not better assist me in your lordships services, then he and some others, I could scarce so well dischardge my dewty, as I hope I shall, to your lordships honor; for I may write and entreat, but either for feare or sloath, they cannot come. Yet at this tyme my lord Bushop sent his sonne John, his howsould servantes, and his tenantes in good maner, but for all the gentlemen of the countrie, God be prayded, there was just none! Saving M<sup>r</sup> Aglionbie, M<sup>r</sup> Orfewre, Joseph Twhaites and twoo or three lytle ones not worth namyng." The common people obeyed well and made a fair show. The King is very desirous to have the Graimes strictly looked to and kept in, for the quiet of both Borders. He complains much of Sim of Calfhill, "and in good earnest would gladley have him to hang" or that your lordship would hang him: for he says it is "a great sinne to save him who haith cut the throtes of so many poore people": which as in my last, I refer to your consideration. I received your letter, signifying the receipt of my money and letters patent, with another to Harry Baynes to repay me here: for which, and your other favours, I rest most thankful. With prayers for your success "and honorable retourne" I must take my leave. The sickness continues "in the suburbes and disperced places of the cetie as before." I make bold to remind you of some poor men in prison on slight suspicion only, that they might be bailed on sufficient sureties, to answer at your lordship's return: the rather as they are miserably poor and the prisons "pestered and I feare infected with sicknes," for two died yesternight out of the sheriff's prison. Your servant Peter Bowman is dead "upon a consumption . . . M<sup>r</sup> Maior and M<sup>r</sup> Aglionbie have their dewties most humble commended, and my self must crave pardon that I write not with myne owne hand, for I have gotten suche an exceeding streame in my backe, that I cannot endure to stoupe, otherwise I wold have written to your lordship of some other contentes." Carlisle.  
*Signed:* He. Leighe.

\* "I besech your lordship remember my humble dewtye to my good lord Harry Howard, to whom I wyll shortly excuse my self by wrytyng. And so I most humbly take my leave in payne. I wyll wryte to your lordship by the next, of a bargayne which is in speach between the bishop and me for Bowlines personage, &c."

3 pp. Addressed. Indorsed.

Nov. 25. 845. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

I have received your letters of the 20<sup>th</sup>, "takinge knowledge of the deathe of my deare unkele, and thereby the offyce of thresurorshipp in Berwick becomyng voyde; your honor requirethe to knowe howe I stande affected to thatt place, beinge willinge to engage yourself unto her Majestie for me upon signification unto your honor of my desyre to enjoye it." Your honourable favour herein so well expressed, besides comforting me with such approbation of my poor services to her Majesty, increases my debt to your most honorable father and yourself, and binds me to further duty. "Towchinge the thinge mentioned, the merite of thatt worthie gentleman in her Majesties servyce, besydes his kynde desert of me in the beste duties of kindred and frendshipp, doe bynde me to forbear myne owne advaunciege to the

\* Written on margin lengthways.

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“prejudyce of him, or suche of his as maye justlie crave of her Majestie to have gracious consideration of them in succedinge to anie of his benefites, in which thinge if it maye please her highnes to thinke my said unkeill his sonne (whoe peradventure is sutor for his fathers offyce of thresurorshippe) to be fitt for thatt place, I oughte nott for the due respectes mentioned, to further my self by his hindrance; ouelye, if her Majestie resolve to favour and grace him otherwise, and shall fynde it fitter for her servyce to bestowe thatt offyce another waye, her highnes by your honors good mediation, beinge pleased to bestowe thatt offyce on me, as I shall fynde thatt weake servyce which either I have done or maye doe, graciouslie acceptede by thatt token of her favour, so shall I endeouvre my selfe bothe to acknowledge the bownty of my moste excellente soveraigne in prosecutinge her services to the uttermoste of my power, and fynde my selfe deepeylve bownde unto your honor for suche a benefite.”

My last letter inclosing Lord Hume's answer to my requisition for the pledges, will show your honor that no further fruit is like to follow, without new solicitation to the King; and the means thereof being now removed by the ambassador's death, I await her Majesty's pleasure. I have meanwhile ventured to repair hither to Walton in Derbyshire to see my wife, “in some discomforte by my lute and contynuall absence,” and crave, on report thereof by your honor, it may receive her Majesty's gracious allowance. Walton.  
*Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Bowes).*

Nov. 26. 846. JAMES VI. TO HENRY LEIGH.

Being informed that Gyb Elliot brother to Robert Elliot of Reidheuch delivered to you by Sir John Carmichaell of that ilk knight, for the bill of “Killisland,” and still in your hands, has satisfied for his part of the bill, and that his “consort” ought to satisfy for the other part by March law, we desire you to set the said Gyb at liberty. Drumfreis. *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Leigh.*

Nov. 28. 847. JAMES VI. TO HENRY LEIGH.

Understanding that a bill was filed before the commissioners of both realms at Carlisle upon “the Larde of Patiesoun, the baillie of Burgh, Lantie Hoddie, Cristie of Glenessen,” &c., Englishmen, for stealing the “hail hors and gaidis pertening to Rowie Armstrang of Brumholme at Lambes was a yeir, quhome we understand to be a trow honnest man, unbloittit with any thift,” we request you to give order for redress of same with all convenient speed. “that this honnest man may find sum favour for our caus.” Drumfreis. *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Leigh.*

Nov. 28. 848. HENRY LEIGH TO SCROPE.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> instant about 1 p.m. I received your letter dated the 18<sup>th</sup>, and a letter to M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther: which next morning I carried to him to Lowther, taking with me George Crookbayne your servant to witness our proceedings. “I delyvered him the letter in his garden, and as it seemed, he was not much displeasid therewith, albeht he oitentymes perused severall poyntes therof. In the end, after some conference had with the Layrd of Spott, he accepted of the government, and debayted with me about the maner of his entertaynement and makinge of his provysion and safe keepinge of prisoners and other necessaries. Which conference ended, we went all to bed; but it seemeth by the report of his man, he slept not much, and in the

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" morning he sent for me into his chamber, wher camelion lyke, he tould me that he dowted he had gotten the new siknes in his head and necke, and therby unahble to go to Carlyll: but I towld him it was but his owld disease, and Thomas Carelton would bringe some cordiall drugges from London. In the end his sperytt and speach began to leave dissembling, and resolved to be att Carlyll upon Wedensday next at night, beinge S<sup>t</sup> Andrews day, and so to begin his government." I wished him not to fail, for I would meddle no more therein, but as a private officer under him. Neither in truth is it convenient otherwise, for though the office is at this instant in good order, thank God, and the pledges "not so unredy as was complained," this bruit of alteration which has been current and expected these 14 days, will abate the wonted obedience of the country, "as your lordship knowes the aptnes of theyre natures to gaze upon *solem orientem*!"

For his better encouragement, I have promised and will give him all assistance. He will write to your lordship about Wednesday, but of the contents he and his council are not yet resolved. I am heartily glad I am honestly quit of it, the doubtful time past considered. And without brag be it spoken, all things are now so quiet, as if he govern no better than he did before, he may be ashamed of his ambitious desires and remiss performance. But I trust the sickness will cease, so that your lordship may the sooner come home to abate their pride. Now on my discharge you will see the common people whom I have wronged in your service, exhibit their complaints and bring my doings to the "tutchston." You know they are "no creples of their tongues," on cause given, but God is the best judge, and to him I appeal. Carlisle. *Signed*: He. Leigh.

I have received a letter from the King now at Dumfries, for the "lowsinge" of Gib Elliott, delivered for the bill of Galsland: but have answered him with reason to the contrary. There is like to fall out some great matter between the Duke and Lord Hamilton, and the King on Thursday will go towards Edinburgh to the parliament.

2 pp. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Wafer signet*: a duck or gull.

## 849. JAMES VI. TO H. LEIGH.

Nov. 29.

" Seing the Irvingis of Graitnay and Johnstonis of Reidhall ar fugitives and laitlie brint (as ye have hard) for the cruell slanchter of umquhile Johnne Maxwell broder to our cousing and counsallour the Lord Hereys, committit be thame the tyme of his employment and executioun of our service, and for thair uther thiftius and wicket offences, we have taiken occasion late we spak to yow at meating . . . and desyre you, that ye gif strait ordour and commandment, that these fugitives for that foule slanchter, tuicheing ws sa heichlie, ressave na maner of ressait nor confort to thame selfis nor thair guidis within the boundis of your charge and office, bot in cais thai can onywayes be trappit, ye will hald hand to thair apprehension and condigne punishment, to the terrour of sic malefactoris, troublares of the peace and quiet estate of the cuntries . . . From Drumfries the penult of November 1597." *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To . . . Harie Ley esquier warden depute," &c. *Indorsed by Leigh*: "From the Kinge the last (*sic*) of November 97, tuchinge my lord Herrise brother. This is the cause mentioned between my lord Herrise and me in my appologye, which I pray your honor peruse." *Royal signet*: damaged.

## Nov. 30. 850. HENRY LEIGH TO SCROPE.

As promised in my last, M<sup>r</sup> Lowther has taken counsel to write, as is inclosed: whereby your lordship may perceive "the Devell never wantes

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"devyses to teache his disciples to dissemble"; for he was perfectly well yesterday, as M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Cleeborne swore to me, for his man was with him to receive money: "and then were all his counsellors convocated, and nowe *tauldem perturiunt montes.*" God forgive him for the evil which by his ambition he is like to draw on this poor country: "for the expected letters cominge upon Satterday beinge markett day, the contentes (were in conceyt) conceived of the wycked before they came to my handes, so as ther was, and hath bene sence, such poastinge to Lowther, as yf Hell had bene broken loose! as the poore markett folkes which were cominge from Pereth, beinge pulled from ther horses found, as also M<sup>r</sup> Cleborne, and those of Highett, who had almost lost ther cattell (suche a swarme of waspes were scattered in those partes)." This I fear will be the fruit of alteration, in hope of favour as before, unless he be speedily unmasked, and roused with a whip from his dissembling to do his duty in the Queen's service. But it is credibly reported that he will take no order from your lordship, but must have it from her Majesty or the Council, and will not meddle with the government till Thomas Carleton's return, "whom the wemen in the Fyshe markett say shall be his constable. I beseech your lordship geve me leave to be a lytle trewly mery at the strange and contrarye effect wrought by your lordships letter, makynge him which had bene hawkinge, sick as ye may see, and me whole, who in trewth was scarce able to go with a staffe! But I feare he wryteth to trewe in havinge an evell day and a worse, for *nimia nequitia deterior est et erit.* Yett yf he had in tyme bene lett bloode on the necke vayue, his malicious ambition had bene cooled, and her Majesties servyce less hindred in these partes. But God, I trust in tyme, will banishe corruption from the Court, and lett her Majestie see with her owne eyes, poore fayth and trewth, with-owt Mathew (*cum mediantibus illis*). The complaynt of the supposed unredines of the pledges, may peradventure nowe prove trewe: yet by the worke we shall knowe the workman: for ther is no doubt of any, but such as depend of him and his. Well I remember, I wrote to your lordship a good whyle agoon that some would be apt *nodum in cirpo querere*, and nowe peradventur they may fynd *anquem in herba latentem.*" I write with no envy to him or others, or that "vayngloriously" I desire to hold a place whereof I am thought unworthy by those I would not for my life offend in the least. Yet lest the devices of *Hylra* may disappoint your honorable "desynmentes" here, I will continue to help the poor to my last endeavour till farther direction from your lordship, which I earnestly pray for with all speed. I need not tell you what encouragement the King's departure from the Border, the hope of pardon after parliament, and the bruit of this charge, will breed in the evil disposed of both realms—"and the more his\* fault, for yf he had accordynge to his dewty speedely undertaken the place, which he so greedely desyered, the alteration could have done no great hurt: for upon my fayth (and as I shalbe saved) I would have made the best help I could, and all lytle enowghe (his hungrey whelpes are so greedy bould)—but yf I shall tell your lordship what I thinke (even in my consciens) I do verely belyve he aymed by havinge the place, to have had conference with remembrance of *olim*: wherof beinge nowe disapoynted, he is nowe forsothe sicke, and this I partly gather by the Layrd of Spottes, not the least of his counsell, who asked me howe longe the Kinge would stay, and whether for border causes, ther might not be occasion of newe meetynge? But *de hiis in posterrum.*" Carlisle. Signed: He. Leighe.

"I hope your lordship hath remembered to acquaynt my lord Thresurer by M<sup>r</sup> Maynard or M<sup>r</sup> Hickers of the contentes of my pryvat letter towchinge the lytle escheat in the forest of Inglewood dewe to your lordship."

2½ pp. Holograph: as also address. Wafer signed as before.

\* *i.e.*, Lowther's

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Inclosed in the same:—

(Lowther to Leigh.)

"Sir, as ye left me sick, so I contynew. I have gotten a burning ague with an yll day and a worse: wherof I pray yow to certiffye my lord with speed. Yf my healthe serve me, I will come downe to Carlell: if not, I will wryte to my lord warden. I have sent for M<sup>r</sup> Adamson who ys my phisytyon: I intend to be let blode presently, and that will either mende me or ende me. So praing yow to send this my lettre to my lord warden with speede, I taik my leave. Lowther xxx<sup>th</sup> Novemb<sup>r</sup>e 97." *Signed*: "Your assyryd freud, Ri. Lowther."

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed*: "To the right wor. M<sup>r</sup> Henrye Leghe deputie warden att Carlill castell, these with speede."

## Nov. 30. 851. LORD OCHILTREE TO SCROPE.

Signifying that it had pleased the King to give him the charge of "lientenendrie" within the bounds of the West March, "now at his hienes departing," to keep down the broken men and fugitives, hold days of truce and meetings, as accustomed, and also to make delivery of pledges as appointed by the commissioners, and as the King shall direct him. Requesting Scrope's conformity therein. Dumfries. *Signed*: A. I. Wchiltrie.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed to Scrope as lord warden.*

## Nov. 30. 852. JAMES VI. TO H. LEIGH.

Signifying that he had left behind him his cousin and councillor "the lord Uchiltrie" as lieutenant and warden of the West March, and the sooner days of truce, &c., were agreed on, the better. Also, as he shall be directed, to deliver the Scottish pledges on receipt of the English from Lord Scrope, to whom Leigh is desired to signify this on his return. Drumtreis. *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To . . . Harie Ley esquier warden depute . . ."

(1) *Copy of the same by Leigh's clerk. Indorsed by Leigh.*

## Nov. . 853. BOUNDS, &amp;c., OF THE MIDDLE MARCH NEXT SCOTLAND.

"A breafe of the bounders wayes and passages of the Midle Marche all along the border of Scotland, beginning att Chiveat hill being the lemyet of the Easte Marche and ending att Kirsop the boulder of the West Marche of Englande.

"Imprimis.—A place called the Gribbheade, a passage and hye way for the theeve; joyning on the west ende of Chiveat and one myle distant from Hexpethe.

"One other passage att Hexpeth gate heade called the Coklaw, which Coklawe is an usnall place where the dayes of Marche be houlden, a myle distant from the Gribbheade.

"Another passage att Maydens cross, a myle distant from the Coklawe.

"Another passage att Hymerswell distant from the Maydens cross 2 myles.

"Another passage att Kemlespeth distant from Hymerswell one myle.

"Another passage att Phillips cross thre myles distant from Kemlespeth.

"Another passage att Readeswire a myle distant from Phillips cross.

"A passage att a place called the Carlintothe on the weste side of the Carter, 2 myles distant from the Readswire.

"A passage att the head of Parle rigg on the topp of the Parle fell twoe myle distant from the Carlintothe.

"A passage att the foote of the Parle rigg through the mere dicke att the side of the Reademoss, a myle distant from the topp of the fell.

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- " A passage att the Blacklawe a myle distant from the mere dicke.
- " A passage att Whithaugh swire, 2 myles from the Blacklawe.
- " A passage att the heade of Kirsopp, 3 myles distant from Whithaugh swire.

" The passages of the Scottes all along Rydsdayle.

- " Bells, the heade of Tyndayle within a myle of Lyddesdayle.
- " Hell caudron borne foote, from Bell kirk one myle and more.
- " Whele causey in Tyndayle, joyning on West Tyvidayle.
- " Carlintoth, one myle from Whele causey in Tyndayle, joyning on West Tyvidale.
- " Robbs cross, half a myle from Carlintoth in Tyndayle, joyning on West Tyvidayle.
- " Battinhop rawk, one myle from Robbs cross in Tyndale, West Tyvidayle, from the Wharle causey in Tyndayle to Readeswire cross.
- " The Cartell fell joynes on West Tyvidayle.
- " The Read swire in the heade of Riddin Ridsdayle, West Tyvidayle.
- " The Townes pick half a myle from Readeswire, West Tyvidayle.
- " Ramshopp gavill from Towns pik half a myle. West Tyvidayle myll West Tyvidayle.
- " Halkwillis from Phillips cross half a myle Weste Tyvidayle.
- " Spitungk from Halkwillis one myle, West Tyvidayle.
- " Amound lawe, from Spitungk half a myle, West Tyvidayle.
- " Kirkford from Kemlespathe half a myle, joynes on West Tyvidayle.
- " Hyndmars well from Kirkford one myle, Easte Tyvidayle.
- " Barrestell from Hindmarswell one myle, Easte Tyvidayle.
- " Maydens cross from Blaikbray one myle, in Rydsdayle on Coketheade, joynes on Easte Tyvidayle.
- " Cocklaw hill from Maydens cross, 2 myles Cokdayle, joynes on Easte Tyvidayle.
- " Butrod heade one myle in Cokdayle, joynes on Easte Tyvidayle.
- " Hanginston from Butrod head one myle in Cokdayle, joynes on Chiveat on Easte Tyvidayle.
- " Aucopswire from Hangingstone half a myle from East Tyvidayle.
- " Gribbhead from Aucoppswire half a myle in Cokedayle.
- " East Tyndale and Cribb is in the East Marche of Englande.

" Tyndayle passages westward.

- " Bellay of Blackupp from the Bells half a myle, joynes on Liddesdayle.
- " Blackup saughes, from the Bellay of Blackup saughs half a myle, in Lyddesdale.
- " Murders rack from Blackup saughs one myle, in Lyddesdayle.
- " Langrigg fote from Murdons rack one myle, joyning on Lyddesdayle.
- " Gelee cragg from Langrigg fote one myle, in Rydsdayle.
- " Kirsopp heade from Gelee cragg one myle.
- " Kirsopp brigg from Kirsopp heade twoe myles joynes on Lyddesdayle, and so frontes on the West Marche of England.

" Watches to be kept in Tyndaile in tyme of necessitye.

- " Spie ; Thrust pick ; Hallin ; Middle borne ; Blackhall borne ; Bootslaw ; Jerdin ; Smale ; Shortlaw ; heade of Lysborne ; Leapish ; south syde of Tyne ; Kealder edge ; Plashetts ; Blackarme ; North Tyne.

" The bounders of the frontyres of the Mydle Marche is knowne all a long by thes places before named, beginning at Chiveat being the end of the East March of England and endethe at Kirsopp head being the bounder of the West March of England.

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"Betwixt the Cribbhead in Chiveot and Kirsop heade is xx<sup>th</sup> myles.

"The oppisite warden called Sir Robert Kerr laird of Sesford who hath twoe houses, Sesford fronting on England and Hallidon in East Tyvidayle; for which East and West Tyvidayles the sayd opposite warden aunsweareth excepte Baclugh, Farnihirst and Hunthyll his landes exempted by the King. Lyddesdayle only governed by Baclugh and exempted from the Marche."

4 pp. *Large broad sheets. In a large clear hand. Indorsed:* "The bownders of the Middle March along the borders of Scotland." *And by Burghley's secretary (in error):* "30 November 1597. The Lord Eures aunswere to the articles exhibited against him to the lordea of the Counsell."

Nov. 30. 854. EURE'S ANSWER TO THE COUNCIL.

The answer of Ralph Lord Eure to such articles as are objected against him before the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

"TO THE FIRST."—He acknowledges to answer for 50 horsemen, 10 more than in the article—the remaining 30 being under Raphe Mansfeilde—20 of the 50 being always at Hexham, except when on special service—27 dispersed on the waters of South and North Tyne and in the "Waistes," as most needed, and 3 continually used as "purpose makers and guides."

"TO THE SECOND."—He admits giving the Queen's pay to 6 of his own servants, and taking into his service 6 more of the soldiers without lessening their pay—all men of special trust—and did so for better enabling them in the Queen's service and no private benefit to himself, for he did not decrease the number of his servants.

"TO THE THIRD."—If by "landholders," is meant "freholders" to himself as Lord Eure, "there was neither viij nor one"—but if men dwelling within his March, he acknowledges "that number and moe," being moved by these reasons—the Yorkshire men sent in March when oats were at 2s. the peck, and their owne diet equally dear, and the service very hot, had their horses spoiled and themselves so impoverished, that at their earnest suit, he allowed divers to go, and in compassion allowed them their poor decayed horses, and some recompense out of his own purse, putting countrymen in their places; who having something of their own, might serve for the Queen's pay, and keep horses, which though bound to do by tenure, they could not from poverty without this help, and in his opinion are far more fit than strangers, knowing all the fords, passages and clans of Scotland, also fighting in defence of their wives and children, not merely for pay, besides incurring risk of deadly feud in service, thus forcing them to be well armed and horsed—most of them dwell within 4 or 5 miles of Hexham, and the few farther off, keep "slewe dogges" for service.

"TO THE III<sup>th</sup>."—Their hearsay is no proof. He converted none to his private use: he charged himself with the keep of 4 or 5 horses lamed, &c., in service or whose riders had run away, and these are ready at the Queen's order—the rest of the 50 horses were returned with the soldiers to the country whence they came.

"TO THE V<sup>th</sup> AND VI<sup>th</sup>."—He denies ever receiving money brought by the said Archibald Bell and Edward Young—as for money by other hands, he cannot precisely set down any account thereof, and it is not in the presentment—but it was nothing "neare the summe" specified, and he will show it to the last penny to have been spent on the service. He remembers 120*l*. sent from M<sup>r</sup> Scudamore, being a month's pay of 80 horse. and so paid.

"TO THE VII<sup>th</sup>."—Alltogether untrue."

"TO THE VIII<sup>th</sup>."—If the state of the country as he found it, and, but for the factious humours of the opponents of all government, as he would now

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have had it, were compared, her Majesty would have been satisfied with his service.

At his entry the country was so wild and waste, the people about Hexham could not leave out their cattle at night, and hardly safe in their houses, their pastures uneaten, country unpeopled, scarce 100 horsemen in the country, all scattered and unfit for defence, constant incursions, murders, &c., unrevengeed, the officers notorious thieves and daily bringers in of the Scots, as William Shaftoe principal bailiff under Sir John Forster for Bywell, William Lawson his deputy, and William Carnaby constable of Langley, all kinsmen to Henry Woodrington, and by whom such constant robberies, &c., were done or suffered, that hardly a man could pass in safety from Hexham to Darwen: but since his entry by help of the soldiers, the country is peaceable, "theyr goodes quietlie depasture and couth abrode in the most places," passengers come and go, the sessions of peace are held orderly as never before, justice done on Scots and English, "even upon men of special place, nor hath the brother of Henrie Woodrington bene spared, *hinc illae lacrimae*!" And Raphe Mansfield keeper of Redesdale hath protested, in his lordship's hearing and published to the country, that he will recompense all the damages done since his government began, "with a verie small matter," as he believes is true, and dare say that never before for two years altogether, has it been so quiet; and but for these factions would have been enriched.

"TO THE XI<sup>th</sup>."—He knows not that aid was ever denied him, and cau prove contrariwise that when he feared danger for killing one Jocke Burne, his lordship took great care for his safety, offering him men from Harbottle on occasion.

"TO THE XII<sup>th</sup>."—If all landlords were thus "sifted" as to the fines of their tenants, he should not grieve at such complaints by "those whom it nothing concernethe," but his answer is the whole article is merely false and untrue.

"TO THE XIII<sup>th</sup>."—He does not deny Nicholas Weldon to be a notorious offender, for he has tried to do himself mischief, and his lordship has therefore never favoured him.

"TO THE XIV<sup>th</sup>."—He has ever prosecuted Ridley and tried to apprehend him before and since the presentment; but in the latter end of last summer, Ridley did him a great service in conducting his lordship and forces against the chiefest of the Ellottes, and thereon he took bond for his good behaviour—admitted him on secret service to his house, and proposed to sue the Queen to pardon him.

"TO THE XV<sup>th</sup>."—For these offences he [Charleton] was charged and acquitted by a jury including William Fenwick of Wallington and Henry Woodrington, after which his lordship kept him in pay hoping to win him to good service. Suspecting him of felony, he imprisoned him, but could get no proof, nor did any man prosecute. If these jurors knew, they ought to have informed his lordship, but their charge is mere malice.

He has been again received into the country on bond to answer the law, but not into pay, for if kept out, he might have been a dangerous enemy.

"TO THE XVI<sup>th</sup>."—If Lionel Charlton broke prison, the fault is not with his lordship, but the gaoler of the Bishopric. But after his escape, having done good service in spying and defeating the Scottish designs on Redesdale, the keeper was authorized to employ him thus, and since then his lordship has admitted him to his presence, and heard no more complaints. If such as he are not to be so dealt with at the warden's discretion, but the latter on any complaint is "to be thus sifted," no warden can do good service hereafter. "None can better discover thift then theeves, nor falshode and tricheries then those that have bene sutch!"

"TO THE XVII<sup>th</sup>."—In confessing Shaftoe was committed, they witness that his lordship did his duty. "They might have done wiselie not to have mentioned his escape, for that it is stronglie intended that Henry Woodring-



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"ton and Roger Wooddrington both or one were privie thereto," as appears by examinations before his lordship and some of the Council of the North. He was again taken by his lordship, first kept in his own house, then sent to Durham assises—bound over there to Newcastle assise, but not then called on, and there has since been no assise there. He hopes he has not been offended by admitting him to the country and his presence.

"To THE XIX<sup>th</sup>."—It is false and untrue. For Mr Bradford, who has been sheriff for the most part since he came here, declared before the Bishop of Durham, Sir William Bowes and the jury and country, that he was constantly moved by his lordship, and assistance offered to seize felons' goods, nor ever hindered therein. His lordship has seized goods of March traitors lawfully, and bestowed them on his soldiers.

"To THE XX<sup>th</sup>."—To his remembrance he has been guilty of no such fault.

The humble snit of Lord Eare to the Lords of the Privy Council.

Having truly answered all the articles against him, he hopes your lordships will report his wrongs to her Majesty.

And as he never sued for the office, but in duty to her Majesty undertook it on her royal command, and has spent in her service there above 2000*l*. beyond his allowance, and has done such service as he could being a stranger, "succeeding a man greved to be displaced, of greate possessions, ayed to the Wooddringtons and other gentlemen in the country," in revenge whereof the gentlemen and the country have been kept back from serving at his command, factions raised among them, and his authority called in question: so his humble suit is, that his good services and charges spent may gain pardon to his oversights if any be, the rather that if he has offended it has been for zeal of the Queen's service and the country's good, and that by your lordships' furtherance he may be strengthened and maintained in his place, and his accusers worthily rebuked according to their apparent malice, otherwise neither he nor any other whom her Majesty shall hereafter appoint, shall be able to do good service and her authority will be held in contempt. *Not signed.*

4 pp. *Double broad sheets. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary:* "30 November 1597. The Lord Eares answers to the articles objected against him by the lordes of the Counsell."

Nov. 855. MINUTE FOR RALPH BOWES.

Authorizing him to pay the garrison of Berwick for the half year lately past at Michaelmas, as he made the former on behalf of his late father while treasurer, and commanding the receivers to pay him the sums required for the purpose.

1½ pp. *Draft corrected by Burghley. Indorsed.*

Dec. 1. 856. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"Your lordshipe knowes I ame no scoller, wherbey to sett out my selfe withe feyn glosinge tearmes, but in playen simplissetey to deall troweley and honestley withe all men, and specyaley withe my prinse and your honer. I have reseved a letter from your lordshipe of the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of November, wherin I feyned your honorabell good oppinion of me and faver towerdes me in havinge moved her Majesty for me to have the offes of the tresserershippe of this towen, wishinge that the hasserd of my life might wittnes my willingenes to requit by dntyfull love and faythefull servis to your lordshipe or anye of yourers, that bond of servis and faythefull frendshipe wherin I am teyde and bowend bey your honorabell good favers allwayes towerdes me. And nowe my good lord, feynling bey your letter your good likinge and oppinion suche of me as is comfort enofe to me. howe so ever it shall please

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" her Majesty to bestowe the offes, yet geve me leave to saye, that I being preferd therunto bey your honers good likinge onley, I shold indevor my selfe to deall bothe treweley and honestley and for the Queens commodetei therin, moer then hathe byn hertofo, thinkinge my selfe better enabeled and moer fitter for the plas bey resun of your honers good likinge of me. Wherfor I nowe humbeley praye your honer to continewe your faver towerdes me, and sines her Majesty hathe byn moved for me, lett me not reseve the disgrase of repulse, asseweringe your honer that if I have it I will deall so therin as rather then your lordshipes good oppinion and trust of me shold be deseved, I wold if it wear possebell dey a hunderd dethes. I ame the moer willinge to enter into so great a charge, for that I knoe my selfe to be enabeled bey her Majesties grasius goodnes towerdes me to live uppon her fee and not uppon her money, bey makinge my selfe ruche withe undoinge of other men, and desevinge of her selfe; and hearin as in all other thinges, I refer my selfe holey to your honor, withe assewerans that I will in all poyntes most willingeley performe the contentes of a letter I sent to your lordshipe of the xxij<sup>th</sup> of October last, wherin I promised your honer shold have the bestowinge and determininge of the chamerlinshipe of this towen, wherof I have nowe a pattent for life, being worthe a hunderd poundes yearlye, to bestowe uppon aney frend your lordshipe will appoynt or thinke fitt,—for ther wear no resun I shold kepe so maney offeses in my nowen hande, albeit I have noen bey pattent but onley that; and besydes to make her Majesty the moer willingeley to bestowe it uppon me, I have served hear in this plas verey near v yeares as debetey governer, and sines my lordes deathe as absolent governer in thes deare yeares, to my great charge, wiche will not be mayentayened withe to hunderd and threscor poundes a year—beinge the onley man to entertayen all men bothe commers or goers, and embassetures and commisseners and all sortes, havinge none elles hear to helpe bear of the borthen, nether havinge had in all this tym ether fee or slowans to helpe me as all others have had, wherby I can not hold out." Yet if her Majesty pleases to bestow this office on me, I will live here so long as she pleases without other fee, till she bestows the governorship on some fitter man.

For the latter part of your letter, where you hope we are better victualled now, since you have not heard of late: it is not the plenty that makes me silent, but the abuses of Vernon and Swift to the Queen and this town—things getting worse and worse. Your lordship will remember writing to me on 19<sup>th</sup> September last, that you had then given them a new prest of money from Exchequer to provide victuals after Michaelmas, with which they had gone to "Storbrige fayer," to go thence to Berwick. But I think they meant to pay other debts with it, for since then I have neither seen nor heard of them, except that one ship came in with a little store which has hitherto relieved us. But I have talked this day with the officers of the palace, who tell me they have but 14 days' provision of bread corn, almost a month's of "drinke corne," and for the horse garrison not above 12 days; and they have taken up all they can get either for money or credit in the country, and caused a lamentable dearth.

For news in Scotland, there is little "steringe," but of their parliament which should begin this day, for little else than restoring the three earls. The King makes a great show of performing what the commissioners set down, but I fear "the slackenes and slender delinge therin of Ser William Bowes hathe done great hort to our conterey, whose styll loke and dayeley hope and expect for justes, whilste he leyes styll at hom in his conterey, and determinis of nothinge that we can feynde."

Your lordship says in your letter that her Majesty has of herself "named on nowe servinge in thes northe partes for the offes of tresserershipes. I knoe not aney fitt in thes northen partes for it, nether is it good for her Majesty that aney northen men shold have it, the Scottes have to maney

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"frendes in great credit bear allreley—nether cane I gese of aney man hear-  
awaye likeley to be fitt for it unlest Ser Williame Bowes, whoe if it be he  
she menes, her Majesty maye therin doe him a bey faver inded in helpinge  
him to redem his landes wiche have byn so longe at morgage, and it wilbe a  
good mean for him to gett hom agayen mache of his landes that he hathe sold :  
but her Majesty is grasius and will soffer non to lose bey her." Berwick.  
*Signet* : Jhon Carey.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Closely written. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan  
wafer signet.*

Dec. 2. 857. R. LOWTHER TO SCROPE.

I received on the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo your letters of the 18<sup>th</sup> of same, by the  
hands of M<sup>r</sup> Henry Leigh at my house at Lowther, whereby you command  
me now to look to the charge of the wardnery during the whole time of your  
absence. If your lordship commits it to me, I trust you will give me the  
same allowance of diet and fee as my lord your father did, which was myself  
and 9 of my own men, allowed diet for man and horse, and 12 of my lord  
your father's men to ride with me or my men at my commandment; and all  
the castle at my commandment in my lord's absence, with a fee of 50*l.* a year.  
If it please you to do this, I will accept of it, if it stands with the Queen's  
pleasure, or with the good liking of my lord Treasurer. But I see by M<sup>r</sup>  
Leigh that you have ordered I am not to do with the castle, and now the  
plagne is in the town I trust you will not so disgrace me at beginning.  
"My lord, onles I maye have the castle and dyet as I had in my lord your  
fathers tyme in his absence, when the Quene of Scottes cam in, your lord-  
ship shall pardon me I wyll not otherwyse deale with it," unless her Majesty  
or my lord treasurer command me.

I would have written thus much before, "but that I have bene verie ex-  
treame sickes of a burninge fever." Lowther. *Signed* : Richard Lowther.

1 p. *Holograph; as also address. Wafer signet* : a shield of 6 quarters.

Dec. 2. 858. SCROPE TO CECIL.

The inclosed letters which I received yesternight, I thought needful  
to let you see, by perusing whereof you may imagine that I did not write  
to M<sup>r</sup> Leigh and M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, as you advised me, and I promised: "but  
whensever yee finde me untrue in any thing, bileeve mee in nothing."  
The truth is, I wrote from Langer to M<sup>r</sup> Leigh, telling him to signify my  
pleasure to M<sup>r</sup> Lowther to accept the charge of the wardnery till my return,  
and since I came to London, two several times to that effect: lastly to M<sup>r</sup>  
Lowther himself, the copy whereof I showed to my lord your father, and  
send you here inclosed: "but the ordinarie slownes of the posts (which may  
be seene by the covering of these lettres inclosed) hath bene the cause they  
were not yet come to thire hands, it being dated of the 18<sup>th</sup>, his of the 25<sup>th</sup>  
of November." *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 2. 859. THOMAS CARLETON TO BURGHEY.

Where Lord Scrope intitles his "conceipte" of me, given in to your  
lordship, "The answer of the Lord Scroope to the petition of Thomas  
Carleton," he is far mistaken, as your lordship knows. I made no petition,  
but in discharge of my duty, gave your lordship an account of the land  
sergeanty of Gilsland, how and by whom maintained, and offered my service  
to her Majesty, wherewith I hear his lordship is offended.

I showed your lordship how Lord Dacre when warden, keeping house at

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Nawarde, the people suffered many spoils, &c., yet I offered to do my best to succour the country at your pleasure. But to answer Lord Scrope's first question, common sense tells, that a man can better preserve his country with "good allowance, then none at all"!

I said nothing of asking 200 marks, or losing 5*l.*, my only meaning was to help the country and hazard my life, if her Majesty allowed a sufficient fee, as others have.

It may be, Lord Scrope feared the granting of an allowance for Gilsland would hinder his asking "anie newe supplie," to the Queen's charge. But I affirm that if Gilsland were relieved with a sufficient fee, the March needs no further charge to her: if Carlisle castle were furnished with 24 or 30 able horsemen,\* as it ought to be, and the captain is bound to have, and the other fees she pays, well employed, our March is well able both to defend itself, and help the Middle March at need.

His lordship says I am "behinde 40*l.*": I answer, "I was not behind at last audit one groate of anie my rentes," and was neither collector nor accountant of any others. I was bound with the bailiff of Askerton, who is accountant of that manor, for 53*l.* to be paid in Hilary term, and would have been paid before this, but for the trouble we have wrongfully sustained.

"Thomas Carleton never married the sister of the 'baron of Eleice,' neyther knoweth anie such man, for my wyfe was and is an English wooman, the daughter of George Grayme an Englisheman dwellinge uppon Eske." But if Lord Scrope means "Christer Armestronge of Barnelease," a Scottishman, he indeed married my wife's eldest sister, long before I married; but his lordship greatly wrongs me in saying I was the means of allying him with the Graymes, "I never did it, or what needeth the same"? for he is sister's son to Robert Grayme of the Fawld, "a principall Grayme of Eske, and hee married George Graymes daughter, another principall Grayme, about 30 years since, and what needeth better alliaunce with them? Indeede hee is a theefe, and a Scottchman, and I not to aunswere for that."

His lordship says I have no great loss: "I will geve to anie man 100*l.* to aunswer my losses."

He says I am most unlikely of all to defend Gilsland, even if I had men and countenance. I say, "Let mee have her Majesties countenance and a sufficient fee," as others, and I will undertake to do her Majesty good service; yet without it, I hope to do my duty as before, "althoughe I be not hyred."

His lordship thinks I only mean "to open the theeves a passage": too hard a censure and altogether untrue, for I take God to witness I am as free from such treachery, as his lordship. He knows the contrary—when I once with but 4 of my own men, attacked 16 Scottish Armstrongs driving 18 English cattle ("*absit gloriari*," took 2 and delivered them to him; "and the third, beinge the lord of Mangerton his uncles sonne," was slain, for which the Armstrongs still intend my death.

For our "quiett lyinge": I, my brothers and friends have had more loss than any others; and hereon I will stand to the "teste" of my country.

For the petition of Gilsland: this was got up by the Bells who sent 4 or 5 men unknown to the country, and as reported they "had of his lordship xx*l.* to beare their charges." I refer myself to the country, "theſ Belles and their complices onely excepted."

For Hetherington his lordship's servant, I will prove his story untrue and suborned if I get leave. For his lordship's satisfaction, "uppon Hallowe Thursdaie laste, before the Bishopp of Duresme and others communicantes at Carleil, I receyved the blessed and holy communion thereuppon, which his lordship too little regarded."

\* The words "as it is not, and," struck out.

† The word "perjured" struck out.

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To conclude, being heartily sorry that his lordship resteth no better satisfied, "after reconciliacion before your lordshipes at the Conncell table," and in his displeasure will give no help to Gilsland, I must refer it and myself to your lordships' wisdom, praying you to consider the ticklish state of my life under his lordship, undeserved since our submissions, notwithstanding our former wrongs, which we were desirous to forget.

1 p. Double broad sheet. Addressed at head. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary: "2 Dec. 1597. Th. Carletons awnswere to the Lord Scroope.

## Dec. 2. 860. STATEMENT BY JOHN BROWNE.

A true abstract of divers causes, &c., that forced John Browne gentleman to withdraw himself from under Lord Eure's government.

When Lord Eure took office, without any cause he displaced the said John Browne then clerk of the peace for Northumberland, putting in a non-resident (and inefficient) servant of his own, who often omits the quarter sessions.

He also displaced him of the office of "learned steward" of Hexham, which has a court of great jurisdiction, holding plea both for debts and actions "of the case," and titles of land; putting in a man who never studied the law or can judge these cases.

And when John Browne, to repair his father's losses done by the Bournes of Scotland, took prisoner old Jock of the Cote, a principal man among them, he enlarged him on bond before Sir John Forster then warden, to re-enter when called on.

Soon after Lord Eure took office, the Goodman of Elisheugh the chief of the Bournes, and a principal follower of Sir Robert Carre, purposing to force Browne to "disclaime" the bond, ran a day foray at Denwycke, half a mile from Alnwick, upon men under charge of Thomas Percy gentleman, constable of Alnwick, and the said Browne steward there, taking 23 horses from them; and in the pursuit Browne himself encountered and slew the goodman, and rescued the horses, for which he incurred the deadly feud of Sir Robert, and the Bournes and Younges, shown by their many rides on him and his friends.

When Browne humbly entreated Lord Eure for his protection and some assistance in recovery of his prisoner on the bond, he got neither: and his lordship said he had got Cesford's "surance for his cozen Thomas Percy," but he could do Browne no good, and did not think his bond was recoverable: "as for the matter of blood betwene them, yt would not end wythout blood"—and so dismissed him.

Thereafter Cesford in disguise was taken by John Lysle and Raphe Mansfeild, two of Lord Eures "most inward" friends, to Toppliff, where he got "a speycall horse of service": which favour was thought by us, who were vexed with these deadly feuds, to be by the direction and oversight of the lord warden himself.

Lord Eure also held "a straunge and unaccustomed kinde of triste" with Sir Robert, not at the "landaye March," but in Harbottle castle, where he, Raphe Mansfeild, and Thomas Percy, conferred with Cesford. How long they continued, or what their fare was, will appear on further examination.

The said Browne seeing this strange kindness between Lord Eure and Cesford, despairing of any direct maintenance in his aforesaid cases, attended him on the way between Alnwick and Hexham, humbly desiring him to certify his services and cause to the Privy Council: whereon as Browne told his lordship, he doubted not to get letters of request from their lordships, to Lord Eure "to procure justice for the said prisoner, which might be good color" for his lordship to insist thereon against Sir Robert. But he directly denied this humble suit of Browne's, saying if he so certified, the Council might then find fault with him for not doing the favor of himself. The said John

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Browne then moved Mr Thomas Percy who stood in Lord Eure's favor, to get 20 horse to lie at Alnwick; but he answered, that on dealing with his lordship, he thought "it would not be."

Then Browne dealt with Mr Roger Conyers a gentleman of known good service, who lay in the way before him towards Scotland, to make suit to his lordship for 20 horse; which he did, and would have had them if he raised them from his friends, tenants or countrymen about him, who would serve for 6*l.*, while the Queen's pay was 12*l.*, or he would get none; so the gentleman declined.

Also at the great assembly and truce at Stawford, Browne "again and again" moved Lord Eure for justice on the bond, which he at first (contrary be the treaties and known practice) refused, for he said he did not think "it stood with the law"; but in the end, on Browne still urging him, said he would not do it, for it was matter of blood, and would hinder his other business: which strange doings should be heard if your lordship pleased.

Moreover on said day (which was so presumptuously delayed by Cesford's arrogant "dryftes") at dissolving the English companies, Lord Eure openly proclaimed that 10 days after, a truce should be held by both the deputy wardens, and assured peace meanwhile should rest. He sent divers his friends and kinsmen with Ralph Mansfield home with Cesford to Scotland "to solace with him at his house": yet within 3 nights, 36 of Cesford's household and followers came armed to Alnwick to murder John Browne in his house, brought in by Edmund Harbottle a follower of Mr Percy's. But miraculously missing him, spoiled his brother of goods worth 100 marks, and left Mr Clavering for dead in the pursuit. Yet though the bill was fyled but for the principal only, Browne and his friends have yet had no redress. Also one William Graye Browne's servant was seized in fee simple of a burgage in Alnwick worth 200 marks, in succession to William Graye his uncle: when Lord Eure, on suit made by Arthur Graye his lordship's kinsman, and a pretended title in mortgage for 20*l.* from one George Graye the said uncle's bastard son, to pleasure his kinsman, gave warrant under his hand to Thomas Percy to pull Browne's servant out of his house, which was done against all law and justice, though Browne offered to pay all costs, if the matter was referred to the justices and learned men's opinions, or tried by law.

But touching greater matters than yet spoken of, and secret entertaining of Cesford " (that border bloud sucker and State enymie)" within this March, your lordship will shortly find the truth, and meantime conceive that divers of us " (my self as the spectacle)" for serving our prince and country when Cesford and his "traine of theves" fail in takeing our blood, "that English moyners mynte at the same marke, and meane not to mysse yt."

Lastly at the meeting at Newburne, Lord Eure making great protestations of denial of the border abuses, &c., certified to your lordship, and urging the gentlemen present to answer him: "the said John Browne, making humble answer thereto in dutyfull termes to explain the truth of their said present-meutes (as was the will and meaninge of all the other gentlemen), the said Lord Eurye openly upon that occasion onely, denounced the said Browne to be his enymie, and in termes of yrefull threats bidd him speake no further or els his lordship himself would chamber Brownes tounge"! Openly putting him to silence in the Queen's service.

Shortly after, while John Browne was in charge of special letters on the Queen's affairs to your lordship, and sent by the chief gentlemen of the country on its business, Brownleys and Wadley 2 of Lord Eures household servants, and also in the late garrison of 80, pursued him in the night time and assaulted him behind his back, giving him divers great wounds in the hind head, left arm and shoulder, breaking his right thumb, whereof he is like to be maimed to his utter undoing. And when apprehended, confessed they had no quarrel of their own, but did it for their master.

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And on Robert Talboys' coming next day, and the Alderman of Richmond refusing to enlarge them except on bond for behaviour according to law, he "in great anger and in a stormy night" rode to Lord Eure and returned with Roger Lazenbie gentleman usher to Lord Eure, and young M<sup>r</sup> Fetherstone one of his chief followers, with special letters to send home his two servants at his peril, taking only bond for the peace. By which letters and impertunacy of his lordship's followers, the offenders were bailed contrary to law, it being doubtful if Browne would survive; and the said offenders received by his lordship with great acceptance, whereby the said Browne believes in his conscience he was their "anymater and mover."

Wherefore the said Lord Eure being of great authority and might in these parts, the said John Browne being still in danger of his life, is forced to appeal to your lordships for protection and security against him and his followers, and redress of the above injuries. Also that his two offending servants may be bound for their behaviour and duly corrected after their deserts.

2½ pp. *Double broad sheets. Indorsed as heading: "2 Dec. 1597."*

Dec. 2. 861. DECLARATION BY HENRY WOODRINGTON.

A true declaration by Henry Woodrington esquire of the principal causes which moved him to withdraw himself out of the Middle Marches under Lord Eure's government.

First.—It was generally known at Lord Eure's entry to office, there were great variances between the said Henry and Sir Robert Carre, for his services against Carre's followers. Lord Eure accordingly seemed to commend the said Henry, earnestly persuading him and other country gentlemen to persevere in their defences against the Scot, and to agree amongst themselves.

Yet very shortly, trysts were held between Sir Robert and Raphe Mansfeild, and then between Lord Eure and Sir Robert.

Thereafter Lord Eure earnestly dealt with said Henry to become friends with Sir Robert, which he refused to do, as the latter was a known backer of those clans of Scotland who chiefly spoiled the Middle March, and no remedy or redress seemed to follow these "pretended" agreements. From this time the said Henry could never find any kind dealing in Lord Eure to himself or his friends, or any sound course to resist the Scots spoilers. But he continued in great and strange amity with Sir Robert, to the discouragement of those in his own March, as follows.

Sir Robert was secretly conveyed in disguise as far as Topliff by Raphe Mansfeild and John Lysle, Lord Eure's two special favourites, and messengers between himself and Sir Robert, where the latter got "a horse of speycall service," and was brought back by them in view of Swynburne castle, the said Henry's house, where he had as prisouer James Younge of the Cove a principal follower of Sir Robert's.

Also a little before the great day "true" at the Stawford, Lord Eure met with Cesford at Harbottle castle, and there indented with him "aforehand," what bills and causes should proceed at the said truce, contrary to law and border custom; thus excluding all men who had "vowers" on the field—all causes recoverable on bonds—all redress for murders and burnings—and all trial by assizers. Your lordship may see the effect of this—for Lord Eure having gathered to the said truce great numbers of horse from Yorkshire and the Bishopric, to the great charge of these countries, besides the assembly of Northumberland, and 100 foot of Berwick garrison, estimated to 4000 men at least—when "surance" was demanded of Cesford (as the manner is) who had no more than 400 men there, he refused, charging Lord Eure with breach of promise in his honor in bringing the garrison men (whom he called his enemies): when Lord Eure answered that they came without his privity, whereon Cesford replied, he might the better dismiss them from the field,

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and unless he did so, he would neither grant assurance, nor keep truce.—“Upon this, incontinent her Majesties garranty, to the grevous and never dyeinge dishonor of the English assembly, standinge under displaid collors,” were ordered by Lord Eure to march off the field! But Cesford kept no truce at all, yet Lord Eure sent divers gentlemen his friends and kinsmen with Raphe Mansfeild home with Cesford to feast with him at his house in Scotland; and dismissed the English assembly at night, “not sufferinge them all the daie to stand within a myle of the March and usuall meetinge place”—to our open disgrace.

Very shortly after, Swynburne castle was surprised by Sir Robert, the Scots prisoner carried off by violence, and Roger Woodrington, Henry's brother, to save his life, forced to give his hand to Sir Robert to enter prisoner when he should “put on him”; also Raphe Woodrington, Henry's youngest brother, to save his life, “left out of his chamber windowe beinge 3 stories highe, upon a pavement, where he was almost bruized to death and hardlie escaped.” Moreover Sir Robert on returning from Swynburne rode through Redesdale “with daylight,” findinge no resistance from Raphe Mansfield and his “pretended” garrison of 30 horse.

Shortly after, the said Henry acquainted Lord Eure with these proceedings at Swynburne castle, and Sir Robert's secret conveyance to Toplif, whereon his lordship “vehementlie affirmed that whoever he were that conducted him thither, he was a villaine to his countrie and a traytor to the state”; desiring the said Henry to search out the person for punishment as a traitor—whereupon Henry found by due proof, that Mansfield and Lysle as aforesaid, were Sir Robert's conductors to Toplif, and acquainted Lord Eure, who only answered that Mansfeild was his kinsman, and he was sorry “he should see overshote himself.” Yet he still trusts him as keeper of Redesdale and messenger to Cesford, not punishing him for the capital offence, though he admits he has found it to be true! Also forbade the said Henry to seek revenge for Cesford's invasion, &c.

During these kindnesses between the warden and Cesford, some Scots stole the said Henry's goods, who sent his brother Roger to the warden, who “in the greif of his mynde, first giveinge hard speeches to the said Roger Woodrington, offered to drawe his dagger upon him, then was he vyolentlie thrust out of the house by the said Lord Euryes servauntes; whoe after a tyme of deliberacion, came backe to seeke the said Roger Woodrington at his lodginge in Hexam. But one of them privatelie forewarninge him of their malycious intent, he rode from his lodginge in haste, els had he bene murdered.” And at another time, as one of his servants confessed, Lord Eure ordered “twoe and twoe” of them to walk together in a fair at Hexham, and assault Roger if they found him.

Cesford, seeing no acceptance by Henry of his offers of kindness, in the end demanded his prisoner Roger to enter, who seeinge no aid in Lord Eure, went to Sir Robert Carey warden of the East Marches and obtained his licence to enter to Cesford and did so by the East March, as he lawfully might by border custom.

Lord Eure wrote to Sir Robert Carey thereon, who replied justifying his action. Yet Lord Eure called a warden court, concealed the license, and laid evidence himself before the jury to indict Roger of March treason: who found a bill, “insufficient as your lordship hath heard,” yet thereon Lord Eure proclaimed the said Roger in every parish church and market town, as if he had been a “most infamous March traytor, to the great touch of his credytt, and slaunder of his house, besides the daunger of his lief.”

Among other great wrongs to himself and his friends, M<sup>r</sup> Fenwycke of Wallington, “a neare kinsman and deare freind to the said Henry,” came to Lord Eure's house at Hexham about the country services, and “was quarrelled with first within the same house by Thomas Errington and others lewde persons,” one of them a servant of Lord Eure, and pursued by them



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into the town, where they murdered one of his men, and struck himself to the ground. Yet since this, Lord Eure has written in Errington's favour and had him in his house, whereof Errington openly boasts.

Lastly such is the kindness between Lord Eure and Cesford, that when Lord Eure was in secret conference on border affairs with Sir Cuthbert Collyngwood and M<sup>r</sup> Robert Claveringe, Lord Eure (as Sir Cathbert openly declared to men of good credit) told them he thought a pension of 100*l*. should be given to Sir Robert, and asked their opinions. Sir Cuthbert "vehementlie contradicted" it as a most unfit and dishonorable matter. This though private, was revealed to Sir Robert, who in a conference afterwards with Sir Cuthbert, "took offence thereat and reproved him for the same." All this Henry affirms he heard Sir Cuthbert repeat to Lord Eure himself, who did not deny it, but excused himself, "that he did not reveale the same to the said Sir Robert Carre."

This "indissoluble kindnes with such a State enymie," and other causes aforesaid, moved the said Henry to withdraw himself from under the "daungerous and fraictles" government of Lord Eure.

2½ pp. Double broad sheets. In same hand as Browne's paper. Indorsed by Burghley's secretary. Annotated by Burghley.

Dec. 2. 862. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BURGHLEY.

*"Lapidi quæso dixerim, illustrissime et sapientissime Cecilii!"\**

On Thursday the 24<sup>th</sup> ultimo I sent your lordship a "packquet," containing an information by Cuthbert Cowling of Richmond, and an examination taken of the alderman there, with all his proceedings in the case between M<sup>r</sup> Browne of Berwick and 2 of Lord Eure's men. Since which I have seen an examination taken here by a justice of peace, a very honest discreet man, not unknown I think to you, a copy whereof is hereincluded. It will thereby appear how M<sup>r</sup> Mansfield has answered the trust committed to him for leading those 30 horsemen, with their pay, under his charge by his own confession, and how unfit he were to command 50 of the 100 her Majesty intends to lay in Northumberland—although the lord warden has been very "importune" with Sir William Bowes and myself, to commend him for the service. "For that were *ovem lupo*, as it is in the proverbe": besides it will discourage all "both gentle and simple," if he be not removed from Harbottle, the special place for good or harm. If Lord Eure return warden (which is not expected) it will, under correction, be necessary,

1. That he make sufficient answer for the 80 horsemen committed to his charge, and by him to Mansfield and Fenwick.

2. That he be enjoined to reside within his wardenry, from which he has been voluntarily absent in less than 2 years, more than his predecessor was "by the space welnere of 30 years."

3. That he be speedily "remanded" to his country, for his deputy lies outside, *viz.*, Morpeth castle far from the service; and since these 6 or 7 weeks of his lordship's absence at home and in London, there has been much blood shed, and many honest gentlemen slain, some very near him when at Hexham.

4. That he be advised to accord better with the gentlemen of the country, and use them with more affability and hospitality than heretofore.

5. That he presently discharge Mansfield, and the Earl of Northumberland Thomas Percy, unless the state submits to Cesford and his followers, and the subjects be spoiled and murdered.

6. That he be expressly commanded to forbear bloody revenge upon the gentlemen who have twice presented him on oath: "a fowle spectacle whereof

\* These words form a heading.

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"was lately seen upon M<sup>r</sup> Browne, belyke for that he was the pen-man of those bookes."

7. That if there is any serious meaning to repress the Scots and outlaws, present order be given to establish that small troop of 100 horse in convenient places, and in such hands "as are not like to be fylde with corruption and treacherie."

8. That Mansfeld be bound over to apprehend and make forthcoming these notorious thieves and riders, named of his confederacy, both in the gentlemen's inquisitions, and in the inclosed writing: that the offenders in this bishopric may receive their due punishment. Lord Eure also in like manner to hold usual truce days with the opposite wardens.

9. That 2 gaol deliveries (or one at least) be held yearly besides the assises (which are but once a year in these north parts); and as his lordship is *Custos rotulorum*, that he cause all notorious recusants there to be indicted and certified up: which was never yet done since he came to the place "for ought I can learne, wherby Poperie hath been jolily encreased."

10. That his lordship be counselled to frequent less the company of Francis Ratcliff, "that obstinate dangerous and not unlearned recusant, above others," and refrain by writing or speech to deal for their enlargement or favor. These and many other good lessons he greatly needs, and I hope he will take them as becomes him at your honorable hands. "Pardon my good lord, that I write nowe and other tymes, *non amore vindictæ* (whereof I have no cause) *sed zelo iustitiæ*, wherto my conscience to that parte of my poore fleeced and flead flock, or rather of my daily murdered and martyred flock, doth enforce me. In a worde, *His limitibus fave et fove, Pater Patriæ*." Bishop Awkland.  
*Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

2 pp. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*. 2 wax seals: (*Matheæ*) as before.

Dec. 2. 863. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Give me leave to write thus much to your honor. It pleased Lord Scrope to write the letter, of which I inclose a copy, commanding me to look to the charge of the wardenry for the whole time of his absence: and I also send a copy of my answer. "Praing your honor to have that consideratione of me being her *Maejesty* trewe sworne servant, and now 67 yeares of age, that I be not over farre disgraced in my owld dayes: but that I may have that office in as large maner as anie other deputie hath had: or otherwyse I will go to preson before I take it to my disgrace." Lowther.  
*Signed*: Richard Lowther.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.  
Inclosed in the same:—

*Copy of his letter to Scrope of 2 Dec. No. 857.*

Dec. 3. 864. H. LEIGH TO SCROPE.

"Be pleased to understand that the Lord Semple came yesterday hether to Carlyll for his recreation and pleasure, being so neere the border. The Layrd of Newby was with him, who asked me yf I had sent the Kinges lettres away, but I answered No, because I had not seen them; wherat he marveled much, for he sayd he did see when they were derected unto me upon Wedensday last to gett conveyed to M<sup>r</sup> Secretarye. Nowe yt semeth they were delyvered to Cockpoole, who for the owld frendship between him and M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, for that he kepeth the chyeld which was gotten with M<sup>r</sup> Lowthers dawghter (but God knowes the father) hath as it semeth, sent the

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"letter to him\* ; from whom yesternight I received this letter and packett herinclosed. His man which delyvered me the letter told me both before M<sup>r</sup> Aglionby and Thomas Lowther, that he was in good health ; so as his last excuse in his letter must needes be a lye." It is daily confirmed by his friends, that he will not come hither unless ordered by higher authority, and if he is to have it, he should be commanded to take it at once—for since my last letter to your lordship, the Scots have been at Carlattayne a small town in Gilsland not far from Corbye, slain 2 poor men and taken 14 cattle and 2 horses ; and though I sent your lordship's and my own men to follow the fray, the country would not rise to any purpose—so it seems they think my authority ended. "And withall, they of Gilsland do nowe refuse to receive the calyvers which for ther owne defence, they were once well contented with ; whence cometh theyre incoradgment may easely be found ! And the Holme growe lykwyse so stobborne therin, and the Bishoppes tenants as backward therin as the rest." Therefore in my poor opinion, either he or another approved by your lordship and the Council, should be at once established, or the authority which you gave me revived by new proclamation, to satisfy the country ; or it will breed great hurt. "For it is sufficient glory to him, to have the ball at his foote, that at his pleasure he may take or refuse the chardge ; yett for all his florishe, he is nothinge forward, what for feere and what for chardges. I can say no more, but God forgeve him, for in my conciens he is a bad one !" I shall be ready at your orders either in or out of office. "The Kinge is nowe gone to Edenbroughe, and the pledges of the cuntrye, whose names herinclosed I send your lordship, are caried to Glasco. The Kynge doth confydently say, that so longe as he is kynge, he wyll never want towe principalls of every broken surname, to answer for the rest of theyr frendes ; I pray God her Majestie would do the lyke, and then might the poore lyve in more comforthe. He hath left the Lord Ocheltrye warden and lyvetenant over the West Marches : the lord Ocheltrye is a Steward, Roger Aston maryed his sister. The Kynge hath geven him Tarthorell which was James Duglasses, which slewe his uncle Sir James Steward late erle of Arran, who procured the Regentes death . . . M<sup>r</sup> Curwen, M<sup>r</sup> Dudley and the rest of th<sup>e</sup>assistantes, were this weeke and yett at the mariadge of yong Crakenhorpe and M<sup>r</sup> Bellingham daughter, so as they cannot nowe informe your lordship of the trewe estayt of the cuntrye, but shortly they wyll." Carlisle. *Signed* : He. Leighe.

"These pledges which the Kynge hath taken with him, seme to be taken for the quiett of Scotland, but none of the pledges which are to be delyvered to England are entered, except secretly, under condition. The Kinge before his goinge from Dumfryes, cawsed 18 to be hanged of severall surnames, beinge comon spoylers of the cuntrye. Good my lord, remember the poore prisoners, for theyre case is lamentable. I trust in God the sicknes here wyll cease, and then we ar in good hope to see your lordship self, which the poore cuntrye do hartely wyshe with all honour. Even nowe as I am wrytynge, word is brought that they have broken this night a howse of my brother Skeltons, and taken to horses away. Your lordship may perceve hereby howe the world goeth.

"I forbere to trouble my lord Threasurer with remembrance for some lyttle allowance to repayre Rowclyde with lead, which is most needfull, as also my owne other perticulars ; because I dout this terme and parlement tyme he hath bene and is busied with much busynes of more importance." If I am discharged of the government I shall have more time to attend my own. *Signed* : He. Leighe.

M<sup>r</sup> Lowther wished me, as you see, to set my name to the packet that it might pass.

Since subscribing this letter, I have "even nowe" received letters from

\* Richard Lowther.

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the King and Lord Ocheltrye, which I inclose to your lordship, and will return by the messenger a fitting answer, till I receive further direction from your lordship, which I pray may be with speed, from the necessity of the affairs.

I beg your lordship to seal and cause these other letters to be delivered if you think good. *Signed*: He. Leighe.

3 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 7. 865. HENRY WOODRINGTON TO BURGHLEY.

I am this day informed by letters from Northumberland that some of my principal friends there are slain, and some taken prisoners into Scotland, in a late incursion of the Scots, and of many other troubles and losses, daily like to happen in my absence. I humbly beseech your lordship to licence me to repair to the Borders, to succour my oppressed friends to my power. *Signed*: Henry Woddrington.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "vij<sup>mo</sup> Dec. 1597. M<sup>r</sup> H. Widrington to my lord." *Small wafer signet*: device indistinct.

Dec. 12. 866. WILLIAM SELBY TO CECIL.

I have this day received the inclosed from Roger Aston to be forwarded with all possible speed.

I would gladly hear as to disposing of Sir Walter Scott, "who verrily ys both trublesome and verry chargeable unto me," and I hope will be considered.

"Ther ys verry great imulation new begun, betwixt Sir Walter Scott and Sir Robert Kerr, as will apeare by the copies of ther lettres past betwixt them, which I thought good to send your honour hereinclosed. It pleaseth some of my good frendes in Scotland to blame me for the same. I am assured ther imulation wilbe much better for our country then ther agreement.

"It ys intended that Sir John Carnichall shalbe sent to deale withe her Majestie for Sir Walter Scott." Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "12 Dec. 1597. M<sup>r</sup> Selbye to my master, with a lettre of M<sup>r</sup> Roger Astons inclosed. Rec<sup>d</sup>. at Whithall the 16 of the same." *Wafer signet*: Selby shield in compartment: "Sigillum W. . ."

Dec. 12. 867. PROVISION FOR BERWICK.

A declaration what provision has been bought by Robert Vernon for the Queen's garrison at Berwick since Michaelmas 1597.

Wheat, 526 qrs., 870*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*; rye, 30 qrs., 47*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; malt, 525 qrs., 605*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; beans, 180 qrs., 179*l.*; oats, 83 qrs., 41*l.* 10*s.*; oxen, 37, "kyne" 4, 180*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; wethers, 31, 12*l.* 8*s.*; cheese, 21 "wey," 47*l.* 8*d.*; butter, 15 barrels, 50*l.* 2*s.* Total 2024*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* Besides hops, freights, wages, &c., and what provision M<sup>r</sup> Swift has made at Hull.

Whereof gone to Berwick in October, 88 qrs., 1 bush. wheat; 60 qrs. beans; 83 qrs. oats; 15 barrels butter, 21 wey, 11 *lb.* cheese.

Also ready laden and gone from Lynn, 200 qrs. wheat malt and beans.

More to load at Lynn this week, 200 qrs. wheat malt and beans.

The rest so soon as possibly it can be received from the sellers.

1 p. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary.*

(1) *Copy of the same. Written and indorsed by the secretary.*

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Dec. 13. 868. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Your kind regard for my honour and approved friendship to myself, binds me to acquaint you with my reasons, as a worthy judge, and with my state, as a gracious counsellor, for so far only as all my proceedings shall be agreeable to the judgment of so rare a friend, my consent shall strengthen them, and wherein I shall "swarve" from your direction, let misfortune punish me.

"Mr Lowther, after longe deliberation and advisement with the Leard of Spotte (being spotted more then that leard, if it be possible, or mor then any man that lives, with reproche and infamie of highest kindes) hath at the last, thought good to let his good pleasure to be understoode: which is, that he will vouchsafe to accept the charge with such conditions as may rather vexe my spirit then give any great strength to his better enabling: for so that somewhat may bee drawne from mee in despite, he cares not much who receive eyther good or ill by it.

"First—he craves allowance for sixe men, which were allowed, as he sayes, in my fathers tyme. Wherunto I answeare, first, that bountie is noe obligation; beside, although my father knewe his faults, yet somewhat might bee yielded upon hope of amendement, that cannot be afforded nowe by mee upon exasperation of extremities. If others have requyred lesse, his humors ought to carye noe necessitie: and the lesse, bicause at this tyme in his house he hath not 4 of honest conversation and free from horse stealing and other felonies."

To his demand of allowance for his horses, as in my father's time, I avouch "with assurance," that when last with "my lord," he had nothing more than hay. My lord had no corn or store there than what he bought for himself.

His demand for diet in the castle, "is full of braverie; his humor is to vauce himselfe in the vague eyes of his adherents, like an idolle, as it weare in my disgrace, and to countenance his malice with the seate of my authoritie, his splene hath set this sharpe edge upon his demandes: for otherwise he may remember that he dieted himselfe and all his companie for sixpence a meale at Tallantier, thoughte he weare lord warden for the tyme, forbearing many of those florishes that at this tyme are extraordinarie. But bicause your honor may perceave that I am rulled in this matter more by reason then by will (howsoever his perticuller would force a man to stand upon himselfe)—I will not steek with him for 40 pounds during the tyme of my absence for sixe weekes, which is as muche as eyther his proportions maye presse, or was allowed unto Henry Lige during all the tyme of my absence. Touching his lodging within the house, I will not much contend, so as he bringe his bead and stuffe, as he did in my fathers tyme: otherwise his constitution and state is such, as I had rather freely give my bead, then lett him lye on it; I am much beholding to that love of his, that likes of nothing that carieth not my marke with it.

"My direction to Henrie Ligh, that Lowther should not have to do in any sort within the castle walles, was not without just cause, having now in durance 8 or 9 of the most notorious thieves, which shall abide till I come back agayne. Upon my fathers death, at his first entrie, he freed all those prisners that had bene apprehended a while before, and made himselfe more stronge in faction of thieves, by favor done to those that were the worst of all that companie. I would be loth he should playe the like trick with mee for encouragement of others to attempt, and of these to persever. If you knew the canvase of this plat, and the jugglinge of his confederats, you would thincke there weare great cause to prevent the meanes and shiftes of his false fingeringe, and this was one cause whye by inhibition, his scopes were limited. Ther is noe worke for him before my return, saving that he loves to make worke for himselfe, what hee thinckes most to anger mee.

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" Thus much I thoughte fitt to sett downe for answere to demandes, which I know to bee very true: and dont not, but you will admit to be reasonable."

Now I must move to you a just complaint against both Carletons and Grames for publishing such " lewde reports " since their return, as if true, will disable my service, and if false, give just cause for their punishment. " First—they give out that the order taken by my lord Treasurer shalbe reversed, and the witnesses set free, which weare in effect to encourage thire audacitie, and to discredit all that hath bene against them by mee certified: it is strange that such base men should eyther wronge the State in weakning the decrees of counsellors, or displaye thire pride by the disgrace of the Queenes officer.

" This report, beside that I have bene prohibited to deale in any sorte against the Carletons, Grames, or any thir allies or frindes, which wears as much to saye as that henceforth I should not proceede in justice against any thiefe, but put up the Queenes sworde into the scabberd, suffering all spoyle and robbery without redresse, and bearing the bare tytyle of an officer without effect! because I know not any notable offender, thiefe, or other, in that place, eyther Scottishe or Englisheman that eyther by alliance partie or complott, is not conbynd with this viperouse generation. This abstinence from execution against a multitude of thieves would set all dangerous attemptes in a headstronge coorse, as afterwarde the raynes of lawfull authoritie would hardly temper them, which may be repented when it is not easie to be recovered.

" Last of all, it is affirmed confidently by these gallants and thire confederats that the governement of Gilsland shalbe comited wholie to Thomas Carletons care, with consideration of the charge of one hundreth horse for quoyet of those parts, which the Queene in due consideration and reward of service done, hath gratioously bestowed on him." These speeches have so raised the spirits of their partisans, that " they plott and packe in everi angle," both in Scotland and England, as they durst not have done before. You know how mischief grows by " giving head to suche a crue ": and therefore, if they are allowed to raise a party to hinder service here, " I must give place." But if it pleases her highness to use my devoted service, " my hope is that your noble father and your selfe, will see correct, if not expelle these malignant humors," that those bad men may learn to submit to authority.

Praying for your answer touching M<sup>r</sup> Lowther's office, and how best to proceed therein, " I seace." *Signed: Th. Scroope.*"

4 pp. *Holograph; as also address. Inlorsed. Wafer signet: inilinct.*

Dec. 22. 869. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> instant I came to Berwick and found the country in better state than I expected, and hope, God willing, ere long to bring it to a " far better estate," if I had the assistance of the horse garrison. But they are not able for service, for the palace, from which they have had and should still have, their chiefest relief, " is nowe debard them," from the scantness of provision; and their pay is so small, they are not able these dear years, on " bare 8 pens a day," to keep them selves and horses and do service. I will not farther trouble you herein, but I fear hereafter I shall be enforced " to be more important."

I am sorry I could not show myself so thankful to your honor, " as your highe favors and kyndnes towards me deserved nowe at my laste beinge at Court: but assure yourself sir, my hart has given a free consent to be truly honist and faythefull unto you, and I will then count my self th' hapiest when I shall have aney occasion to showe in action what in weake words I nowe profes. It is but folly to speake mucche when I can performe but little, would God I had meanes and you willingnes to trust me, God is my

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"judge, I would dooe you alle right and no way deseave you. In the meane tyme good sir, upon my owne word esteeme me emongst them whom in your thoughts you best trust, and God dealle with me, as I meane ever to be most faythfull trewe and honist to your honor." Berwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: "22 Dec. 1597. Sir Ro. Carey to my master . . . Rec. at Whithall the xxvij<sup>th</sup>." *Steen wafer signed*.

Dec. 22. 870. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"I have heretofore often trowbled your honor with a tedious theame of the feare to want victualles, which is nowe presentlie lighted upon us in the highest degree: which if it be not presentlie releved, will breede such trowbles as was never before in Barwicke." Yesterday I myself went to the palace, requiring to see the corn, that I might be truly satisfied of the store for Christmas: when the officers said there was none to see, and that "the last batche they had, was even then in the ooven," and they had but two brewings of malt, more than was "a brewinge." The horsemen have already been a fortnight without their allowance, and the officers know not when they shall have any: so the town is like to be in more danger than your lordship or we could wish; for first, the horsemen must either sell their horses to the Scots, "or els knock them on the headd for want of meate," for having but 8*l.* a day for themselves and their horses, they cannot pay 8 or 9*s.* a week for a "bowle" of oats, and even if they could, the corn is not to be had in the country. And the soldiers who have "nothings in the world to sustayne them, save onlie a loffe of pallice bread and their allowance of drinke," must either die of famine, or leave the town and go begging. M<sup>r</sup> Vernon has brought us to this extremity, "abusing" the Queen and your honor, by making you believe he had made "such and such" provisions, and shipped corn in so many ships: which is not true, for if he had, it might have been here long since. For ships from London, Lynn, and Hull have come in here, and ships "from by south" daily pass along the coast to Scotland, "which makes all his sayinges but playne illusions and excuses." I humbly pray your lordship that I may come up presently to London, and there declare to his face the miserable state of this poor town, and putting it in more danger than I dare express. So assuring your lordship it is high time it were looked to, I cease this unpleasing matter, praying you to impart it to her Majesty in discharge of my duty. I have sent the palace officers into the country, with the little credit they have, to get what corn is possible, but there is little to be had.

I understand by my brother Sir Robert, who came here on Tuesday night the 20<sup>th</sup>, of your favourable opinion of me for the treasurership here, for which I am highly bound, and have as yet imparted my desire to no other of my friends. Yet finding by my lord chamberlain, your inclination to me, and her Majesty's "determinacion" thereof to Sir William Bowes, as a man thereby fitted to be employed into Scotland, I would remind your lordship of "this much," that while never seeking or desiring anything displeasing to her Majesty, "I must needs say, and I thinck it be not unknouen to your lordshipp, that the onlie overthrowe of this towne and the undoinge of the gentillman that last was, and the great hinderance of her Majesties comoditie and service in this towne, was the joyninge of the threasurershipp and embassatorshipp together, which never was done before his tyme, and in him had too yll successe for a president. This onlie gevinge your honor a taest of the inconvenience that may happen."

\* I had forgotten to say that the pay is not yet come or heard of. So it is

\* The remainder holograph.

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likely we shall keep "a brave Crismas, nether meat, nor drinke, nor money, nor good clothes"! Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

1 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Dec. 22. 871. JOHN CAREY TO CECIL

Referring him to the preceding letter to his father on the scarcity of victuals. And urging that he may be licenced to come to London specially to see her Majesty, from whom he has been absent almost 5 years, and also for the dispatch of much business of his own. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed: "... R. at Whithall the xxvij<sup>th</sup>."*

Dec. 24. 872. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

On my repair hither, and conference with M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson on the course as to the pledges, compared with what I hear from him, I see some appearances in Scottish affairs, "seeminge strange, if it were not in the forge of novelties." And I thought fit to deliver my observations thus to you. First—the King, instead of performance of his word to deliver Cesford's pledges, or Cesford himself, and instead of doing justice to the dishonorable tumult, hitherto insists on these points, *viz.*, that the indent was broken on both sides, though Lord Hume confesses performance on her Majesty's behalf—that the raiser of the tumult was an Englishman, though the contrary is evident enough to the world—that he has insisted so earnestly upon delivery of the same English pledges, or her Majesty's warden in their room, though he cannot but know that these pledges are fled, and cannot be had, and that none of her Majesty's wardens at that delivery made any default. Next, I see in M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson's report, "that the King acknowledgethe intelligence from Tyrone, conveyed unto him by Huntley. Thirdly—that M<sup>r</sup> Sorle, known to have so ill deserved of her Majestie, should finde so favourable acceptance. Lastly, that her Majesties late supposed actions touchinge his mother, should by the King be so hardly construed, and by him so openly intimated to his parlamente. These and suche like, verifying that Kinges former speeche, borrowed from the offended Juno, *Flectere si nequeam superos, Acheronta movebo*, whither it have with him indeeds such a digested thought, or it be made butt a profitable showe, seeinge that in Scotlande, love must be lookt for in the markt like other wares, and that he may hope to winn that from her Majesties purse with wrestlinge, which he thinkes he cannot drawe by an easie hayle, I am not wise ynough to discerne. Onely this is evident, that this verie apparaunce given by the King, ministrthe great opportunitie to his mercenarie favourites for advanninge forrain practises to the daunger of bothe the realmes: especially, whilst her Majestie hathe so small assurance in that counsell-table, and in such discontinuance of intelligence as is like to followe by the death of her late ambassador there.

"It addethe to this evill, in my opinion much, that the cunninge courtiers have so kurbed the kirke, and learninge from Phillip of Macedon to still the oratours of Athens, though they have not taken awaie, yett have they so musled those watch-dogges, that they can neyther barke nor bite as they were wonte, eyther theefe or wolfe assaylinge that flocke, to the no small prejudice of the religious peace betweene the realmes. Which conceipte of myne I am the bolder to present to your honor, if in your wise judgements some such caution may be approved in the instructions given to the gentleman mentioned by your honors lettres, to be shortly sent ambassador into Scotland to be lieger there."

I will proceed with the matter of the pledges as speedily as I can, having now got from Wedderburne the King's assent to delivery of new pledges, for



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such old as cannot be gotten. I have laboured this with Wedderburne ever since the Queen's pleasure signified in your letter of 22<sup>d</sup> October, to deliver either old or new, yet so that "the thinge might rather growe from a motion between Wedderburne and me for the common good," than from any suit by me to the King—thinking this course more honorable to her Majesty, her indent being already performed, and also that the only way to prevail, "was to sever Wedderburnes sinceritie from the Lord Humes palpable partialitie to Sesfurde." Knowing well that if I bound the Queen to a new promise to deliver new pledges, by Lord Hume's privity Cesford would so labour with them underhand, that they would never be got, "and so the action frustrated by the English default": an error which I seek to avoid to the uttermost, and will get "as many of the olde as I can, and such newe as may be provided by the deputies; thereby to putt to full prooffe Wedderburnes parenthesis, which your honor will finde in his lettre (If all be well meant)."

My wish to avoid Cesford's "sleights" through Lord Hume's love to him, and the inconvenience I found when last here, in his lordship committing matters to the report of two cunning messengers, induced me to go a day's journey off this place, to see the success of my privy dealings with Wedderburne; and being advertised of the "unexpected deathe of my deare uncle," I went home for a few days, which I hope her Majesty and your honor will excuse.

I have delivered her highness's letter to the King to be "solicited" by Mr Nicholson's immediate repair to him, and you shall be advertised of the progress of the cause.

I send you herewith Wedderburne's 2 last letters to me, showing the King's last resolution as to the pledges, making show of great favour in yielding to new: "yett with the continuance of his former strange condition to have the Queenes warden delivered, in case Bucklughe be not restored to him agayne": praying you to return me these letters. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Bowes).*

Dec. 24. 873. JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Though my news be of the latest, as your honor has been advertised long before by others, yet I would rather be "after the fashion" than not at all, and therefore have sent the "prinsepell" as it came to me, "bey resune the man is ou verey well affected to Ingeland, and I must entreat youer honer that his letter maye be verey closley kepe, for that ther be maney Scotcs about the Cort, and his hand is well knowen bothe to Inglishe and to Scotteishe, and if it shold be knowen bey him, he shold be presently tortered to dethe: wherfore I praye youer honer have a care to the pore manes estat."

You may see by the inclosed whether we are now better victualled or not, for we hear daily rumours that we are. The Queen may think this a reason for my stay, but I think it a far better reason that I should come up and impart to her Majesty much that she should know, leaving my brother Sir Robert, the gentleman porter, and the master of the ordnance to take charge. "Wherfor good ser hasten my comminge upe, if for ever so littyll a tym." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Sean wafer signet.*

Dec. 26. 874. SIR W. BOWES TO THE DEPUTY OF THE MIDDLE MARCH.

Commanding him with expedition and secrecy, to get all the old pledges into his hands, and for those awanting, to provide two of the best of the

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same surname for the choice of the Scottish commissioners: certifying his diligence with speed. Berwick.

Similar to the deputy warden of the West March, *mutatis mutandis*.

1 p. Copy by his clerk. Indorsed.

Dec. or later. 875. SIR W. BOWES TO HENRY LEIGH.

Commanding him to get into his hands immediately all the pledges formerly appointed to be delivered out of his March, certifying his diligence therein with speed. Berwick. Signed: Will'm Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Dec. [28.] 876. ARTICLES AS TO THE SCOTTISH PLEDGES.

Inconveniences that will follow the free delivery, exchange or escape of the Scottish pledges.

*Under nine heads not numbered.*

(1) Holding those pledges is a better security for the peace of the Border, than the King's command, or Sir Robert Kerr's promise.

(2) Their release would simply encourage giving blackmail to Sir Robert and the chief thieves.

(3) And the English borderers would sue her Majesty for satisfaction.

(4) These pledges would have satisfied great part of their bills if Sir Robert had not advised them that they would be freed by other means.

(5) It is neither honorable nor profitable for her Majesty that her borderers should become discontented for want of lawful satisfaction, by "pleasuring of a few theeves."

(6) The wardens know that there is no difference between free delivery and exchange of those pledges, unless those entering in their place are of equal value.

(7) And if the commission end thus, it leaves the subjects in worse case than if there had been none, as they are now precluded from getting satisfaction by ordinary course of March law.

(8) Thus if the pledges, who were chief actors in the spoils for which they were delivered, make no satisfaction, and are not "justiced" according to the commission, her Majesty is bound in honour to satisfy her subjects for their bills "out of her owne cofers," or at least to deliver the pledges into their hands.

(9) Lastly—to find the best course herein, as concerning borderers only, her Majesty may be pleased to appoint the Bishop of Durham and Sir William Bowes (who as commissioners were privy to these proceedings) or other fit men, to consult at Newcastle with some of the principal and wisest border gentlemen interested in these pledges, to debate on the matter and report to the Privy Council thereon.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. Contemporary hand. Indorsed.

Dec. 28. 877. EDWARD GRAY TO SIR W. BOWES.

Yesterday I received your letter of 26<sup>th</sup> as to recovering the former pledges, whereon I have special directions from Lord Eure to effect whatever you shall order either respecting old or new pledges.

I will with all possible diligence, deal with the keepers of Tindale and Redesdale, in such secret manner that your directions may be effected with all expedition—praying you to give reasonable time therefor, and that you would name the persons of each clan, whom you wish to be attached as

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substitutes, on the report of the keepers as to those old pledges awaiting or dead.

And in regard that some of ours are dead and some peradventure awaiting, in whose places the Scots will call for "rather better then worse," my meaning is that you will so deal, as that such men shall be got from Scotland as may equal those that may be newly delivered for this March: who when once nominated by yourself, I shall without fail give you notice what men to demand of the clans of Scotland in "lew" of them. The Scots to be so named by me shall be such as have done spoils, murders, &c., since your last meeting.

Should any of the old pledges come "casualle" to my hands, I doubt whether to apprehend them, or suffer them to go at liberty till wanted: for if apprehended I must imprison them, which will be chargeable and "discourage the poorer subjects"—and if let on bond, I hear from many they will rather die than enter again to Scotland; and if the secret intent of this service be any way disclosed, I fear none of the "ould" pledges will be attached—therefore I pray your advice and strait command herein.

Thus after conference with the keepers of Redesdale and Tyndale, with what speed and secrecy I can, you shall have notice what pledges are dead and who of them are not to be got, that you may nominate others. Morpeth.  
*Signed: Edward Gray.*

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 28. 878. JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

On Monday night the 26<sup>th</sup> instant, there came to this town the Master of Orkney brother to the Earl of Orkney, without safe conduct or warrant by me. On being brought down to me by the ward, he pretended no other occasion of his coming than to see the town and visit the Laird of Buclough. "Nevertheless, good heed being taken of his carriage, it was found that he brought challenge of combat from Cesford to Bouclough, which he delivered not in writinge, but in wordes." Buccleuch, on his refusal to give him the challenge in writing, published the matter in the hearing and witnessing of sundry Scottish gentlemen, drawn as it would seem to this end. On notice hereof to me, I advised with my brother Sir Robert Carey, Sir William Bowes and the gentleman porter, sent for the Master of Orkney, and in their presence, told him of the sundry reports in town as to the cause of his coming, and I being in charge, thought it my duty to be curious therein, praying him, as in birth and quality honorable, that he would truly state the cause.

Whereon he at last acknowledged his errand from Cesford with a challenge to Buccleuch, and showed us his warrant in writing under Cesford's hand. Whereon I advising with the above three, made known to him that it was not usual for any Scotsman to resort hither without safe conduct. And though I might have passed by that oversight, yet finding he had offered an indignity to my sovereign, in occasioning any violence or disturbance to her Majesty's prisoner, a gentleman stranger received into her protection, I could do no less than report the matter to her, and he meanwhile must stay in the town. So I have kept him for a day or two, meaning to keep him till I heard again from your honor: but as we found it would be long before a post went and returned, we thought better to let him return, taking good assurance for his entrance again here this day 17 days, and remain her Majesty's further pleasure. We thought this course fittest, that the Scots may learn better respect to her Majesty's person and the importance of this place—and also as there has been a late bruit constantly in Edinburgh, that Buccleuch was slain with a bullet in Berwick, whereon the King and Queen are said to have "letten fall highe termes of discontentment." Also though

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there is no likelihood of truth herein, yet their common manner in Scotland is to give out in uncertain bruits such murders as they afterwards effect. Submitting the further order hereof to her Majesty's pleasure, and beseeching your instructions herein and how to use him on his return. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

\* I must humbly entreat you for her Majesty's pleasure what shall become of the town or ourselves? for we must starve, as there is no provisions come for horse or man, or hope of any.

2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed.

Dec. 29. 879. SIR W. BOWES TO EDWARD GRAY.

In answer to your letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> and the principal points, viz., First—That time may be allowed for the answers of the keepers of Tyndale and Redesdale as to recovery of the old pledges: the service will admit no delay, my directions from above enforce me to blame myself, as when last here I laboured earnestly with yourself and these keepers, and since with Lord Eure himself—that they might be recovered, for I knew assuredly the Queen would appoint redelivery of the same men, so I expect that matter is in good forwardness. Secondly—You doubt that keeping them will be chargeable, and seizing them one by one, dangerous, to drive away the rest. My answer is, that I often complained to the lord warden that the want of his holding them ready in his hands, has defeated this service, and my advice is that without regard of that small charge in so important a case, you keep them as they can be got till delivery—for as I have to promise their certain persons, I must know that they are in our power. And to get them, I think if it appears to you they will not come to a day and place fixed, then you should appoint with your brother M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Graye and your friends of best power and trust, and dividing yourselves in several troops, you may take the said pledges at their houses all at one instant, using them with gentleness and courtesy, so as to raise no affray or "emotion." And if you miss any, I wish you to take for each such man, two of his surname being the chiefest, not expecting me to name them, for you know I cannot tell which of the pledges may be wanting, or who to call for in their stead.

The satisfying of the Scottish commissioners must be left to me as I may effect it. Thirdly—For your wish that as some Englishmen of greater worth than before, must be delivered, you would nominate new Scottish pledges: I have no power to do this, or make a new indent, but must perform the old, and as the delivery of these old pledges greatly touches her Majesty's honour, resting on her royal word, though indeed *stricto jure* already performed, yet defeated by accidents known to you, she intends not to stand upon that advantage, but by their redelivery to perform the true intention of this commission. Here you must with especial care justify to the people under your charge, this her Majesty's honorable justice, "drawing out of ther hart that wayne supposall, viz., that the pledges so dismissed may plead a lawfull discharge of ther entry."

Lastly—I as your friend, earnestly entreat and charge you, seeing the matter is like to come to a strict account, forthwith to possess yourself of the old pledges, and 2 principal men of the surname of such old pledges as shall be wanting, keeping them in safe custody, till I give you notice to draw them hitherward—for upon your so doing I must frame the further conduct of the proceedings. Berwick.

The new pledges must on your credit be principals of their surname.

2 pp. Contemporary copy. Indorsed.

\* What follows holograph.

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Dec. 31. 880. EDWARD GRAY TO SIR W. BOWES.

As directed in your letter of 29<sup>th</sup> instant I will do my uttermost, though the execution will be most difficult, as I shall further give you notice.

This day I talked with the keeper of Redesdale of the secrecy of the service, and charged him to do his uttermost to apprehend the pledges with speed. He is gone, assuring me he will first try fair means, and then use such way as he can to get those who refuse.

He tells me that since your being in Berwick, divers of them have "refused" their own houses, doubting apprehension; and that the country is in such disobedience from slanderous reports that he has left his office, and Lord Eure is not to return warden, that they start up in arms against all authority.

As for riding "in trowpes": we shall lose our labour in seizing them now they have left their houses; and I hear "they have ben mightily labored by the oposyte to faile in ther entry."

I apprehended this day in Morpeth one of the Halls, the brother of the dead pledge "and the best of that clan," and detain him. Not only himself, but divers gentlemen of this March, are greatly discontented, saying it is for malice, although untrue. You shall hear further of the issue.

If more come to my hands, I have no house or prison to put them in: and know not if sending them to Newcastle gaol, will stand with law. If I take their bond, I shall doubtless be deceived. Therefore I pray heartily for your direction how to keep them safe.

Your brother the keeper of Tyndale is not in the country, but I have sent "of purpose" to seek him, and when I have spoken with him, will report his answer. Morpeth Castle. Edward Graye.

Postscript:—I pray your advice if you think it fit to take sufficient bond for their appearance: for I have no means to keep them either in my own house or any other prison. "Or if it please you I will send them to you one by one as I gett them, wher the towne wilbe a place of securitye: or otherwyse as you think good."

After signing this letter, I thought it was better to certify the truth of my action in this special service, "as I may most justly saye most dangerous to my self," rather than keep it close, so if anything happens unlooked for, you may see where the defect is.

After I had apprehended William Hall of Cartington as aforesaid, I had not detained him above two hours, "by Ephraim Wodrington brother to Harry Wodrington, cam in dynaer tyme to my house, with Raphe Ogle, Androw Clennell, Luke Errington, servantes to Henry Wodrington, and John Smyth servant to the said Ephraym, armed with long gonns, pistolles and swordes, willing my porter to open the gates: who doubting of ther pretence, would not, but answered I was at dynner. Then the said Wodrington asked for the said William Hall; who after the said Hall came to him, the sayde M<sup>r</sup> Wodrington asked him if he were in prison or not? who answered he was. Then M<sup>r</sup> Wodrington said 'those iron gates shall not hold the!' And after, did revyle me 3 tymes in the hearing of my servant, first calling me 'dissembling knave,' secondlie 'cowardly beaste,' thirdlye, 'cowardly dastardly companyon' I was, to hold the sayd Hall in such sorte! Which you knowe is upon your command and her Majesties service. For I may justly saye ther determynacion was to seik my lyfe, coming in such order armed, rather then to any other end, as ther spetches doth declare." So I leave your wisdom to judge how likely the Queen's service is to be effected, when at first such resistance and threats are used to her officers.

2½ pp. Copy in same hand as last. Indorsed. Note by Cecil: "Very worthy the reading."

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## 881. THE AFFLICTED STATE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

[An anonymous representation to the Queen, specially directed against Lord Eure and his officers; embodying the presentments of the juries, and the representations of Browne and Woodrington, with additions of the writer's.]

*Extracts.*

"Harken to her estate, and your wysdome shall see her calamyties are no less. Yf you begyn in her churches, examyninge her poore sowles, I assure your Majestie you shall not fynde fowre preachers in all that mayne of Northumberland; yeat many benefices, many wasted churches, and but too many greate improprie personages, improprie used, God knowes. Yf Sanct Pawle saye right, that faith comes of doctryne, what fayth shall we saye hath this people, that was never taught to knowe the Deietie?"

"In good faith moste of theym dye, and cannott saie the Lordes Prayer: the whole congregacion goethe a whooringe tyll she hathe all infeccions, for lack of her husbandes presence: they are fytt for any religion, and old tradicion called Papistrye, fytteth theym best. Theyr store is less of open preachers, then of secreat priestes, whoe have seduced moste of the chief howses, gentlemen, and comons of the cuntrye, as shalbe made knowen to your Majestie in particulars.

"Thus at yeres of nderstandinge, they want the Woorde to establish religyon. And in their yonger yeares they shall not fynde so mutche as a gramer schoole in all Northumberland, to informe theym with literature. Their lyveloodes for the moste parte are either so little, or so dispended, that not one emongest fyve thowsand maynteyneth his sonne at the Unyversatie, and theyre good fortunes are less, havinge so fytt townes as Alnewicke, Morpeth and Hexham for schooles; had never those blessings fownded for theyre yowthe, to comfort their old age."

For their laws: there are many "formes," but none in force.

First—Touching their discipline in church: your Majesty may conceive from what is said, "itt woorkes small effect."

Secondly—For their justices of peace and their duties: thus it is (1) they keep no order for quarter sessions, and often none: (2) they remove no forcible entries, "which makes every tyrant a kinge, and bruseth the weakest against the walls"; (3) they take no care of markets, or reform the rates of corn, so the greediest may eat up the rest, and withhold his corn from market at pleasure; (4) they inlarge uubailable felons on insufficient bonds, and your Majesty never gets "one grote" of these: your itinerant justices will tell your highness "a Northumberland bayle is as good as the Quenes pardon."

Thirdly—The sheriff, as my Lord Treasurer knows, renders no accounts—the people complain of his neglect, and I think him bound to nothing but his own will, and justice is neglected.

It is an open shame, that the sheriff, Lord Eure and his officers, Mansfield in Redesdale, and Fenwick in Tynedale, "preoccupate one another for hasts," converting escheats and forfeitures to their own use, not accounting for "a penny share" to the Queen. Yet the felons survive, and continue their "theef deedes," and the poor unjustly forfeited, must either beg or steal. And this is "one of the mothers of dooble desolacion" in Northumberland, as shown by the inquisition sent to your Majesty by the late commissioners on the oaths of many credible gentlemen. I affirm that those officers have got as much or more goods in their offices, than the Scots have done in the last 12 month.

The toleracion of this abuse has brought about, that every meaner officer and "every larde that hathe but a leet courte," is absolute lord of all escheats, and the Queen "the least."

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Lastly—Of the warden's office and how carried out, "I will truelie acquaint your Majestie."

The East March, being small, but now much decayed, was of late years strongly inhabited "to the verie ryng of the March." It has sundry castles and forts profitable to their owners, but of no service to the country. "Butt havinge your costlie Berwick a neighbour to sutch as offend it, all the men of that Border agree, and can render no reasone whie it shoulde or need sustayne either loss or dishonour by those open invasions and cruell murders of Sir Robert Carre of Cesforde and his trayne of theves, more in this age, then it did in the tyme of Sir William Druery whose lyes lamented in his untymelie dead sleape. And Berwick will not nowe awake with a cuntrye laram for lack of comission. Yf Sir John Forster for Bambrough, Sir Robert Carey for Norham, and Raphe Graye esquier for Dunstanebrough and Warke castles, were ordered to inhabit these places, the cuntrye were mutche the stronger." Reason intends they should be bound to residence and hospitality on their estates. It is no good policy for your Majesty to give away your profits here, to be "forrenlie dispended" elsewhere. "Wyttness the ruynated decaye of the Earle of Northumberlandes howses and tenentes, whoe for lack of their masters presence are wasted as if they were masterless; your Majesties are farre worse." Also divers gentlemen in troubles and deadly fends, have fled the East March, and left their houses almost desolate.

Also when it pleases your Majesty "to look into the inquisition I spoke of," it will show Scotsmen and their flocks dwelling on M<sup>r</sup> Graye's lands, some of his towns undone by them, especially by Sir Robert Carre—and yet kindness between them—a bad example to the country.

The Middle March is "the land of bondage," and the conduct of its officers is presented to your highness by the said inquisition, in humble hope of redress. By the want of days of truce, it is the "foster mother" of Scots thieves, feeding them not only with goods, but with the blood of your people, who fly from their dwellings to serve or beg. As appears from the late herships "and burninges of your subjectes, poore martyres like herytykes," by the Scottish wardens in person. There is no answer to this "but the trewantes excuse, most childish": and the fault is charged on the Scottish warden, who may perhaps delay, but never denies truce. We observe not the precedents of our forefathers, whereby Northumberland flourished, having then more horsemen than now foot: and the Scot then begged justice, as we do now, and can get none.

[Here he relates Lord Eure's conduct at Stawford, where "myself was present," and his ignominious dismissal of the 100 foot of Berwick at Cesford's bidding, to the shame of the English—the declaration by Eure at another meeting in 10 days, and assured peace meanwhile. Yet notwithstanding this, within three nights after, the attack by 36 of Cesford's men on John Browne's house in Alnwick, the poor gentleman's miraculous deliverance—spoil of his brother, and M<sup>r</sup> Clavering's deadly wound in pursuit.] "But this must dissolve no kynndes betwene those twoe wardens."

The effect whereof is, that the Scot may rob and murder your subjects, "so he offend not his kinde friend or his folowers: yea though he doe slea one of those folowers, so he knew him not, or so he came to kyll one other of your subjects and not him"! then it must be gently dealt with as a "misadventure." Thus "your people are eaten up lyke bread," and your borders wasted. "Butt we are all at gaze what your Majestie will saye to this."— [Sir Robert Kerr's disguised journey to Toplif to buy a horse, his return by Swynburne castle, and its subsequent surprise are related—also the denial of assistance to John Browne, severe treatment of Roger Woodrington—Lord Eure's dealings with the 80 horse, who have been of no use to the border, and nobody knows where they are!]

Lord Eure has entirely neglected his duties, *viz.*, pursuing fugitives,

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prosecuting murders and burnings, and fying bills on honour. If this and the Scots' custom of deadly feud against vowers of bills, &c., be suffered, "it will burne the stobbe with inquenshable fyer, which the hooke hath left, and make a cleare end of all on the Borders."

The warden prevents challenge by an innocent man, of his professed enemy or a convicted person, on his jury: and again, if a heinous offender is justly condemned to death, will take upon him to set him free, in violation of your Majesty's prerogative.

He has no proper prison, or officer answerable for escapes, and his delays of justice have undone many "as the poore men of Tyndale, whoe have ben deferred these 3 or 4 yeres from ane execucion of 800*li.*, parcell of a los of 1600*li.*, to thaire utter impoverishment."

Our diseases are manifold and grievous, both in body, soul, and ability, strange to many, and incurable by most: and therefore not undertaken, but desperately left to amend by time and leisure, destroying the whole body, and burying those suitable remedies yet in sight, waiting to be applied.

Among these, this is the sovereign—A man possessed with the spirit of Sir William Druery, of affable presence, who harboured no covetous conceit, whose tongue was no dissembler, whose heart was in his hand, his hand was a sword, his thoughts served, the people "garded" them, and his services prevailed. Such a man's presence would amend these deformities in town and country, at no cost to your Majesty. "God delyver us from a covetous man, be he never so profounde a philosopher or valyant in accompt: for we poore men that are the flocke, observes by tradicion in our calender of effectes: that sutch a mans desyers are but foolishness, his officers worse then him self; his zeale ungodlyness, his care is rapyne, his love is gayne, his justice is corrupcion, his councells infected, his pretended husbandrye but wastinge cowardize, and his services dyrected for his owne adoes: he cures not thaffliccion of Jacob, therefore God blesseth no sutch mens labours, wherever they lyve they are the scourge of the people, and the fruyctes of desolacion to the kingdom." *No signature.*

5 pp. *In a good clear hand. Indorsed.*

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Jan. 4. 882. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

In my "travells" to effect my lords' last directions touching the delivery of pledges, I am "impeached" with these difficulties. First—Cesford's promise to his pledges not to deliver them. The privy labour made with ours to withdraw themselves, and Lord Hume's so befriending Cesford as to make his affairs his own. Thus it so stands, that though the King seems content to receive new pledges from us, yet if they are nominated with Cesford's privity, they will not be gotten, and so the breach now plainly lying on their side, will be drawn by us on ourselves. To meet this mischief, I have as directed by the lords, given Buccleuch some "taste" of her Majesty's inclination to return him on delivery of those pledges, "as caution for effectinge the late commission." Whereon he gladly uses his best credit with the King to bring it about, seeing that Cesford, whom he now esteems enemy to his life and fortunes, will hinder it if he can, both for his own "particuler, as to keepe his capitall ennemie in restraunte and distresse." So Buccleuch labours with Wedderburne, Sir John Carmichael, and others his dearest Court friends, to persuade the King to accept of such names as Wedderburne and M<sup>r</sup> George Younge shall present to him, which they are to get from me, "justified" under the deputy warden's hand as the best of the surnames of any missing pledges—the object being that the King shall by letter command Lord Hume to receive these men from me, and proceed with delivery to the Queen as formerly ordered. I have conferred and dealt with Wedderburne on his promise so to travell with the King with



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speed and secrecy, and advance the business. M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson is also sent to the King with her Majesty's letters, to negotiate as opportunity serves.

I have earnestly endeavoured to get our old pledges or their substitutes, into our possession, and have written many letters to the lord warden of the Middle March and his deputy and under officers—and am forced to send these and their answers herewith, that you may see in what peril the casestands. This has much straitened and vexed me, as if I bind the Queen by new promises which I cannot perform, it will be to dishonour her, and forget my duty. The only pledges in safe custody, are those of the East March.

The service may thus be defeated among so disobedient a people, if the delivery rests merely on the pledges' appearance on the very day under bond, and I must therefore entreat that the blame may not be laid on me.

The remedy, so far as in my power, is, that I have ordered the pledges, as they are gotten, to be kept severally by the principal gentlemen in the Middle March. And I would willingly bear the charge myself of keeping them together, if I could make them sure, or if they would be received by the Governor of this town, who thinks himself burdened enough with keeping Buccleuch. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "4 Jan. 1597 . . . Rec. at Whithall the xj<sup>th</sup> of same." *Marginal notes by Cecil*.

Jan. 4. 883. SIR GEORGE HUME TO SIR W. BOWES.

"Instrwktioun—Gewe Cesfwrđ enter his pledges, according to his promess, ye sall interchange sa mony as he hes thair redy, and for the absentes, let him self be entered to remane with sum indifferent noble man till he relewe him self be thair delyverie: ye resawing, in the meane tyme the haill number his opposit pledges, or his opposit officiar in the absentis place, to remane in Scotland on the lyke condition. Baclewch to be used in lyk sort.

"Rycht honorable, this is the extrak, in sum, and almaist termes of that I promesed to send to yow: quhairby ye may perseawe his Majesteis afald meaning to quoyettness and performance of the indentis; quharin I trust ye will meat him with the lyk sinceretie. And for that writ servis best to aid memorie, as I spak yisternycht, I vryt now, that in your dealling ye seme not to resolwe as thocht ye shold vant any of your pledges, bot that is com to be dowbted,—in respect thai have ones taisted the feir of entrie and escaipped (ye will say), in our default—whether thai can be had agane. If yow lyk the mwtwell condition of our indent, ye have your mater plane. If not, bot that yow vald be at any uthir condition, tak only a qwyt promess of his Majestie, lest be opening the preparative on yowr part, ye geve occasion to our lymcris to be absent; bot the surest vay to your purpose and qwyetnes is to go on according our instrwctioun, sa sall ye have all Cesfordes pledges rether nor him self, and thocht one of your wardenis pas his tyme a quhyll with us, quhat harme? he may retwrne saif. And sik pledges as can not be gotten be altered as Baclewche. Use your discretioun, quhilk I pray God to sanctefy, and gewe this vork als gude end as we dealt in it with gude hartis. At Vedderburne the fowrt of Januarie 1597. Yours as ye know." *Signed*: George Houme.

1 p. *Holograph; as also address.*

Jan. 8. 884. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

By your letters of last of December, it seems you find not in my packet of the 24<sup>th</sup>, two letters from Sir George Hume of Wedderburne, said by me to be inclosed. My servant, to whom I gave them to make up, says "confydentlie" he did so. They may have "peradventure" been packed by him in my other private letter to you, in the matter of my suit: if not, I kept no copies of them, hoping to have them back.

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Your letter also expects my acknowledgement of letters from my lords of the Council, directing me as to pledges, and the return of Buccleuch. This I did in my last letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, reporting proceedings.

For returning Buccleuch to Carlisle, I have signified the Queen's command therein both to the King and Buccleuch himself; the King is away from Edinburgh in the north, and has not received it yet.

I conceived my lords' direction to be that Buccleuch's reentry should be made after the delivery of pledges was performed, and then I should repair to Carlisle for the service. Yet as Buccleuch declares "that if it layde upon his lyfe," he cannot procure entry of his old pledges, or new ones in their room, "excepte he were in place him self" to execute the delivery: I thought meet to make this known to you, with his petition that her Majesty would please to take such caution as he is able to give, and allow him to go home to deliver his pledges "to her full contentment"; praying for your directions therein.

Other dispatches than the aforesaid, except one briefly mentioning them, and another concerning my suit (the answer whereof I trust is already delivered) I have not received. Beseeching humbly, that the slowness of proceeding (which I cannot amend) or my not writing fruitless letters of no progress made, may not be offensive, seeing as my conscience witnesses, that I lay aside my own necessities, profits and delights, to do my duty in this service. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

I beseech your honor to cause this letter to be delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Ewens, who was charged with my other letter soliciting my suit, who shall deliver Wedderburne's letters, if put in his packet by mistake.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 10. 885. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

I have lately had a letter of the lords of the Privy Council, showing your care and regard for the better furnishing of this town with victuals. As yet we have received no benefit, but remain as we did. I have thought good to acquaint your lordship, that the necessity of the town being so great, my own affairs and law business so much, and so many councillors resident here, besides Sir Robert Carey and Sir William Bowes, that I cannot find a fitter time to come up, and God willing, I mean to do so presently, as I can get no leave. Humbly praying that as heretofore you will continue my good lord and not take offence against me, for I have so many great causes, that my stay here is impossible, and it would be too tedious to set them all down, and nothing but necessity is my reason. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

¾ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 10. 886. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

The long protraction of this business for delivery of the pledges, whereon I have written at large to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, has induced me to set down the whole course of the matter "in short heades," to keep it in memory and get directions, and it may please your lordship to receive these herewith. I have thought fit to do so, hearing that the King in his late letters to her Majesty, endeavours to place the fault of delay on her ministers, especially myself. The better to clear such "preparatives" of his as M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson lately advertised me of, I beg your lordship to examine the particulars of my abstract, with the advertisements I have from time to time sent to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, as the references on the "margent" will show, when the true state of the case will appear. Here I must, for my own excuse, complain that in spite of my earnest requisitions to the wardens, especially Lord Eure

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and his officers (where the chief impediment now lies), to recover the old pledges, and provide new for those absent, I can hear of neither, and am kept in continual suspense, seeing I dare promise nothing on her Majesty's behalf, towards finishing the cause.

I humbly beg directions what course to follow therein, *viz.*, how I shall answer Wedderburne's motion specified in his letter herewith sent, expressing the King's last instructions given to him at his late coming from Edinburgh? or, if the course propounded by me, appearing in the end of my abstract "Division 24," shall be better approved, then that the warden himself may see it executed, to remedy such disobedience as M<sup>r</sup> Edward Gray Lord Eure's deputy lately reported—whose letter with M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, will show your lordship. Berwick. *Signed*; Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Abstract referred to.)

[Summary under 27 heads, of the negotiations between the commissioners on both sides, letters, &c., between Lord Home and Sir William Bowes, as to the pledges, Buccleuch, &c.]

5 pp. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed by Burghley*: "1597.—A summary of Sir William Bowes negociacion on the Borders from May untill January."

Jan. 12. 887. MUNITION, &c., AT BERWICK.

Note of the serviceable munition and other habiliments for war in store, 17 July 1597—what expended—and what remains.

Callyvers furnished, 395; pikes, 1078, expended by warrant, 9, remaining, 1069; long bows, 294; lance staves, 620; horsemens' staves, 922; arrows, 95 "sheif"; "Almayne corslettes," 122; "Flaunders corslettes," 114; spades and shovels, 470, expended by warrant, 20, remaining, 450; pick-axes, 342, expended by warrant, 8, remaining, 334; long carts, 10, expended by warrant, 1, remaining 9.

1½ pp. *Contemporary copy. Indorsed.*

Jan. 12. 888. POWDER AT BERWICK.

Note of the powder in store 1<sup>st</sup> January 1596—what is expended, and what remains.

"Remyne" on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1596 was—13½ lasts, 700lb. weight. Expended, *viz.*, the captains for training powder, 2500lb.; defalked by the master of ordnance, 1000lb.; by the Governor's warrant to the East mount and flankers, 2500lb.; by same to Wark castle, 400lb.; to the fort at Holy Island, 200lb.; and for "the furnishing of fower fiede peces withe cartrages for present service, by like warraunte," 100lb. In all 6700lb., "whiche makethe two lastes *dim. vij<sup>e</sup> lb. wz.*" Remains in store 11 lasts.

1 p. *Copy in same hand. Indorsed.*

Jan. 12. 889. MUSTERS AT BERWICK.

Defaults of the musters taken before the right worshipful John Carey esquire governor of the town 12 January 40 Eliz.

Absent, with or without passports, from the companies of John Carey, Sir William Reade and 5 other captains, gunners, workmen of the Ordnance, horsemen and pensioners, in all, 35 men. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, John Crane.

2 pp. *In Crane's writing. Indorsed.*

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Jan. 19. 890. H. LEIGH TO SCROPE.

In answer to your two letters of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> instant, the former authorizing me to proceed severely against such pledges and their friends as shall disobey entry, and the latter desiring to know how far Sir William Bowes and I have proceeded therein and what day is set down for delivery? I have had no direction from him but the inclosed letter where no day is appointed, but I can assure you there is no doubt our pledges will be ready on the day, except "red Rowy Foster," for whom your lordship has Lord Eure's word, and "Antons Edward whose soome your lordship hath in howld." But Edward offers to enter at all times to your lordship, his life being saved, and I doubt not, if it come to delivery indeed, he will be as ready as he was. But we who live on the Borders think there is no likelihood of the service being perfected, for divers of the Armstrongs and others taken as pledges by the King when he was on the border, are either broken away, "or in polley ar suffered to escape owt the Blacknest, wher they were comitted"—whereby some disquiet will likely arise; but let them begin when they will, we shall be as ready as they. The country is quiet, but I cannot get the people to present the hurts and losses by Scotland since your departure, but some chance or other defers it, as the inclosed letter from Thomas Carleton for Gilsland will show. For all others, M<sup>r</sup> William Hutton ordered his man to draw them up "fayre," and by sickness he neglected it: but by the next you shall have them. I send the certificate of the justices to show your lordship the cause of the evils, that you may proceed in your course for some horsemen—"for in good trewth, ther is almost neyther fayth, nor trewth, nor manhoode, left in Gylsland," and without some severe execution in time, that country will be past recovery. William Mylbourne who was hurt by Gerard Carleton and two of the Grames, is dead, and unless corrected, it will be a perilous example. Your lordship has doubtless heard the manner of his murder, which was done for your sake, having sent him to London to complain, as he said himself. As for the Bells, "thoughe some of them might mend theyre maners," I shall assist them against the enemy so far as I can, till you come home, when I fear "fowle" complaints will come in, one of them against another, which must be reformed by your self. The Lord Oucheltrye has been this fortnight in Edinburgh, so there has been no entrance to justice, but some demands by letters, wherein I am not behind with him in reasonable answers. We are well enough yet, but I doubt our long quietness has nourished "to much sloathfull unaptnes" in our people against a doubtful day. There is no news of account, all things depending on the dispatch of the Scottish "intended" ambassadors. It is said the King has "gotten granted by his subjectes this parlement the tenth penny of all comodities coming in or goynge furth of his realme, for the mayntenance of his forrayne affayres." I will not trouble your lordship with variable reports of the Scottish discontentments and brags, "but be as it wyll," M<sup>r</sup> Edward Hutton and George Crookebayne are witnesses of the readiness of our pledges. The Bishop has been sick and is not yet well. The sickness here in Carlisle, God be praised, partly ceases. M<sup>r</sup> Mayor and we all heartily wish you a happy return, as you write, without further delay, and so did all the gentlemen of the country at Cockermouth sessions. The bishop willed me to write that if you would come home, "ye might lye at the Rose with thre or foure of your men and cost ye nothinge tyll your lordship were satisfied of the sicknes at Carlyll. He would not rest tyll I promised to signifye so much unto ye." M<sup>r</sup> Wyclyffe told me my Lord Thomas was dead, which I would be sorry for. Carlisle. *Signed*: H. Leighe.

3 pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed.*

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Jan. 20. 891. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

On my receipt of her Majesty's letter to the King of Scots, and your signification of further instructions thereon, I wrote on the 17<sup>th</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson to procure the King's safe conduct, receiving in answer two letters which I send herewith. It seems the King rests on these three points, *viz.*, To have such pledges as will save his country; next, if we change, he also may; and thirdly, as we have Buccleuch, he may have first of all our pledges for him. These demands give me little hope of ending speedily, raising new questions on naming and getting new pledges on both sides, and breaketh the former indent, which her Majesty duly performed, and his own ministers voluntarily dismissed them after delivery. I have often laid this before him and his ministers, and shall do it again by speech to make an end if possible.

I must again lay before you the notowardness of the proceedings in this matter—in Scotland as above; in England, for I can have no certainty either of new or old pledges, in spite of my many letters. Indeed the Middle Marches want both command and obedience: Edward Gray the deputy warden, though most desirous to do his part, finding the hindrances I have already certified to you: also I hear that M<sup>r</sup> Mansfield keeper of Redesdale, is not in the country and his part slowly proceeding in a deputy's hand, so that Lord Eure's presence must either help this, or there will be more failing with us than them. So I see not how to cover it in speech with the King, or what to promise on the Queen's behalf, and beg your directions how to act, in case at my return from Scotland I find neither old nor new pledges ready for the Middle March.

Buccleuch has earnestly required me to commend his inclosed request to her Majesty under his hand writing. I think as he says, it is impossible to deliver pledges as the present state of Liddesdale is now. And since her Majesty is resolved to keep him on no other cause than the pledges, she may please to consider whether his detaining as he is, or dismissing him on these conditions, may best advance her service: seeing his detention "coulourethe the Kinges standinge upon deayall to give her Majestie further entrie of pledges, except he may receivey eyther our pledges or wardens makinge default."

Besides I think the strict course he will take in Liddesdale with some of the best Ellots and Armstrongs, will abate their wicked force, and I expect he will deliver us others to be agreed on between him and me before his going, equally answerable as the former. So we shall thus both have pledges, and cut off others of the worst deservers against our nation. The quarrel between him and Cesford has gone so far, that I believe if they were both at liberty it might work better effect for us than the mere detaining Buccleuch for the matter of his pledges. But I refer this wholly to her Majesty's directions, which it may please her to signify with such expedition, that I may give Buccleuch answer on my return from the King. Berwick.  
*Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wajer signet (Bowes).*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Buccleuch to Bowes.)

"Schir, sence thair Majestyes final scope in the concludet entrie off the pledges, is the redress off the losses off thair subjectis, and that the same is impossible to be performed on my part by my remayning heer or elles quhair out of my awin cuntrye, for that I have naine able to performe that service for me, and that quhilk is less, naine able in my absence to hinder the disobedientis frome duelling paeceahlye at thair awin houses within that part off the cuntrye quhairoff I have charge, or keep the rest in any kynde of conformitye or obedience, as I ame sure thair is of the subjectis of bathe

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"the realmes, that hes felt vith thair graet loss, sence my entree heer : my earnest desyer therfor unto yow is, that yee vald move hir Majestye to know hir plaesure towardis me, quha am contented dewtifullye to doo any thinge for hir Majestyes satisfaction in the mater I am entered for—as, in particular I will offer, being released for a raesonable tyme, upon catioune of Inglish, or Scottishe gentlemen, my awin promees, or the entree of my sone, vithin the sayd tyme I shall enter the pledges that var first named, or being authorized by his Majestie, I shall demolishe thair houses, and destroye quahatsunewer is in thair possessione to be destroyed, and expell them out of that place, and enter sic uther for them as shall be given me in liste : or reenter my self in this same conditione as I ame now, efter I shall have performed quhat I am able, to be censured in it by hir Majestie, quha may thereafter in my libertye favour me, as hir highness shall find me to have deserved, in sa far, as my desert maye be a motiffe, rather then a causs. Seing the entree of the first named pledges, iff it should stand me upon my lyff, or perpetuall restraint, I dar nocht certainlye promees." *Signed* : Baclughe.

1 p. *Holograph. Indorsed by Bowes* : "Baclughs request."

(2) (George Nicholson to Bowes.)

On Friday last I delivered to the King her Majesty's and your letters, whereon he said "they had ben longe enough in advising, and must nedes be well dited, as (I thought) conceyvinge that they had ben answers to his former letters which he had accopted to have ben disdayned to be answered him"—and so withdrew from the chamber to the "cabinett" to read them. After which he sent out Sir George Home to me, signifying he was well pleased that her Majesty had employed me, and used such good words of me in her letter, adding, that the King said "I should farr deceive him and many honest," if I did not carry myself well in office, and would have me come to him next day after his return from hunting. I humbly thanked the Queen and his Majesty for their good "conceiptes" of me, and would I hoped justify the trust reposed in me, saying I thought you were the cause of my employment. Next day about 4 P.M., on the King's return from hunting, "I went downe and spoke" his Majesty, who at the very first, said he was sorry for the death of my master,\* who "had allways made just and true reporte of his speaches with him, as they never disagreed in any thinge, a matter which with many circumstances, he noted to have ben very honest and commendable in my master, and mete to be don by men so employed."

I said I was to attend his Majesty for you in all border causes, and prayed him to think, notwithstanding contrary reports, that you would do your best endeavour to end these, as notes which I had from you, would truly show your part therein. I forbore to offer them then, as the Laird of Cesford and his friends were then in the chamber. He said he doubted it not, for you and he were so of one mind as to upright dealing, "as he should (if he were not a King) well agree with you." Thereon he asked me how many and which of the old pledges would be had? I said neither you nor I yet knew. He said "How then?" I replied that I sought to know for the present, that he would in general agree to accept of the best of the names to be entered for such of the old as could not be had. Whereunto he said "Yes, but Johnston (he said) and others had for their perticulers, made choise of suche as were not sufficient to safe the contry, which now must be helped." I said, this might be done by the best of their names being gotten on the credit of our officers (yourself not knowing them) and so the treaty be preserved. He said "Yes." And I told him you were dealing with our wardens to appe-

\* Robert Bowes.

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hend them, but not knowing the result, could not give their names directly, but I would do so on certainly hearing from you with directions, praying his Majesty then "to kepe it secrett," which he agreed to do, appearing well satisfied with the hope of a speedy end therein, and very earnest therefor, "his wordes being better and tending more effectuall to that purpose then I can write." I note three things whereon he will stand,—1. To have such as may "safe" his country; 2. That if we change pledges, so may he; and 3. As we have Baucleughe, he will first of all have the pledges for him. Your good friend the Laird of Wedderburne thinks the motion for entry of the wardens into honorable and fair custody, the best way to help, till the pledges are had, and he thinks will serve for the time as well as pledges, and better to quiet the borders. But if you please to send your offers or requests in short notes under your hand, I will take such meet time by the help of good friends, as to get you answers from the King in writing, for your satisfaction and my excuse. For I assure you, he is of himself ready to do reason: "he being satisfied in all his belike donbtfull informacions knowne to you, savage onely anent the Gratitie: which being had, no doubt of his good will and order to end these causes, as you shall desiere.\* So soone as the parties interested in these causes shalbe absent, M<sup>r</sup> Aston will watch mete tyme for me to shew your note to the King, which a frend of yours will second, as the King I hope shall see the true estate of all, and how he is delt with. If tyme serve not here, I will wate on his Majestie to Sterling about it."

Shortly after, the King called me to him, and touching the Master of Orkney's being stayed at Berwick and his promise to enter, asked me what I thought they would do with him? I said he was gently stayed, I thought to let him see there was such government there, that such a challenge should not have been brought thus to her Majesty's prisoner. But he repeated—what I thought they would do with him? I said I thought no hurt, but only let him see his error. He said he thought so, adding, "the gentleman was rashly brought on it, was of his name, and should enter and kepe his worde, wishing that he might be courteously used and dismissed; yet willing me to kepe the same his speache in any case secrett." So seeing his Majesty's mind, I commend it to your knowledge, so to work that it may be effected; "which you may best do upon the least wordes of the Lard of Baucleughe" who will use some formal entreaty for the Master as he did before. Thus you will get favour of the laird and the gentleman, and increase of it with the King, for I shall show him your part in best sort. These and such like courtesies you will find good for the great causes in your hands; and I commit this to your "good handling and secretey. If the Quene have made any meanes that his entry may be spared, you may know." When the King had done, the Laird of Cesford drew me aside in the chamber, and spoke much of the kindness between my late master and him, till the Queen on misreports sent to her, had directed my master against him, but now he hoped I would carry myself in her service "eavenly" to him; which I said I would do as became an honest man. Then he said the matter of pledges "were langsom and harde," and hoped they might be soon ended, or some other easy way taken for the good of both countries. I said he was blamed by most men as the cause of the stay, as those to be delivered were his dependers. He said they were, but he would neither protect them or any others to hinder the good intentions of the princes—"which very good wordes I must nede write, if I write trulye."

This state is quiet, Lord Hamilton and the Duke being agreed, and the castle of Dunbarton to be delivered to the Duke on Saturday next. For which Lord Hamilton is promised to have Arbroath made temporal and conveyed to him, "and sondry other thing are to [be] don also to him and his

\* On margin here.—"He will have none of his speeches in parliament concerning England entred in any acte, but leit out."

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"basterd son. The King wold have Colonell Stewart constable of that pece : but the Duke thincking the same not in his handes unlesst some sure friend of his owne be placed by him self in that pece, will not agre thereunto ; so as I thinck Tracquire shall for the first receive it, and after, the Duke place of his owne chose there.

"The King and mynisters are very busy aswell anent the generall platt for the providing of lyvings for preachers through the whole contry, as anent their having of place in parliament by the titles of bishoppes, which they daily seke to have the King to alter, and wherein for his owne parte he semeth to agree to them, yet his estate he accompts will not. So as these matters are not like to take perfect resolucion till the generall assembly at Dunde 3 Marche next.

"Mr John Lyndsay upon alledgaine of his sicknes, but in truth for mony, hath passe his office of secretaryship to Mr James Elphinston, one of the Octavians, a dangerouse man not favoring our estate. And the Erle of Erroll is in way to be chauncelour : this weke it wilbe sene whether that he gittes it or not.

"Thomas Fowlis made lately depute treasurer, fell madd sick this day, some thinck for care of his debtes, others because the King hath gotten from him the H.\* which was pawned to him for money to furnish the Kinges rode last against the papist erles, which H. the King gave to the Quene who in geistes gave it to the Lady Erroll, sayeing it was litle ennoughe that she had it a night for the casting downe of her husbandes house. Erroll lodgeth in the Kinges house.

"William Home, Sir George his brother, pursueng Edward Johnston for his escheit anent the 17 of December was the yeare, and the Lard of Johnston travailing to defend Edward : the lard and William fell to suche wordes before the King, as the King committed them bothe to the castell ; but they are bothe out againe, not agreed, but backing themselves with parties : the King is for William. If Baucleughe were at home that quarrell wolde brede troubles here. The declaracion that the lard of Baucleughe hath made to the challenge brought by the Master, is despered common here, by setting some of the merkett crosse, some of the Courte gate, some of the kirkes and townes portes, as without bloode that matter can never end honorably betwene them." I refer all these matters for your advertising Mr Secretary, praying my excuse to his honor to whom I will shortly write. Edinburgh, 16 January 1597. *Signed* : George Nicolson.

I have thus long deferred writing, as Mr Aston was to have written to Mr Secretary and you : but he is so troubled in mind about Thomas Fowlis' sickness and the loss he will now have by him, that he is not in "tune" to writ to Mr Secretary "for very grefe."

Lord Ochiltree is going to Dumfries again and a taxation to be levied of the sheriffdoms that have not yet served or been at charge there, for that service.

2½ pp. *Holograph* ; also *address*. *Indorsed*.

(3) (George Nicolson to Bowes.)

I have received by this bearer your letter, asking me to send you the King's safe conduct, "to take your lodging there presently." Thereon I repaired to him, and have his grant for it, which shall be sent shortly.

He asked me if you had commission to end the border causes of pledges ? I said I thought you had. He is very earnest to end them, so come as near prepared as you can. Sir George Home said to me there was some "wrange" on misinformation, but that it would not grow—I said "God forbid it." I think he meant the King's speeches in Parliament. I hope you will make

\* A crown jewel.



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all well. Here are bruits among "intelligencer practisers," that Spain and France will sure agree, and there is a mighty army preparing to come from Spain to England or Ireland. But I hope your coming will prevent all practices, for the King is well inclined. Your house, &c., shall be prepared in the best sort I can. Edinburgh, 17 January 1597. *Signed*: Geo. Nicolson.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Inlorsed.*

Jan. 20. 892. JOHN CAREY, &c., TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

In reply to your lordships' letter of 30<sup>th</sup> December on the petition of the Mayor and commonalty for the due observation of certain articles set down by your lordships in 1584, and entered in the Council's book here by order of the Lord Chamberlain then lord governor of this place, and our delay in executing the same, without your special order: we have conferred with the Mayor and his brethren, as directed by your lordships, and find they are contented with these said articles, excepting as now certified, *viz.*, under the third article, as to the burgesses' enjoyment of the fields as heretofore, they complain that the surveyor of victuals withhold from them a piece of ground called Gaynes laye, long possessed by him for the Queen's use, under her broad seal, as the deputy victualler informs us, and if withdrawn from him, would put her Majesty to greater charge for victualling. Also under the sixth article, they crave that men in pay be restrained from handicrafts, farming fishings, and keeping tippling houses or "ostrie" here, or use of the field, which the soldiers surcharge with cattle: yet are content to allow the last, on the soldier paying 4*d.* quarterly for a cow's grass to the town chamber, in acknowledgment; and as to the first part touching handicrafts, &c., they hold themselves satisfied and content. As the common pasture is extremely surcharged, not only by the soldiers and towsamen, but daily incomers who pester the town, we offered to the mayor and aldermen if they kept order, we would allow no soldier above 2 kynes' grass, and only if he had wife and children: but the imposition of 4*d.* quarterly, was never heard of since Berwick was English, and may breed discontent. For the 3<sup>d</sup> article of the petition: we advertise your lordships it is true Baldersburie and other extraordinary grounds now held by captains, were to be taken from them, they receiving allowance of 200 trusses of hay at 14*d.* per truss. But in Lord Bedford's time the captains and pensioners were possessed of these meadows, and need them, as they keep horses and attend the governor, lord warden and other commissioners of her Majesty at meetings; which they cannot do, if the meadows are taken from them. We are also entreated by the mayor and his brethren to represent the small allowance they have towards keeping up the place, and if it pleased her Majesty to help them with some better fee, she should deal graciously. In the 9<sup>th</sup> article, they beg allowance towards building a church. "We with them, are most humble petitioners unto your lordships in that behalf; assuring your lordships that in the somber tyme, the smalenes of the churche with the great resort of people thereunto, is not onlie dangerous for infection; but also the churche beinge olde and weake, and manie scaffoldes beinge builded there for enlargement of roomes, is in great hazard of fallinge, to the greate danger of such as shalbe there, in so much as with the surcharginge of the scaffoldes and the weaknes of the tymber, at everie smale tempest, hath so feared the people, that both the preacher and them have often tymes rune furth of the church even at sermon tyme, to save themselves from the danger thereof." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, Will'm Selby, Rycharde Musgrave.

2 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Inlorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

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Jan. 21. 893. SIR W. BOWES TO CÆCIL.

I have instantly received the King's safe conduct for my entry, with the inclosed packet addressed to your honor. And as I would be most glad to come to some resolution with the King in this tedious matter of pledges, I shall be forced "some small tyme to attende what certaintie can be drawn" from the officers of the Middle March: but will use all my diligence therein.

It seems from M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson that they guess in Scotland the King's projects touching the Queen in the late Parliament may be some cause of my employment; "which expectation hath given a pause in the Erle of Errol's admission to the office of chauncelour. I wishe that as guiltinesse causeth them to suspect truly, so faltinge may make them restore some good matter of amends.

"There are divers brutes spred and reported confidently in Scotlande, of great indignities done to Marie the late Queene, openly in London, in the tyme of our parliamente: which reportes receyve great detestation from the vaine credulous people.

"The concept of the Kings displeasure taken at these imagined wroges, together with the sharpes peeches used by the Queene heereenant, hath putt the borderers in great hope that they shall have (as they terme it) 'a mans worlde,' and have well neare quitted the feare of their entrie for pledges. Butt this jollitie, as it will quaille upon my entrie, so must it make me more heedfull to free my passage from their wicked attempts, beinge right lothe to add any more to the heape of these dishonours." Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Jan. 22. 894. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

Sir William Bowes in his letter of 26<sup>th</sup> December to Edward Graye, signifies receipt of the Council's letters acquainting him of the Queen's command to proceed to perfect delivery of pledges—and orders the said Edward to get them into his hands with all secrecy and expedition. And in his letter of 29<sup>th</sup> December, commands him "*in hæc verba*: I must intreate you out of the love of a freinde, and upon the straitte commaunde laide upon me, effectuallie charge yow, seing this cause is like to come to straitte accompte, that yow forthwith possesse yourselfe of the olde pledges, and of 2 principall men of the same surename for everie sutch olde pledge as shalbe wanting, keeping them all in your safe custodie till sutch tyme as I shall give yow notice, &c."—and in the postscript, "*in hæc verba* :—let your newe pledges be sutch as you will give your credit to be of the principallest of the surname, and undertake so much in your lettre to me, that I may insiste thereupon more stronglie, and this with speade." Edward Graye writing to me the warden on 10<sup>th</sup> instant, signified the apprehension of one William Hall of Cartington, one agreeable to Sir William Bowes directions as principal of his surname, and to whose estate the Scots could not object: who on 30 December was ordered by the warden's servant to repair to Edward Graye, and by him commanded to remain in his custody. Whereon Efraim Woodrington with one Andrew Clennell, Luke Errington and Roger Ogell, all servants to Henry Woodrington, with one Raphe Smithe servant to Efraim, came armed with swords, pistols and long guns, to the gates of Edward Graye in dinner time, willing the porter to open them; which he refused, seeing them armed, as his master was at dinner. Whereon Efraim inquired for William Hall of Cartington, who came to the gate with one Hall M<sup>r</sup> Gray's man: when Woodrington asked said William Hall if he was prisoner or no? who said he was. When Woodrington replied: "Thes yron gaytes shall not hold the," railing at M<sup>r</sup> Graye with hard and "undecente" speeches, asking on what authority he so deprived him of liberty.

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And Mr Graye finding this will reveal the secrecy in apprehending others, and hinder the Queen's service, moves me earnestly in his letter to be discharged of the office of deputy warden, the rather for this year he is commanded to be sheriff of the county, both which are too heavy a burden for him to bear.

May it please your lordship, seeing the secret combination of the gentlemen against me their warden, demonstrates malice and opposition, and that I cannot serve without officers, who are equally "contempned," that you will please not only to "convent these forenamed Woodrington" and servants, and fitly punish them, but also to think of some one more fit than myself, who with love of the country, may speedily end these and infinitely more enormities and evils grown and "festr'd" in that poor distressed country.

1 p. *Written by his clerk. Addressed (at head in another hand).*  
*Indorsed:* "22 Jan. 1597. Lord Eures information against Mr Woodrington and others," &c.

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Jan. 23.

## 895. PROVISION AT BERWICK.

Provision remaining there on 23 January, and already shipped, and in the "loftes" at Hull ready to be shipped.

WHEAT—at Berwick, 150 qrs.; bought in York and Lincoln shires, most part shipped and at sea "near hand" 20 days, the rest in the chambers at Hull, ready, 227 qrs.

MALT—at Berwick, 285 qrs. 7 bz. 1 pk.; bought in York and Lincoln shires, most part shipped as above and the rest in the "loftes" ready, 164 qrs. 4 bz. 3 pks.

BEANS—at Berwick, 45 qrs. 2 bz.; bought as above, and most part shipped, and the rest in the "loftes" ready, 134 qrs.

OATS—at Berwick, 3 qrs. 3 bz. 1 pk.

Oxen 37; muttuns, 119. [Butter, cheese, fish, &c.]

*Signed:* Robert Vernon, Rich. Swifte.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

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Jan. 24.

## 896. VERNON TO BURGHELEY.

Since my coming from Court, I have laden "twoe crairs" with wheat malt beans and rye for Berwick, "the fourmer wherof, I truste in God, is at Barwick before this tyme, and the other is reddie, and stayeth but for the wynde, which God sende." I trust that "crair" which left before Christmas is there long before this, and I look to receive as much as will load another this week, which I will leave my men to ship, and to call for the rest of the provisions I have already bought in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, which "God sendinge it to Barwicke," I trust will serve till Midsummer.

I inclose a note showing what is bought already—what is shipped and received being bought in Northumberland, and what is yet to receive and ship from hence. But I have had much awo to get it out of the country, though I have your letters: men are so loth to deliver, as the price of grain rises daily, and there are many buyers on the coast for London, &c., which give what they ask for their corn. Lynne. *Signed:* Ro. Vernon.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in same:—

(Note referred to.)

$\frac{1}{2}$  p.

Jan. 29. 897. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I advertised you not long since of a murder committed by young Gerarde Carleton second son to Thomas Carleton, on a servant of mine,

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William Milburne, whom he then left "neare deade." Now Milburne is dead, and his kinsmen would come up to complain to her Majesty, "but that I stayed them." I must entreat that this deed be punished for example sake and prevention, as these men are too apt to shed blood: the rather that power is taken away from me. The Carletons report over the country that the Council order set down in my lord your father's chamber, shall be reversed; which if true, I neither can nor will continue in that office, wherein I cannot correct vice in whomsoever found. I send inclosed the certificate of the country gentlemen showing how peaceable the West Marches have been in my absence, also Sir William Bowes and Henry Leigh's letters. "My brother Bowes is expected of the Scottishe King shortly with a message from the Queen. What his answers shalbe, I thincke I shall advertise you by my next lettre." *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*.

Jan. 30. 898. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"Albeit in my last letter to your honer I mad a sertayen brave sheawe of my comminge upe, yet durst I not so muche forgett my dutye and alegens as to presume to come without leve, thoughe it wear as I fear it wilbe to my utter undoinge." Though I wish to give no such just cause of offence, yet it will little benefit her Majesty to undo me in her service. So long as I have your favour, I care less what becomes of me, and would fain show my gratitude in requital of the many favours I have received from you.

Sir William Bowes has been here ever since Christmas and on Saturday last the 28<sup>th</sup> instant took his journey towards the King, who is now at Edinburgh.

I send the defaults of the last muster here. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*. *Scan was signed*.

Jan. 31. 899. RICHARD MUSGRAVE TO BURGHLEY.

Showing that at Lord Scrope's request, and his lordship's warrant, he sent 200 callyvers at his own charge more than a year ago to Carlisle, but has never yet been paid for them, and having had to replace them in store, prays a commission may be issued to some indifferent gentlemen of the country to assess and levy the money.

Inclosing a schedule of the serviceable munition in his charge. Newcastle. *Signed*: Rychard Musgrave.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signed (Musgrave)*.

Feb. 4. 900. SIR GEORGE HUME, &C., TO SIR W. BOWES.

Your sudden departure, and leaving this indent "in sic termes as are not reasonable, nor conforme to our reporte to his Majestie in the matter of pledges: whereanent our meanings and words were allwaies, that the two keepers should be entred for sic pledges of Tyndayle and Ridesdayle, as in the tumult escaped, and beis not reentred the day now appoyncet for that effect. Whereas by this writt presented to his Majestie by George Nicholson, and your last conference had with my lord of Newbottle, you meane that your entringe of the keepers should be in defalt of sic pledges as were of new named; quhilk is absurle, that bothe ye should name the pledges, and suppose a defecte in their entrie." Wherefore to clear our conference, and incline you thereto, as we believe you are so, we have written this, and sent the indent "conforme," trusting you will neither make our report to his Majesty false, nor refuse so equitable a condition, thereby to incur the charge

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of hindering "this gude and godly worke you have so longe been about, to come to the above gude effect: for neyther we nor ony els heere do thinke otherwaies nor is abovesaide, neyther are we perswaded in your reason you thinke otherwise your selfe. So expecting your lordshipis readie consent by your subscribinge thir indents quickly returned." Edinburgh. George Hume, Carmichell, M<sup>r</sup> George Younge.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy by Bowes' clerk. Indorsed:* "Coppie of a lettre to Sir William Bowes from the Lord Comptroller, Sir John Carmichell and M<sup>r</sup> George Younge. Feb. 4<sup>th</sup> 1597."

Feb. 4. 901. AGREEMENT FOR DELIVERY OF PLEDGES.

Edinburgh, 4 February 1597.—Grounds agreed to by his Majesty, with assent of the Queen's ambassador for immediate delivery of pledges.

First for Liddesdale — Because Baclugh's detaining in Berwick prevents his procuring relief by entering his pledges, that the Queen be moved to deliver him on entering his son as caution, that before the last of April next he shall deliver pledges indented betwixt Sir William Bowes and him, or re-enter himself to the keeping of the Governor at Berwick.

For the English East and Middle Marches—So many of the old pledges as can be got shall be delivered, and for those absent, Sir William Bowes shall enter to Lord Hume or his deputy at Fowlden upon the 13<sup>th</sup> instant, Henry Bowes for Tynedale, and Raphe Mansfeild for Redesdale, to remain till those absent are entered.

For the Scottish pledges of the East and Middle Marches, Sir Robert Kerr shall enter those formerly agreed on, in the town of Berwick to M<sup>r</sup> John Carey governor, or Sir Robert Carey warden of the East March, or Sir William Bowes, upon the 14<sup>th</sup> instant: and on default in all or part, Sir Robert shall enter himself with one of these three, to remain in custody till the defect is supplied.

For the Scottish West March pledges—As such of them as the King lately "inwarded," have escaped, the English warden or his deputy shall with expedition send 12 new names of the same clans to Lord Ochiltree lieutenant there, under his hand, of whom the said lord shall supply those wanting, delivering the deputy warden in default—which delivery shall be made at Torday forth, on the 1<sup>st</sup> March next, to Lord Scrope, Sir William Bowes, or to Henry Leigh, or some sufficient person authorized under one of their hands: the English pledges being delivered at the same time and place; and for those absent, others of the same clan next in kin, to be "lyked of" by said Lord Ochiltree, on signification of their names by M<sup>r</sup> Leigh—failing which, the deputy warden shall enter to the lieutenant to remain in Scotland till full entry of the pledges failing.

Touching the late tumult: a trial shall be taken by his Majesty and such noblemen of Scotland, as the Queen or her commissioner Sir William Bowes shall nominate.

They shall on honour and conscience, fyle or clean according to last treaty, such Scottishmen as shall be given up on the Queen's behalf, as suspected thereof, and examine on oath such witnesses as are nominated by her or her commissioner. James R.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Copy by Bowes' clerk. Indorsed.*

Feb. 5. 902. SIR W. BOWES TO EDWARD GRAY.

In my late employment in Scotland, finding no other means to bring it to a conclusion, I have indented with the King that on Monday the 13<sup>th</sup> instant at Fowlden, I shall deliver all the old pledges, or in default of them, deliver

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for Tynedale my brother Henry Bowes, and for Redesdale, Raphe Mansfeild ; and charge you in the Queen's name at your utmost peril, that you warn the said Henry Bowes and Raphe Mansfeild hereof, with all expedition, by riding yourself, or making one trusted as yourself, ride, to them, with this my letter, and before sufficient witnesses, laying the charge on them ; farther that they bring with them so many of the old pledges as they can get, to be present with them here at Berwick on Saturday the 11<sup>th</sup> instant. To avoid unnecessary scruple, you shall let them know that I have taken care for their good intreating during their abode in Scotland, and for better means of their delivery than I may here conveniently write.

You shall also straitly command both those keepers to put themselves in special safety, because it is evident that Cesford will leave nothing undone to keep back any of our side, to divert the fault from him to us ; and they must be extraordinarily careful against any sinister device.

By the King's indent, I am to receive at Berwick on the 14<sup>th</sup> instant all Cesford's old pledges or himself, so the matter so highly concerns her Majesty that the utmost diligence and care must be used.

Certify me with speed of your doings, that I may frame my proceedings accordingly. Berwick. Will'm Bowes.

1½ pp. Copy by his clerk. Indorsed.

Feb. 6. 903. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

On Saturday last at night being the 4<sup>th</sup>, Sir William Bowes returned from Scotland to this town.

He was very graciously received by the King, and had great entertainment by his Council, and has good hope of the accomplishment of all his "adoves."

A new day is appointed for delivery of pledges, and things have appearance of good success. We have no fear but of want of victuals. Master Vernon also came on Saturday, but his coming gives us no encouragement of amendment. Our horsemen are clean overthrown and beggared by their continual want of their allowance, which is nothing relieved by his coming.

My lord, it were good time now, if it so pleased her Majesty, to make known her pleasure for a treasurer here, both who it should be, and also that he might be fully established, for midsummer will shortly draw fast on, and besides here be many occasions daily for use of money, as for one thing amongst many others—"ther hath leyn in Chopwell wod this iij yeres the tymbre that was redey cute and framed for the repayringe of this brige, wiche dothe ley rottinge ther for want of xxl. to defraye the charge of bringinge it awaye ; wherbey the want therof, thos rotten and decayed plases of the brige have byn left unrepayred, wiche hath put the hole brige this year in great danger of beinge broken and carreyed cleane awaye, bey resun of the great aboundans and stoer of eyse that is come downe, havinge had so great frostes as hear hath not byn the like this maney yeaes. If it will pleas yoner lordshipe nowe ones agayen, if you fynd it not desperat bey her Majestes determination beforhand to Ser Williame Bowes, to move her for me. that I maye knoe her Majestes pleser therin : asseweringe youer honer that if she doe dispos that ofes on Ser Williame, then must her Majesty nedes ether allowe me the governers fee, or elles take me cleane awaye from this plase ; for I cannot possebell hold it out any longer, to spend a thowsand powendes a year bey mayntayning the governers place and port. havinge but to hunderd powendes and thortey a yare, never havinge had any incres of fee sins my fathers dethe ! It cannot be so cut out of my livinge any longer, havinge mad all the honest shiftes I cane all redey, ether bey myselfe or my frendes : wherin as youe have ever stod my honorabell good lord, I doe nowe withe all

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"humilleite intret your honorabell consideration and fortherans hearin ; for uppon my faythe I doe not onley consume my estat hear in her Majestes servis, wiche I willingeley yeld unto so fare as I ame abell, but all that I have in the world beseydes runes to wracke and rewen, and everey bodey makes havocke and spoyell of that littyll I have. And I hope her Majesty dothe not mean to make me the onley president,—thoughe my serves I confes deserves no better but an overthrowen estat—yet my willingenes and faythefull care to do well, wold challenge a better hope.

"I wold farther intret your honer to sertefey me your plesser tuchinge my offes of chamberlinshipe, whether you will dispos of it to aney of your followers fit for it or noe? For if your honer doe not dispoes of it, I must be fayen to sell it to helpe my mayntenans hear, so hardley ame I dreven." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Sican wafer signed.*

Feb. 6. 904. SIR W. BOWES TO SIR GEORGE HUME, &c.

I have received your letters by M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson, with your King's indent as to pledges, altered from the copy signed by me, as his Majesty and you the lords of his Council liked best. For defence of my own behaviour and reputation, and at your request, I answer thus to the four points in your letter.—

First.—My departure was not sudden, my message being delivered—the King's answer received—my leave taken of his highness—and the time of my departure verbally signified by me to himself and your lordships.

The substance of the indent was agreed on, for I had debated the matter at large before the King and Council, proved that the old pledges were not to be "answered" by the Queen under indent, but new pledges only as "gratificacion." And you three appointed by the King to confer with me, received brief notes in writing, with the names of two new pledges for each old one wanting, verified as their brother or next of kin in their clan, whereof the King was to choose one of each two for final conclusion. Whilst awaiting this, on same day, I received very unlike propositions from the Lord of Newbottle, Sir Robert Melvill and you M<sup>r</sup> George Young, *viz.*, that on Cesford's doubts and requests to the Council, they thought they might alter pledges, or give Sir Robert Kerr's brother "in lyke cases proportionable to that requyred by me"; and failing the East March pledges, Sir Robert Carey the warden might be delivered. I answered that these were very strange and unexpected, and I showed by the King's and Lord Hume's own letters that they were altogether untenable, and finding that they proceeded from more than "palpable partialities," procured by former hinderers of this good work, I found it unfit to tarry, and therefore took my journey as already determined.

To the second point—That the indent signed by me was not conform to your report to the King: I refer to my first answer, as to the Queen's free offer of new pledges for the old who cannot be had.

To the third—I answer that my offer to "deliver my loving brother to make good the Queens gratification aforesaid" proceeds from no other cause than that I am better assured of his entry, than that of "other persons whom I knowe, and your lordships cannot be ignorant, to have ben inserted by Sir Robert Kerr for no other purpose," but in hope of diverting some of them, and hindering this honorable action.

For the imagined absurdity, you will excuse my not seeing it, if you think it reasonable now to offer Sir Robert Kerr's brother in default of some of his pledges.

The fourth point "is answered in the former."

For conclusion—Your lordships seeing my grounds for insisting in my

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former overture in writing, will acknowledge "the reason of my reason, and the absurdity of that absurdity imputed to so reasonable a proposition."

For my assent to the King's indent, which you require me to signify by letter, and return of "the double," signed by me: I assure you I have inquired if Mansfeild can be had or no? And if he can, will sign and return the double with speed. If not, I will keep the rest of the "particulars" mentioned therein, and instead of Mansfeild, deliver you another of my brothers or Mr Edward Graye deputy warden of the Middle March, on Monday next at Fowlden, soon after ten hours in the forenoon, expecting that his Majesty will be pleased to release the said gentlemen on delivery of new pledges in due time. Berwick.

3½ pp. Copy by his clerk. Indorsed: "Coppie of Sir William Bowes his answer to the lettre from the Lord Comptroller, Sir John Carmichell and Mr George Younge. Feb. 6, 1597."

## Feb. 7. 905. AGREEMENT AT LAMMERTON.

(1) That if Raphe Mansfeild cannot be had according to the first indent, the King will accept Robert Bowes Sir William's brother, or Edward Gray deputy warden, till Mansfeild or his pledges be got.

(2) That the pledges' names be delivered under some of the commissioners' hands, for more certainty.

(3) That the meeting at Fowlden be between 10 A.M. and 1 P.M.

(4) That not more than 40 English enter Scotland to guard the pledges. The whole company of Scotland to stay half a mile from Berwick, only 40 to bring the pledges into the town: the delivery to be between 10 and 1 o'clock.

(5) That the King will be pleased to accept of new pledges, "reasonably named by his Majesty, secretly without privitie of any other except Sir John Carmichael and Sir Walter Scott," of equal condition and the same clan with those wanting, and so the new redeemable by delivery of the old, and the officers either by old or new.

(6) That the King will be pleased to send one of credit to join with Lord Hume or his deputy, in the above deliveries.

(7) That these overtures be speedily imparted to the King, for his approval in whole or part. Meanwhile all things in his indent shall be performed on the English side, except it fail in Mansfeild, and then Robert Bowes or Edward Gray to be delivered. Will'm Bowes, George Houme.

1 p. Copy by Bowes' clerk. Indorsed: "Propositions made at Lammer-ton by Sir William Bowes and Sir George Hume of Wedderburne, Feb. 7, 1597."

## Feb. 8. 906. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

Reporting the course of his negotiations with the King and Council since his last letter—his statement at audience, that the Queen had commanded him to gratify the King in delivery of new pledges, "and to honour him with the remitting of Bucklughe according to the desyre of his lettres." Then the King's rising from Council, coference with him apart, complaint of the sharpness of the Queen's letter about his speeches in parliament—his inquiry if the Earl of Mar had not reported it to Bowes? and he would send an ambassador to expostulate with her, as Bowes advised him to do—their argument on the matter of "gratuitye" on the Queen's part as to the delivery of pledges—the King's complaint of the Queen's "not so much as answering his servantes," and that Cecil had told them he "darst not move the Queen in it." Bowes' exposition of the Queen's good reasons for anger, seeing her borders wasted, subjects slain, castles surprised, &c. The King's dislike of



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Bowes' "severe censure" therein, and his saying "earnestlie, that if the sleight of M<sup>r</sup> Randolphe had not ben, this annuity had ben inserted into the written league,"—Bowes' explanation of the Queen's refusal to answer his servants, and necessity of giving the Queen satisfaction—his subsequent conference with Lord Newbottle, Melvill and Young sent by the Council, on Wedderburne and Carmichael's refusal, with alterations of the agreement, according to the copy inclosed—their discussion till midnight, and his intention to depart next morning. On his departure, the King's bringing M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson before his Council—their endeavour to find "some starting hole" for Cesford—and demand of Mansfeild besides Henry Bowes—the letter (of which a copy is inclosed) being drawn in the King's cabinet, signed by the commissioners, and with an indent under the King's hand, both sent, by M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson as messenger, to Bowes that night—the King finally giving the Comptroller two blanks for directions to Lord Hume and Cesford, signed by his hand, to be filled up as the Comptroller and Bowes should agree—their meeting at Lamerton the day before, as the note inclosed shows, when though willing to do so, the Comptroller durst not absolutely indent.

That he has written to the Archbishop of York to send Mansfeild if there, also to Lord Eure at his house if in the bishopric, and to his deputy, as the copy letter shows.

That he has done his best endeavour, and if the service "miscary uppon Monday and Tewsdays next," he will have little hope of settling it in this way.

He has received Cecil's letter touching Buccleuch, and will report what is done in his next letter. Berwick. Signed: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

4½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Bowes).

Feb. 15. 907. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

Since my last advertising the King's indent with me, and mine with the Lord Comptroller in the matter of pledges, though great suit and many overtures have been made to the King for a longer day, and some other alterations of the indents "suche is the carriage of that countries affayres, as by cunninge importunitie they can hope to alter any thinge"—yet these motions by M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson's "discreete diligence," were well avoided, and the King persisted in his former resolution. And for better "towardnes," he signed another indent, reforming in some points the former between the Comptroller and me at Lammerton, viz., that I should deliver M<sup>r</sup> Edward Gray, if Raphe Mansfeild could not be had, and reserving the naming new pledges to himself. Agreeable whereto, upon Monday the 13<sup>th</sup> hereof, I met the lord comptroller (returned again from the King) at Foulden, where I delivered to him by indent such old pledges as could be had, and my brother Henry Bowes and Raphe Mansfeild for those awanting within their charges. Yesterday the 14<sup>th</sup>, M<sup>r</sup> Governor, the lord warden, and myself, awaited performance of the Scottish indent at the castle, between the hours of 10 and 1, as appointed; the Scots came not, albeit the comptroller attended near the Bound rode from 10 a.m. "till the sunne sett." To whom I sent M<sup>r</sup> Robert Clavering with the King's indent and a safe conduct for Lord Hume, his deputy, and 40 horse to enter the town. About sunset Lord Hume sent a gentleman to the lord warden desiring to speak with him; who by M<sup>r</sup> Governor's and my advice, met his lordship on Hallowdowne hill. There Lord Hume "protestinge many kyndnesses" to him, showed that while by the indent he might deliver Sir Robert Kerr either to the lord warden, the governor, or myself, he had chosen his lordship, earnestly commending Sir Robert Kerr to him, "as the freinde of all the world he loved best, with great entreatie of lettinge passe former unkyndnesses, and to receyve him to his favourable custodie." The lord warden answered with like courtesy, but said as I was charged to receive as the Queen's commissioner, he could

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only gratify his lordship's request with my consent. I being loth to impeach the delivery, consented to Lord Hume's motion, and the lord warden received Cesford according to the King's indent, "in substance, exceptinge tyme, being indeede about the sunne settinge when he entred this towne." I was moved to receive Farnherst in defect of the waiting pledges, "appertayninge onely to him," but I said the honour of my soveraign bound me to insist on the King's indent. To which Cesford, protesting his loyalty, yielded obedience, and remains in the lord warden's keeping.

For the redeeming of my brother and M<sup>r</sup> Mansfeld, I have both given order to the wardens, and instructed M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson how to proceed with the King.

The pledges being thus dealt with, her Majesty may now be pleased to name such honorable persons of Scotland, as she will have to fyle or clear such Scottishmen as I shall give up for the tumult at the West ford.

The fittest seem to me such as are opposed or free from Lord Hume's faction, "as the Duke, the Erle of Marr, the Treasurer, the Comptroller: to whom for some other good respects, may be added the Lord Seton, the Lord President and Sir John Carmichell." On her Majesty signifying her choice, I will name such Scots as are thought to be fowle, and M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson I hope will do the rest.

In "Baclughe's enlargement," I look for his son to be here this day, to remain pledge for his father on his dismission, to deliver his pledges or re-enter himself.

Herein the absence of my brother Henry Bowes will be an impediment to a matter of consequence to our Borders, viz., to break the force of Liddesdale, which might ensue in this sort.—Some of the principal Ellots and Armstrongs, breaking their faith to Buccleuch formerly to enter as pledges, have stirred up in him an earnest desire of revenge, besides recovery of his liberty by regaining these pledges. Finding this disposition in him before my last going to Scotland, and hearing from time to time of the outrages in the Queen's people "by these wretches—namely, the killinge of M<sup>r</sup> Whitefelde, and then instantly foure within my brothers office of Tyndale, I caused a platt to be sett betwene Baclugh and my said brother, to tame these outlaws, that Baclughe should restrayne all his freinds, and suffer our men to scourge the rest." Though this purpose was discovered by some Scottish thieves coming into England to steal that night, yet the Ellots and Armstrongs were "so proude, and contemninge poore decayed Tyndale," that though they rose to the fray, they removed not their goods, and my brother took 200 of their cattle, "and slewe three, whereof the principall killer of M<sup>r</sup> Whitefelde was one."

This act has caused implacable displeasure between Buccleuch's friends assured by him, and not putting hand to the fight, and the other outlaws that suffered the damage. And if it might now be seconded by my brother holding hand afresh to Baclugh, and their getting no reset in the English West March, Liddesdale would be made easier to deal with, "and Baclugh him selfe stand such neede to the favour of Englande, as he should become a much better neighbour then he hath bene."

To further this, I have agreed with Baclugh that he become suitor to the King to commit my brother to his keeping, in furtherance of his highness's service, and to work it by other privy means, so the Queen's minister shall not be seen in it, or complaint made of her people for this "wracke" to the outlaws. But it must be kept secret from the under officers of the West March. These things I trust will help to restore the Borders, if her Majesty please to give timely direction in such wants as I will be ready to lay down to advance the objects of the late treaty, and set justice again on foot. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

3 pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Essex. Wafer signed (Bowes), Marginal notes showing Burghley's careful perusal.

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Feb. 15. 908. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Omitting as needless what has passed between the King and Sir William Bowes hitherto, as I know he has informed you from time to time, your honour shall understand that yesterday Lord Hume sent his deputy to deliver Sir Robert Kerr to me to be kept till redeemed by the pledges which he should have brought in. In my opinion, his abode here will be very prejudicial to the place, "as well in regard of his owne private affection and bad mynde, sufficiently already knowne, as in respect of the dayly repayre of others of lyke disposition to him, during his contynuance here, which wold be well considered of." If it would please you to move her Majesty, the sooner the better he be removed with speed. If he is to be in this country any time, the fittest place in my judgement will be with the Archbishop of York. I leave it to the Queen's pleasure and the Council's—but it is not convenient he be kept in these parts (this town especially) for many other respects. I beseech your speedy answer and order for his remove. Berwick. Signed: Ro. Carey.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed partly by Essex. Swan wafer signet.

Feb. 18. 909. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

Since my last letter as to the pledges, I find in conference with Cecord, an earnest desire to remove her Majesty's hard conceit of his former behaviour, with very large offers of well deserving at her hand, not only in his own person, but also in his Court friends. Which grow "(saith he)" as well from his knowledge of the King's resolution to keep fast amity with her Majesty, as from his own particular to preserve his own honest reputation, and avoid the danger of his own estate, likely to ensue by her Majesty's high indignation, intimated to him and his best friends by my report.

In discourse hereof, I find him "so large, particular, and earnest," that I ought not to suppress his overtures, either in hate of the past, or by suspicion of that to come. "His apologie for former faults is grounded upon transferringe the originall causes unto the unskillful inconstancie of his opposites; wherein, as he concurrerth with his brother Baclugh far neerer in vehement assertion of this, then in love one of them to another: so do I thinke the particuler instances and large circumstances fitlier delivered where indeede they should be examined, by any other man then by me." The substance of our conference rested in this—how he should present to her Majesty this his satisfaction both for his supposed faults, as for assurance of his future good behaviour. He pressing me to be his mediator, I showed him in what peril I should place my self, by interposing my poor credit (dearer than my life), as surety for him to her Majesty, thus putting myself wholly in his hand for more than my worth. In serious debate, that he might not be frustrated of the hope which solely caused his entry, seeing his pledges were ready, he opened to me "by waie of counsell" his earnest desire to be admitted to her Majesty's presence and speech, wherein he desired my help. I showed many difficulties arising—that I knew not how it might stand with her honour to admit suddenly to her presence a prisoner who had done her so many dishonours: yet, as it showed his good intention, while I could not answer it directly, having to repair elsewhere in her Majesty's service, I would take time to bethink me what advice to give him therein, and give my opinion in a few days. My purpose therein was to know her Majesty's pleasure on this desire of his—whether I should entertain it, or altogether forbear hearkening to it? And as the knowledge of his motives may afford light to judge, I have set down what I think these may have been. First—when I was last in Edinburgh, he had good reason to see his friends could no longer bear out his evasions; while the King, straitened by her Majesty's last letters to give her more than ordinary satisfaction, on my showing him that dis-

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patching an ambassador with good words, leaving bad deeds behind him, would be less than nothing, and Sir Robert Ker was not worth balancing against the Queen's merit, resolved and has persisted that Sir Robert should assuredly give her satisfaction. Secondly—Sir Robert saw plainly, that the Duke and Earl of Mar with their faction who favoured Baclugh, to further his delivery by her Majesty, supported my proposals in Border matters, and when Baclugh was dismissed, what advantage he had gained by his entry, and with the favour of England might become too strong for him in their depending quarrel, himself remaining under her displeasure—and therefore the danger of his “wracke” near at hand, if he does not recover her Majesty's better opinion and grace, with the favour rather than the malice of this town of Berwick, and the wardens of these Middle and East Marches. Thirdly—while he wavered in doubt whether to enter himself or his pledges, fearing malice borne him by the Governor, Sir Robert Carey and my self : he travelled earnestly with M<sup>r</sup> Robert Claveringe (a gentleman of special account with me, who had gone with me to Edinburgh) to ask any favour from me, and he would enter himself. But I refused all conditions, leaving him hope that his only course to honour the Queen was by his entry, and have since used him well, to his great satisfaction ; so he seems to rest his hopes in me, though I have given him no other comfort than as aforesaid. For his better proceeding herein, he has laboured to reconcile himself with the Governor and Sir Robert Carey, having shown that their former quarrels have been nourished by misunderstandings, and has requested us the three last mentioned, to signify to her Majesty his earnest desire to recover her good opinion for which cause only he entered himself ; we being privy that he had all his pledges, save one of Ferneherst's easy to come by, and that under the indent he is to remain no longer than he enter his pledges. Now whether her Majesty shall think better for her service to cast him off, and retain Baclugh in good opinion, or make them strive which shall be strongest in her favour ; or if she is pleased to hearken to Cesford, how her highness shall find good “to tie as fast a knott upon his faith as the substance thereof will give,” and whether by her instruments here only, or allowing him to approach nearer her, I trust she will signify her pleasure timely, that he be not driven to despair. For I think the man for his parts and friends, better furnished to do hurt on these Borders than any other of his nation. “So as I see no midst, butt eyther to winne him or so to cast him downe as he can not hurt ; which latter, seinge he is the cheife champion in the Kinges deepe-rooted offence against Bodwell, and he so well befriended by a stronge faction : how it can be effected, I do not understande.” I expect your honour's further direction herein how to deal with him. Berwick. *Signed* : Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

3¼ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Marginal notes by Windebank.*

Feb. 18. 910. JOHN CAREY AND SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

As directed in your letters of 29<sup>th</sup> of the last, “we have signified unto Baclugh her Majesties gracious acceptation of his former requests made for his dismission, to travell effectually in the entrie of his pledges ; agreeable whereunto, we have first receyved his sonne, now in the keepinge of me John Carey, proceeded to indent with the said Baclughe under our hande writings”—the conditions whereof are in the inclosed copy.

“The next day, we with the horse garrison of Barwicke, and the lord warden of the East Marche guarded him to the West foorde beyonde Norham, where his owne companies, about 150 men, receyved him. At our partinge one from another, I William Bowes, accordinge to the commaundment before given unto me by lettres from the lordes, signified unto Baclughe—First, that he was receyved without condition by me in that place ; Secondly—that albeit the best allegation for him were admitted, yett were there no

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"couler of right to presse the Queene for his deliverie untill his pledges were entred: that these notwithstandinge, such is her Majesties honour and grace towards his Kinge, his nation, and him selfe, that upon his highnes lettres of request and his owne humble petition, her Majestie is content that we there present, should enlarge him to the purposes expressed in the late indents made betwene us and him. Heereby, as he must needs see her Majesties exceedinge bountie and grace freely vouchsafed unto him: so must he remember that her princely greatnes and wisdom, so justly valuinge her honour and right, did not by this enlargemente acquitt him of her touche in honour by his surprize of her castle of Carlisle, nor of such rights as her lovinge subjects were by course of justice to demaunde at his hande. It remayned therefore that his future actions should effectually make good that protestation of thankfullnes which he then delivered by earnest speeche; to which thinge his honour and whole worthe remayned deipely engaged in Englande, and that openly in the eyes of all men.

"Baclugh, in his answer to this speeche, acknowledged the severall partes for true, affirminge largely, that he wold leave to be a man, before he forgett to be thankfull to her Majestie for her goodnes towards him: onely he was hartily sorie that her Majestie kept in suspence and over his heade, that marke of her displeasure before rehearsed; to the removinge whereof he wold leave nothinge undone that lay in his power; and so he iustantly requested us to further her Majesties gracious perswation of him.

"The gentleman duringe his abode in this towne, hathe behaved him selfe in all appurances verie well and honorably, and left good opinion and hope of his behavoure heereafter. His sonne is about x yeeres olde, a propper and towarde childe." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, Willm Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. marginal notes by the indorser (Windebank).*

Inclosed in the same:—

Indent between John Carey esq. governor of Berwick and Sir William Bowes knight her Majesty's commissioner &c., "on th'one partie, and Sir Walter Scott knight larde of Baclnghe. on th'other partie"—Berwick, 15 February 1597.

Whereas her most excellent Majesty has signified her pleasure unto us John Carey and William Bowes, to enlarge Sir Walter Scott upon reasonable conditions: it is agreed between the parties, "first—that the said Sir Walter Scott shall first enter his eldest sonne unto the said John Carey or William Bowes, to be kept within Englande where they shall appoynt," there to remain till his father either re-enter himself to remain in the town of Berwick till lawfully dismissed, or the Queen be satisfied by the pledges he is to deliver her under the indent of the late commissioners. Also, that after the entry of his said son, Sir Walter Scott shall have licence to go to Scotland, to possess himself of the pledges so indented, and deliver them to such persons as the Queen shall appoint to receive them, or if they cannot be got, suche others as her Majesty shall "like of."

Such entry of pledges to be made before the last of April next, and in default of any of them, Sir Walter shall re-enter himself to the governor or Mr Porter's hands, for the time being, on or before said day, there to remain during the Queen's pleasure, and his son to be dismissed and depart on his father's entry. Baclnghe.

1 p. *Copy by Bowes' clerk. Indorsed. Annotated on margin by Windebank.*

Feb. 19. 911. JOHN CAREY, &C., TO SECRETARY CECIL

Since the entry of Sir Robert Kerr, he has traveled to reconcile the offences depending between "me John Carey, me Robert Carey, and himself," /

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acknowledging his errors in some, in others "transferringe the blame to us": resting the most part on misunderstandings on both sides: which he seems glad to remove. The chief reason of his entry, is the King's resolve to keep fast amity with her Majesty, and his own earnest desire that she will think better of him than he has hitherto merited: and he has entreated us "beinge in conference with him," instantly to commend this to her Majesty's knowledge, and that no other reason moved him to enter or remain as a prisoner, than his desire to do her honor and recover her Majesty's grace, on his desert in time to come—for neither want or favour of his pledges induced him, as they were always in his power and ready for delivery, if he saw necessity.

And as a farther proof of his good intentions, he was ready to give up his office to such other hands as the King his master might think meet.

So at his earnest request we have signified thus much to your honor. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey, Ro. Carey, Will'm Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet. Annotated and indorsed by Windebank.*

Feb. 19. 912. R. VERNON TO BURGHLEY.

All the grain shipped from Lynn before I came here has arrived, and I daily expect more from Lynn and Hull, as I wrote formerly to your honor, so that every man shall have the Queen's allowance as hitherto. The horsemen lacked beans and pease for their horses for a small time—but "theire never lacked soe much as one ounce of bread or one pynte of beare of thair allowance." Though the winds were contrary, there was always 14 days' provision at the least, and money delivered for supply out of the country till the provisions came from Lynn, so that when Mr John Carey wrote that "the laste batch was in the oven," there was in meal and at the mill to serve 12 days, and my men told him they were ready to go and buy more in the country, till the ship, then at Tillmouth, should come; but he would needs write, and I think he would rather have had want indeed, than merely fear of it. I understand the freemen are suing for Gainslaw, which if granted, the garrison must eat "poudered" beef from Martinmas till Midsommer, as they do in the Queen's ships—which they will not like—for all the hay got in the Sneweke and Maudlin fields will not serve the cart and mill horses, and keep the oxen at grass in summer. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Vernon.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: quartered shield—indistinct.*

Feb. 27. 913. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

"I have acquainted Sir Robert Kerre with her Majesties pleasure touching his remove to the Archbushopp of Yorck: who seemes to be very well pleased to undergoe her pleasure in this, or in anything els, that yt shall please her to command him in." It is known for certain, that he had all his pledges ready before his own entry, and he may have them now at a day's warning and free himself at pleasure. But he assures me very confidently, that his only end in entering was to let the Queen know his willingness to satisfy her displeasure by his humble submission, and that he purposes to repair the past by doing her acceptable offices, hoping before his departure to be tried therein, or he will never return to bear office in Scotland.

"I dare not advise, but (with pardon) I think ther may be better courses taken for the good of the borders with him self, then any way by delyverye of his pledges." But I leave this to your consideration, and will cause him to be conveyed to York. He earnestly desires for his better provision for such a journey, that I will suffer him to remain here 20 days, before leaving. This I will warrant shall be without danger of his escape. /

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I have sent in a schedule the names of my pledges which you desire, also the names of those delivered for Tyvidale. "The qualytis of myne is very meane, and thei are no yll doers. But those of Tyvidale are all great ryders and the worst men in the countreye. The cause of there delyverye I take to be to satisfy the trespasses of there surnames, till all be discharged that is to be demanded of theme; which in my opinion will never be effected, for thei are to be delyvered for more then all Tyvidale is worthe! So that there skynnes will be our greatest gayne. For the indent is, that at the yeares end wee may hang theme that have not made full satisfaction, and call for others in there places, of the same surnames; which if yt be streightly observed, ther will be evill getting of moe! Therefore as I have said, if yt please your lordship, I imagyne there may be better courses taken by well handling there commander, now he is in bandes. Sir William Bowes can better satisfye you then my self in thes demandes, who I think is with you by this tyme."

Your lordship gives me to understand in the end of your letter that my lord Willoughbye shall come down governor of Berwick and warden of the East March, and that I shall have the Middle March to govern. I am as ready to resign the place I hold, as I was to receive it from her Majesty: but the government of the Middle March is too hard a task for me, and I know the state of it so well, that I cannot govern it with credit. I should weary your lordship with my reasons for refusing it, and desire leave to come up before Lord Willoughbye's coming down. It will not be so great a discredit to me, to resign to him when at Court, as it will be to resign in the country.

This wardeny has not been so quiet for 40 yeas as now, and I will leave the gentleman porter in charge till his lordship comes down, and till then I will be answerable for any losses. And when at Court I will show her Majesty and your lordship sufficient reasons why I am unfit to govern the Middle March, or else I will accept of the charge and return with the patent. "But good my lord, as ever you favoured the state of a poore gentleman," let it not be settled that I have the Middle March till I come to Court: for if the patent be sent me to receive it here, it will be to the discredit of the Queen's service, and my utter overthrow.

I beseech you for my leave with all speed, and I will bring Cesford to York on my way. Berwick. Signed: Ro. Carey.

2½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Noted by Burghley.

Feb. 27. 914. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

"Yoner letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of Februearey, seynd bey youerselfe and my lord of Essex, tuchinge the aprehendinge of George Care and the secretairey, came not to my handes till the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of the same at vj in the night, even at the gates shutting, wherin ther is a great fault in the postes and negleygent carlesnes in them, to make so slowe hast withe letters of suche import. Yet never thelest the same nighte I sent presentley a wise discret fellowe to Eymowthe and to Fauscastell to understand whether ther wear any shipe latley areyyed, and likwyes to knowe what passengers wear in them?" But none have landed in either of those places this three weeks. But I have laid such secret "wayghte," that I am promised word within 3 hours, of any ship that lands in either, and what passengers come. I have also laid secret "wayghte" at Holy Island, Dunbar in Scotland, and at Leith, so I shall hear what ships or passengers land at these ports, and if he comes to Edinburgh, I shall hear of him. But it is most likely he will land in the West among his friends; and if he land "near hearawaye, I will geve an advertor to catche him." I will slip no opportunity to further this service.

"Nowe maye it pleas yoner honer to geve me a littly leave in my owen privat." I understand by flying report, it has pleased her Majesty to bestow /

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the government of Berwick on my lord "Willowebe," and now I hope it will please her to establish me marshal, after five years' trial of my service, wherein I humbly desire your favourable furtherance. Your honour knows I have served these 5 years without any great assurance or authority, and now if her Majesty think me worthy by my former service, I would be glad to have some further "assewerans by pattent." Nevertheless I commit myself to her Majesty's will and your censure. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

March 2. 915. EXAMINATION OF ROBERT CRAWFORTH.

"The examinacion of Robert Crawfordth of Whittsome in the Marshe of Scotland, Scottishman, taken before Edward Gray esquier deputy warden of the Middle Marches of England against Scotland, the second day of Marche in the xl<sup>th</sup> yeare of her Majesties raigne."

The examine, being asked how he became acquainted with one Valentine Thomas Englishman, with whom he came out of Scotland? Answered, that he first met him at Wedderburne mouth a little above Blaccketer water, betwixt Duns and Whittsome, "upon Wenesday before S<sup>t</sup> Lukes day, 97"; and one John Brotherstones of Trament in Scotland was there with the said Valentine Thomas, who at that time named himself Thomas Anderson.

Brotherstones there told this examine, that the said Thomas *alias* Anderson was an Englishman, and had been with him "ever since before Michaelmas 97"—that he had killed a knight's second son in England, "but named not what knight," and dared not return there or trust any Englishman; therefore on Brotherstones' request, this examine agreed to go with him and Thomas whither they would. Whereon this examine parted with them and went into Duns, promising to meet them next night at "Twisell upon Tweede," and did so at the house of one Edome Hadspeth of Twisell.

On Friday he and the other two went to Felton in the Middle Marches, and lodged that night in the house of one John Milles; on Saturday night at Whickam upon Tyne water in the Bishopric; on Sunday they came to Ferry on the hill, intending to dine there, but Thomas told this examine he "espied one M<sup>r</sup> Delawaile Hay" that knew him and his offences, and he durst not stay there; so this examine "bought two or three penny cakes," and they rode to Wallworth "and round about the house, and wandered up and downe till night came on," and then they all "went into a cloase neare Wallworthe and lay amongst the whinnes there that night."

On Monday morning Thomas *alias* Anderson parted from them, for business of his own, and the two others held on to Heighington, thence to Kirkmerrington, where they dined, and travelled on to Aykley, where the said Thomas met them in the eastmost house of the town, about 2 o'clock p.m. of the same day, "being S<sup>t</sup> Lukes even."

Then after they three "had eaten some meate there, the sayd Valentine willed this examine to buy a pye and a loafe of bread, alleading that he would putt it in his cloke-bagge 'for the boy that was seeking two foolles': which wordes were reported often before this examine understood his meaning"—for they had no boy, and thereon he doubted that Thomas *alias* Anderson was "a lewd fellowe," and as himself a Scottishman, had guided him to that place where he was utterly void of help, he resolved to do as Thomas told him.

So starting from Aykley, they all rode up and down the moors and fields till night, and seeing about 20 "coulttes" on a moor near Aykley, after viewing them, the said Thomas *alias* Anderson concluded with the other two to drive away 6 of the best at night, as if driving to a fair, and thus take them



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to Scotland; but as the night was dark and they could not sunder the colts, they rode back towards Kirkmerrington, and in the highway, "the sayd Valentine ryding a lytle dystant from this examinate and Brotherstones, he called on them and sayd there was goodes enough to be gotten there; to whom when this examinate came, they sawe divers beastes and two mares, and tooke away with them the two mares, viz., a gray mare and a bay mare, and brought them to a loaning neare Kirkmerrington, where the sayd Valentine did see other two horssees in a close, whereof the one had a locke on his foote, and the other had none, being a sanded bay nagge, being marked with a tarred crosse on the neare buttocke. This examinate and they tooke away the one that had no locke, and ridd on the stolen mares and nagge, and drive there owne till they came beyond Durham two miles northward."

There the other two made this examinate "light of" the brown mare, take his own nag, and hold on his way through Newcastle, for none would stop him having no horse but his own—while they would go by Whickham with the stolen goods. So he parted and never heard of them till he came to his own house in Scotland, where he was told that Valentine and Brotherstones had been there two days before him, had sold the stolen goods and never gave him any part; saying that Valentine left his own nag as worth nothing, which this examinant took and kept.

On "Allhallowday" last he came to Edinburgh, and "in an alehouse neare the West porte there," he casually found Valentine and Brotherstones, and demanded his part of the goods brought from England, as he had "taken paines" as well as they. But Valentine said they had nothing to give him for the bay mare they took from him—as he sold her for a bay nag and 20s.—which money he spent, and Brotherstones got the nag and put him away, so there was nothing left for him.

After these speeches, the said Thomas *alias* Anderson told the examinate if he had done him wrong, he would make amends, for "he had been at Glascoe, and . . . had gotten the acquaintance of one M<sup>r</sup> John Steward of the Bawte keeper of the Kinges chamber doore," who had promised to bring him to secret conference with the King, which if Steward did, the said Valentine would do the King such service, "that would deserve a thousand crownes at his Majesties hands"—so this examinate left satisfied for the time.

About 14 days after, he came to the house of "one widowe Speeres in Cannagate" Edinburgh, where he found the said Valentine. They kept close till night, when they went to Hallyroode House the King's palace, to the house of M<sup>r</sup> John Steward, who brought Valentine to secret conference with the King, and "so nightly for the space of v or vj nightes together."

The said Valentine coming nightly to the aforesaid widow's house, told this examinate, that he had showed the King how to conquer England without effusion of blood, as he wished it so done for love to his native country, viz. (1) To cast off the "ministry of Scotland" by some purposed occasion; (2) to send his agents to deal with the recusants and papists, as follows—beginning with Northumberland, so to Cumberland, Westmerland, Bishopric, York and Lincoln shires; and the recusants in these onces won, were strong enough with his aid to vanquish all England; (3) that he had promised the King to return to England as a feigned papist and deal effectually with these persons; (4) that this was not to subvert the religion established in England and Scotland, but mere policy to establish the King in the kingdom of England; (5) that he had given the King a schedule of all the English nobility, and notes of those who favoured him, especially those about the Court—to show him who were his friends and who were his foes; (6) that he had counselled the King to believe no more the fair promises of England, except under a seal; (7) that he had persuaded the King to put this in practice; but to keep his name secret, or if known, it "were hanging and quartering to him"; and (8) that he had delivered all these articles in writing under his hand to the King.

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After this, Valentine persuaded him to go and steal in England as before, to which he agreed, and they came to Woller in England, where he lent Valentine his horse, who promised in 4 days after to meet him at Aykley and give him 2 geldings; in hope of which he went there on foot, but "Valentine broke his trista." So he started for home, but was stopped at Morpeth and brought before M<sup>r</sup> Edward Gray, to whom he revealed the aforesaid particulars, partly on promise of relief made, and also for the injury done him by the said Valentine.

And specially as M<sup>r</sup> Gray promised to keep him from danger of life, and to reward him for his travail. "Whereupon this examine laboured to bring the said Valentine Thomas to the hands of the said M<sup>r</sup> Gray, which he this examine hath performed.

\* "This examination was taken by M<sup>r</sup> Edward Gray and sent by him to the Lord Thesaurer and afterward was acknowledged by Crayforth, before M<sup>r</sup> Solicitor, M<sup>r</sup> Bacon and William Waad."

5 pp. *Indorsed*: "2 March 1597. The examination of Robert Crayforth taken by M<sup>r</sup> Edward Gray esq<sup>r</sup> and sent to the Lord Thesaurer of England."

March 7. 1916. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHELY.

My hope to hear before you receive this letter, as to my leave to come up before it is resolved that I have the Middle March, keeps me from troubling you on that point: only it is most peedful that I come up.

In my last I acquainted you as far as I could, with the matters of Sir Robert Kerr and the pledges, which you desired to learn from Sir William Bowes, my brother, and myself.

The principal cause of my now writing, is to acquaint you with some conference I have had with Sir Robert Kerre about one George Kerre a Scotsman newly arrived in Scotland. For Sir Robert, hearing you had written to my brother to learn about the man's entry and the cause thereof, "in a very free maner, willed me to certifiye your lordship, that upon his credytt, and (as his tearme to me is) (he will take treason upon him if yt fall owt otherwise)" that this George Kerre comes for no evil intent, "neither sent by any to sowe sedition or to intangle the King with any noveltyes." He assures me, on his life, that Kerre took shipping at "Callys," landed at Aymouth, and had only his own man "Charles Murrhey" with him, who has attended him this 8 or 10 years from his childhood, going and coming on his errands, since he "used" beyond seas. Another Scotsman called John Grayer, took ship and landed with him, whom he only knew in this passage, and none others came. The cause of his coming is his mother's death six weeks since, or something more, by which he expects some benefit of living, and for no other cause, but to see if his friends can procure the King's licence "that he may quietly enjoy his conscience lvyng privaty to him self without offence to any other."

It was reported that a Spaniard "of accompt" came with him to make overtures to the King from the Spanish King: Sir Robert assures me, and desired me to write to your lordship, that upon his honour and credit no such man has come, and if any does hereafter, he will give me timely notice. If in those advertisements he prove true, he may be better trusted in his other protestations, which are very great for the good of the Border, if he mean as he saith. I leave to further time to discover him. Berwick.  
*Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Two water signets*: on a wreath, a bundle of darts (?) in pale, supported by 2 lions, as a crest: Garter and motto around same.

\* What follows in fainter ink and a different (?) hand.

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March 7. 917. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

I received your letter dated last of February to Sir Robert Carey, Sir William Bowes and myself, on Monday the 6<sup>th</sup> instant—and am sorry to see you have been very sick, and pray for your amendment.

Your honor writes at large of her Majesty's pleasure touching Cesford's coming to her presence, his remove from hence, and otherwise concerning him: and Sir William Bowes being I think by this time with you at Court, I conferred with my brother, who tells me that before receipt of your letter, he wrote on all these points, and awaits an answer.

Your lordship sets down a change of many new officers—"as my lord Willowbee, Sir Robert Carey, and Sir William Bowes: wherein, poore I, beinge (in my owne oppinion) a verie old officer, am cleane forgotten, neyther havinge any new office, nor hearinge whether I shall hold my old office or no! But I trust, seinge that her Majestes hand is in, in geving of these three patentees, she will by your honorable good favour and furtherance, thincke me now worthy of my patent, for the continuance of the marshallship of this towne. Hopinge that albeit I have littell increase by these changes, I shall have nothings taken from me."

Touching that part of your letter, where you think it long having no answer about George Carr's landing at Eymowth or Fawse castle: I at once answered your lordship, and hope long ere this it is in your hands. But since, I have had more news. "Yesterday being Monday I learned that he is arrived in Scotland, and gives out himself, that he landed 15 days ago at Eymowth—4 days before I received your first letter. But I think it will not prove so, for it is "so mightelie denied" that either boat or ship or passenger came in there for six weeks before. "But suer it is, he is in Scotland, and is now in a place called Salton, a house in Lowdian of his brothers called William Carr: and with him (as they say) a Scottes gentillman and two or three of his owne servantes; which Scottes gentillman may be the Spaynishe secretorie your lordshipp writes of. This I am enformed by one that sawe him, and did speke with him. I am further enformed that he landed at a place called Coldinghame baye, hard by Listerickes\* house, a princypall man of that Papist faction. It beinge two myles of Eymouthe, and that as the shipp (he went in) came alonge the quoaist being right against that bay, he toke a bote, and came secretelie to this Listerickes house." I shall certify George Nicholson her Majesty's agent in Scotland, to have an eye on his doings.

The posts are very much to blame for delay: your letter of 19<sup>th</sup> February on this matter, "beinge written thrice 'for lief,' and a payer of gallows upon the hack," was full 5 days coming, whereby this service might have been lost. For by Kerr's own saying, he landed not 3 days before the letter reached me. Berwick. *Signed:* Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.

March 4. 918. PROVISIONS AT BERWICK.

10.

Note of wheat, rye, malt and beaus at Berwick on 4 March,—also what is shipped from Lynn on 10<sup>th</sup>, and remaining for shipment in Norfolk and Cambridge on same date.

Also remain of oxen wethers, herrings, &c., on last date.

1 p. *Written by Vernon's clerk. Indorsed.*

\* Robert Logan of Restalrig.

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## March 10. 919. PROVISIONS FOR BERWICK.

Bought by Robert Vernon and Richard Swyft for the garrison from Michaelmas 1597 till 10<sup>th</sup> March following.

Wheat and other provisions [detailed, with quantities and prices],	total,	. 4916 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
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Freights, wages, &c.,		. 500 <i>l.</i>
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This proportion of grain will serve till next Michaelmas.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Written by their clerk. Indorsed.*

(1) Another copy, slightly differing.

## March 13. 920. COMMISSION TO LORD WILLOUGHBY.

Royal letters patent, granting Peregrine lord Willoughby the office of Governor of the town and castle of Berwick upon Tweed and of the tower upon the bridge there, during pleasure, from the Feast of the Annunciation of the B. V. Mary 1598, with all fees, &c., as enjoyed by his predecessors the late Lord Hunsdon and the Earl of Bedford. Westminster. 13 March 40<sup>th</sup> of the Queen's reign. By writ of privy seal. Carew.

1 p. *Broad sheet. Latin. Official fair copy. Indorsed.*

## March 14. 921. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

One of the posts told me this day of a great misfortune by the negligence and carelessness of his boy. The man himself to my knowledge, is most honest and careful.

This inclosed packet from George Nicholson out of Scotland, was sent to me on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, with another packet to Sir William Bowes: and were both sent off, one to your honor, the other to Sir William, for life, with some other packets. The boy who carried them delivered them all to the next post, except the inclosed which he left in his bag, where it has remained ever since till they had occasion to use the bag. The fault is so great it cannot be excused: yet if your honor please graciously to consider the poor man, and think his boy in fault, he shall be bound to pray for your honor, and be hereafter careful of his service. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

## March 17. 922. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

Upon my admittance yesterday to her Majesty's presence and speech, I found her highness "fore-possessed" with this judgment of my late services: First—that in my last address to the King of Scots, I had both omitted to press him with some important points of my instructions, and that in such other points as by my instructions I had charged that King withal, I had in my letters reported his answers, "by dilating circumstances, not materially." Secondly—in my travels as commissioner for Border causes, the matter of pledges had been long protracted and little effected in conclusion. Thirdly—in certificate of the decays of the Middle March, that Lord Eure's doings should be inquired into by a jury, "her highness affirmeth not to stande with her purpose and direction." Now as her Majesty's true information must be the ground of her resolution and determinate end to be put to these her important services, I thought fit to commend to your lordship the humble request I presented to her Majesty yesterday, *viz.*, that as her Majesty can receive no information on these points so justly, as by a view of my instructions and examination of my letters in reply, which however may be too tedious for her Majesty's own person: her highness might remit the trial and report thereon to all or some of the lords

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of her Council, both to satisfy her of the true state of these affairs, and that I her "distressed servaute," may receive her justice and mercy as merited.

Her Majesty having commanded me to give my opinion on the government and repair of her Middle March, I made this proposition, now signified to your lordship in effect—I think that border justice cannot stand without continual support of martial force, lawfully, timely and privily applied on occasions daily occurring, not suffering disorders to grow to such "heapes," and casting the realm into so many complaints, accompanied with impoverishment and dishonour. Border justice and force are now in such extreme decay, "so as upon the ringe of all the three Marches—as the x<sup>th</sup> plough will scant be had, so not the xx<sup>th</sup> armed man to furnish 'those places as they were wonte, and as it will be easily proved they had within these xxx<sup>th</sup> yeeres." And I see no hope of the Middle March recovering its force, even if the Queen planted the 100 horse there, such is its "distemper." The remedy I see not, without great charge to her Majesty, otherwise than in this sort: to take away the uneven division now standing between the East and Middle Marches, and part Northumberland into two from the border to the river Tyne; and over each division a "choyce" gentleman to be set by her Majesty's command as deputy warden, with 50 horse a piece, till the country recover strength; and to have for entertainment the fee of the warden of the Middle March divided between them. They and the whole country to be under command of the Governor of Berwick, assisted by a council of the Marches as in the last treaty, consisting of the Council already established in Berwick, "to be tied to better residence" than hitherto, with the addition of some country men of best wisdom and experience, "freest from usuall border-partialities." By this means it may be hoped that the Scottish and English thieves shall soon be daunted, and the country in some years able to defend itself; and especially the Scottish thieves be forced "to exercise their habite upon their owne cuntriemen, so as that Kinge and state shall be driven by necessitie to cutt them off." *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 17. 923. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Upon your honor's letter of the 10<sup>th</sup>, wherein you wrote of the 2 men apprehended by Edward Graye and their conspiracies, I took order for better guarding the "longe brige" and more careful watch and ward within the town. Touching her Majesty's being informed that the Scots are very "conversant" within the town: it is very true that while Bacclench and Cessford were here, there was a great deal more resort to them than I liked, which was not my fault, my mislike being certified to divers: but there are none now, nor shall any come but those I take account of.

I have also caused Sir William Read to occupy the fort at Holy Island himself with some of his men, and have furnished them well with munition—it being a place of far greater danger than this, in case of any invasion. But we fear want of victuals more than any other peril, and if a good supply should come, we could wish that the King of Spain should show his uttermost malice to England, only on this town, that the garrison might show how well they deserved their long entertainment bestowed on them by her Majesty, hitherto without desert.

For Scottish news, I doubt not your lordship is certified by Sir William Bowes, who herewith has a report from George Nicholson her Majesty's agent there. Yet I will myself have as good "speyall" over them and their doings as I conveniently may. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

¾ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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MARCH 21. 924. WILLIAM SELBY'S BILL FOR BUCKLEUCH.

"Sir Walter Scot knight delivered into England as a pledge, was committed to my keepinge upon the sixte day of Octobre 97, and continued with me untill the xxj of Marche next followinge, beinge in all xxv weakes and iiij dayes, by which the interteiment of himselfe his ser-vautes and those which came to se him, the charges one weake with another, came to ten ponde, in all amounteth to the some of . . . ccl. ii." *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Indorsed*: "6. Octobre—William Selbie his bill of chardges expended by the enterteiment of Sir Walter Scott knight, beinge pledge. Whereof he humble cravethe allowance."

MARCH 24. 925. ESTIMATE OF PAY AT BERWICK.

The ordinary pay of Berwick due for the first half year ended 24 March 1596.

The Governor, Council, &c., and other officers [detailed] horse and foot of old garrison, 180; pensioners, &c., 63; gunners, 95; foot, &c., 528,  
in all 6,609*l.*, 1*s.* 4*d.*

Arrears of pay at Michaelmas 1596, being more than the receipts for that year, 835*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*

7,445*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*

Treasure usually delivered by the receivers of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Northumberland for the first half year, 6000*l.*

Leaving to be supplied for full payment, 1445*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*

Note.—The receiver of Yorkshire should pay for the first half year, 4000*l.*, and pays but 3000*l.*, so wanteth 1000*l.*

Lincolnshire should pay 1500*l.*, but pays 1000*l.*, and so wanteth 500*l.*

Which sums, if these receivers were directed to pay with the rest of their allotments now for Berwick, the same would suffice to make clear pay for the above whole charges, without any treasure taken out of her Majesty's receipts in the Exchequer.

$\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *In Shepesson's writing. Indorsed*: "24 March."

MARCH . 926. ASSIGNMENT FOR BERWICK.

Certificate of the yearly payments of treasure to the Queen's garrison at Berwick.

From the receivers (1) of Lincoln, 3000*l.*; (2) of York, 8000*l.*; and (3) of Northumberland, Richmond and Durham, 4000*l.*; in all 15,000*l.*

"*Memorandum*.—These are all the sommes of money that doe appeare before me to be paid by her Majesties receavors aforesaid to her highnes garrison there; but what is paid out of her Majesties receipt at Westminster for fortificacions at Barwick aforesaid, that is to be certefyed by M<sup>r</sup> Skynner." *Signed*: Jo. Conr s, auditor.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed*.

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MARCH 25. 927. PETITION BY VERNON AND SWIFT.

Note of the provisions bought by them from 1<sup>st</sup> October 1597 till the Annunciation 1598, freights, &c., in all 5,416*l.* 18*s.*, and sums received and to be received by them towards the cost, *viz.*, 2,551*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*, showing that they "will wante" to pay for them in full, 2,865*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*

"For the which wee humble beseeche your honor that wee maie bee imprinted."

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$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Written by their clerk. Indorsed:* "The humble petition of Robert Verriou and Richard Swifts for an imprest," &c.

(1) Another copy, somewhat fuller.

$\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *In same hand. Indorsed:* "A breife declaration," &c.

March 30. 928. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHELY.

Having been earnestly entreated by "Captayen Cunstabell" to certify my lord of Essex of his being here,—who repaired hither on Saturday the 25<sup>th</sup> instant by his honors appointment—I thought good not to forget my duty to your honor, albeit there is nothing "steatinge" of any worth, all these parts being in such quietness as has not been seen for long. "The Kinge of Scotland being fare into the contrey, as at Starlinge and at Glaskoe, and in thoes fare partes of the contrey, festinge and intertayeninge his good brother, as some saye the Kinge of Denmarke, and others saye the Duke of Howlst\* : but it is held most generaley and for the most sertayen oppinion, bey all likeleyhnd to be the Kinge himselfe. I understand that my lord Willowghebey is shortley to come downe governer of Barwike, and for that ther was some staye mad therof sines I hard from your honor of it, and sines I have hard nothinge nether bey you nor any other of her Majesties Counsell to the contrarye, I wold deseyer ether your lordshipe or sum other bey her Majesties appoyntment to signifye so muche to me, or otherwayes I shalbe lothe to deliver the keyes to him tyll I shall see sumwhat from her Majesty of her pleser therin : for that I was bey her put in trust witheall, and therfor not to forgoe it uppon bare reporte.

"Nowe maye it pleas your honor a littyll to geve me leav to revive unto youe my oweld sewte, wherof I ame not yet in dispaye, for that I have not hard anye thinge from your lordshipe to the contrarye : that is for the tresserershippe, wherof I understand Ser Williame Bowes is not yet invested ; wiche makes me thinke he is carles of it, havinge had so muche land of lat falne to him—wiche if it be so; I shold be glad to have your honorabell fortherans therin, in consideration I have borne the hevy borthen of the governershippe of this plase this v. yeares, havinge no other fee for the discharge therof save onley the Marshallles fee beinge but 230*l.* a year—fare to littyll to bear the charge of so great a porta. Forther, I have not sought to have the rereges of the fee sines my lord my fathers death, nether have I nad anye great sewetes, nor ame in anye suche dettes to her Majesty in all this tyme as maney other my predeissores in this plase have had for lese causes. Yet will I thinke myselfe most gratusley rewarded, if nowe her Majesti shalbe plesed to committ the trust of the tresserershippe uppon me, wherbey I shalbe inabeled to doe her fare better servis then ever I have yet dune, beinge verey willinge to yeld upe the chamberlinshipe to whos your honor shall pleas to apoynt ; and I onley to content myselfe with the marshallshipe and tresserershippe ; presumeinge that ons ear a year goe about, her Majeste will feynd cause to saye it was well bestowed." Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 2. 929. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

According to your direction I have set down hereinlosed the state of her Majesty's border services, so far as concerns the late commission : and have written it in this form that your lordship might add such remembrances or directions on the "margentes," as the several heads require. It would have been sent sooner, but I have been sick this 8 or 10 days, and

\* Holstein.

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could not peruse my papers. The copy of the treaty which I received from you, I understand from M<sup>r</sup> Wynnibank, to be by the Queen's command restored to your lordship by his hand. If her Majesty approve of this treaty, it will be requisite to take some course with the King himself or his ambassador, to ratify it reciprocally, as specified in the tenor of the late commissions on both sides. In the examining whereof, I could wish for our discharge who were commissioners, that the wardens "being now heer present," might notify any exception which in their judgment might justly be taken against any point in the treaty. "From my lodging in Greenes lane near Charing Crosse." *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(Remembrances for Border service.)

[Under many heads unnumbered—giving a summary of the proceedings of the late commission as to pledges, &c.]

*Extracts.*

Since Buccleuch's return to Liddesdale, after entering his son, he has delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Leigh deputy of the West March, 5 out of 7 pledges, *viz.*, one of the old and four new.

Cesford is entered for Teviotdale and remains in her Majesty's hand, in default of pledges for the two Teviotdales—but it is uncertain how long he shall lye before their entry is performed.

Lord Ochiltree has neither delivered the pledges for the West March nor his deputy for them—but as Sir William Bowes has been called hither and is not certainly informed therein, Lord Scrope should report how the matter stands on his March, that the Scottish ambassador may be charged to remedy, if the King has broken his indent.

2 pp. *Marginal note by Burghley's secretary. Indorsed.*  
(2) Another copy in different writing.

2 pp. *Broad sheets, and double margins for notes.*

April 12. 930. ORDERS IN THE QUEEN'S BORDER AFFAIRS.

[In furtherance of the previous remembrances from Sir W. Bowes, No. 929.]

2 pp. *Broad sheets. Indorsed*: "12 April 1598—Orders to be taken for the Border causes."

April 14. 931. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Her Majesty by her establishment for her town of Berwick, and instructions to her treasurer there, allotted 15,000*l.* yearly for the pay of the garrison and other charges—*viz.*, 8000*l.* from Yorkshire, 3000*l.* from Lincoln, and 4000*l.* from Northumberland. The treasurer being charged to make the pay before Midsummer and Christmas half yearly, it is necessary in discharge of this duty, that he receive the above sums by equal parts at the times limited.

Now as the receiver of Yorkshire does not pay the first half year to the full by 1000*l.*, and the receiver of Lincolnshire is short of the same payment by 500*l.*, alleging for this custom their reasons in writing to your lordship and the auditor's certificate: may it please you, at this my first entry, purposing to pay the said garrison and works in due time, to give direction for my receiving the said 1500*l.* on the first half year, which is now only paid at the second.

And having conferred hereon with the receiver of Lincolnshire, I see no



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better mean, with no charge to her Majesty, or hindrance to her receipts, than that he may have privy seals to receive the said sums out of "the tenths of the clergy" in York and Lincolnshires, paying them back into Exchequer in the latter half year, which is as soon as her Majesty doth usually now receive it from the said clergy. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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932. A MAP OF THE NORTHEAST SEA COAST.

[A pen and ink outline, from Redcar at the mouth of Tees, to Berwick, showing several of the seaports, inland towns, &c. "Castle Barnard" is marked as on the Wear instead of Tees.]

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April 20. 933. INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR W. BOWES.

Instructions given the 20<sup>th</sup> day of April in the 40<sup>th</sup> year of our reign to our trusty, &c., Sir William Bowes knight, whom we appoint by these presents treasurer of our town of Berwick upon Tweed, the garrison there, all our forts, &c., on our Marches towards Scotland, and all works and fortifications, &c., in our said town and elsewhere on our frontiers there.

Our pleasure is that our said servant shall receive yearly at two terms *viz.*, at the feasts of the Nativity of S<sup>t</sup> John Baptist and S<sup>t</sup> Andrew the apostle or within 14 days after, the following sums, *viz.*, 8000*l*. from the receiver for the time of our revenues in the county of York, 4000*l*. from the receiver of Northumberland, Durham, &c., and 3000*l*. from the receiver of Lincolnshire, under three privy seals to these several officers.

You shall apply these sums according to the Book of Establishment and Rates signed with our hand in June 1576, and the orders contained therein, and also to certain further special instructions under our hand of 20<sup>th</sup> June in our 18<sup>th</sup> year, given to Robert Bowes deceased late treasurer there, recorded in the said Book of Establishment, to which we hereby refer you for direction; the payment being also made with the knowledge of the Governor and Council there, and not otherwise.

For the diets, &c., of yourself and your clerks and servants in the said office, we are pleased that you shall have such fees, &c., as contained in said Book of Establishment, beginning 25<sup>th</sup> March last past, during office, besides such fees, &c., as paymaster of our works, as we allowed to the said Robert Bowes under our instructions aforesaid, and in like manner. We are also pleased to allow you as we did to him, 26*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. for the rent of a house for your habitation in the said town.

You shall yearly account to our Treasurer of England before 25<sup>th</sup> March, for the year ended at the feast of S<sup>t</sup> Martin or of the Nativity of our Lord, that we may have a perfect view of your charge.

$2\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Draft corrected by Burghley. Indorsed*: "20 April 1598. Minute of certain short instructions for Sir William Bowes, being appointed treasurer of Barwick. Don at Whithall. Entered."

April 26. 934. PROVISION AT BERWICK.

[Note of wheat, rye, malt, and beans in store at Berwick on 25<sup>th</sup> instant, and what remains to be shipped.] *Signed*: Ro. Vernon.

1 p. *Indorsed*: "A breefe declaration," &c.

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April 26. 935. ESTIMATE OF PROVISIONS AT BERWICK.

A brief estimate of the account of Robert Vernon esq. surveyor general of the victuals for the town of Berwick, containing as well his remain of store at Michaelmas last, as his provision since made, and issues of part, to the garrison, being 980 men with 80 horses—and other necessary provision employed there, and the remain unexpended at Lady Day last 1598.

Note—[showing that the provision made exceeds his receipts and money in hand, by the sum of 2300*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.* And further, the freights, &c., will amount to 500*l.*] *Signed*: Ro. Vernon.

Note of his "reare accompte" for the half year ended at the Annunciation, 40 Eliz.

[Exhibits the several amounts issued to the garrison during the half year, and an estimate how long the stock of each will serve.] *Signed*: Ro. Vernon.

3 pp. *Double broad sheets. Indorsed*: "An estimate of the victuell of her Majesties garryson at Barwicke by M<sup>r</sup> Vernon from Michaelmas 1597, untill our Ladie daie 1598. Certefied by M<sup>r</sup> Goston one of her Majesties auditors of the prestes, xxvj<sup>th</sup> die Aprilis 1598."

May 2. 936. LORD WILLOUGHBY TO THE COUNCIL.

I arrived here on Friday the 28<sup>th</sup> of April, next day assembled her Majesty's council here, and acquainted them with the substance of her Majesty's and your lordships' instructions directed to follow by letter. "For as much as tyll the next day beinge Sunday, I could not as the establishment enjoyned me, properly take my oath, I forbare to proceede. That solemnized; on Monday followinge, it was thought meete that M<sup>r</sup> John Carye who held the government the laste halfe yeare to our Lady day, and was to signe bills to that tyme, should call the musters with my consent, and at which I was also present." Though they call them musters, I should rather name them "a bare vein." The horsemen apart, and the foot by companies, passed by, each man answering to his name. But for any inquiry, "whether they wer Scotts, Irishe, Northumberland, Westmorland or Bishoprike, prohibited by the establishment," nor as in like cases, any private marks taken of the men's "parsonadges," no books shown by the clerks of entries and discharges, or their continuance in these bands—no note of the colour and marks of their horses, very necessary here, lest this muster proving them good, they should sell them to their Scots neighbours, and provide worse at the next. In other countries none may sell or make away his horse, once allowed good by muster, without the chief's assent. What I say as to the horse and foot, I may affirm for the pensioners, gunners and artisans, &c.

The pensioners' show was good, they may be "qualified" here for the country and captain's pays, as the establishment would have them, "but that appeared not to me." The gunners were some of them "very poore soules: but the myserableste of all was the 42 foote, which they call scoriers, which poore wretches performe in unsemely weakenes, those duties of warre soldions that shold that do may aptly be termed drudges, and the soldions trawaunts."

For the artillery and munition: as your lordships, at the instance of M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave master of ordnance here, directed a commission to certain gentlemen to view it, and I might therefore pass it over, yet in satisfaction of my oath and duty, I cannot but complain in general terms of the master, for the great want of necessary munition "he affirmeth wee are in any attempte dangerously subject to susteyne." A longer time is required to survey M<sup>r</sup> Vernon's state of victuals: and passing from these matters to walls and fortifications, "I humbly desire pardon to deliver my conceite upon the

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"best workes, which may rather be termed beginnings. Ther hath bene infinite cost bestowed, and nothinge parfytted, and yet the whole might have in a manner bene stronge with halfe the chardg. The walles ar only buylt a lytle above the cordons, scanted in ther scarpinge, but in apparaunce stronge enough, the rampert to be rayسد thereon wold bee 15\* paces thyck, skarpinge yward 3, besides the highte from the walles foote to the toppe, 30 foote with the parapett: wheras yet there is nothinge rayسد from the walls, and the whole hight but 21 foote  $\frac{1}{2}$ , wherby it is ympossible for any of the garrison to answer alarumes and man the walls; but by the advauntage of the grounds without, they are all open for thennyemes to play uppon, and the ennymes without have many defences and shelters from us. All our ordinaunce planted upon the unfinished bullwarks may in foure howrs by an enmy that were strong, be dismounted, havinge no merlons caunonieris nor gabions, the ditch unperfected, the counterscarfe altogether undonn, the rampert rayسد lyke a sea banke, without scarpe pomario, or ground for a retrenchment; no cavalier about the whole fortyfication rayسد, and yet hills round about to commaund yt: the portes but yndiferently flanked and but meanly for strenght placed.

"The roome the poulder and munytion placed so as it is subjecte to a shott of a feild peice from without the walles, and by trechery within the walls to be easily sett on fyre and subject to harme. This is the state of the newe fortyficacion, the old much worse subject to surprize. And least my ignorance may not satisfy your lordshipps in a matter of such ymportance, I wold wishe some perfect skillfull man might be sent hether to survey the same more artyficially. In the meane season I gesse the chardge will not be so greate as it may appeare to be, the works ar all to be finished of earthe and turfe for the most parte; and two or thre practyzed pesaunts of the low countryes to lay them, wold do more service then 20 master masons att such highe rates by the day: and for laborers, soldious burgers and all sortes should helpe. I feare me I may be thought impertynently tedious, and nyce double diligent. I am privy with what sincere serviceable devotion I doe yt, bound by bounty, allegiannce and oathe, and yf my zeale in these make me fayle, I hoope to be excused, and shall learne to mend those faults soner then a fault in warre, wher I have learned *non licet bis peccare*." Berwick. Signed: P. Wyllughby.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed. Wax signet quartered (fragment).*

May 6. 937. PROVISIONS AT BERWICK.

Note of all sorts of victuals, &c., remaining within the Queen's office of victuals 6<sup>th</sup> May 1598; viewed by M<sup>r</sup> John Crane, comptroller, Robert Yaxley captain, and Rowland Myners.

Grain, cattle, fish, &c. [detailed].

"Acknowledged to be trene by me Robert Sparke debytie veteuler for Robert Vernon esquier—*et examinatur per*" signed: Johannem Crane, Rob<sup>t</sup>. Yaxlee, Ro. Myners.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

May 23. 938. R. MUSGRAVE TO BURGHLEY.

"Haveinge had tryall of sundrie inderect courses heretofore plodded agaynste me by the gentleman porter of Barwicke, and doubtinge that he may incense your honour of some forded informationes agaynste me, under cullor of her Majesties profit, but mearely in perticular practice to me": I

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thought it my duty to signify thus much, owing my place here to your honourable favour. Neither he nor any man living can charge me with dishonest or unworthy management or neglect of the Queen's service. And for trial I will refer my reputation to all men of account in this place except himself, who has brought like charges before, yet was ashamed to contest them further. I humbly desire your honour to stand my good lord, that with indifferent eyes it may be looked into how I have carried myself; and if well, that I may still enjoy her Majesty's grant of my place, with reputation as heretofore.

Her Majesty's commission under the Exchequer seal, being directed here to M<sup>r</sup> John Carey "now marshal," the said gentleman porter, the comptroller of this town, and Captain Robert Yaxley (with others of Newcastle), especially to take my account; the said commissioners as the marshal, comptroller and Captain Yaxley, were ready to act, but the Porter utterly refused, though intreated by the Lord Governor, and thus execution is by him absolutely stayed.

And in further illwill to me, "I suppose he hath signified unto my lord of Essix, how he would not execute the said commission (out of the exchequer) for that it might derogate from his lordship his office of Master of the Ordnance generally of England, with further incensing his honour (in what him lieth), to procure his lordships hard opinion against me, as if I should procure the said commission in prejudice of him." If your lordship pleases, M<sup>r</sup> John Carey can relate the Porter's proceedings herein. Berwick.  
*Signed*: Rychard Musgrave.

*I p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Musgrave).*

May 23. 939. WILLIAM SELBY TO BURGHLEY.

Whereas I received from my lords of the Council certain instructions for viewing the munition of Berwick, Newcastle, Carlisle, &c., in the north parts, and was resisted, as I certified your lordship in my letter of 20 November 1596: and on M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave's coming to London, your lordship gave him my letter, whereto he answered, and gave the same to me to reply; as I did, and (at your request) left it, also the copy of my instructions from the Council, and of Captain Errington's bill "assigned" with you, but since have not heard your pleasure therein, as you then promised.

As he resisted those instructions, so he continues still resisting me as comptroller of the ordnance, not suffering me to be acquainted with anything of the office, as Captain Errington the comptroller before me, was—for the comptroller is appointed by her Majesty's bill expressly, and it is set down in the establishment here under her own hand, is to join with the master and be privy to the whole state of the ordinances within his office, present and future—and to keep books of the receipts issues and remains from time to time, also perfect "legiter bookes," together with the master, of all charges of the office, and entry and discharge of all artificers, workmen, &c., required therein.

On 1 July 1595, the master had 1689*l*. 10*s*. 9*d*. of munition out of the Tower. How much came here, or to Newcastle or Carlisle, I know not: nor how he employed 151*l*. 10*s*. 8*d*. then paid to him by the Tower officers; or the munition he received from his father when taking office.

He has neither "indented" for, nor accounted in his "remayne" in the store at Newcastle, for the following, sent there in 1588, *viz.*, 105 armours, 540 pikes, 990 bills, 94 muskets, and 2 lasts, 5 half barrels of powder, as appear in M<sup>r</sup> William Errington's reckoning, which I sent your lordship, signed by his own hand.

Other moneys for munition I see no account of, and yet I hear he is suing for a new supply of munition.

He brought hither an Exchequer commission directed to M<sup>r</sup> John Carey,

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myself, M<sup>r</sup> Dudley and M<sup>r</sup> Lewyn of Newcastle, M<sup>r</sup> Crayne and Robert Yaxley, or 5, 4 or 3, to view the munition here and at Newcastle, &c., but I forbore to deal therein, as he resisted me as controller. When the master makes his books of extraordinary charges, he sends it to me to sign: but I seeing the Queen put to needless charges, refused to sign unless he reformed some of them. M<sup>r</sup> John Carey being made acquainted with same, said he was sorry he had signed, and would sign no more books till I had first approved them.

Unless I am obeyed, I can do the Queen no service in this office, but I am assured there is not an office in this part of England that has more need of controlment.

If your lordship please to examine the books I left with you, they will inform you better than I can write. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 1. 940. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

As you commanded, I have set down the following for your satisfaction.

Touching Lord Willughbie's letter: I doubt not before this he has received a copy of the names of Cesford's pledges, from Sir Robert Carey's clerk, who had a copy of the Indent from me, and must hand over all the records of the East Wardenry with the office, to his lordship. Her Majesty will please appoint York for keeping these pledges, and Sir Robert Carey to see them conveyed, and be privy thereto and to their enlarging, as they chiefly concern his office, where his presence is most necessary for this and other causes.

Touching Lord Willughbie's purpose to alter the ordinary place of meeting with his opposites, to English ground on occasion, I think it were well if convenient. Nevertheless the treacherous slaughters and dishonors which have happened in her Majesty's time at the Reidswire, Cocklawe, and the West foord, have arisen rather by the ill carriage of the English in coming unarmed, and "disorderly stragling" on the field, disobedience in not attending on call, and therefore the remedy to be by more needful government of the commanders.

Touching M<sup>r</sup> Scudamore's withholding 1000*l.* in this first half year, necessary to make the Berwick pay equally: I see no other means but that he may have power to receive 1000*l.* of the clergy, as the receiver of Lincoln has had now for 600*l.* on the like allegation.

Touching my allowance under the Queen's privy seal in the late services: I humbly beseech your lordship to allow it as in the inclosed account, considering that my great charges are more than double the Queen's allowance, besides the hurt to my private estate by my absence altogether for 18 months and more. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed (Bowes).*

Inclosed in the same:—

The account of William Bowes knight for his allowance under her Majesty's privy seal at 20*s.* per diem, while on her Border services, and 40*s.* per diem for his employment in Scotland.

It pleased your lordship to give direction to M<sup>r</sup> Clopton to pay my allowance of 20*s.* daily till 10<sup>th</sup> November last. Since then I have continually attended that service at Berwick, in Scotland, and here, till "this present the last of May," 201 days; whereof, by M<sup>r</sup> Secretary's letter, I employed in sending for my servants, preparing for Scotland, and "my abode in Edinburgh, 24 dayes": which though not all spent in Scottish ground, yet as that journey cost me above 80*l.*, I trust you will allow me 20*s.* per diem more, by the rate of the privy seal.

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And my suit is that it might please you to direct warrant to Mr Skinner to pay the said sum of 225*l.*: assuring you I have spent in this service "above the Queens allowance," more than 1000*l.*, besides the losses I have sustained in my works by my absence and necessary detaining in so remote places. Signed: Will'm Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Indorsed by Burghley's secretary*: "1<sup>o</sup> Junij 1598. Sir William Bowes accompt for his entertainments."

June 3. 941. REPORT BY LORD WILLOUGHBY'S DEPUTY.

"The deliverie of my message to Sir Robert Kerr, beyond the river of Tweede at Westford beyond Norham the 3<sup>d</sup> of June 1598."

I told him that his lordship sent me to signify to him that he waited at the West ford to receive his pledges, as he had appointed and requested by letter; and if he was ready to deliver, would send some gentlemen "over the water" to receive them: and that service done, being the special cause of meeting, would then confer with Sir Robert as "motioned" by him.

He replied that if his lordship pleased to "doe both in one," he thought it better, but referred himself to his lordship, and had his pledges ready in discharge of his honour and faith to her Majesty.

I showed him further that though his lordship had no such commission yet he had brought his brother and the pledges with him "as he desired," to deliver them on receipt of the other, being willing to gratify him, with due respect of his honour and the Queen's service.

Which he accepted as "a very honourable favor," and promised to satisfy his lordship in like respects.

I excused his lordship's number in the field, which I said was about 200: (1) The fairness of the day had drawn some for pleasure, not by command, yet his lordship had discharged and sent off many; (2) he brought them not for his own guard, but for safe escort of the pledges to Berwick; (3) his desire to train young gentlemen and soldiers in his company and "fashion" them to such services; (4) "to honour the meeting, which was to be (as he wrote) in the eyes of both the countries." Lastly, that his lordship would come down with as few as he would like.

He answered, that he had but 120, and he had discharged 200: yet many thought they were disposed "as the ground did give great vantage" in the many adjoining villages.

He excused himself to his lordship for delay,—not his fault, but he waited for a gentleman with some of the pledges. At parting, I asked "the Laird Sesford" to give his "honorable word" for the gentlemen his lordship should send over.

He said the fashion was to give "generall assurance" for all in the field, "not for any particular."

I thinking the general included the particular, desired it, till I saw he meant not to give me and my companions his own word and honour, "but would have me solemnly demand an assurance of him in the midst of his troupes, for his lordship and his companie."

Then I said I had no such order, knowing his lordship did not mean I should crave assurance thus solemnly. Whereon he agreed to send a gentleman to his lordship, and said he expected an indent from him signed for his discharge after his pledges delivered, "seeming not to know that his lordship had his owne band, which he gave at Yorke, but onely a copie of it."

The gentlemen sent from him, came to receive from his lordship as by ancient custom, some messenger by whom he should demand assurance, and so come over the river to him: but his lordship answered that his custom in the Queen's service, whatever others had done, was not to ask, but give assurance, and thought it fitter for this time Sir Robert should come over to him, on the amplest assurance he might desire. They asked him to inquire

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of the gentleman porter and others, if the custom was not so seeming as if they would break off: whereon his lordship "retyring to them," presently concluded, that whatever the custom had been at days of truce, this being for exchange of pledges, and amicable conference at Sir Robert's request, he would waive those ceremonies, and sent Captain Mansfield over the river, with the message that he would be at the English side of the river with 5 gentlemen only, leaving his other troops behind. Whereupon Sir Robert with 5 gentlemen "(in their jacks and geare as they terme it)" came over to his lordship and company, who were unarmed; and after some conference, he fetched his pledges, and as his lordship had not the indent, nor could any way find it, though he sent up and down inquiring of many about it, and had none about him to say if the pledges were the same or no, he was "fayne" to beg Sir Robert to deliver them on his honour, "which he did by publike protestation very willingly" and subscribed it with his hand.

Many thought he would never have come over the river, "as well in regard of the privileged," as also of a former message he had sent his lordship, that "it had cost some of his blood deare." It was answered, that we had lost men of greater quality on our side, as the "Earle of Bedford"\* and others, besides the indignity the last day, by carrying her Majesty's commissioner "tumultuously" into Scotland.

*2 pp. Contemporary hand. No signature or indorsement.*

June 3. 942. SIR W. BOWES TO SECRETARY CECIL.

Your lordship will receive herewith all Scottish news, except this clause left out—"That the King is advertised my lord your father should say 'Lett Valentine goe, he is butt a knave.'" M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson writes of late that he suspects some advertisements of these affairs from hence, and peril thereby to himself.

I entreat your furtherance with my lord your father, that speedy order may be given to the receiver of Yorkshire to pay 1000*l.* withhelden by him from the pay of Berwick for the first half year ended at the last Annunciation of Our Lady, according to the Queen's privy seal. To solicit the same, I leave my servant to attend his lordship's pleasure, myself being now taking my journey northward. "From my lodging." *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

*¾ p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Bowes).*

June 4. 943. WILLOUGHBY TO BURGHLEY.

I understand there is great waste in her Majesty's woods of Chopwell, John Rutherford the "bayley" having ordered 100 oaks to be cut down, given him he says by M<sup>r</sup> Breges surveyor of her Majesty's woods in these parts. Knowing the great use of these woods for the service of Berwick, Newcastle, &c., it may please you to give charge to your servant M<sup>r</sup> Ambrose Dudley who dwells thereby, to inform your lordship of any such default hereafter. I would have written oftener to your lordship, "but that I am touched with that paine of my fingers, which I would your lordship were not acquainted with," which hitherto has hindered me from dispatching a messenger with the musters, &c., I have in readiness. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wylughby.

*½ p. Addressed by himself. Indorsed.*

June 4. 944. WILLOUGHBY TO BURGHLEY.

I have received Cesford's pledges as I best could—wanting the indent and the presence of any of our commissioners who made it—though I

\* Rather his son.

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earnestly sought their help without success. "If this day had eskaped, he would happely have challenged his tender, being but 2 days before the end of it." We received them on the English side of the West ford, though he made some difficulty, as you will see on perusing the "circumstances" I send with these. I stood the more on delivery and conference on our side, as there had been "mutch bragge" made and ancient custom pleaded. I hope for direction according to my former letter, that what is most agreeable may be done. I there wished it "*alternis vicibus* or by lots." If any ill purpose should be, the ground is most disadvantageous to us. It should be treated by the commissioners, who should finish what they have begun, as the treaty is imperfect in some main points; too long for a short letter. As for example the article for wardens' meeting on Midsummer day, showing and "transcriptinge" each other's patents. Most of their wardens have no special patents, so the meetings are frnstrate, "and our attendance subject to skorne." I write not without grounds I have gathered. Your lordship knows the country's humour—I am well persuaded as things stand now, they may be kept in good terms "till they get a new hand."

Cesford continues to promise much, and for anything I see, keeps his promise, on which and his word that these were the "selve same parsons" demanded by Sir William Bowes, I took the pledges till Sir William comes. I would be glad to know what to do with them, as it is "unproper" to keep them here. Wherever kept they should not be too hardly dealt with. He offers to put in English sureties or bind himself. Many of them are "beggarly knaves" and so esteemed by himself. He only desires "for reputations sake," to have as much favour as Buccleuch, and vows deeply great services to her Majesty and state.

\* "With my paper it is time to leave troblinge your honor." *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax quartered signet (fragment).*

June 4. 945. SIR ROBERT KERR TO WILLOUGHBY.

"I have tane the occasioun as I do conjecture, now in ane tyme mar fit then yit hes bene grantit unto me sen your lordschipis cuning and acceptance of your chairge in thir partis, to signefie my mynd and gude intentioun to my power to intertine and hold firme in quietnes the happie ametrie professit be both thair Majesties, quhairin as substitutis to thame it hes pleisit thair highnessis to command your lordschip and my self in thir partis to have speciall cair. And albeit in sum conferens had with your lordschip, my willingnes nicht appeir to this honorabill actioun, yit in respect of the estait that then I stude in, as ane man not frie nor maister of my self, bot tyt be my writ and promis to hir Majestie, it nicht justlie mereit doubtfull constructioun, quhidder in effect I so menit, or gif I had desyre to flatter the tyme. Bot the princis plesouris being fulfillit, and I with credit frede be the entrie of the pledgis imposit upoun me, quhat now I saye, justlie may be thocht to cum from the dewtfull obediens that I aucht to my soverane (quhais mynd I understand to be to honorabill peax) and from ane firme resolutioun in my self to the continewaoce thairof, as minister under his grace, onelie for luif of it self, and for no uther ressou (gif this quhilk in deid I confes is ane moist substaneatiell poinct) hir Majestie your soveranes moist gratius and favorabill using of me, quhilk I deny not hes bund me (reservng my dewtie to my maister) to prefer hir will, the weill of her estait and cuntrey, befor ony uther prince or princis leif, and as my actionnes and behaviour heireftir sall beir me testimonie. Sua this far will

\* Written closely on margin.



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"I go for your lordship's assurance of my gude dispositioun to the brydling and straiting of the reynnis of the evill affectit, in this godlie and moist commendabill actioun, that gif I may have (as I put no questioun) the lyke correspondence of yow, it sall be sene thair willanie sall be suppressit and the pair anis releifit frome thair spoill and dampnagis, quhilk I take to be in moist speciall regard with bothe thair Majesties." And it is as honourable for ourselves to proceed thus for the good of the service, as if greater numbers had been employed to their Majesties' "unnecessar fasheris." But I leava off speaking, as time and occasion shall see the effects: and here in office or any where else your lordship shall see that I will do as I say. "From the Freiris." *Signed*: Schir Robert Ker.

Postscript:—I hope your lordship will have in regard my suit for William Rutherford of Littleheuch.

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Probably inclosed in No. 951.*

June 5. 946. SIR W. BOWES TO BURGHELY.

As you directed I informed M<sup>r</sup> Secretary yesterday morning of your desire to have the Queen's resolution for answering Lord Willughbie where Cesford's pledges should be kept. M<sup>r</sup> Secretary appointed me to confer with Sir Robert Carey thereon, but because I found him not "in Courte," I debated the matter with M<sup>r</sup> John Carey, whose opioun was, that York was the fittest place. On reporting this to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, he willed me to inform your lordship, that he would at the best opportunity, take the Queen's pleasur and advertise you.

I send my last occurrents out of Scotland from M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson, who commends and reposes his only hope for relief in his suit, on your goodness.

Beinge now "towards" my journey northwards, I commend to your lordship's remembrance the "appoyntment" of my receipt for Berwick: also to take knowledge of her Majesty's privy seal for my allowance, to continue till you discharge me from that service. Her Majesty commanded me to set down the heads in writing, which I delivered to her "in speech," and attend the lords' resolution therein: I, having continually so done till the end of last month, humbly submit to your pleasure what you will allow or subtract from my bill lately exhibited, of 225*l.*, beseeching you to give warrant for the same as you find best. "From my lodging near Grays Inn." *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

Inclosed in the same:—

#### Advices out of Scotland.

On 27 May M<sup>r</sup> Edward Bruce related to M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson the King's "hard taking" of the slander and dishonour laid on him by Valentine; chiefly that her Majesty had not "kyndly discovered" it to his ambassador, or to himself since, to clear her mind and his own honour. Some there (alleging like accusations of the King's mother before her death), suspect what might be intended against the King "after thea untrue and suborned (as he termes it) discoveries made by Valentine."

He is resolved unless speedily satisfied, to send M<sup>r</sup> David Foules "plainly" to her Majesty.

It is also reported that the King "wilbe quitt by sound of trumpett, and by challenge in what numbers soever, yea of a king to a king in case of need," if he is not cleared of the slander of murder which he most detests: protesting that for all the crowns in the world, he would not be guilty even in thought, especially to her Majesty.

Hereby the Duke of Lenox is in new motion of coming to England: but

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all stays till the Duke of Hulster be gone, which is purposed the last of May.

The King intends to have another brother to stay with him and has written thereon.

"On the 25 of the last the Duke of Lenox gave the Duke of Hulster the banquet; and upon the 27 of the same the King made him an extraordinarie banquet with musters of his domesticks in great braverie. The King hath given him his rich hatt band, and the Queen and King have given him and his companie both gold, jewells, and horse, to good valewe."

The King has heard that M<sup>r</sup> John Colvin "hath kissed her Majesties hand," and is angry, saying "her Majestie wold receyve any false knave his enemie, and doth alledge that M<sup>r</sup> Colvin gott his licence stolne."

"M<sup>r</sup> Archbald Douglas seeks home (as it is said)," offering to do great service to the King.

Motion is made from France that the King send an ambassador to the French King to renew the league.

Lord Hume to avoid the King's displeasure has left his country for the English borders. "His ladie hath carried to the King the keyes of his houses, *dicis causa*, and not of any need, butt to honour the King: and is like in short tyme to come in favour agayne."

The goodman of Hutton hall being to travel, the King has made the goodman of Manderston deputy warden of the East Marches.

The Earl of Mar and his enemies the Livingstons, Elphingstons and Bruces, have been at Edinburgh "verie strong," and great appearance of trouble between them, "butt it scaped well and narrowly." The King appears careless of the matter and of the Earl of Mar "one of his undoubted best subjects," or there had been more news thereon. He and his Council have "discerned" the Laird of Johnston as breaker of the assurance with Drumlanrig and the Carlises, and "to be defamed and perjured: so that his picture was drawne in blood, to signifie a murtherer, and hung with his heeles upward with his name sett under his head, and INFAMY and PERJURE written thwart his leggs. This was proclaimed at the market [cross?] and done verie solely by trumpetts and harrolds of armes the 27 of the last." It is like that laird, hearing this, will do some great attempt and set that country on fire, for he is "stout and fortunate, and wilbe desperate."

Twenty Fife barons have jointly offered the King "140 chalder of victualls" yearly for the isle of Lewis, and to conquer it at their own charges. Some of Lowthian in like manner offer to conquer "the Skays": which things are very likely to cause a general revolt among the Islanders.

"Angus M<sup>c</sup>Onells sonne (Sir James) hath written to the King that his bastard brother that keepeth Duanovage, is gone to M<sup>r</sup>Sorle, and that M<sup>r</sup>Sorle, Odonell, and Onele agree to assist him." The King is very angry, yet has since been told that M<sup>r</sup>Sorle will not agree with "Angus bastard," till he knows the King's mind.

The "unnamed gentleman" which formerly offered services, came to M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson on 27 of last, and said he must either shortly receive "moyen"\* to deal in these services, especially the Islanders, or otherwise, in respect of these offers by the Fife and Lothian barons, he must dispose of himself to be employed otherwise. And desires some resolution herein before the 20<sup>th</sup> instant. And for his offer of repair to the English Court: "the present occasions now in hand about these turnes, will not permitt him before the xv<sup>th</sup> (!) of August."

2½ pp. *Written by Bowes' clerk. Indorsed as title.*

\* Means.

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June 7. 947. JAMES VI. TO H. LEIGH.

Signifying that Mathew Irving of Graitnay, now man and servant to Rob of the Fauldis, lately came with his complices to the Laird of Amisfeld's lands, and stole horses and other goods, among them a horse and mare belonging to the Laird of Kirkmichael, requesting that the horse and mare may be restored, as the offender dwells in the English March. "Pallice of Halyruidhous." *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Leigh.*

June 7. 948. WARRANT FOR SIR W. BOWES.

The Queen orders immediate payment from Exchequer or elsewhere of 1000*l.* to Sir William Bowes now treasurer of Berwick, and so yearly during pleasure, to supplement his receipt from the receiver of Yorkshire of 3000*l.* at the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the said amount being duly repaid to Exchequer in Michaelmas term yearly, out of the 5000*l.* then paid by the receiver to the treasurer of Berwick—who represents that the unequal halfyearly payments of 3000*l.* and 5000*l.* are inconvenient for the Queen's service.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Draft. Indorsed*: "7<sup>o</sup> Junij 1598. Warrant for 1000*l.* to Sir William Bowes at the feast of the Annunciation yearly."

May-June. 949. WILLOUGHBY TO WILLIAM SELBY.

Being commanded by her Majesty's special letters of date 20<sup>th</sup> March 1597 (40<sup>th</sup> of her reign) "*in hec verba*."—[Whereby she orders musters of the garrison—that no native of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland or the Bishopric be allowed in pay—that there be 56 pensioners—none to have double pay—none to serve in the ordnance on pay, unless the governor admits him—and no gunner to be placed without due proof of his shooting.]

Being therefore to take a muster, I would desire your opinion what course to take in discharge of my duty according to the establishment—lest the misinformers of these times take occasion to complain of us to her Majesty and their lordships.

"The Porters advise to the said letter and articles."

In answer to your lordship, my opinion as to performing the Queen's command and certain articles of the establishment, as in the paper you sent me by Mr Bartew is thus.—The article against Northumberland &c. men, was strongly opposed at first publishing the establishment, by the "auncient" captains, as I have heard, and so was never put in force, and as sudden alterations are avoided by the wise, my advice is, that those in pay, many of them old, and many who have served well and lost their blood, be allowed to enjoy their pay, and if the Queen's pleasure be to revive this dead law, that notice be publicly given to the people of those shires, that none presume to serve on pay here, except as horsemen—for likely the most of them never heard of the law or establishment, and their captains are rather to blame than their poor ignorant men. And the law says not "that Northumberland men, &c., should be discharged," but that they shall "not be appointed"; which is not their fault, but of those that received them.

For the 80 horse: none are so serviceable for this place as borderers, and they have always been of that company since Berwick was English. This might be reported to her Majesty and the men continued in their places meanwhile, the rather as her Majesty's letter is not new, "but almost 3 yeares old," and has hitherto not been executed by your lordship.

Pensions should be bestowed according to "their first institution," and the

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holders should reside here. No man should receive double pay for his own person; but servants and retainers may enjoy pay for their masters' use, so they do the duty. It is a help to gentlemen, no diminution of the numbers, and the law never executed.

Gunners appointed hitherto without the Governor's privity, or proof of shooting, may be tolerated for the past, as the custom has been—for otherwise, the whole company almost, being now skilfull in their art, "and not to be easely matched in England, as I thinke," might be discharged, to the great hurt of the service. Hereafter public notice should be given against breach of the law, resting only on the commanders, that "schollers in that art" may succeed to vacant rooms.

Though it be true in rigour of law, "that *ignorantia facti* and not *ignorantia juris* doth excuse," yet I know that laws are published first in parliament to the best sort, representing the state, then by print to the people: our establishment though public in respect of her Majesty the author, is private to the soldiers, to whom, neither by proclamation, reading, or setting it up in a public place, was it ever intimated before your coming, and therefore is now like a new law to them, and "no reason it should looke back."

Besides we know that penal laws have been passed in this realm, yet in force, but which her Majesty of her clemency, would not now put in force either for past or future time, without some new intimation to her subjects.

Lastly I think the fault rather in the commanders who receive men into pay against the establishment, knowingly, than in the men who come new to the place, and know it not.

2 pp. *Closely written. Indorsed*: "Articles of the Establyshment of Berewick wherin the Lord Willoughby requireth the Porters advise."

#### 950. MUSTER BOOK OF BERWICK.

June 10.

A muster taken before the right honorable "Peregreen Bartye knight, lord Willoughbye of Willoughbye, Beake and Earsbye," lord governor of the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and lord warden of the East Marches, &c.: "with a declaracion not onlie of the particuler names of the parties mustered, their severall ages, countries where they weare borne, and tyme of their service, but also of the defaultes founde at the saide muster."

#### *Extracts.*

[The eight captains of foot and their companies are thus enrolled.—] (1) John Carey,\* born in Hertfordshire, absent by the Queen's licence; (2) Sir William Reade knight,\* born in Worcester; (3) Robert Carvill, *æt.* 64, born in Dorsetshire; (4) Anthony Thompson, *æt.* 70, born in Yorkshire; (5) John Twyforth, *æt.* 65, born in Surrey; (6) Robert Yaxley, *æt.* 38, born in Lincolnshire; (7) William Boyer, *æt.* 43, born in London; and (8) John Selbye, *æt.* 24, born in Berwick. The names, ages, and services of their men are separately given. The master gunners—William Larkin, *æt.* 84, born in Kent, and 60 gunners follow in like manner. The bowyer, master carpenter, armourers, "fletcher," "dagmaker" and artificers in the ordnance, 26 in all: the horsemen with their surgeon, Thomas Kendraw, *æt.* 52, born in Yorkshire, their constables, (1) John Fenwick, *æt.* 76, born in Northumberland; (2) Cuthbert Arneror, *æt.* 64, born in Northumberland; (3) Leonard Morton, *æt.* 34, born in Berwick; and (4) Josua Delavale, born in Northumberland, with their horses, colours, condition, &c., 80 in all, follow: the foot of the old garrison, 42 men; ending with the 54 pensioners, two of whom are 80 years old, *viz.*, John Colloppe, born in Hertfordshire, and Arthur Barkley born in Rutland.

\* Age not given.

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SUMMARY.—The whole number in the muster roll amounts to 797 officers and men, and a table shows their various birthplaces, e.g., 179 in Berwick, 234 in Northumberland, 23 in the Bishopric, 81 in Yorkshire, 25 in Cumberland, 6 in Westmorland, 1 in Scotland, 3 in Ireland, 3 in France, 1 in "Piccardie," and 2 in "Callice, &c." The absentees with and without leave, and sick, are 129. *Signed*: P. Wyllyngby, John Crane.

36 pp. *Written by Crane. Indorsed.*

June 19. 951. WILLOUGHBY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I thank you not only as the instrument of the comfortable news to me of her Majesty's gracious allowance of my proceedings, but also "in your owne perticuler," testifying by your own hand your honorable kindness. As directed, I have sent Cesford's pledges to York; wishing that her Majesty's subjects had better security for their wrongs, than "these beggerlye fellowes ymprisoned, grown desperate by ther remove"; being persuaded it will make them attempt more than less, and unless the wardens' authority be enlarged, they will be too hard for us at stealing, "howsoever in encounters."

I send you inclosed Cesford's answer to my communication of her Majesty's pleasure on "his sytte" for these men, whereby you may conceive his humour.

This packet of Nicholson's will give you news "from the fountayneheade." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllyughby.

1 p. *Holograph: also address. Indorsed.*

June 22. 952. THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO SECRETARY CECIL.

This day I received from my lord of Durham, by the under-sheriff of the Bishopric—but guarded from Croftbrig hither by men appointed by the sheriff of this county—13 Scottish pledges delivered to Lord Willingby governor of Berwick from the hands of Sir Robert Kerr. And as directed by the Privy Council's letter of 11<sup>th</sup> instant, I have committed them to the custody of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Redhead keeper of York castle, charging him to suffer no access or resort to them, except by persons known to him of honest behaviour and void of suspicion. I inclose copy of the bill which I took of his hand, for the Council's information. Some of them seem to be "verie poore thinges," though reported of evil disposition. York. *Signed*: Matth. Ebor.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To . . . Sir Robert Cecyll knight principall secretarie . . . Chancellour of her highnes Dutchie." *Indorsed. Wafer signet*: York impaling Hutton: a fesse between 3 cushions (?). *Crest*: an open book.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Copy of M<sup>r</sup> Redhead's bill.)

Be it known, &c., that on 22<sup>d</sup> June A.D. 1598, I Robert Redhead esquire keeper of her Majesty's castle of York, have received at the hands of the most reverend father Matthew lord Archbishop of York's grace, the bodies of 13 Scottishmen under named, viz.—

Robert Frisell laird of Overton; James Yong of the Coe; Thomas Ainsley of Cletehagh; Richard Rutherford of Litlehugh; William Tate of Chirritrees; Dand Davison of Brumfeld; Raphe Mooe of Mooehaugh; John Robson of Chosen-hope; Raphe Hall of the Sykes; Raphe Borne of Clifton Cote; Dand Pringle of Hownam; Richard Yong of Feltersheles; and William Hall of Heviside, lately delivered to Lord Willingby governor of Berwick by Sir Robert Kerr lord of Cesford as pledges under the late indent of the commissioners, &c., which 13 men I undertake to keep safely within the said castle, suffering no resort to any of them, by any person except well

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known to me and void of suspicion, as required by the said Archbishop, &c., Robert Redhead.

Witnesses.—Thomas Lascelles, Charles Hales, John Redmaine, Ro. Hall.

1 p. Copy. Indorsed by the Secretary's clerk.

June 23. 953. R. MUSGRAVE TO BURGHELY.

Representing that on 23 June 1595 her Majesty granted by privy seal 200*l.* yearly for the repair of her house called the "Mannor" of Newcastle, estimated by survey to cost 900*l.* or 700*l.*—that 600*l.* has been so spent in the last 3 years, and duly certified by the commissioners—praying for the balance to perfect the work, when the Queen shall be at no further charge.

Also praying him to renew the commission to take the remain of the ordnance and munition under his charge, and appoint a new commissioner in room of the gentleman porter, who refuses from private ill will to him, to act with the other commissioners and hinders the Queen's business. Newcastle. Signed: Rychard Musgrave.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Musgrave).

June 28. 954. WILLOUGHBY TO THE COUNCIL.

That he could not, in obedience to their letter of the 5<sup>th</sup>, take order as they directed for the 40 horsemen allowed to Sir Robert Carey,—as the treasurer and master of the ordnance were absent—but at Sir Robert's motion, he had requested the gentleman Porter to take pains therein, as the inclosed will show. Berwick. Signed: P. Wyllughby.

½ p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Inclosed in the same:—

The names of the horsemen allowed to Sir Robert Carey knight lord warden of the Middle March mustered before William Selby esquire gentleman porter of Berwick "at the fyve myle brigges neare Newcastle," 24 June 1598.

Harry Owrd; John Selby of Panston; Thomas Hudspeth; William Fenwick; a "horse ledd for a trumpeter comeing from Londoun"; Edward Vaughan; Gyllam Bearard; Arthur Gyll; Alexander Jolley; Willfred Harley; Anthony Harlston; Wylfrid Hudspeth; Thomas Brooke; John Dryver; Robart Dobson; John Pottenger; John Vasye; Toby Rugg; Thomas Wharton; Robart Wright; Raphe Strother; William Cuthbert; William Harrison; Thomas Turner; Thomas Parkinson; John Grene; William Taylor; John Glendeny; Richard Thirlwall; Richard Erington; Marke Wyddrington; Humfrey Snowden; Thomas Dallyvell; John Fenwick; Arthur Houbourne; William Vasye; John Forster; Hector Woddrington; John Smith; Harry Galles. Signed: Will'm Selby.

1 p. Indorsed: "M<sup>r</sup> Selby certificatt of the names of the 40 horse mustered before him."

June 28. 955. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHELY.

According to your lordship and the Council's direction, a view and muster was taken of the 40 horsemen allowed me, by the gentleman porter, on Midsummer day, by Lord Willoughby's order (no other of the council being then "in place"). I pray your direction to the receiver of Yorkshire for their payment, under the privy seal delivered by me to your honor. I am also a humble suitor to your lordship to give order that my own fee for the Middle March may be "dismissed" out of Exchequer, seeing the great

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charge it will be to me to "fett" it thence half yearly, and if I might receive it from some of the receivers in these parts, it shall both greatly "ease me," and I shall take it as a very high favour from your lordship.

I beseech you that a commission be sent either to 4 gentlemen of the country, or some of the council of Berwick, to view and certify the great decay of Harbottle castle. "Trulye my lord," unless it be repaired for men and horse to lie in for defence of the country round about it, it is impossible for me to make men return to their long abandoned dwelling places, and recover the wasted countries of Tyndale and Redesdale. Berwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

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## 956. BUCCLEUCH ON HIS PLEDGES.

"Reasonis for Sir Walter Scottes \* desyre of the exchange of the Liddisdaill pledges."

He shows that at present they are entered for two ends—(1) for redress of past spoils, &c.; (2) to assure quietness for time to come. The first he lets go as impossible, on account of their "universale inhabilitie." It must lie over in silence, or at the end of the year "procedar" must be used as the princes have agreed: which may "in pairt" (seeing the little prospect of exchange of pledges for the West Marches) take effect for one year. But it will be no wonder if the terror of their execution prevents the rest of the broken people from exposing themselves to the like certainty of death.

As for the future: he thinks it may be best secured by entering the sons or brethren of those "presentlie in hand," with surety for their own reentry on call; these to be placed for entertainment with gentlemen, for none of them has the "moyen to defray them": not imprisoning them except for some new transgression, for this will breed despair of relief and therefore less regard of them by those at freedom, for whom they lie. The reasons are, that the fathers or brethren will have greater care for themselves than their sons or "brether" will have, and will do most to repress the broken people by their long use in command over them, and thus enforce abstinence from evil doing, unless it be encouraged by the officers, whereof he assures the contrary for himself, having always been obedient to his sovereign.

If this course is not taken, and the first pledges are still detained without exchange, on their own charges, they cannot do this for long on their own means, their friends despairing of their relief "through there hard handling, they shall shaik of all cair of them, and doo conforme to there evill nature as gif they wer nocht, and chuse rather to hale in, then bestow so much unprofitable, uppon suche as they shall account deade unto them: whiche according to the proverb is easie to be belived that where there is no houp there is no feare."

1 p. *In a Scottish hand. Indorsed.*

[1598.  
June.]

## 957. SIR ROBERT KERR ON HIS PLEDGES.

Being sent by the Governor of Berwick my honourable lord and master, to Sir Robert Kerr, to certify him of the removing of the Scottish pledges to York, and request that horses and money might be provided for their journey; also of her Majesty's acceptance of his good inclination to her service, and that his good offices when effected will not be unrequited: "but that for this presente, to take, one day, and deliver, an other, she will not see sodenly yeild unto yt": but requires to know who he would have? and on

\* Originally "my"—altered by Burghley's secretary.

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farther consideration will give him good answer by my lord and master.—I received the following :—

Sir Robert informs the Queen and Council that these pledges being the chiefest and best of their surnames, may be a special means to bridle the rest from outrages ; who, though in hope and expectance of their good usage and redelivery they at present abstain, yet when any hard measure shall be offered to these men “ ympawned,” will be stirred to exceed all former outrages in malice, and he doubts their removal to York will be so construed and taken by an inconsiderate and untaught multitude, trained from infancy in rough and uncivil behaviour.

He could better keep the peace if assisted by some of these men detained, than in their absence : for being wiser than the rest, more obedient to him, and well affected of the common sort, they would possibly keep these in good behaviour, and give him information to further preservation of peace.

If it pleased the Queen to do him this favour, credit, and honour in his country, he would in gratefulness do more in furtherance of the peace, than the taking of the lives of a hundred better men than those in hand, would, and he gives this assurance on his honour.

It is the King's desire as well as his own, though it may not stand with the King “ to be a professed sutor : ” and his own good usage of the English pledges, whom he licenses on “ slender bonde,” to liberty either here or their own country, imports no less.

He has such interest with the King his master, and others of the best in Scotland, that he doubts not (time serving) to deserve the obtaining of this request at her Majesty's hand.

He further willed me to remember his right hearty thanks to my right honourable lord and master, and give him to understand that if things grow to any violent inconvenience, he would humbly beg the King to remove him from office, rather than be the man to oppose my lord, at whose hands he had found such honourable friendship.

1½ pp. *Contemporary copy. Not indorsed.*

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958. LORD WILLOUGHBY AND R. MUSGRAVE

It is controverted whether the Governor of Berwick or the Master of the Ordnance there, has right to place cannoneers.

The master has no right : for by his letters patent, he has merely controlment and payment of gunners. The establishments, both old and new, have no words giving him right to place any. The words of the 30<sup>th</sup> article are— “ Also yf any person or persons of the ordinance take upon him for to interteyn or take into wages any person, except he be admitted and inabled by the capitaine, that person to have no wages.”

The Governor has right : and he only may admit and enable them, as is apparent by the recited words of the establishment. He is most sufficient to judge who is fittest. Such as deserve well, should be preferred. Reward is only properly in the chiefest. “ And the course would be endless, yf the master of the ordinance should peremptorily present.”

Lord Hunsdon when governor committed Sir William Reade to prison for refusing to take a soldier into his band nominated by the Governor.

The master of the ordnance has impugned the Governor's authority, shown manifest contempt and impeached the Queen's service.

The Governor (in the master's absence) entered a sufficient man. The master (on returning) entered another, not so sufficient “ (borne in Barwick and of a Northumberland clann) oppons a man for a man, and a second warrant after a former, to the clarke of the check for entyre.”

He (though admonished) has made countermands, contested in peremptory and indecent terms, and “ (to confirme his opposite humor) discented from



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"the Governor and Sir William Bowes in sentencing matters of ordinary justice." And is come from Berwick without the Governor's leave.

The gentleman porter of Berwick joined him in these things, and in sentencing a faulters punishment, the fact being related by the Governor and Sir William Bowes (requesting credit for their report) "he gave this conditionall judgment.—Yf that which the Governor and Sir William Bowes sayd weare true, then the man ought to be punished accordingly."

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Contemporary hand.* *Indorsed* : "The difference betwixt the Lord Willoughby and M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave."

July 3. 959. SIR W. BOWES TO SECRETARY CECIL.

These inclosed letters from M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson which came to London after my departure, "and slowly returning to my hand," I trust you will pardon their late receipt. I am forced to defer my repair to Berwick till I get full order from my lord your father for the 1000*l.* of this half year's pay, which I cannot get from the receiver of Yorkshire under the Queen's privy seal. I left my servants in London to solicit it, but have not as yet heard of their dispatch. As this matter greatly imports my credit at my first entry, I am sorry I shall not be able to make the pay so speedily as the soldiers' necessity requires. And I learn by best experience, that to make the pay "with any want," causes great offence to the garrison. I humbly beseech that my attendance may be excused to her Majesty, and that you would further my servants' dispatch at my good lord your father's hand. Walton. *Signed* : Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Wax signed (Bowes).*

July 4. 960. WILLOUGHBY TO THE COUNCIL.

"At Sir William Reades intreatye, I went over to viewe the Holy Ile and the fort, which I found to be a very fine pyre." For the ordnance there is so much decayed that the gunners dare not "give fyre but by traynes : there master being very miserably slayne at my being there with discharging one of them." If your lordships please to send down a "founder," the service he might do both there and in this town, "would well quitt the cost" : the same metal with a little addition, would serve. Sir William also solicited for means to secure the port, "which is undoubtedly of great consequence for any attempt may be made against this towne by sea" : and might be done I think with little cost to her Majesty, when your lordships give commission to some here to advise thereon and estimate the charge. Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Address (holograph).* *Indorsed.* *Fragment of quartered seal.*

July 4. 961. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"You may please understand that your pacquet dated from the Court the 2<sup>d</sup> of July at 6 a clock in the mornings, I received here at Berwick the 5<sup>th</sup> by none, and with all expedition dispatcht it to Edenburgh by a messenger of trust." I assure you, both in duty to her Majesty's service, and respect of you, I will use as great care in these addresses as perhaps any other you may make choice of here : "for so my place inableth me, or els I were unworthy thereof ; and inferiours beinge made instruments in sutch cases, mought not only derogate from me, but grow dangerous many ways to her Majestys sarvice and my resente charge, so as I could hardly answer sutch underhand proceedings : but I leave it to your wisdom, and hapninge at this instant of som occurrence whereof I doubt not but from the fountayne you are informed, yet because the haltinge messenger confirmeth

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"the first post for want of better commended, from good will I send you these." Berwick. *Signed*: "Your pore frend in power the not affection, P. Wyllughby."

Sir William Bowes is not here, "which we are sorry for." As soon as Nicholson dispatches your pacquet, I will with all speed return you the answer.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Scottish news.)

The King is going towards "Kyntree," with the "Westlen men": the Duke towards "the Leuwe,\* with some gentlemen venturers."

The Earl of Angus made lieutenant "agaynst" the Borders, and is to ride on the West border upon Johnston.

"Straight orders agaynst horners and pistoletts, and for taking away all fewdes—his Majesty haveng sworn never to remitt manslaughter.

"The Bishop of Glasgow is restored and made the King's ambassador in Fraunce."

The King intends to take all the "thirds" to himself and make other provision for "the Kirke."

Each earl must have 20 stand of harness, each lord, 12; gentlemen of 15 chalder of victual find one, and so proportionably.

Every Monday after next Lammas holiday, for training and practising soldiers, with inhibition of all unlawful games.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Contemporary hand not unlike Willoughby's.*

July 5. 962. SIR R. CAREY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of this month "an onhapy acedent fel out" in the Middle March in the following manner:—"Ther was a gentleman of very good worthe, caled William Ogle, most cruely murdrid by sertayn Sectsmen within the hart of the Midle March; the prinsipall sl ear of him was David Ellet a Scot. At this teym word was brought to sum of Ogles best frends that this Ellet was in Gilsland, resayt within Thomas Carltons charge; thay makinge further inquire, gat sertayn knolidge in what house he remainyd; wher upon thay gathrid to the number of tharten men, and cam to the house whear Ellet was, and ther findinge him slewe him for revengde of ther frindes dethe. After thay had dun that thay cam for, with out offendinge aney other thay returnid, thinkinge every man to return to his owne home: but lettid by Thomas Carlton, who with half a dussen and him self cam fast followinge after them, and in no sort would suffer them quietly to pas, but vould to have the lives of sum of them, for that thay had killed wan with in his chardge whome he had given protecton to. Th'Ogles wer very lothe to have aney thinge to do with him, and intretid him very oft to forbear, but the more thay forbore the more fired was he of revengde, insomuche as he brake his speare of ou of them and nuhorst him, and with his pistoll shot at a nother, and made a very narrow scape that he had not slayn him. At the last wan of the Ogles coumpaney, seinge by no fayre meanes they could be rid of him, made a shot at him and strook him cleane throwe the hed so that he fell dead at th' instant and never spake word. The Ogles wer by Thomas Carltons frends so hotly pursud, as thay wer fayn to leave ther horsis and gat to a ould castell whch was of small deffens, and from thens upon promis that ther leyves should not be touched, thay yealdid them selves to be answerable to lawe. Yeat notwithstandinge after thay had yealdid and ther armor and weapons taken from them, wan of the Ogles had a stroke

\* Lewis.

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"given him on the hed with a short sowrd, that it is thought he cannot live. They are all, as I heare carrid to Carlisle to prison . . . The Scotsman that was slayn was a nottable notorius theeffe, and had bin at the killinge of maney a trewe Inglish man, and a hapey turne it is he is so well gon. Carltons frends it may be, will informe to his advantage, that made me thus bound to send your honor the trathe as I am credebly informd." Morpeth.  
*Signed* : Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also address: "To . . . Sir Ro. Citcill," &c. *Indorsed*. *Waxer signet*: a bull's head issuing from a coronet. Woodrington (?)

July 5. 963. H. LEIGH TO SECRETARY CECIL.

Give me leave, in my lord Scrope's absence "(which I suppose by this tyme hath taken his leave at the Cowrte)," to inform you that yesterday the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, divers of the Ogles and Shaftoes gentlemen of Northumberland, to the number of 14, came into Gilstrand, and killed "oue Davyd Elliott *alias* Carlyne" a Scotsman, in revenge of his cruel murder of William Ogle, Reynold Shafto, and others their friends. On their return homewards, the fray rose, and M<sup>r</sup> Carlton the land sergeant and Queen's officer, with his servants, &c., pursued them so sharply, "that in releyfe of one of theyre companye, Thomas Carlton was shott throughe the head with a bullett and therof presently dyed." I thought it my duty to advertise your honor, to move her Majesty to place "some honest worthye man" in that office, to recomfort the hearts of that poor afflicted country. M<sup>r</sup> Carlton's brethren and friends have brought to me 7 of the gentlemen who were in the action, whom I will commit to safe keeping till her Majesty's pleasure be further known. I trust you will not impute fault to me for not presuming to trouble you with the state of this country, which has been from due respect to Lord Scrope, and not for want of duty to your honor. Carlisle. *Signet*: He. Leigh.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: a bird (as before).

July 10. 964. PASSPORT FOR CAPTAIN CRUMMEY, &c.

Licensing the bearers "Captain Crummei, M<sup>r</sup> Harris, James Lion, with there two servantes Scottch gentlemeu," repairing to London about her Majesty's affairs, to pass quietly with their horses, and hire posthorses at her Majesty's rates. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To all justices of peace all and singuler her Majesties postes," &c. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Pasport for 3 Scottish gentlemen to passe for France."

July 11. 965. WILLOUGHBY TO BURGHLEY.

I had written to your lordship and sent the book of musters, noting the age, continuance in pay, and country where each man was born, to show "what store" of Northumberland men we have; and how this agrees with the establishment, your lordship knows. I have deferred the quarter muster, as Sir William Bowes is not yet come, at which "the soldioury murmureth not a lyle." In truth we need both the pay and his presence here, for there is none here of the Council but the gentleman porter and myself.

"If I might be so bold, I should thinke Sir William Bowes or som of sutch qualty, would do no hurt to counterpoyze som humeurs of our neighbours, which may happely be variable and tendinge rather to worse than better innovations, whose beginniges mought be easely diverted to better purposes by wise handlinge." But I know your lordship and M<sup>r</sup> Secretary are fully

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informed by her Majesty's agent there, and it is "beiond my last." I would gladly do "within my compasse" what may deserve your favours. Berwick.  
*Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Wax signet: quartered.*

July 15. 966. WILLOUGHBY TO BURGHLEY.

It having pleased her Majesty "as none knoweth better than your lordship," to confirm the privileges, &c., granted by her noble ancestors to this town, including discharge to the burgesses of all custom for their own goods, also like immunity to the Scots bringing goods to market for the town and garrison: the customer under pretext of her service, "broking for his private comoditye," not only extorts "an excessive toll for cattell (of vjd. the head, used in no other place of England that I can learne, though I have inquired of some discreet gentlemen)," and other things sold in market, contrary to the town's charter and Act of Parliament, injuring the town, also exacting custom for the burgesses' goods, the Queen getting the least part thereof: but practises underhand with Scots "and by a cunning they use (of Englishmen to owne Scottes goodes)," passes them into town and warderney without my knowledge, very dangerous in a garrison town; also assuming to command the wards to pass in carts and packs unknown to me, to manifest danger, as "lately the practyse of Amyens so surprised may well warne us: being in itself an insolent usurpation in the customer contrarye to all military discipline and government." And it is suspected that many uncustomed packs and contraband wares so pass.

I am the bolder to complain, from your lordship's constant care of this town, and its importance hitherto, though now very poor and miserable. Besides I saw a letter of your lordship's, when a like "wrangle" was begun by this customer, for exacting custom on the townsmen's building timber, advising him to surcease the same, showing your regard for the "beutifying" the town with "comely buildings." You may be told I am "stricter herein then I relate," but it is the plain truth, nor do I hinder his taking custom under his old patents or statutes of the realm, "bat only resist his disorders: wherein I fynd him very obstinate, trusting as it seemeth, to those new lettres patentees which he hath hungerly bought, and would, like an emptye fye, fill his purse with his neighbors blood." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: fragment.*

July 15. 967. WILLOUGHBY TO SECRETARY CECIL

This night I received a letter addressed by George Nicolson to you, and hearing from him it is for the Queen's special service, I have added the cover as he requested "for life," and also inclose my letters written to my lord your father, desiring they may be delivered to his lordship. Berwick.  
*Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

I entreat your excuse for my using another's hand, my own at present "not being wel able to serve my turne."

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax quartered signet as before.*

July 15. 968. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Having now had some time to see into the disorders of this March, I find they are so many that only severity is the means to reform them, which I mean by God's grace to put in practice, till I see amends. One of the greatest "discommodaties" to her Majesty's service and the good of the country, is the inconvenience of the place where I now lie—"which is at

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"my owne howse at Woodrington ; for it lies farr owt, in a corner of the countrie, no towne neare it within 5 or 6 miles, and verie uncommodious it is for all respects." There is not so fit a place for me in the whole country as the Queen's castle of Morpeth, now in possession of M<sup>r</sup> Edward Graye, but by no grant from her Majesty, as I am informed. I would be very sorry to prejudice him in any way, but the castle being the Queen's and so equally dividing the March, as it lies in the heart and very middle thereof, if your lordship be pleased, I doubt not her Majesty will think it fitter for her officer than any other. M<sup>r</sup> Graye may have many other houses within the town of Morpeth to serve his turn and enjoy his living as heretofore. I will not seek his hindrance any way, only desiring to be in the castle, and have some few grounds about it for hay and grass for my horses, paying the Queen the rent due for them ; which will be no way hurtful to him. I hope when her Majesty is informed, she will consent to my motion. Her wardens of the East and West Marches having houses to lie in, it is very requisite (I think) that her officer of the Middle March should have the like. I beseech your lordship to take her Majesty's pleasure thereon with your best leisure : for till I hear, I will not determine on any other place.

I will likewise acquaint your lordship of another matter wherein I desire your assistance in furtherance of justice. By the late commissioners' order, pledges were delivered on both sides on the West Borders—the Scottish pledges, 6 in all, to M<sup>r</sup> Henry Leigh Lord Scrope's deputy to be detained in safe keeping. I know not what warrant "Maister" Leigh had, but on entreaty, he suffered one of them called Will Ellwood *alias* Will of the Stile, to return to Scotland on bond (as I take it) to enter when he called for him. While this "Elliott" was at liberty, he drew a plan of a foray in Tynedale, and acquainting his friends thereof, "effected his purpose" in plain daylight about the middle of June last past, taking away from these poor wretches of Tyndale, about 200 head of cattle, 30 horse and mares, the whole wealth they had—and cruelly murdered 2 of them—this Elliott above named being the principal "stricker" of them. Now if it please your lordship, this man being her Majesty's prisoner, let home upon favour, "to darre to attempt so odious a fact, I thincke no death bad enoughe for him to indure." Therefore I beseech that such order may be taken for delivery of him to me, that I may do execution on him in the place where he did the fact. He is in M<sup>r</sup> Leigh's hands, and I have written to him to keep him in sure guard till he hear from your lordship. I think the King of Scots on notice from her Majesty or your lordship, will consent "he had his desert." Such an example would terrify the thief and comfort the honest subject.

I have not yet heard from your lordship as to the pay for my 40 men, nor how I shall receive my fee for the wardenry : leaving these to your better leisure. Woodrington. *Signed* : Ro. Carey.

2 pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed : quartered shield (indistinct).*

July 15. 969. H. LEIGH TO BURGHLEY.

Pardon my boldness enforced by necessity to signify to your honor "that the visitacion of the plange which hath longe contynewed here, hath nowe towched my servantes about me—Gods holy name be prayed therfor, and myselfe in his handes uncerteyne howe longe to contynewe in this world—which doth move in dewty and zealous care of my poore wyffe and fyve children, to presume to comend them to your most honorable care and patronadge ; most humbly intreatynge your honor even for Godes sake to move her Majestie to commiserate theyre distresse—I nowe lyke to leave them without one groate to lyve upon—so forward and carefull have I bene to advance her Majesties servyce, without respect of my owne estate—for which I give God most hartly thankes, as the only comfort next unto his mercyes I cary

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"to my grave. I dowt not but her most royall Majestie wyll comfort the comfortles: for seasonable remembrance wherof, I have most especially made bould to chuse your lordship, of whose honorable favor I have already tasted. In recompence of my whole estate spent in her Majesties servyce, I only on my knees most humbly begge that it would please her highnes to contyne to my only sonne my pencion and place, and to my powre wyffe and fowre dawghters towe mylles bnylded, and one in byldynge, within the barrony of Bergh, which I have buylded att my excedyng chardges and smale profit, wher her Majestie never had any. These smale thinges I can but comend to God to make your noble hart myndfull to move her most royall Majesties, in whose servyce I do thinke my lyffe most happely bestowed: and on the knees of my very sowle do most humbly pray Almyghty God longe to blesse her with most happye reigne and graunt eternall lyffe to her and all her most honorable counsell, Amen! So in all humbles cravynge pardon, I take my leave from Carlill a most carefull city, whom I pray God and her Majestie may tymely comfort . . . Your honora eyther lvyng or dyng most humbly bound." *Signed*; Henry Leigh.

1 p. *Holograph*; as also address. *Indorsed*. *Small wax signet: a rose (?)*

July 19. 970. BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I send herewith two letters—one from Sir Robert Carey craving the use of Morpeth castle, whereon you may on opportunity, take her Majesty's pleasure. As he writes, so I know it, that there is no place so fit for him to lie in for service. As to the pledge where he complains of Henry Leigh, you shall do well to acquaint Lord Scrope therewith.

I have received this other from Leigh by post, directed with a pair of gallows for more speed. It seems his house is touched with the plague and himself not free thereof: "so as it is not fitt to shewe hir Majestie his lettre, but you maie as yowe shall see cawse acquaint hir with his suite. From my howse in the Strand." *Signed*: W. Burghley.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *In his secretary's hand*. *Addressed*: "To my lovinge sonne Sir Robert Cecil," &c. *Indorsed*.

July 26. 971. WILLOUGHBY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

"I have received your honorable assurance. I desire you to know so much of my nature, as I am more curious to obsarve my frends, than to expect from a meaner parson and an inferiour place to yours, any never so lytle restraint in any course of his intelligence whether privat or publique. What I wrote I beseech you distinguish as a regard to my place, which by your worth and judicious autoryty shall have I doubt not, as much right as fit is, and so I leave it. For my regard to yours I shall I hope soner fayle my selfe than those respects I ow you. Your one pacquet sent by my lord Martiall came as I had dispatched the post, and I thought it rude to add a naked cover without som other convenient addition." Since that time you have doubtless received your packets. Berwick. "In hast late, as the pacquet came the 26<sup>th</sup> of July." *Signed*: P. Willoughby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: ". . . packett from Scotland." *Fragment of wax seal*.

Aug. 1. 972. MUSTERS OF BERWICK.

The defaults of the musters taken before the Lord Willoughby, &c., Governor of Berwick.  
Absent, with or without leave, from the companies of "Sir John Carey

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knight," Sir William Reade knight [both absent], and 6 other captains, gunners, ordnance workmen, horse, foot and pensioners, 62. *Signed*: P. Wyllngbby, John Crane.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Written by Crane. Indorsed.*

Aug. 3. 973. PASSPORT FOR CAPTAIN SETON.

Licensing "the bearer hereof Captain Seyton Scotch gentleman" travelling into England about his lawful affairs, with his man and 3 horses, one "black lyld" ambling, 15 hands, the others "white gray," ambling, 15 and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  hands—to pass unmolested and return to Scotland in like mauer. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllngbby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To all justices of peace," &c. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Captain Seytons pasporte . . . upon which my master gave him another the 14<sup>th</sup> of Auguste 1598."

Aug. 4. 974. SIR R. CAREY TO BURGHELEY.

On the 2<sup>d</sup> instant a company of 200 Scots, 80 of them and more, armed with "calyvers and horsemens peeces"—came into England, their purpose unknown to me. I made all the force I could, and sent with speed to encounter them. And about 3 P.M. M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick whom I sent as leaders, set upon the Scots within England, and overthrew them. They were then so near their own borders, that they had "recovered Scotland" before we got to them. But the foray being broken, they held on the chase two miles into Scotland, and private men slew their enemies who were in deadly fend with them, as they came to them: so I think there are some 4 or 5 Scots slain, and 16 of the best taken prisoners. After our men made a retreat, the prisoners were asked what their meaning was to enter the Queen's dominions with such force in warlike manner? They said their only intent was to hunt, and take such venison as the country afforded. I think there will be great complaint made of this "accident," but there has been nothing done but to her Majesty's honor and the good of the country. They knew quite well it was unlawful (though they expected it would be endured as hitherto), for at this same time, others of their country made humble suit to Lord Willoughby for leave to hunt in his March. But these men, though the chiefest of them have been great offenders to this March both in blood and goods, and that lately, chose to make this bravado. Besides their hunting, their custom is to bring in 100 men at these times, to cut and carry away wood and they have thus clean wasted "one of the goodlyest woodes" in the Middle March. They had at this instant the usual number, who cut and carried off as in times past. The prisoners are returned to their country on their "wordes" to their takers to enter on 8 days' warning. "To begin, they have gotten this snuffe." Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer seal quartered: indistinct.*

Aug. 4. 975. SIR R. CAREY TO HIS BROTHER, LORD HUNSDON.

[In exactly similar terms to the preceding letter.]

Woodrington. *Signed*: "Your lordships lovinge and dutifull brother, Ro. Carey."

1 p. *Addressed*: "To . . . my very good lord and brother the Lord Hunsdon lord Chamberlen of her Majesties household and one of her highnesse most honorable pryvye Councell." *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Quartered wafer signet as before.*

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Inclosed in the same :—

The names of the chief prisoners are—

"The Layrd of Greenehead, a Carr ; the Laird of Bungeppard, a Dauglasse ; the Layrd of Bullerwell, a Tromble ; the Laird of the Tower, a Kyrton ; with other gentlemen their followers, princpale men of theire surnames."

Aug. 6. 976. WILLOUGHBY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I understand "to my greife," that my lord your father is not so well as I could wish, which made me forbear troubling him with letters as formerly on this government, whereof he has always had a remarkable care—and knowing how worthily "you second and succede sutch a father," I thought fit to advertise you. The last musters I presented were in another form than accustomed—showing the age and country of every man: the first, to show his ability and time of service, the other, to "discover sutch as weare here of other provinces prohibited by establishment." This abbreviate I send you, will show the wants in each company, whether of the chief men or ordinary captains' bands. The horse and foot allowed the council here, have not hitherto been mustered, believing this not needed. I have neither horse nor foot allowed me, but a few servants in view every day: having erected to my proper charge, a guard of "musquetiers," not as I hear used by any governor before. The horse companies "mutin" much against their constables, and need a leader or captain. If it pleased you they were put in my charge, as usual in such governments, the marshal having now a band of foot, I would not doubt to have them in better order than they be, which is too bad, as may appear by their complaints I formerly sent up. "As it is, the command of the towne is very bare and chargeable, the best things plucked from it and time so changd, as all things are as deare or dearer rated than at London. But my end is not to trouble you with these things, but to commend the good of this place, and my selfe unto you as to my lord your father." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: "... 6 Aug. . . . Received the xxvij<sup>th</sup>."

Aug. 11. 977. WILLOUGHBY TO HENRY LOCKE.

I have acquainted M<sup>r</sup> Secretary with certain disorders among the horse-men of my garrison, which I made known to my Lord Treasurer in his life time, and had hope of redress if he had lived. Now having solicited M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, I request your fartherance therein as much as you may mind to do: I have appointed this bearer to attend you with my particular reasons for the reformation, also to attend M<sup>r</sup> Secretary's pleasure therein.

\* "Many things I wrote to my lord, which now I thinke will be all forgotten; sutch is my fortune to winne friends hardly, and lose them at the best. If M<sup>r</sup> Secretary take not to heart this towne, as my lord his father did, the government will be very unhappy. What you shall do I will be-thankfull for." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed by Willoughby*: "To his very loving frend M<sup>r</sup> Henry Locke." *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*. *Wax signet*: shield of eight quarters.

Aug. 13. 978. SIR R. CAREY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I am certainly informed that the Scots King has sent to the Queen's Majesty with a very grievous complaint for the late accident in Redesdale,

\* What follows holograph.



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and that nothing will satisfy him but delivery of the two principal gentlemen in the field that day. Truly the matter is nothing so great as this: for I think her Majesty will not allow such a number of Scots to enter her realm at pleasure and cut down and carry off her woods, without licence of her appointed officers! And these gentlemen only intended to show them they had done wrong, and to make them own it, and to take them prisoners; but some of the "unrulyest" slew two of the meanest Scots, and "evill hurt" one gentleman it is thought mortally, but is yet living—this is all. But many things done by them against us, have not been called in question: yet they on any slight matter, get their King's ear, and he as their advocate, quickly calls for justice. If there be a wrong here, they are to blame: for if the first fault had not been committed, the second had been undone. Since I came here, two unlawful acts have been done—both far worse than this— which the King makes no great matter of: first the Rutherfords (who were chief in the late hunting) came into England cruelly murdered William Aynsley a very honest gentleman, took all his goods, and his brother prisoner, still with them in Scotland—they had no quarrel with him, only slain defending his goods. The other outrage was by Scots of the West March, in Tyndale, who killed two of the Queen's subjects and carried off 300 head of cattle in open daylight. It were good that her Majesty offered to the King that her warden meet his, and I think that Sir Robert Carr and I shall end the matter in reason without delivery; for it will be a great pity that these gentlemen should be given up, for they can be very ill spared out of the country. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: ". . . that Fenwycke and Woodrington may not be delyvered," &c. *Quartered wafer signet*: indistinct.

Aug. 13. 979. SIR R. CAREY TO LORD HUNSDON.

[In precisely similar terms to the preceding.] *Signed*: "Your lordships very lovinge and dutifull brother, Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed*. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*. *Quartered wafer signet*: indistinct.

Aug. 16. 980. WILLOUGHBY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

"The Lord of Espine" \* this day passed this town to London for France, bringing letters from the King to me to give him convoy and passport. "But I was forth, for a truce should have ben betwene the Lord Hume and me upon an assise of English and Scottishe gentlemen concerninge M<sup>r</sup> Gray and Sir Jhon Kerr, for certain English pledges were delivered and broke away. But the lord Hume as it proveth, makinge that his coulour, is slipt away out of Scotland, as I am credibly informed also: som say with the Kings greate discontent, who hath sent to stay him; others conjecture not without the Kings prevyty. By conference of a secret frend of the lord of Espins, I understood he hath promised to take this jorney with him for France, that the said lord Espins returns within this 3 monthes or sover. In Scotland there is a greate brute spread of Bothwells being at London, conjectured by those that seme to know Scottish affaires, to be bruted purposely to stay Hume: who if he be gon as is said, I beleave he will passe privylytly with Espine, and passinge som fords by Warke (whereof we have to many) fall into his company about Anwick or Morpeth."

There was an intention of revengs for the late accident in the Middle Marches, but on hearing it, Sir Robert Carey made ready on the first notice from hence. We are all in good terms: the King has prohibited all revenge,

\* Spynie.

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and commanded the Scottish prisoners (set loose by Sir Robert Carey on their word) to re-enter themselves. I know you are better informed than these, but as it is the course I ought to run, "beare with my small rundell, that for the weake streame thereof, laboreth to discharge it selfe in the ocean as a greater river." Berwick. *Signed*: "Scribled in hast . . . P. Wylughby."

"In very truth mentioing the fords," all our spoils are committed by them; and if we could "daume them upp" except such as are, or may be, guarded, it would greatly serve her Majesty's people inhabiting this March on the Tweed.

1 p. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*. *Was signet as before*.

## Aug. 16. 981. PASSPORT FOR LORD SPINIE.

Licensing the bearer, "the Lord Spine sent of embassage from the King of Scotland to her Majestie, with these three in his company James Forreth, Alexander Ker and David Michel," repairing to Court "about som speciall occasions," to pass and return without impediment. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wylughby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: "To all justices of peace, mayors, sherifs," &c. *Indorsed* by Cecil's clerk: ". . . the Lord of Spinay. My master gave pasport for hym to goe into Fraunce."

## Aug. 16. 982. CERTIFICATE AS TO GILSLAND BARONY.

Parcel of the possessions lately of Leonard Dacre esquire attained of high treason.

Fee of Thomas Carleton gentleman deceased, late land sergeant of the barony of Gilsland, which office Philip late Earl of Arundel, Anne countess of Arundel, William lord Howard and Elizabeth lady Howard, by indenture dated 17 June 22 Elizabeth, granted to said Thomas Carleton for life, with all profits and commodities, &c., that Thomas Carleton his father or any previous officer enjoyed, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum.

The said office is one of "marshall" government of all the Queen's tenants in the barony, which contains 14 or 15 mauors and as many bailiffs, and great number of tenants, all bound to rise to fray at his command. He should be charged as follows, viz.—

1. To reside within the barony. 2. To rise readily at every fray—to prosecute murders by Scots with speed, to the March—if by others, to seize and deliver them to trial. 3. To be ready at the lord warden's command, and 4, to see the tenants furnished for service.

He must enter bond and good sureties to perform his duties. He should have the goods of all felons within the barony granted to him without rendering account, the rather, as her Majesty has never had any profit thereby since the barony came to her possession—which no doubt the officer may gain. It seems reasonable the office should be granted but during her Majesty's pleasure.

Yearly fee of Richard Graime gentleman, bailiff of Askerton manor in said barony, 26*s.* 8*d.*

He has been bailiff ever since the barony came to the Queen's hands. I leave it to your honor whether he should be displaced, or the office be at the disposal of him who shall be appointed land sergeant—but whosoever is bailiff, he should give good sureties for his due accompt of her Majesty's rents at the yearly audit.

2 pp. *Indorsed*: "xv<sup>th</sup> Augusti 1598. Certificate concerning the office of land sargeant of Gyllesland in com. Cumberland. From M<sup>r</sup> Auditor King."

1598.  
 Aug. 19. 983. COPIES OF SECRETARY CECIL'S LETTERS.

(1) To Lord Willoughby on 12 June 1598.

The Queen called me to her, and commanded me in Sir John Stanhope's absence (whose hand she would otherwise have used) to write privately, that she well allows your proceedings, and in regard to Cesford's wish moved by you, to reserve some of his pledges, she would have you inform him that she accepts his good offers of service, which when performed, shall not be unrequited, but for the present, will not so suddenly agree to take pledges one day, and deliver, another: but when she knows who we would have, she will on further consideration give him a good answer by you. Referring for the rest to my lords' letters, wherein I join.

(2) Copy of my master's letter to Lord Scrope 19 Aug. 1598.

According to your commendation of Mr John Musgrave I have procured her Majesty's gracious acceptation of him to the office of land sergeant of Gilsland, as her highness letters to yourself will show. But she has commanded me to impart to you sundry points which he shall observe in her service, and which your lordship shall charge him to perform, viz.—(1) that he be resident in the barony; (2) that he rise at every fray, &c.; (3) that he be ready to obey the lord warden's command in her service, and (4) that he see every tenant well furnished for service. Not knowing what bond has been given by others before, in that office, I must refer the consideration thereof to your lordship's self, but it is reasonable that if by his office he receive any of her Majesty's revenues, he enter good sureties to answer the same duly and truly.

1½ pp. *Contemporary copies.*

Aug. 27. 984. ROWLAND MYNERS TO LOCKE.

Prefixes a copy of his instructions from Lord Willoughby in soliciting Mr Secretary regarding the horse garrison.

They are mutinous and insubordinate to their constables, who are little above their own rank. Being of great clans and surnames in Northumberland, this encourages their obstinacy. At the last "going to Chiveat," they disobeyed their constables' command to keep close, and broke their ranks, "running every man a severall waie" to their utter overthrow if the Scots had charged them. Lord Willoughby proposes to raise 20 more at his own charge, making their present number of 80, up to 100—if allowed but the bare pay of a captain of horse.

"Mr Lock I have sent you a copy of the Instructions and I pray yow at your convenient leasure breake the matter beforehand to Mr Secretary in my lords behalf, before my coming. I meane to attend his honor after the funeral." *Signed: Row. Myners.*

I have sent you my lord's letter, and his trust is you will further the suit. I would gladly know where I might sometimes repair to you.

2 pp. *Holograph; as also address. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 29. 985. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Finding myself much charged with the cries and importunities of some of this March, that I should undertake the redress of such bills indited and found fowle at the commissioners' sitting, before my coming: and considering how unfit I am by "raw and new experience" to finish these grave and worthy mens' long labours, and finding myself enough charged, without looking into "bypasse" as they call it, with the complaints, &c., of

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my own time: I requested my lord your late father that such causes might be referred to them "that handled them," also making suit for direction in dealing with the opposite wardens, exchanging oaths, &c., at Midsummer last and showing our letters patent in regard that some of them had none such—and as to meetings, having "stood" with my opposite warden that he should first come over to us, and not we to them (as they challenge by custom), thinking it unfit, "the dignities of the princes, and of the nations, considered"—wherein I sought direction, whether to yield, or settle it *alternis vicibus*, or "by sorte or casting of lots." But thereon, and on other motions as to the fortifications here, &c., I have as yet received no answer from the Council, and though not urging it, but in discharge of my duty, await the same. The winter drawing on now apace, the country will expect some general truce day, for custom and example's sake, though "(I praise God)" there are few matters to urge; and I refer the same to your wisdom. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllngiby.

Postscript:—Our Scottish news varies as you may see in my last. Lord Hume was "so intentioned as I gessed," but diverted from his purpose by the report of Earl Bothwell's being in England, which is confidently believed in these parts.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: indistinct.*

Aug. . 986. WILLIAM SELBY'S REPORT.

The report truly set down, as I have credibly heard it, of the "accident" betwixt M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick and M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington, and the Scots.

The Scots came into her Majesty's own lands, cut down and carried off her woods into Scotland, and bunted as if in their own country, without licence of warden, &c., "very contemptuouslye." The country people informed the above two gentlemen their officers, who with some of them went to the place. Their men without their orders, and the Scots in a tumultuous manner, fell to "bickering," wherein two Scots were slain, one Pringle, by occupation a "taylor," the other a meaner man, and a third hurt, named I think Ratherford, now well recovered. This was done against the officers' "minde," and I have heard them protest earnestly their only intenc was to cause them retire peaceably to their own country.

Visiting the warden of the Middle March in my coming up, he prayed me to signify to the Lord Chamberlain his brother, "that if he wanted those two men, he lacked both his armes," and could do the Queen no service there.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *In a clerk's hand. Indorsed*: "The Report of William Selby concerning the tumult on the Borders betwene M<sup>r</sup> Fenwicke, M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and the Scottes."

Aug. . 987. NOTE ON THE SCOTTISH HUNTING.

(1) Showing that a Scot in England without the warden's leave if taken, is lawful prisoner; (2) that they have no custom to hunt in England; (3) or cut woods, more than stealing horse or sheep; (4) that the writer could find exceptions, if he saw their complaint in writing.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *In a clerk's hand. Indorsed*: "A breif note," &c.

Aug. . 988. RIVAL STATEMENTS ON THE REDESDALE HUNTING.

Differences in the reports of the Redesdale road.

(1) Sir Robert Carey says the Scots were 200, 80 and more armed with calivers and horsemen's pieces.

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- (1) The Scots say they were not above 60 unarmed, only with hunters' weapons.
- (2) Sir Robert—that they came in on 2 August, and at 3 P.M. his officers set upon them and chased them 2 miles into Scotland.
- (2) The Scots—that they began hunting on 1<sup>st</sup> August, unmolested, retiring to Scotland at night. Next day they entered again to sport, not knowing of any objection, and retired to dinner, "to Grindisdame law in Scotland." There they were assaulted by 400 Englishmen in warlike manner and pursued till "Plenelath 4 myles withiu Scotland."
- (3) Sir Robert—they brought 100 men to cut wood—did so, and carried it away as wont.
- (3) The Scots—they did nothing but hunt.
- (4) Sir Robert—That 2 of the meanest were slain, one gentleman deadly hurt, and no more harm done.
- (4) The Scots—besides the slain and hurt they were spoiled of 50 nags, besides "the gentlemens carriage."
- (5) Sir Robert—they meant to take no life, only prisoners.
- (5) The Scots—that M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick and M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington ordered their men, mustered and ready to attack, openly declaring that none should take or show favour other than the worst to any Rutherford, "Frissell," or Hall, on pain of death.

1½ pp. *Written by Cecil's clerk. Indorsed.*

Aug. . 989. NOTE OF SCOTS SLAIN, &c.

"SLAYNE.—. . . Rutherford brother to the Lard of Hundesley; Robert Pringill servand to the lard of Bonejedburgh; ane Robsoun of Chatto; ane uther namyt Rutherford: the Lard of Bonejedburghis self hurt and many utheris.

"TAIKEN PRISONERS.—The lard of Bonejedburgh younger; the lard of Hunt-hill younger; the lard of Greneheid younger, with utheris whose names for the present is not knawen. All or at the least the maist pairt taiken sex myles within Scottis ground neir ane pairt callit Knowpark."

¼ p. *In a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "The note of the names of suche as were slaine and taken—sent me by my Lord Secretarye."

Sept. 5. 990. MUSTER OF GILSLAND.

Muster taken at Brampton, 5 September, 40 Elizabeth, before John Musgrave land sergeant of Gillesland.

COMWHITTON—Horses sufficient 9, insufficient 6, absent 2; nags sufficient 6, insufficient 3, absent 1; footmen 17; the Scots' spoils there 200*l.* and above.

HAYTON—Not mustered "for the infection." The Scots' spoils there, 600*l.* and above.

CUMREWE—Sufficient 4, not sufficient 27; footmen 8; all spoiled by the Scots.

CASTLE CARROCK—None appeared. Likewise spoiled.

TALKYN—Sufficient 8, not sufficient 4; footmen 8. "Spoyled."

DENTON—Sufficient 5, not sufficient 30; footmen, 1. "Spoyled."

OVER DENTON—Sufficient 2, not sufficient 16; footmen 5. Spoiled.

BRAMPTON—Sufficient horse 6, not sufficient 17; nags, sufficient 6, not sufficient 20; footmen 10.

IRTHINGTON—Sufficient 2, not sufficient 26; footmen 16.

LYVERSDALE—"None appeared. Spoiled and burned by the Scottes."

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ASKERTON—"Richard Grame als Langtowne, came not. All the rest of the tenantes are heryed and gone."

LEASEHILL—Sufficient 3, not sufficient 7.

COLLINGBANCKE—"Thre tenantes there all wayst."

BOWTHREBANCKE—"The tenantes there have never one horse."

DALLERLYNE—"Never one horse there."

FAWCETT LEASE—"Fower tenantes neither horse nor other thinge."

KIRBECK MOORE—"Fyve tenantes all wayst."

JOBS CLEWGCHE—"All wayst," Jenkyn Foster, Alexander and Isabell Foster, "wayst."

FLORIHURST—Christofer Foster, sufficient, Arche Foster, not sufficient.

ALLERGARTH—"All wayst."

OXCLOSE—"All wayst."

CHRAKROPP—"Three tenantes, sufficient."

GOEMAN FORDE, DARMAN STEADE, BULMAN STEAD, SOWTER MOORE, HARPERHILL, AND LUCKENS—All waste.

SPAYD ADAM—Footmen 8.

WALTON—Sufficient 4, not sufficient 4; footmen 4.

TRYERMAYNE—Sufficient 3, not sufficient 32; footmen 5.

FARLAM—Sufficient 7, not sufficient 12; footmen 7.

On this view there were not 5 horses found worth 5*l.* a piece.

The Carletons have all the Queen's houses of strength in Gilsland in their hands and placed divers Scots in them. Thomas Carleton has Askerton house, demeane and mill; Tryermayne house and demeane, and mill called the Hole mill, Farlam hall and demeane; Templegarth house and half of the low forest, the Leyes hill, certain tenements called the Quarrell, three tenements at Lannerton, and other mills "which I cannot now name." Lancellott Carleton has Naworth castle demeane and parke, Brampton foot hall, Brampton park, Brigwood park and the demeane of Brampton; the Tarne house and half of the forest; Netherton house and mill, Denton hall and mill, "besydes dyvers percells of poore mens groundes, which he haith layd to them."

These are the several fees of the land sergeant ship of Gilsland, as may appear to your honor by the bailiffs' certificate.—The house demeane and mill of Askerton with appurtenances; one place called Walton wood: another place called Clousgilholme, of the rent of 17*s.* 8*d.*; 10 days' work of "medowe" called "Robin Hood buttes" within the forest. The appointing of the bailiff of Askerton and a ferme hold thereto belonging; 20 nobles' fee, with certain oats, and fee called "Foster fee." Also felon's goods happening within the office.

1 p. Double broad sheet. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk: "1598 v. September. The muster of Gilsland by the land sergeant John Musgrave."

Sept 5. 991. SCROPE TO CECIL.

The great favours which I always found with your most honorable late father, cause me to "wayle" his loss, and as I had a true feeling of sorrow for his departure, so I resolve not to bury with him my affection to his house. I particularly remember your last courtesy extended to John Musgrave about the land sergeantey of Gillesland, which makes me desire occasion to express "how I am affectionat towards you." I have appointed all the gentlemen to survey the present state of the country, and of the "poore office" of Gillesland, whose certificate shall be sent you shortly. There are factious heads daily inventing new "mischieves," but the truth is my sufficient shield, being assured by your means her Majesty in her "matchles wisdom" will not condemn me without just cause, or unheard.

Lord Willoughby has had many conferences with Sir Robert Carr. He is very wise and honorable and I hear by some very inward with him, that he intends Sir Robert to be his "inteligencer" in Scotland: but a friend of

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good credit writeth to me from there, "that Sir Robert relateth all to the King, wherat both makes good sport." Baclughe is busy to be familiar with me, and makes great offers, which I answer with delays, yet being ever pressed to do him justica. He has written "even now" in behalf of the pledges, that I would accept their brethren and cousins instead, letting those in my custody depart; promising on his word, they shall be ready to re-enter on call. I answered I had contrary direction from her Majesty, and could not agree to his desire.

Yet I think if he would answer for all their friends who do us great mischief, "these sayde Liddisdail pledges standing to noe use," her Majesty might favour him thereon, were it but for a time: "namely untill God withdrawing this plague (greatly disperced and hott, wherby most of our people is dead, and divers of my men) the cuntry were better stringthned." Signed: Th. Scroope.\*

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer quartered signet (as before).*

Sept. 9. 992. TRIAL BY SIR ROBERT KERR.

"At Jedburgh the nynt day of September 1598 yeiris—the haille gentilmen and barroues being convent be Schir Robert Ker wardane of the Middle Marche of Scotland at his Majesties commandement, hes tryed in this late attempt done at the huntinge, be the gentilmen that was present, and all other meanes they could find out as followis."—

First.—The lairds of Hundelie, Huntbill, Greneheid and Bonjeddart who "was speciallis" in the fields at the hunting, "testefeis" in presence of Sir Robert Ker and the other gentlemen, on their credits, that they intended nothing in their convening, "but their pastyme allanerlie in the accoustumate forme that bothe is, and hes bene daylie practeisit on the borders on bothe sydes without memorie of anie unlawfull act to be done be theme or anie of theris, or yet as may be sinistrouslie consaitit to enm anie wayes neare to the boundes of the opposed cuntrie in contempt, but be the contrare bothe with the regarde that perteaned or hes bene usuall."

Secondly.—The above gentlemen in name of the rest, declare that they exceeded not three score, neither gentlemen nor the carriers of their "necessars," all in most peaceable sort, without armour or weapons, save as used in all times by hunters. They proceeded thus—On Tuesday the 1<sup>st</sup> of August, they began in Scotland "at one parte called the Leidbeitars uppone the heade of Kale watter, holdinge forewarde there cours throwe these waistes to obtene there game, as ever hes bene usuall: the gentlemen and these that had doggis takinge the partes most fitte for there sport, sum confusedlie (no other merche beinge but the watter fall of one hill) entered the English syde to reserve cours, holding forward on this sorte from the parte set down to the head of the Halk Willies, where than they came to the head of the Craked Cleuche to there denners in Scottis ground. And after nune using the verrie forme to nyght that they came to there paleeouns at the Berrie steillis within Scotland, without anie question arysing or knowlege of discontentment in the opposettis." Next morning, Wednesday 2<sup>d</sup> August, the gentlemen proceeded as before in sport still on the Scottish side, till they came to the "Foull wayes," where some "confusedlie" as they did before, entered the English side, holding forward at their sport "till they reterit themselves to Grundisdame law within Scotland, never impedit, dischargit, nor fund falt with" by any, nor giving any cause of offence. And being there "to tak refreshment at our denners, without anie knowlege

\* A postscript carefully obliterated.

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"or premonition what they meant, ther cam M<sup>r</sup> Finnick and Harys Wodrington, who convenit the cuntries under there charges togidder to the number of four hundreth men; to whome they declared in oppin audience at Bewdope burnehead that it was there speciall wills that no man shuld tak or schaw favoure other then the worst to anie Ruderfurde, Frissell or Hall, under the pane of deathe. And if any Englishman that was ther, fand his fo or suche as he mislyked, besyd thir surnames, willed them to follow furthe there intention as in harte they war moved."

And so resolved they came to us there ou Scottis ground, "boddin in jakis and speares in most warrelyk maner, and there in their furie chargit ws (being impossible to be resisted be our fewnes of number and want of armour, and be the cairlesnes we had of oure selves) hoping we war in suretie being so farre within our owne cuntrie: wherby we war forced (thir extremities considerit) to gif them our bakis." They chased us with "rigorous myndes" to Plenderlath 4 miles within Scottish ground, "using there cruelte as they could kepe advantage"; as the slaughter of the underwritten manifests, besides hurting many others "uninsert," and likewise took and keep prisoners 12 or thereby of the gentlemen undermentioned. And took spoil 50 nags, besides that of the gentlemen and the "caryaris," and their "palyeons" to the sum which shall be particularly sworn.

The gentlemen slain—"Andro Rutherfurde brother to the Lairde of Hundelye will die, having present assurance be the want of his senssis, not speakinge nor seeinge. Robert Hoppringill servant to the Lairde of Bonjeddart, deid; James Robsone servand to the Lairde of Grenehead, deid."

The prisoners—"The Lairde of Greneheade younger; the Lairde of Bonjeddart younger; the Gudeman of the Towr; the Gudeman of Bullerwell; Alexander Mow burges of Jedburgh; Jhonne Murray brother to the schireff of Forrest; Robert Alesone, burges of Jedburgh; with sindrie others to the number foirsaid. *Sic subscribitur*: Hundallie, Thomas Rutherfurde appearand of Hunthill, Williame Douglas appearand of Bonjeddart."

2 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. Copy in a Scottish hand. Indorsed in another: "Copy of the tryell takin be Schir Robert Ker auent the hunting."

(1) Another copy of same.

2 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. Written by Cecil's clerk. Indorsed.

Sept. 10. 993. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Before I wrote of the difficulties wherein we required redress, I was not so idle, but had inquired how the old custom had been for our passing over at truces to the Scots, "and how before all others did so, and some paid dearely for doing so"—which, because I conceived an indignity, as of late happened to Sir William Bowes, I sought not for an example, but for the remedy. Since you refer me to the "antient order," I will make it better if I can, not worse. As to my receiving instruction from Sir William Bowes and my lord of Durham, as to the treaties unfinished by them and the complaints unredressed, I wrote only to excuse my own "unaptnes" for the burden, which they may sooner finish, than furnish me, "who am altogether unexperienced in *illis rebus forensibus*." But I shall be ready to add my poor labour if "yoked" with them, knowing myself "unable to draw alone."

Touching the fortifications: I wrote to my lords of the Council already, with a "plot" of the additions and reasons for them "as my best skill could yeld"; and lest they are out of the way, I send you "the like of the same." I would be loth to draw any charge on her Majesty, "and more loth if any tempest should happen in my time to be, than to loke a shilber." I but discharge my duty, and would "rather be than seme to be; and therefore as a bad setter forth of my occasyons and my selfe, I desire a frendly



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"assistance and favorable interpretation." Our news are uncertain: I was even now advertised of an intended hunting of Buccleuch, Carmichael and others in English ground; but these Scottish designs are "very frivolous oft." Sir Robert Carey on Tuesday next meets Cesford at Cocklaw—"God send it good issue." On same day I meet Lord Hume at Warke. Though the King is soundly inclined, these Borderers' humours "braadle mutch": I can only surmise the success.

Having little else to trouble you, saving as I wrote to "daume" the fords, and fortify some to impeach incursions, "I shall with my paper \* end my tediousnes." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

I shall God willing, after my return send you a description of this East March with the river Tweed and the fords as they are and as I wish them: "but not to spend her Majesty a peny."

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: "x<sup>mo</sup> Septembris. Lord Willoughby to my master, with plottes of some of the fortifications at Barwyck and his reasons for the advancing of the same . . . Received the xiiij<sup>th</sup>." *Wax quartered seal as before*.

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) Reasons for advancing the fortifications of Berwick.

First—Her Majesty having spent so much "for a meere showe and opinion of a strong thinge," a little more would make it "in effect as it should be."

(2) As it is, "it is ridiculous to all passengers," who can easily "discerne" the defects: and the soldiers, if they come to any great action, will be in more danger within than without.

(3) It is also very subject to surprises by a few, especially the quarter next the sea, being "a weake old wall, of itself ready to fall, scaleable in a number of places, unflanked throughout": in my opinion it had need be the strongest place, seeing how a sudden surprising enemy from the sea may "daunger" the town, spoiling the Queen's store of artillery and munition no less if not more, than "land opposites."

(4) Besides if besieged, they might possess themselves of our haven, and so "bereave" us of our principal succour. Wherefore, after the ramparts already made, parapets and flankers to be finished.

I would wish "for the safety of the two choise portes to landward, ther weere added two ravelyns with ther pont levees as is described.

"Likewyse to Hunsdons mont one flank allongst the sea guard unfortified, a platforme and a ballwark att Masons tower to defend the haven."

It is irregular I confess, "but I am enforced thereunto by them that begonn the rest, and likewyse tying myself to take in the pallace and all the lowe towne, which in other projectes of fortification are left out, in my conceit very unproperly. This I submytt to amendment, professing it as a soldiour, not an ingyuer."

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Written by a clerk*. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*.

(1) Bird's-eye view or plan of the fortifications of Berwick, showing bridge over Tweed borne on upright timber posts, the tower, town gates, &c.

*Double sheet*. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "1598 x<sup>mo</sup> Sept. The defectes of the fortifications betwene Megges mount and Hunsdones mount at Barwycke."

(2) A like view of the improvements suggested in Willoughby's letter.

1 p. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: ". . . An alteration to be made of some of the fortyfications at Barwycke."

\* Written sideways on margin.

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Sept. 14. 994. SIR R. CAREY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

It pleased her Majesty to command Sir John Fortescue to send warrant to Mr Edward Gray to resign the castle of Morpeth to me as her warden : on receipt whereof, he not only made light of it as insufficient, but has presently posted up, making account by his friends to persuade the Queen to recall her former grant. Which if he can do (by my certainty of the common bruit of the country thereof), I shall think myself, and be adjudged by common belief, most unfit for this place, after so great a disgrace. I beseech your friendship and favour herein if it come in question. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed; indistinct.*

Sept. 18. 995. THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO CECIL.

Yesterday I received from Mr Henry Leigh deputy warden of the West Marches, 3 Scottish hostages, viz., William Ellwood of Clitwood, Simon Armstrong of Whitaugh, and William Ellwood the younger of Dinleybyer—a boy about 12 years of age, and have delivered them to be kept with the others in York castle, as directed. I hear there are yet 2 behind, who when they come, shall be so disposed of. York. *Signed*: Matth. Eber.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 20. 996. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Signifying that though he has twice written to the Mayor and corporation of Hull for restitution of certain goods "reft" by one Fyerborne a Scotsman now in prison there from a servant of the King of Scots, who has earnestly written to himself thereon for redress, he can get no attention paid; requesting that some speedy order be sent by the Council to the Mayor to deliver up the goods so withheld, that he may satisfy Border justice. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 20. 997. SCROPE TO CECIL.

According to the Queen's warrant and your direction for placing John Musgrave of Plumpton into the office of land sergeant of Gillesland, and fees, &c., I showed Thomas Carleton her letters signifying her pleasure. But he refuses to give peaceable possession either of the house, demesne or mills of Askerton, till he hear further of the Queen's pleasure, saying he has a lease of them, and the Queen has promised his enjoyment of the full term. Wherein I earnestly crave your direction whether to deal by force or otherwise: for while it so stands, disorders there cannot be reformed, as certain Scotsmen Carleton's "kinred" inhabit there, always doing mischief. I think either your own or the Council's letter to them, would make them yield.

I am told that Francis Dacre has secret access in England: for on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant he was seen on "Burgh-sands"; but where he had been, or with whom he spake, I cannot certainly know. If it be her Majesty's pleasure, I doubt not ere long to find means to apprehend him. "He is so poore that he is glad to receive reliefe at any hand." Brackenhill met him that same day, whether of purpose or chance is not known. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

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Sept. 22. 998. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> instant there was a meeting appointed betwixt Sir Robert Ker and myself at Fyerburn mill hard by Warke castle; when we both came to the place, but met not, by reason he would have had me come over the water into Scotland, which I refused, except he would meet me in the "mydstreame." So we broke off appointing a new meeting on the 19<sup>th</sup> hereof at the Cocklaw, which is a dry march. There also we differed, for he would have me come into Scotland, which I refused unless he would come to the very march to fetch me: so that there was no likelihood of our meeting at that time likewise. My reason for standing more strictly on these points, was certain proud words uttered by certain Scots gentlemen that he sent over to me to take assurance—which were as follows: "That England dyd owe that duty and obedience to Scotland to come over into Scotland to them at all metings upon the Borders"—to which I took exception, telling them I would not refuse to do as other wardens did before me, *viz.* to meet always at the March, and so go over into Scotland and end our business there. But I utterly refused to enter and acknowledge any duty or obedience to Scotland, and said I would inform the Queen my mistress of their unseemly words, and if it were her pleasure to yield, I would obey her commands. Wherefore I pray you to acquaint her Majesty and signify her pleasure against our next meeting. When I was ready to leave the field, he sent a gentleman to request me to order my company not to "stur," as he had done to his, and he would come into England himself, and meet me a mile from either company on a "highe fell," where we should confer by ourselves. I willingly agreed, and met him "not any man neare us by a long myle," when we had a long conference on the last hunting, and it was agreed to refer it to the princes to dispose of at their pleasure.

That ended, I was "earnest with him" to have a good course of justice for the Borders, but "found him nothing forward, for he made dont that his power and abylytye wold fall out not to be answerable to the wyllingnesse of his mynd, alledging that he never had fee of the King for his mayntenance," nor means to maintain his authority, but by his own friends his chiefest strength. Of this the pledges at York are a great part; and unless they are freed, the rest of their friends will utterly refuse obedience, and wanting them, "he can but do as he may, not as he wold." I saw by his manner that unless his pledges are freed, he could not do as I required. So we parted, with this farewell: "that such justyce as I received, I wold do the lyke. This man was never put to that extremyte that he ys now at, for he hath behaved himself so well in Scotland, that he is beloved of none of the borderers except of such as he maynetayneth in doing myscheife: for Baucugh ys his mortall enemy, and Feruherst and Bunjedworth (two of the cheifest men within his Marche, and of as great command as himselfe, except th'authorytie of his offyce) do both deadlye hate him; all which wyll do me justyce in spyte of his teeth—I thinke so much the rather because they know yt wyll be an offence to him; for except he relieve his pledges, his credyt wyll be so crackt, as yt ys thought he wyll leave his offyce very shortlye, not being able to accomplyshe his desyre without them. And then be sure he wyll underhand, do what myscheife he can agaynst this charge of myne." *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer seal: indistinct.

Oct. 6. 999. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

By your letter of 29<sup>th</sup> September received the 4<sup>th</sup> instant "late in the night," I understand her Majesty's pleasure to be informed "by whome, from whome, and in what manner, those wordes of obeyence and duty were spoken"? This was as follows:—After I had sent to the warden for assur-

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ance, and that as accenstomed I would meet him at the March "(which in that place was in the myddes of the water)" and then with him enter Scotland, he sent word by four of his company that I was to come over the water to the dry land of Scotland and he would there receive me. Some dispute arising between me and them, at last one of them "John Ker of Corbet house, sayd of himself, not from Sir Robert Ker, and he spoke yt to me, that yt was an obedyence England ought to Scotland, ever scynce a warden of theirs was slayne at a day of trew by us, one of Sir Robert Ker his ancestors; and at that instant, another of them called Androw Ker of Rocksbrough, sayd to Roger Woodryngton, Sandy Fenwyck and others of my company, that scynce that tyme we have ought them that dutye." This was the manner of their uttering, and it made me more "kuryous" to yield. I have made inquiry of the best and oldest borderers as to the manner of the wardens' meeting, and they concur that we are to go into Scotland, and end our causes of meeting there. "But the manner of our meeting ys the thing in quastyon: it ys for certen that Sir Wylliam Drurye when he was warden of the East Marche, never met but in the mydstreame; and after meeting there he went into Scotland. The gentleman Porter dyd avow there before the Scotcs that he had seene his brother meete in the myd streame with Sir Robert Kers father; and so dyd a sonn of Sir John Selbyes lykewyse affyirme. Dyvers gentlemen of the Myddle Marche dyd there avowe that they had seene Sir John Foster do the lyke.

"The Scotcs wold allow none of this, but brought in proofes of latter tyme how that Sir John Selby, Sir John Foster and my Lord Eure, in their tymes dyd contynually combe into Scotland a good peece before they weare mett with the wardens of Scotland: which I thinke to be trew, for the two Sir Johns being growne old men and loving their ease aud quyet, knowing that they were to go into Scotland, of latter yeares respected not the meeting at the Marche, but went over into Scotland to them; and my lord Eurey after their example dyd the lyke." And the Scots are so good natured, that "yf we geve them an inche they wyll take an ell"! and would have us follow the later custom. But as the ancient borderers think the first meeting should be the very March, and the business determined in Scotland, I see no reason to yield more than is due: yet if her Majesty's pleasure be that I go over before we meet, I will obey, having discharged my duty.  
*Signed*: Ro. Carey.

*1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsel. Quartered wafer seal: indistinct.*

Oct. 8. 1000. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

On the 6<sup>th</sup> instant I received your packet, and on 7<sup>th</sup> the inclosed from Mr Nicholson, which I now send. "Upon the suden," I cannot digest those particulars whereof you write, as is meet: so I pray you excuse me, and so soon as I can pnt in order the things required (I trust by the next messenger) you shall hear. If any thing for you from Captain Doyer or any other, come to my hand, I shall not fail to send it with care and speed. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wylughby.

*½ p. Addressed. Indorsel. Quartered wafer signet.*

Oct. 10. 1001. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL

In answer to your letter of 29<sup>th</sup> September, for my opinion on the old controversy as to Border meetings, lately renewed between Sir Robert Carey and Sir Robert Kerr, I conceive it stands on these heads.—(1) The usual manner, and which prince sends first; (2) what grounds it has? (3) the best course for her Majesty and safety of her realm: and (4) what reasons may be insisted on with the present ambassador to effect this honourable course.

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My answer to these is from tradition and report, or what I have myself experienced.

Border meetings seem to me of two kinds—(1) ordinary, between the wardens or deputies for common justice; (2) the other more solemn, as between commissioners sent for leagues, treaties of peace, or misconduct of wardens. They differ in kind and observance, yet agree in others, *viz.*, taking assurance: meeting at the place, and sitting in some church or town for business: also that assurance usually, by the English going in, is demanded and taken first, immediately after, the Scots demanding and receiving the like of ours. They differ more in other two points, *viz.*, the most principal commissioners have kept their meetings on the “*verie marche lyne*,” and for their session, mostly, not always, at Berwick or Carlisle. Ordinary meetings and sessions usually in Scottish ground, except when by the wardens’ agreement, transferred for conveniency to a frontier town. I find from “*ancient*” men, this was the usage, drawn from the practice of the first Lord Wharton and Sir Robert Bowes, two of the most expert borderers within memory. “*An ancient gentleman folower of Sir Robert Bowes, telleth me that he carried a great meetinge thus: both parties beinge drawne neare the Marche lyue, Sir Robert stepped forward unto the Scottish syde audiblie speakinge these wordes—‘I will loose the Kinge my master no gronde,’* cleanly coveringe the necessitie of his entry hereby. Touchinge my owne experience, I served vij<sup>m</sup> yeares deputie to my noble father in lawe Henrie lord Scroope, all which tyme wee made no question both to demaunde assurance first, and to sitt in the Scottishe gronde; except yt were of courtisie that the Scottishe officer came to Carlisle.”

When I was one of the Queen’s commissioners to try the tumult at Cocklawe where Lord Russell was slain, though I urged stricter standing, yet I could not prevail with Henry lord Scroope and Sir John Selby, for they first met on Scottish ground, and kept every session in Foulden church, a mile beyond the Bound road. But at the last commission we were so “*warie*,” that the Bishop of Durham being not well at ease, sent me to meet the Scottish commissioners, which I did at the “*verie rode*” and stepped “*my length*” into Scotland, on condition they relinquished sitting at Fowlden and sat with us at Berwick, which they did. Then the King and Council trying to transfer the end of the treaty to Dumfries, we drew them to Carlisle, where at finishing, they urged the clause that next treaty should be kept in Scotland; which (with some show of “*curiositie*”) yet we willingly agreed to, for a “*president against them of record.*”

(2) For the ground of so yielding. It is held by tradition on the Borders, that when a war between the realms ended, the Scots must first demand peace. During peace, at ordinary meetings, the English must first demand assurance. Your honor may learn better on this from the heralds, than our report of tradition. Another ground is imputed to the slaughter of Sir Robert Kerr, great grandfather to this Cesford, slain within English ground by one Starrhead servant to Sir William Heron the English warden, who though not present that day was delivered into Scotland by “*that noble and just prince*” King Henry 7<sup>th</sup>, yet they say the Scots swore they would never after come on English ground for justice, and by the King’s sufferance this course has grown. A third ground I have heard (if I forget not) from the late worthy Lord Treasurer, was an ancient privilege granted by both princes to a monastery “*at or neare the Ladie Kirke*,” now a good distance within reputed Scottish ground, supposed to be builded upon the ground, of old and to this day called “*Debateable gronde*,” where from its peaceable motions the princes were content to meet on all occasions of “*interperlaunce*” and treaty. This point about the debateable ground, carefully looked to in times past, and as I hear, “*precisely bondered*” by King Henry 3<sup>rd</sup>, is now so neglected that continual mischief arises, for the English borders being more and more dispeopled, the Scots either plant houses, or keep their summer

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"sheildings, or stafheard" their cattle, or cut wood, or hunt at pleasure, to her Majesty's dishonour: now as an instance is complained of, interrupting the good quiet begun and rejoiced at, but now fallen to nightly spoiling as before.

(3) For the best course—my opinion is that if no treaty or record is found to bind her Majesty, I see not why common error should prejudice her rights or safety of her people: especially when weighty occasions press for reform—as in these vain words reported by Sir Robert Carey, "too bigge for any Scottishe mowth," or in the treacherous tumults and slaughters at the Readswyer, Cocklawe, Westfourd, and the like, chiefly as this custom forces her officers and people to take Scottish trust; which I would reform by first fixing the very line dividing the two realms; and then one realm at one time, and the other at the next, may in turn demand assurance, and keep their sessions of justice interchangeable.

Lastly—for the reasons to move the opposites to yield to reformation—what I gather, is, that either their challenge is grounded on "covenant of record" between the princes, or on customary prescription: I doubt not, but either there is no such record, or if there be, it will justify the Queen's honor, as showing how the yielding grew. If they stand on prescription: there can be none against the right of an "absolute Kinge"; neither in a private person "by the civill lawe, by which their nation is governed (as I take it) can there be *usucapio*\* where there is defect of *bona fides*\* in the beginning." If challenged of courtesy, I think it forfeited by the indignity of these words of persons sent by the warden who represented the King.

Lastly I have urged on sundry Scots "of best place" that this course is to their disadvantage; for (1) they fail in the confidence a valiant nation should show, to set foot (if allowed) on strange ground, as we do; (2) they have shown too many precedents, of bad faith, breach or weakness, in breaking their assurances; and (3) our entry being at their instance, if any violence fall out, we cannot be charged with invasion; while they if they pursue, it necessarily breaks all leagues and treatiez. So I see not how honor or judgment can lead them to insist.

In your postscript you ask my opinion on delivery of the Scottish pledges, so earnestly urged, with greater promises by other means, and little hope of good by this. I have been earnestly solicited by Cesford and others to favour that suit: but I have answered that the cause which brought them in must be "counterpoized" with as good to get them out, and private reasons cannot bring it about. But I must defer this to my next, for it requires longer discourse, and I have been too tedious already. Bradley. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

5½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Bowes).

Oct. 1002. WILLIAM SELBY ON MARCH MEETINGS.

The manner of meetings betwixt the English and Scottish wardens and their deputies, "ever since the peace taken in the end of the nyne yeares warres, as also betwixt thier commissioners."

The first meeting was at the Spielawe in Scotland, after the peace taken in the time of Sir William Ewrie great grandfather to this Lord Ewrie, and lord warden of the East March. Sir Nicholas Stirley was next warden, then Lord Ewrie this lord's father, next Lord Conyers, and then Lord Whar-toun, in which lord's time "the two yeares warres began"; during which the Earl of Northumberland was lord warden, and after him Lord Gray. In these times the ordinary places of meeting was Reddanburne for the English East March, and Scottish Middle March, sometimes Etall and Carrham in England, and Kelsey and Reddan in Scotland. The English and Scottish deputy wardens have taken and given justice at these places respectively.

\* The Latin written by Bowes.

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And the wardens themselves have met at Reddanburne which parts the countries, and gone together into Scots ground and done justice on both sides. In the Earl of Bedford's time who succeeded Lord Gray, he met the Earl of Murray at the said burne both "in the verie strand," and so into Scots ground together. I have been "eye witnesse of these meatinges my self," attending my father who was deputy warden to all the above, except the Earl of Northumberland, whose brother Sir Henry Percie was deputy warden. Lastly, Lord Hunsdoun to whom my brother Sir John Selbie was deputy warden for 30 years, used the same form in meeting the Scots, "but never in Etall or Kelsey all that time."

For commissions betwixt the princes: I have seen the commissioners meet at "the Ladie churche in Scotland and Norrham churche in England; at Barrwick and Fowldown, and the Scotese commissioners have comd unto Barrwick and staid all or most parte of ther commission"; as when Sir John Foster and Sir John Selbie, for the Queen, met Sir John Carmikell and M<sup>r</sup> Alexander Hume and other Scots. And when the Earl of Rutland as principal for her Majesty, met the Earl of Bothwell for the King, Bothwell lay in Berwick during the commission; as did the Scots, in the last commission when the Bishop of Durham was principal for her Majesty, and the Bishop of Duukeld for Scotland.

"Your lordship desires to be resolved concerning the arrestes made oute of the Marche":

In my father's time as deputy, one Black was arrested by the warden sergeant in Durham, to answer the day trew and did so. Also one Thomas Clarke a man of great wealth, was arrested in Darnton in Bishopric, and appeared at the day trew. And when my brother Sir John was deputy, one Spaine at Gatesyde was arrested—which the then bishop and justices opposed and wrote to the Council against his answering out of the liberties—whose letter was sent to my brother, answered by him to the Council, and Spaine sent to answer at the day trew. One Brewhouse an Englishman, was arrested by the warden sergeant for stealing goods in Scotland, to answer at the day trew. Before it came, he was apprehended for felony, stealing cloth out of a shop in Berwick; Sir John Selbie sent to the mayor for him to answer at the day trew in discharge of the Queen and warden. "Yf he had bin executed, then hir Majesty was to paye the Scotese the whole vales which he had stollen: and so Sir John Selbie receaved the prisoner accordingle." He sent him into Scotland, indented in writing with the Scots warden to keep him 40 days, and if he did not satisfy then, that he should hang him or else re-deliver him to Sir John—and if he did pay the goods, yet he was to be delivered to Sir John, and by him to the mayor. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

2½ pp. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "1598 Oct. M<sup>r</sup> Selbyes opinion concerning the meetinges on the Borders."

Oct. 1003. SIR JOHN FORSTER ON MARCH MEETINGS.

The times of the meetings for 37 years between Sir John Forster then lord warden of the Middle March, and the opposite wardens.

"Somtime I went to him into Scotland, sometime hee to me as the conveniencie of the place served: in winter if the weather served not, sometime I sent my deputie to Yatam, sometime he sent to Kirkneuton, ther to determine of cause." When I was first a commissioner, the Scots came first to Carlisle, and after, we to Dumfries, and there set down our agreements in writing.

In divers other commissions, sometimes we went into Scotland, some-

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times they into England, "as wee could agree of the fitnessse of the place."  
*Signed*: John Forster.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 10. 1004. ALEXANDER KING TO CECIL.

In answer to your honor's inquiries, who commands the Queen's tenants in Graistock and how he got it, what gentlemen are fit for the land-sergeanty of Gilsland, and what belongs to keeping Bewcastle? One Thomas Preston of Furnes in the county of Lancaster esquire, has the marshal government of the Queen's tenants in the barony of Graistock; to whom it was granted by Phillip, late Earl of Arundell, the Lord William Howard, and their wives in 21<sup>st</sup> Elizabeth, for the term of his life, with a fee of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly. Preston made one William Hutton gentleman his deputy, who died about 2 years last past; and whether M<sup>r</sup> Preston has since made one Dudley mentioned in your letter, his deputy, is altogether unknown to me. For the next point, I know no person fit for the office of Gilsland, craving pardon therein, as your honor may best be informed therein by the Lord Warden who has best knowledge. He ought to be one well affected to do loyal service to her Majesty without respect of any other, and see that her tenants are well furnished for service.

For Bewcastle: her Majesty in her 32<sup>d</sup> year, granted to Sir Simon Musgrave knight, and Thomas Musgrave his son for the term of their two lives, Plumpton park with all rents, &c., being 16*sl.* 7*s.* per annum "absque compo[to] seu aliquo inde reddendo." And as I take it, they have moreover as incident and belonging to the said office of captain of Bewcastle, all the rentes, demeane landes and tithes of Bewcastle, which I have hard to be better worth than" 100*l.* a year. I know not that he is allowed or keeps any men in pay there. This is as much as I can certify your honor.

*Signed*: Alex<sup>r</sup>. King.

$1\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Indorsed*: ". . . M<sup>r</sup> Andytor King to my master. His second certiffic concerning the lande sergeantshipp of Gillsland."

Oct. . . 1005. NOTES ON THE OFFICE OF GILSLAND.

[A copy of a former paper on the duties, fees, &c., of the land sergeant; with a memorandum as to Graistock as in the preceding letter.]

$1\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Written and indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 11. 1006. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Though I doubt not but out of the objections and answers touching M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington's service at the late hunting in Redesdale, you have discerned the truth "(be the informations never so diferent)"; yet I think it my part to say what I find, and speak it faithfully, that as it was done for the honor of her Majesty and defence of her long abused "royalties," worthily backed by him and his friends to their great charges and nightly toil, it is the chief cause of the peace and forbearance of spoil in the Middle March. So that if the lords have careful regard to these men and their service, that March will stand and not fall, to the people's comfort.

The Carletons still refuse possession to John Musgrave, of the house, demesne and mills. Their Scottish kindred made a road there lately, and though the land sergeant wants a house, yet he so followed the fray, that he rescued most part of the goods. But this state of things breeds confusion, "which might be remedied by a worde under your hand to them." I write not to my lord of Essex till I have some special matter.

I know not what reports are given of the state of this March. I have no



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cause yet "to mourne"; but "rumors are swift messengers, and speake boldly though blindly afarr of; for within short waye of our owne home, if it be but in the nexte shire, or at Barwike, they will dilate the newes of thinges that never were." Rose Castle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*. *Wax seal*: fragment.

Oct. 16. 1007. SCROPE TO CECIL.

"At the earnest request of the lord Baclugh" I met him this day at Rocklief, where though his pretence was to do justice, yet in the end it was only to procure some favour for the pledges. He will put in writing his offers, which I shall send to you shortly, viz., to be answerable for all spoils to be done by them and theirs, if he may have their sons accepted in their stead, and themselves set at large, yet always forthcoming upon call. This course would greatly "redounde" to our benefit here.

He came through the Grames who were all assembled, and to dishonour me more, "made as though they would have apprehended him," though they knew I had given him assurance. "I told him he had ventured farr, and wished him to beare with the Grames, for that they could not yet leave thire hypocrisie." He told me that the lord Johnstoun is to be banished from Scotland presently, and would refuge with me; I would be glad to hear how he stands with her Majesty's favor, and how I shall demean myself towards him? There is a bruit of "a Portugalois a coyner," lurking at a gentlemao's house to whom one Arthur Grame carries Scottish news to and fro. I will apprehend him ere it be long.

I request you to take no notice of my meeting with Baclughe: because so soon as he has drawn and sent me his articles, I will write to the Council. Meantime you may do me a great favor by letting me know how her Majesty will accept of his offers: for unless she likes them, I would deal no further.

I have asked my lord Chamberlain to move at the Council table that the Carletons may be commanded to put up their complaints against the land sergeant of Gilsland "on Sunday come sevenight, where he shalbee to answer for himselfe." You shall then see how notoriously they have abused him. Rose Castle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*.

Oct. 17. 1008. SCROPE TO CECIL.

"I receaved even nowe your lettre bearing date the 10<sup>th</sup> of this instant, wherby I understand her Majesties dislike of Jhon Musgrave by reason of such complaintes as have bene exeebited against him: for the answering wherof, he shall goe up shortly."

The Grames report here that Lancelot Carleton shall return land sergeant of Gilsland, and greatly boast thereof, offering "to laye greate oddes that it shalbe soe." But I repose too great trust in your favor, and cannot believe that such an adversary to the country and me shall have that place.

It is to be proved that the Carletons are guilty of the last spoil in Gilsland: therefore before he gets it, I will come up and prostrate myself before her Majesty to let her know what a miserable case that country will be in if the chief spoilers of it be obtained rulers.

Thus resting on your kindness to suspend any further grant of the office till John Musgrave have answered for himself. Rose Castle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*.

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Oct. 18. 1009. WILLIAM SELBY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I sent the packet to George Nycholsoun, which came with your letter dated 29<sup>th</sup> of June, but as yet have had no answer from him as I expected. Berwick. *Signed* : Will'm Selby.

‡ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 18. 1010. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I deferred these few days to answer your letter of 29<sup>th</sup> September, received 7<sup>th</sup> instant, that I might more fully satisfy you. First—as to meeting in English or Scottish ground, the difference has not arisen from the “curiositie or ceremonies” of the Queen’s officers, but from the “insolency” of the opposites, who have stood on these niceties in two respects, (1) as a kind of duty by prerogative of antiquity and custom; and (2) for the death of a Scottish gentleman, one of the Kerrs, wherefore ever since the days of truce should be held in Scotland. If so, it is like the first reason is not so ancient as they pretend, and it concludes that until that time the meeting was on our side. “For other antiquities and prerogatives, the Scottes histories do yeld sufficient testimony how far into England they have come to doe their homage to this crowne: besydes in the ancient and moderne treaties yt is concluded and subscribed by the commissioners of both partes, that prioritie is geven to our soveraine in the forefront of such treaties. And as yt hath been answered to some of them, this latter tyme maketh more difference then heeretofore, by as much more as the receiver is tyed to the bountie and liberalitie of the geiver, then the geiver to his necessitie that receives yt.” I omit to answer of the place her Majesty’s ambassadors hold in all foreign nations. If the death of Kerr is to draw us to that side, we may now urge for ours the deaths of Sir George Heron, Sir Francis Russell, “th’endangering” of Sir John Foster, and now this present year, the “unseemly” carrying away of Sir William Bowes the Queen’s ambassador.

Lastly, to prove these meetings have not been always on their side, I have collected and send inclosed “these gentlemen’s observations and practises.\* It may please you also to call M<sup>r</sup> William Selby of Kent before you, who can say match in this as I am informed.”

What I propounded as to damming up the fords of Norham, &c., if it please her Majesty, can be so performed; but I am loth to show the reasons in my absence, and shall give them if her Majesty permits my repair southwards, which I hope by your means may be towards Easter next, as it will be very requisite for her service.

I have no other news except that Sir Robert Kerr has twice “speered” out and delivered offenders (unknown to me) to be punished at my discretion, a thing unknown on these Marches for many years. Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllngly.

“Sir William Bowes is absent or els I had sent you his opinion also.”

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 20. 1011. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I received your letter mentioning the objections to John Musgrave preferred by me to her Majesty as a fit man for the office of Gilsland: which is not my judgment only, but of all the gentlemen, &c., of the country except the Lowthers and Carletons and their adherents. These informations proceed from no zeal for the state, but on displeasure to me, and malice to his getting the office they had, and seek to have “for thire owne lucre,” which

\* Next sentence added on margin by Willoughby.

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would be the undoing of the country. "But to the perticillers: first, Jhon Musgrave is not cosen germayne to Francis Dacre, but his grandmother was a base daughter of the lord Thomas Dacre which was grandfather to Francis Dacre, and so of no kindred to him in lawe. Neyther did the sayde Francis Dacre use him or his father in any frendship as his kinsmen, but contrariwise I know, and so it is of most men heere, that one Unfrey Musgrave a gentleman of good estimation in our country, uncle to this Jhon Musgrave, somtymes deputie warden to my lord my father, upon whom this Jhon Musgrave did depend, served, and therby was trayned up in service upon the Borders, had alwayes dislikinge of the sayd Francis Dacres dooinges from his begininge, and were in displeasure untill the death of the sayd Unfrey Musgrave: neyther have I hearde of any partakinge or favoringe of any of the Dacres by any of the Musgraves, but were allwayes most earnest against them, whensoever they attempted any thinge against thire loyaltie." And if I was not certain of his valour and honesty in the Queen's service, I would not have taken in hand what I have done for him. It is true he married M<sup>r</sup> Dudley's daughter: but I know M<sup>r</sup> Dudley "to be an honest and sound gentleman, zealous in religion, a man of good callinge, heire to Richard Dudley, and neven both to Jhon and Thomas Dudley, gentlemen well knownen to her Majestie and the lordes of the Counsell; one whom Gerard Louthier departed, did allwayes use against Francis Dacre and his actions: and very well knownen both to mee and the wholc country, havinge a fatherly care to bringe up his ealdest sonne in learninge both at the Universitie, and afterwardes at the Innes of Courte for his good, where his sayd sonne was drawne to such courses as have tended to his owne overthrow and his fathers grieffe. Whereupon the sayd M<sup>r</sup> Dudley hath not only ever since refused him, but also disinherited him, assuringe the livinge to his yonger sonne by fyne and recoverie, whom he matched in mariage with M<sup>r</sup> Jhon Middletons daughter, a gentleman knownen to have bene most zealous in religion." When M<sup>r</sup> Dudley was made a justice of peace as he well deserves, and received his oath by the last judges, he told them the truth touching his said son "the Jesuite," and I have heard him protest that he has never seen him since, and will have no more dealing with him than "with a Jewe." And is as earnest against him as any man in our country.

For John Musgrave's ability: "He is proceeded of the house of Ednell, the best house of the Musgraves, of a younger brother: who is one of greate frendship in the country, his owne livinge beinge a customarie holde, of fortie pounds *per anno*—many in this our country do live well, maintayninge a gentlemans estate, of lesser livinge." Carleton, who had the office, had not an equal livinge of his own and dwelt farther from Gilsland than Musgrave. But after getting the office, they always removed to Askerton which belongs to it, and dwelt on their charge.

I commit these to your wise consideration. Rose Castle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed*: ". . . Lord Scroope to my master. An aunswere to your honors lettre of her Majesties dislyke of John Musgrave to be lande sergeant of Gillesland."

Oct. 27. 1012. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I already informed you how the lord Jobuston is shortly to be banished, and desires "to refugiat" himself here, and would not to be troublesome to you, were it not his pressing me, as his inclosed letter will show. But I would grant him nothing till I hear from you of her Majesty's pleasure.

I send such news as "even now" I have. You may see thereby "the practises of the Grames who, as it seemeth, would set up a privat comonwelth by constituting lawes: which yet, so longe as they be good, may best

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"bee tollerated, howsoever they do it without my privitie. But so long as they please the Quene, I am therewith well content, howbeit I feare they make but a shew thereof." *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Johnston to Scroope.)

"Being at his Majestes command to remuif out of Scotland in England, I haif thoct guid to desyr of your lordschip be this my letter that I may haif your lordschipsis freindschip indoring my remaning, as lykwayis in respect of the many courtesseis I haif ressavit at your lordschip heirtofor, I think I will charg your lordschip first of any: desyryng your lordschip that be your procuriment I may haif the Quenis Majestes letter of protection purchessit to travell saif in the cuintre, and in respect your lordschip is the first, I dout nocht bot your lordschip will the mair willingle schaw me this courtesie. For albeit I may haif freindschip of wtheris, I wilbe oblisit rather to your lordschip nor any wther in England; and will desyr be your lordschip ansuer with the berar, quhat I sall louk for, as lykwayis quhair I sall find your lordschip about this day aucht or ten dayis . . . Of the Lochwod the xxv of October." *Signed*: Johnestoune.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph*; also address: "To the rycht honorable my rycht assurit frend lefullie me lord Skrup warden over the West Merche." *Indorsed by Scroope*.

Oct. . 1013. LANCELOT CARLETON ON THE WEST BORDER.

The state of the West March, standing at present dangerously affected, practised by Francis Dacre, "Dudlaye the Jessuwyt, ande a symmonarye preast": which may be prevented and assured strength brought to the state.

(1) Carlisle castle, the lord warden's seat, a place of great strength.

(On margin)—Standing at present waste, without relief or countenance to the Queen's tenants.

(2) Bewcastle castle, the nearest strength to Scotland, ancient laud of her Majesty's, the captain having above 200*l.* fee of her, and leading some 300 of her tenants.

(On margin)—It standeth at the King of Scots' pleasure, for Thomas Musgrave the captain has offered to deliver it to him.

(3) The tenants of her Majesty's barony of Gillesland, parcel of the late Lord Dacre's possessions, about 400 in number, dangerously affected to Francis Dacre.

(On margin)—Those tenants are under the leading of John Musgrave who is "cossinge gearmayn to Franssis Dacre and haythe marriede Dudlaye the Jessuwyt sister."

(4) The tenants of her Majesty's barony of Graistok parcel of the said Dacre possessions, and about 400, "at this present assuredly affectinge Franssis Dacre," are under the leading of M<sup>r</sup> Edmund Dudley father of Dudley the Jesuit, and an old servant of the late Lord Dacre.

(On margin)—It is specially to be noted "how cunningly this geare is handlede:" Dudley the father has the leading of the Queen's tenants in Graistok, and Musgrave his son in law of those in Gilsland—all which tenants rose in arms with Leonard Dacre against her Majesty, and are at present deeply affected to Francis Dacre—as also the tenants of her barony of Brughe.

(5) These tenants of Brughe, also parcel of the Dacre possessions, about 300, are under leading of M<sup>r</sup> Harrye Leaghe "a man I do feare is no ennymy to Dacre."

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(6) The body of the West March gentlemen with their commands and attendants are mostly affected to Francis Dacre and have lately entered into a most dangerous combination by oath and league. It is credibly reported that the first part of their oath is to keep secret what shall be propounded among them : and second, "that whatsoever any of theas leagars shall tayk in hande, all the reste to joyn with thaym even to the death."

(On margin)—The principals of this league are M<sup>r</sup> Edmund Dudley the Jesuit's father, M<sup>r</sup> William Hntton and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hntton cousins german to Dacres, M<sup>r</sup> Christofer Pickeringe, M<sup>r</sup> Richard Sandfurth, old servants and favourers of the house of Dacre, and all of them justices of peace, Androwe Hilton "a perillous recusant, with divers others."

(7) These dangerous practices "weare put in usse" in the life of Garrarde Lowther the Queen's sworn servant, who looking deeply into them, and intending to come up and acquaint her Majesty thereof, rode to Carlisle thinking to have got a letter there lately come from Francis Dacre, and laid open their practices : but while at Carlisle he sickened and presently died—"by what means the Lorde knowyth ! but it is vearaly to be snpossede he was poyssoned."

(On margin)—M<sup>r</sup> Garrard Lowther getting some intelligence of the beginning of these plots, "did about Midsomer 97 drawe a noot of the saym ande gave a copy thearof unto Lancillot Carleton whiche copy by chance came to the hands of M<sup>r</sup> Secretary" : and if examined, will open the intent of their enterprises.

(8) In support of the scheme, Francis Dacre is at present renewing the old alliance betwixt the Dacre's house and the Lord Maxwell's house of Scotland, in seeking to conclude a marriage betwixt his son and Lord Maxwell's sister. It is reported in Scotland that he has promised the King\*

#### Helps to prevent these dangers.

1. An assured man of worth and quality as lord warden, to live in and maintain Carlisle castle as it requires.
2. All inferior officers to be such as will be a strength to the Queen's subjects, and men known to be "clear without the compas" of the Scottish or Dacres' factions.
3. These dangerous "leagars" to be sought for without favour and deeply examined.

All which if duly executed, matters will be so changed that her Majesty may have 5000 strong to resist any sudden attempt of the Scot, and settle this part of England which is a harbour for Jesuits, who come and go at pleasure, through the insufficiency of Lord Scrope's government, from foreign countries and back without check or danger. *Signed* : Lancillot Carleton.

3 pp. *Holograph. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Nov. 2. 1014 SIR JOHN CAREY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

Excusing himself for not writing sooner, since he came from Court, as he had been obliged to prolong his journey by business on the way, and had only now settled in Berwick. Giving thanks for the many favours received from the late Lord Treasurer, and offering service to the uttermost of his power to his son in return. Though he has given up intermeddling with all matters belonging to these northern parts or Scotland, leaving them to the Lord Governor, yet he will on notice from M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, perform whatever he may command him : in other respects, not dealing in other men's

\* Paper torn away.

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offices, but endeavouring to discharge his own. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Indorsed*: ". . . M<sup>r</sup> John Carey to my master . . ." *Wafer signet*: damaged.

Nov. 4. 1015. SCROPE TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I send you inclosed both Buccleuch's letter and his reasons for moving favour for the pledges: praying for her Majesty's pleasure therein and what answer I shall return? Though he keeps all quiet in his own office, "those that hurte this March are most at his comandement."

I wish the Council would write such a letter to me as I might show him: that her Majesty is highly displeas'd at such outrages, which though small, toleration will make greater, and also intimate them to the King—for they are apt enough to complain to the Queen for the least matter.

If those mischievous reports by the Carletons had not made so deep an impression "above," calling in question those who should have helped to revenge them, these outrages had not been suffered so long. Thereby the honestest men here are stricken with fear, also by the "brave ostentation" of such as I leave to the report of those who will give you knowledge of them. Meantime I most earnestly entreat you to procure me 50 soldiers from Berwick, and 6*l.* a day for 20 of them to serve on horseback, as I dare not commit the service "to this country-men"—directing warrant to the Lord Governor, or he will not send them. Rose. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*.  
Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Buccleuch to Scrope.)

"If my desyr touching the pledges for Liddisdaell for their relaess and exchaingde, war nocht foundet mair upon good raesones, then the regaird off the persones, I vald nocht at all have enterd or persisted in suche lyk; the consideratiōne quhairoff in myne auine opiniōne being most able to mak the conclusiōne for th'entrie off pledges in the last commissiōne most profitable and effectuell. I am the mor confident nocht to laeff off, thay being in particular thaeas that I have set doune in this by noat, to eschene longsunnes, whice with a most syncer regaird unto the quyetnes off that part off the bordours, I doo recommend to generall censur, and your lordschip his furthering favour in particular. Quhairanent, expeeting resolutiōne by your lordschip his good maenes with such conveniēcyē as may be, with most hartye and lafull commendatiōnes, I tak my leeff. Braxhelm, the xxv off Octobre, 98." *Signed*: Baclughe.

½ p. *Holograph*; also address: "To the right honorable the Lord Scroope lord warden off the West Marches off England foranentes Scotland." *Indorsed by Scrope*. *Wafer signet*: a shield charged with a mullet and 2 crescents on a bend dexter, "W.S." at sides.

(2) Buccleuch's reasons (as in No. 956).

1 p. *In a Scottish hand*. *Indorsed by Scrope*.

Nov. 5. 1016. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I have thought good to inform your honor of a design to take Lord Scrope's life, by some Englishmen, whose names I do not yet know. It was made known from two several quarters, and I think therefore more likely to be true. By the first, they mean to surprise him at Rose castle, "a place

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of no strength," and murder him : by the second, if they find him "weaklyest provyded," they will take his life either abroad or within doors. "Suerly Sir, yt ys the Greames and the Carltons that are thus malycyously bent agaynst my lord," and they can be but a small number, yet I cannot certainly learn the names of the chief workers. The parties who have told me dare not averr it openly, but I will do what I can to learn more, and if I can bring it to "a rype head," I will not fail to acquaint you. Meantime I have acquainted my lord Scrope, and given him my best advice how to beware of their villainy and look to his own person, but I fear he will be careless of himself : and I pray your honor in your next letter, to give him your good advice, and think it will make him more careful of his safety. Rose Castle.  
*Signed* : Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Quartered wafer signet : indistinct.*

Nov. 6. 1017. ALEXANDER KING TO SECRETARY CECIL.

That you may be more fully satisfied touching the land sergeantship of Gilsland and of "the scite and demeanes of Askerton, heretofore graunted unto Thomas Carleton gentleman, deceased," I have here inclosed a true copy of the grant enrolled in my office, whereby it appears the said office was granted to him for his life, and the "scite" and demeane of Askerton for 21 years : "in which terme there was to come in June last past, 3 yeres." But whether the house and lands went always with the office, as it seems your honour is informed, I cannot say, for the last grant made was before the lands came to her Majesty's possession. This I know that Askerton house and castle is a house of good strength and defence, and the only house in Gilsland fit for the land sergeant to dwell in : and if "the present estate were determined," no man should have the house but the land sergeant.

My further opinion is that the officer should be a sufficient man to defend the country and the Queen's tenants, or they will be shortly undone, and neither able to serve under him, or pay her Majesty's rents. If not speedily cared for, it will breed discontentment among them, that though Queen's tenants, they are not now so well defended as in the Lord Dacre's time.  
*Signed* : Alex<sup>r</sup>. King.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 10. 1018. SIR W. BOWES TO SECRETARY CECIL.

"By your lettres of 28 of the last, which came to my hands the 9 beerof, it is signified that her Majestie is not pleased, that I have been so small a while resident at Barwick : that your honor hath excused it by my long absence from my owne affayres in her Majesties employments : that now her highnes must use my service for some few months in Scotland as her ambassador, yett not so, butt that I may upon cause returne eyther to Barwick, or upon earnest occasion to my owne house : that your honor will therefore according to her Majesties pleasure, send me some instructions signed with her owne hand, and will procure me a privie seale for my diets and entertainment, and cause the imprestes be made over to me if I send any person to receive direction : lastly, your honor conforteth me with her Majesties gracious concept of my discretion and integritie.

"Wherunto it may please your honor to receyve for answer : that beyond all exception I owe my soule to him that bought it dearly, and my hart with whatsoever it hath, unto her Majestie : resolving upon my uttermost endeavour to pay these debts joyntly, so as both hope and happines shall concurre in one true poynt of dutie and right. Now because both the Author of goodnes, and her Majesties excelling clemencie, do usually admitt unto their vassals some place for deprecation," I humbly entreat you to present

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so much as you think fit of the following :—For my stay here a few weeks from Berwick, I find you conceived some part of the true reason, and seasonably notified it to her Majesty, and am bound to you in thanks. There was a further reason, springing out of her own service and my duty “to this my poore native cuntry, namely—that I having commaundment and special charge over a great people inhabiting those mountainous parts, from the head to the half of the three rivers Tease, Weare, and Darwen, and finding the lamentable change which hath lately hapned by Gods twoo sharp scourges of famine and pestilence, wherby verie many are faine from their wonted course of labour to stealing : I have been driven, aswell out of conscionable dutie, as out of respect to my owne estate, to bestowe some tyme heer amongst them ; first attending the publique services at th’assyes, where appeared unto the judges the pitifull experience before mencioned, as upon conference with them, your honour may understand : being a matter (in my opinion) not unworthy high and gracious consideration of her Majestie and the State. Since that tyme, I have followed the courts, setting of watches, and more then necessary provision to withstand the theeves, who this other day, tooke three verie honest neighbours dwelling within 7 myles of me and 8 of Durham, and carrying them to their owne dwellings within the effice of Bewcastle, laid them in irons to enforce them to ransom, untill by the Lord Scroops favour they were delivered. To the well-doing of this mountaine-people is joyned a good part of the livelyhood accrewing to my house, namely in matters of myning : wherin since my entrie, I and myne have so industriously laboured, that her Majesties port-records will witnes we have profited her Majestie the realme and this people, with above 5000 fothers of lead, with small profit to our selves, by the too ordinarie cunning and straitnes of the merchant. Instantly I have in hand another triall, which beyond the profit to myself, conforteth me much with the publique good—namely making of steele, not inferiour (as I think) to the best of Christendome : a matter which the Kings of this realme have heertofore greatly priviledged to the forraine merchants of the steel-yard, as being indeed the principall instrument for arming of kingdomes. Heerin I have employed more money then were fit for myne estate, yett doubt nothing to have it well recompensed, if it may please her Majestie to give lyfe to this beginning, which as it is hard in all good things, so is it verie hard in this, bycause no president affords skill by example, butt such as hath been, and must be beaten out by my owne travaile ; for that of Wales is altogether of another kynd, being made out of rawe-iron by art—butt myne is naturall out of the stone.

“ Lett me entreate your honor pardon that I do tediously present these things unto you in zeale to that poore house which God hath given into my hands, which this 500 yeares hath stood in the same degree, and more then treble the revenue which it hath now—I having borne the heavie burthen of my fathers debts, with the disbursing (as I have often notified to my lord your father) of above 30,000*li.* : to the repaire of which my estate, seing her Majestie much burdened with sutes of manie better deservers then I am, I have sought only by my owne industrie, eyther by waie of marriage or by my earth-travells. For the former of these last mencioned, albeit I acknowledged the good grace of God, yett am I not therby enabled as the world conceyvet. Might I therefore, prostrate at her Majesties feet, appeale to that goodnes which I and all men taste of, so far fourth only, as my poore house graced by her owne mouth with that gracious word of (faithfull) might be pitied : I should the more cheerfully spend my self in her service such as I am, being indeed bound in dutie and truth to foresee that my weaknes prejudice not her highnes precious service. Heerin I must protest against my self, that my weak sight disableth me for writing : that my trayning up hath been altogether estraunged from high State-matters, or the presence of princes, accept this litle employment of late ; that besides my naturall inclination, I have of religion cherished a rondeur and playnnes of that which I think true,



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"such as I know not how it will fit the high place of an ambassador. Only by experience I know it fitteth not the humour of that people wherunto her Majestie alloteth my service."

But not to be troublesome, I will present to your honour in a few days such particulars on my own behalf, as I humbly refer to her Majesty's consideration, with the continuance of your favour therein. Bradley. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 12. 1019. SCROPE TO CECIL

This day I received the Scottish King's letter and send a copy inclosed. I have already asked you for the Queen's pleasure how to demean myself to Johnston now banished, and having no answer yet, considering the difficulty of the premises, urgently beg for direction, as my father ever had in like cases. "As she is my loade start," so will my actions be wholly directed by her. Rose. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

1 p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(James vi. to Scrope.)

The bearer the Laird of Johnston, passing forth of our country within the realm of England by our special knowledge and licence, to remain there a certain time, we recommend him to your favourable regard, that he may under your protection and safeconduct repair, pass and repass within the bounds of your office, and where "utermost" your good means may extend to his safeguard. Palace of Holyrudhouse 28 October 1598. James R.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy apparently by Scrope. Addressed at foot. Indorsed.*

Nov. 18. 1020. SIR R. CAREY TO THE COUNCIL

According to your directions I have sent M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwyck to the Bishop of Durham, to remain during her Majesty's pleasure: hoping your honors will be a mean to her highness, that their imprisonment may be a very short time, for this poor country cannot be without them long. The policy of the Scottish borderers is to "anymate" their King against these two gentlemen, not so much for the late affair (a very small offence hereabouts), but because they are the only men in this March under me, that oppose all evildoers, "and packes not neyther pawlters with Scots" as the country do, and thus they work with the King for their removal, which is the "marke they shoote at." God forbid it should be so, for "uppon my credyt, my lords," there are none such left, and they deserve thanks rather than discouragement—for the times are such that every gentleman in Northumberland seeks the Scots thiefs favour and have long paid "blackmeale" as they call it; while the poor men that cannot, are continually spoiled. It is very true as your lordships write, that the Scots have been long used to hunt without licence: but so have they been used to rob and spoil, and think it their "inheritance," scorning all opposition. But now they see another course taken with them, and "that their kyngdome ys lyke to fall," they are glad to get this little occasion to work upon, knowing no other way to restore their practices, but to get me and my officers disgraced. If your honors had known the great hurt this country is like to receive by their imprisonment, you would have advised her Majesty to another course. For let me speak without ostentation, since my coming, this long broken country is in some better state: for the English thief, as bad or worse than the Scot, steals no more, and the Scot dare not do as before, and I expected

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great quietness shortly in my office if this imprisonment does not hinder it. Then I shall be a very unfit man to remain, for I cannot "temporise" with the Scots or permit their liberty as hitherto. If it please your honours to give leave to myself or M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington to come up and answer before you, I will prove that for every man they want, the Queen may call for 20 of her subjects slain in worse manner. Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Sicca wafer signed.*

Nov. 21. 1021. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

With the inclosed packet, I must advertise you that these packets "addressed by you to pass by mee, are often of very late date, som seven or eight dayes in cominge, sometymes torne and fowle." I take care to convey them as befits such matters of importance. I have no occurrence to report. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signed; the device broken.*

Nov. 21. 1022. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

While on the late commission, especially at the meeting near the West ford, I conferred with Sir John Carey then governor of Berwick and M<sup>r</sup> Selby the gentleman porter, and had great assistance and advice there, especially from the latter, whom I repute the best experienced borderer in these parts. I committed "Baclugh" to his charge, and he showed great discretion in the tumult, providing for Baclugh's safety and government of the bands of Berwick. On our return, M<sup>r</sup> Governor and I thought it best to commit Baclugh to the house and keeping of M<sup>r</sup> Selby, promising to signify this to your honor, and to recommend to her Majesty, an allowance at her pleasure for Baclugh's diet, if he continued with him any time. I being required to signify the premises to your honor, and that Baclugh "remained with him all the tyme of his abode in England, therby having putt him to great charges," I humbly recommend the gentleman and his cause for such allowance as her Majesty pleases. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 21. 1023. SIR W. BOWES TO THE THREE WARDENS.

Informing them that in June last he attended before her Majesty and the Council to report his dealings on the Border commission and with the King of Scots—which he laid before them in writing, with sundry propositions how the treaty might be brought to good conclusion. Whereon their lordships after sundry sittings, set down their consultations on every head "written by the hand of th<sup>e</sup> Earle of Essex in the absence of M<sup>r</sup> Secretary then in Fraunce." As the expected fruits however of the commission do not yet appear, he recommends the wardens so far as in their power, to arrange meetings with their opposites, at which the bills filed by the late commissioners may be sworn to and made fixed debts, which would be a step towards performance of her Majesty's service, and clear the question as to detention of the pledges, who he thinks her Majesty cannot in justice detain for unknown debts. Berwick.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Copy by his clerk. Indorsed.*

Dec. [2.] 1024. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I can never sufficiently acknowledge your late favor in procuring her Majesty's gracious establishing John Musgrave in his office. That you may

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know how "the Kings lieutenant" my opposite proceeds with me, I inclose copies of his letters and my answer; praying you at opportunity, to give me your opinion and answer about the pledges, that I may know how to answer Baclngh. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

"Good sir remember the soldiers."

1 p. *Holograph; also address.*

Inclosed in the same:—

## (1) (Scroope to Angus.)

I understand by your letter "your just greife," and order to repress your men from their late robberies and murders in my office. I have sent my deputy with the particulars, requesting credit for him as one who will declare the truth.

I have forbidden any of my march to ride on yours, hoping you will do the like: for my sovereign will not suffer it. I expect redress without delay. Rose castle, 24<sup>th</sup> November 98. Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy in Scroope's hand. Indorsed by him*: "The coppie of the lord Scroopes lettre to the Earle of Angus, the Kinges lieutenant for the West Scottish frontiers."

## (2) (Angus to Scroope.)

I have spoken with your deputy M<sup>r</sup> Leigh, and will satisfy you in all respects with as much haste as possible.

The special men of this border are before me "this daye and the morne," when I shall send a gentleman to impart my proceedings and what I can do. From Annan, 26 of November 98. Angus.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Contemporary copy. Indorsed.*

## (3) (Angus to Scroope.)

I leave to the report of this bearer what care and pains I have taken to hasten our meeting for justice, but from the shortness of time, I must continue my good intention till I return from the King's affairs at Edinburgh, when I will not fail to set down an assured day for meeting with you. Desiring you not to think this done for delay, for I am as ready to further justice as any before me in this office. I have ordered by proclamation and particular command, that none in this office make new trouble, and look you will do the like. Remitting all further to the sufficiency of the bearer. From [ ] the first of December 98. Angus.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Copy in same hand. Indorsed.*

## Dec. 2. 1025. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL

About the "middest" of last month I received a letter from your honor—that M<sup>r</sup> Fowles ambassador of the King of Scots to her Majesty, "informed" that his brother had lent money to M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bowes late ambassador in Scotland, which his son though often demanded refused to pay: and as it was a discredit to the state that a servant of her Majesty should leave his debt unpaid, especially a loan from a stranger, she was pleased I should deal with young M<sup>r</sup> Bowes, so as she be freed from complaints hereafter. On conferring with M<sup>r</sup> Raiph Bowes the son of M<sup>r</sup> Robert deceased, I cannot find that his father left any undischarged debts on leaving Scotland, or that this debt was ever required from his son, so that it would seem both the living and dead are wronged. I caused M<sup>r</sup> Bowes to write this inclosed letter, after I heard his answer "by speech," that when M<sup>r</sup> Fowles learned the contents, he may confess his "fowle" oversight. "But belike, it is an

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"usual trade with those agentes of that quarellons and querulous nation, ever byting, and ever whyning, to traduce they care not whom to princes or their counsell, somtymes for want I thinck of better matter." As you may remember, this same M<sup>r</sup> Fowles not many years since, accused me to the Queen for some supposed words of mine in a sermon, wherein I shall never forget her gracious answer for me by your honorable means only, "the longest daie of all my life."

It is also thought he has "blowen the coale and whett the knife" against M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick, and exaggerated their attack on the Scots on their pretended hunting in England, "but in deede and truth, or rather in falshoode, partly to spoile her Majesties game and woodds after their yerely barbarous manner, and partely to tryste and conspire with the common theaves and outlawes of our nation, for drawing of purposes and plottes with the stronger hand to execute their robberies and outragies till that time twelvemonth, and so from yere to yere *perpetuis futuris temporibus* yf they might be suffered." This "lewd custome" these gentlemen my prisoners, knowing how perilous it was to her Majesty's good subjects, with the lord warden's privity whose officers they are, after giving due notice on both the borders that it would no longer be tolerated, what could they do less than make head against those malefactors to drive them from their prey? and being resisted, were forced to make good their coming upon them, and in the chase a couple of mean fellows, by accident or design, God knoweth, were hurt, and percase for lack of a skilful "surgeant," died in doing an unlawful act, refusing to surrender, and flying to raise their country to cut off the English if they could. And M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick's part with great travail, was to command no bloodshed, but for which merciful disposition, many a Scot would have been slain in revenge of the many bloody outrages done to us, some even while the commission sat at Carlisle, scarce a year and a half since! "But these gwestes of myne did right well knowe and consider (as in good sooth Sir, they are men of greater worth then any neighbours they have, as well for their valour and forwardnes to exeute, as for their discretion and temper to forbear), how loath her Majestie is to have the King of Scottes to be hable but to pretend any cause of complaint, either by his letters or by his messengers": how necessary it is for them to keep quietness on the border, how apt the Scots are to cry out for little: how necessary for us to tolerate in hope of some effect from the late commission, as yet held in suspence, rather than exasperate the Scottish humour, and give them colour to frustrate the gracious intention of the Queen, "and the Christian indeavors of that most grave and honorable senate the Privy Counsell." I know all this by conference with themselves, and report of credible persons, though by some of their followers an error might be committed in the case. I would submit the matter to the gracious clemency of her Majesty, remembering farther that the lord warden allowed the journey, and still as I hear intercedes for their enlargement, as for both his arms "(and verily he rightly so tearmeth them—for the keper of Riddesdale is as the right hand, and of Tyndale as the left hand of the Middle Marches)." Finally seeing, which I think more than the rest, how the enemy rejoice in their durance, and our borderers both "gentle and simple," are appalled at their disgrace, though the gentlemen themselves humbly nnderlie their punishment, with great grief of the Queen's displeasure, heavier to them than the loss of limb or life—unless I were a stone, I cannot but be moved, for the necessity of my poor flock here, to become a mediator with your honor, not daring to make so bold with the lords, much less with her Majesty, for their speedy enlargement, which high and low, rich and poor both in that and this country, sigh and groan for. Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

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Inclosed in the same :—

(R. Bowes to the Bishop.)

Understanding by your letter that M<sup>r</sup> Secretary has been certified that a debt owing one M<sup>r</sup> Fowlles a Scotchman has been many times demanded of me: till this your letter I never heard of any such matter, neither do I know or think there is any debt left unpaid for my father in all Scotland. So I humbly beseech your lordship to inform his honor of my part therein, that he be not possessed with a prejudicial opinion of me or my father's evil dealing "with any in this sort of that nation." Barnes, 26<sup>th</sup> November 1598. *Signed*: Raphe Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 6. 1026. SIR JOHN CAREY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I would long since have acknowledged my duty by writing, but the quietness of this place gives me no occasion to trouble your honor. But "my good friend" the gentleman porter is desirous I should satisfy you of my knowledge touching the lord of Buccleuch's being with him. The truth is, when Buccleuch was delivered a pledge and brought here, I thought it best to commit the charge of him to Master Porter, being a councillor of the town and well trusted by her Majesty: who willingly received and carefully attended to him to his great charge. Surely while he was prisoner here, Master Porter was many times charged with sundry of his countrymen coming to visit him: "wiche was I thinke uppon a xx wekes." The consideration whereof I refer to your honorable wisdom. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: scan.*

Dec. 8. 1027. PASSPORT FOR LORD OLIPHANT.

Authorizing "the bearer hereof the Lord Olyfant Scotchman," presently travelling to the Court, with 3 servants, to be provided with 4 "sufficient able posthorses and a guide." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wylughby.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Addressed at foot: "To all justices of peace," &c.*

Dec. 11. 1028. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

The daily incursions of the Scots force me to make bold to trouble your honor and the rest of the Council, to entreat humbly for the enlargement of M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick. They have now been a month in Durham, in which time on my credit, the Scots have made not fewer than 20 great spoils in this March, and are like to continue them, this being their harvest time, these long winter nights: and for want of these my principal officers, I cannot suppress their insolences. I desire their release "at this very instant," for the good of the March: and when the nights grow shorter, if her Majesty think them worthy of greater punishment, her will shall be done, and they shall be ready to suffer. Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scan waxer signet.*

Dec. 11. 1029. SIR R. CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

To same effect as the preceding—adding his hope that their punishment "may suffice." Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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Dec. 16. 1030. SCROPE TO CECIL.

All things being quiet in the West Marches, I took occasion to ride to Auckland to see M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick in their captivity. Who having been much beholden to my good lord your father, and to yourself, as I am, I am bold to entreat your furtherance towards their liberty, and if it can not yet be obtained, to give me your "minde" how they shall be disposed, which will greatly quiet their minds. Resting in hope of this, among many favours. Bishop Auckland. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*.

Dec. 17. 1031. THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, &amp;c., TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

The Scottish pledges prisoners in the castle here, having run far into debt to M<sup>r</sup> Readeheade the keeper, "for there dyatt and lodgeinge, beinge nowe restrained in some sorte by him from the allowance of diatt which heretofore they had, because they neather doe pay him for that which is oweinge, nor can put in securitie here for the time to come," they have exhibited to us the inclosed petition, that some of them may be allowed to return to Scotland, to procure money or reasonable security to the said Readeheade for their charges. Which we most humbly refer to your consideration. York. *Signed*: Matth. Ebor., E. Stanhope, Ch. Hales, Jo. Ferne.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: ". . . L. Arch. and counsell at Yorke to the lordes," &c. *Wafer signet*: crest: an object (?) between spread wings.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Petition to the Archbishop of York and the Council in the North.)

The Scottish pledges humbly represent their long detention in the castle, that they are like to famish for want of food, as they cannot pay the great debt they already owe their keeper, on whom they entirely depend, "who is very ill abill to indewer that unpaid, beinge a greate some, and much les abill styll to suffyse them in this greate extremyte": and as they are strangers without friends or acquaintance, they pray "beinge Cristians," they may not be suffered to perish, but allowed to return to their own native country "by bale," as the English pledges in Scotland were, or that 4 of them be allowed to go home to Scotland to make provision among their friends to defray all charges past and to come. Though it may seem strange to his grace and the council that they desire so many to go, they can be no fewer, for some are Liddesdale men, others West Teviotdale, and some East Teviotdale, "all which countres be very great and spatious"—and many of them here knew none of the others till their entry to England, and are unknown or acquainted in these countries, but only in that where they dwell. His grace and the council may plainly see the fewer that go, the less their charges in travelling will be. Referring themselves to the clemency of the Archbishop and council. *Not signed*.

1 p. *Addressed at head*. *Indorsed*: "15<sup>o</sup> Decembris 1598. The petition of the Scottish pledges."

Dec. 28. 1032. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

On the 22<sup>d</sup> instant I received your letter recommending Sir Walter Lindsay, and have accomplished your request with all the kindness I could, and somewhat beyond your "express words," presuming your intention to do him pleasure. He brought no geldings hither, but entreated leave to transport some to Scotland after his departure, to which I yielded for the above reasons. For news: you are so well advertised by others, I should but "play the halting post." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Willoughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax seal*: fragment.

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Dec. . 1033. R. VERNON TO LORD WILLOUGHBY.

Answer to the particular points of Lord Wyloughby's letter.

*Extracts.*

Mingling wheat with rye was used in Sir Valentyne Browne's time. I never do so but in extreme dearth, and then only one-third part rye; and will do so no longer than Michaelmas. In the Queen's agreement it is called "good cheat bread," neither naming wheat or rye, but that shall be shortly amended. Yet I think some rye in it, keeps it from drying, but that as his lordship pleases.

Malt, beans and pease; no want of first; beans and pease only issued from Michaelmas to May day.

The freights are duly set down; also the time of year, place, and market prices of grain shipped, to my best power.

[Explains how the "remainne" is taken: rates for issuing victuals, and how the same may be reformed, &c.] Robert Vernon.

2 pp. *Contemporary hand. Indorsed*: "Copy of M<sup>r</sup> Vernons aunswer," &c.

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Jan. 1. 1034. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"I received yours dated the 25<sup>th</sup> of Decembre the forenone, this none the 1 of January. Pardon me I pray you, to second your more currant reports, with sutch as came lamely to my hands but the last of the same Decembre, from an inward frend of Bothwells: and but that I know these things come timely and maturely as an industrious laborer in your most worthy and honorable callinge, I would with sutch have oftner remembered you than now I do to avoyde your unnecessary troubles, but from forme to matter, hoping in both to deceave no expectation of faithfulness, how simple and plaine soever my showes be. For the part I have to play consists not merely in action but providence, and because my owne dimne sight sees not far inough, give me leave to call for better helpe."

The means for defence of like places are generally known—men, victual and munition. For men, we shall do well enough if we have them good, not intruded by corruption, or corruptible "by vicinyte of nation." I have twice sent the state of munition to my lord Marshall Master of the Ordnance: we nourish not only ourselves, but all the soldiers from Carlisle to Newcastle, the Islands, and this place, where we are but meanly provided having only "9 last of poulnder" for town and country. For victuals: to deal plainly we are put in good hope, "and I beleave very well of the survayour," but I must say "for discharge of my duty, where we should have 6 months, we have skace a month, hardly half a month of some speciall kinds."

"Bothwell no doubt may do mischeife, is mutch here beloved, and so stronge: Sesford is an under divell, enriched by his plumes plucked. It (?) shoold wagge, well incouraged, will skrathe before he will lose his apple. I will not motion to put brimstone to sutch Plutolike spirits, but leave it to discretion." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

"Postscript:—There is sutch a laird of Lesterigge, as you write of, a wayne lose man, a greate favorer of thefes reputed, (yet a man of a good clanne as they here tearme it) and a gud felow."

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signed; fragment.*

Jan. 2. 1035. SECRETARY CECIL TO SIR R. CAREY.

"I have long forborne to make you aunswere in this cause of M<sup>r</sup> Wod-  
rington, because I had well hoped the Queene should have wonne some matter  
from the Kinge by the ambassadour of Scotland, wherby this restraint of the

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"liberty of those two gentlemen might have served for satisfaccion, without further proceeding, considering that whatsoever was done dyd proceed of the Scottes syde, although peradventure there was fault also committed in the pursute by our syde. But Sir, I see the Kinge is displeas'd that the accion was made so cleare to the Queene, as if there had ben no manner of fault done, but that he would have sought the redresse without any cause. Nowe truly Sir, you shall give me leave (out of my freindshippe to you therein) to speake freely to you, That it is some touche to a State, to contest against thinges so publyck, or to aunswere one breache of justice, with sayinge they have done the lyke to us, although it is not ill done to dyminishe thinges when they are agravated: nether is it meant that their injurys shall not be remembred also. But no man can deny (if I be not mysseinform'd) but it is contrary to the lawe of the Borders, to followe into Scotland in such a manner to kill and take prysoners for an offence of hunting without warrant, when nothing was stolne nor no man killed. And therefore you that are great officers, must have bothe eares open amongst those borderers, before you informe my lordes; for otherwyse their lordshippes that stand upon growndes that after prove not so, do hazard their credyttes, and ether must be accounted unwilling to understand truth, or too mayntayne truthe. Wherin it wilbe no excuse for them to say that others do so, for wee professe in our counselles, I hope more temper and order. But this I wryte only to Sir Robert Carey as my partyculer freind,—and I will nowe let you knowe that because her Majestie will not deny ordynary course of tryall, she will appoint commissioners to examyne what is true and what is false, because the contradycciones are so great in the reportes." Yet her Majesty considering that the King may if he please delay joining in commission, and thus while those gentlemen are in restraint, the Border may be spoiled by the opposite wardens, has caused him directly to understand she does this for love of justice, and will not restrain them longer than she finds the King prevents disorders in the meantime. Also I doubt not while in justice some fault may be found in these gentlemen, yet her Majesty's long "putting up" of many injurys may be used as an argument to set off this: if not (and they prove fowle) all that can be done is but to answer by ordinary trial of the Border. Thus you have as much as I can write for the time. The Court at Whitehall. *Signed*: Ro. Cecyll.

\* The commissioners are these—Sir W. Bowes, M<sup>r</sup> Selby, M<sup>r</sup> Foster, M<sup>r</sup> Bradford of Bradford."

1½ pp. *A duplicate no doubt.*

Jan. 14. 1036. SIR R. CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

I am given to understand that on the King of Scots' motion, the Queen is pleas'd that the gentlemen here in durance with the Bishop of Durham shall be tried by an assize of 12 borderers of each nation at a day of truces appointed by the wardens. Till then, I think it very requisite that the gentlemen should be at liberty, and humbly entreat your lordships to move therein.

M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick by his close imprisonment, is fallen dangerously sick, and it is feared he will hardly recover. If God should call him, I know not in the North of England, "a subject of his calling that the Queene and this cuntry may worse spare. I most humbly beseeche your lordships once agayne to be a meanes for their speedy enlardgment." Auckland. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

½ p. *Addressed to the Council. Indorsed*: ". . . Sir Ro. Carey to my master," &c. *Quartered wafer signed*: indistinct.



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Jan. 22. 1037. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

"According to your lettre of the last of December, and the message from your honor delivered unto me by M<sup>r</sup> Hudson servannt to the King of Scottes, and attendaunt upon his late ambassador: so soone as M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bowes came into these partes, I sent unto him; and upon his reparaire to me debated with him at large the controversie betwene him and M<sup>r</sup> Fowles Scottishman." Having laboured with him as much as I could, to pay the remainder of that "broken bargaine," and finding him desirous to end the cause, if the sum were agreed on, and the persons surely known that should receive "the leade or money," and fully discharge him: as I see he thinks himself ill used by his pretended creditors, now one, now another, claiming the debt, yet still calling out on him, as if the fault were his, "that their owne delais and shiftes have bredd:" I thought it best he should put his meaning in writing in answer to M<sup>r</sup> Fowles, but chiefly to satisfy your honor. It is hereinclosed, and he hopes it will seem reasonable to all "indifferent" men, and that he will enjoy the benefit of law as a subject; not desiring your honor not to conceive hardly of his dealing therein. Truly Sir, though the matter "thus infolded" among them, may carry a show of their discontentment: yet M<sup>r</sup> Bowes himself is a gentleman of such parts, that if your honor saw fit to use him in the Queen's service in these parts, I am persuaded you would in time have cause to thank me for commending him to you. Earnestly requesting that I may be freed from intermeddling either in this or any other matter concerning M<sup>r</sup> Fowles, "for some causes to your wisdome not unknownen." Bishop Awkland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

\* I am heartily sorry at not receiving any comfortable news for the speedy enlarging M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick. They are greatly wanted in their charges on the Border, and every day more. "I would to God, her most excellent Majestie or the lordes did knowe and would vouchsave tymely to consider, in manie respectes moe then I dare well presume plainly to expresse."

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed: Durham impaling Mattheu.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(Bowes to the Bishop.)

Having received your message and therewith M<sup>r</sup> Secretary's letter of direction to your lordship, and perceiving time has been lost by my absence from the place whitherto you sent: I trust you will pardon this necessary delay, and be pleased to satisfy M<sup>r</sup> Secretary that it is caused by no fault of mine, but by not sooner receiving his letter, in my absence travelling to make new provision to satisfy M<sup>r</sup> Fowles.

I marvel much at his complaint "lately preferred to this honorable person," just as I had made a new accord with one sent from his brother and others more interested in the matter than he, and was then 200 miles distant from him, and had no certainty of M<sup>r</sup> David's authority to receive and discharge the debt—being then demanded by another man then present with me "whome I knewe to be the first maker of this matche, and himself interested therein of his owne right, and who had both delivered the wyne, &c., for the Scottishe partie, and had received from me and my partners, nineteene fotheres one halfe and one quarterne of lead att Newcastle, parcell of xxvij fotheres and one halfe fother of lead bargayned to be delivered att that towne." So that this man thus interested and employed as the only agent and factor for himself and the others, coming to me and presenting before a "right credible gentleman" called as a witness, a full commission and authority, after I had conferred and debated with this factor whether I should

\* What follows holograph.

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hearken to him, or to M<sup>r</sup> David Fowles, who had made a demand on me a few days before: he persuaded me that M<sup>r</sup> David had no interest, and insisted I should deal with himself. Being thereto advised by those who heard him, and seeing no other to deal with, we made a precise agreement to conclude the matter, and interchangeably passed consents under our hands, which I expect him to perform, and shall not fail to do on my part. Though I see myself wronged by this complaint and complainer, more than I will take notice of, as I see the gentleman so respected by M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, whom I reverence and will gladly obey in all matters, I hope all blame suggested to his honor against me will be removed by my good affection to do him service, as I have been right glad to do to his most noble father, and would be sorry to deserve his discountenance. Your lordship knows my devotion to her Majesty's service, and humbly pray you on this occasion, to afford me your right reverend testimony to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary in what sort it shall best please you. "From Barnes this xvij<sup>th</sup> of Januarie 1598." Signed: Robert Bowes.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed by the bishop*: Mr "Robert Bowes in answers to demaunds and molestacion of M<sup>r</sup> David Fowles ambasadour of late to the King of Scottes," &c.

Jan. 31. 1038. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL

Since the receipt of your first letter, I have daily expected to hear either from Sir Robert Ker or M<sup>r</sup> Nycholson, of the time for the trial of these gentlemen. And now by your last letter, with copy of the King's, I perceive how vehement he continues in calling for justice, and also that her Majesty's pleasure is they shall be tried by an assise of gentlemen of both borders, and that I make all the haste possible for its execution: which I will in no sort omit, and if I find delay by the opposite, I will advertise you timely. As I think there will be a short day fixed, I think it good if you be pleased, meantime to send letters to the Lord Governor of Berwick to strengthen me with 200 foot and the horse garrison—for we shall otherwise be very weak; and if they get not their desire (as I hope they will not) and are stronger, they will break the peace, "come of yt what wyll after." The place of meeting shall be within 12 miles of Berwick—no great march for the men—and with them I hope no wrong will be offered me.

I am very glad to hear her Majesty's good "concept" of the gentlemen, and that she will have cause to continue it. I assure you this matter is aggravated by the hope the Scots have thereby to recal their pledges: Sir Robert Ker is the one who animates the King to this vehemency: "for the parties greved wold gladly have the matter ended, if they durst for Sesfurd."

But two men of very small accompt were slain, and God knows much against the gentlemen's wills: but at such a time, it is great marvel there were no more slain. "If the Scots have such an advantage of us eyther in England or Scotland, you will heare of another manner of worke then this was"! There was never such ado about so little: and I believe if Sesford have his will he will make the King do that which perhaps he will repent him of, if he may not have delivery of the gentlemen, or his pledges set at liberty. Alnwick. Signed: Ro. Carey.

I have almost forgotten a chief matter: to desire your honor that M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick may both be present at this trial to speak for themselves, for they may be charged with that which they deny and must be present to answer: and if they must continue prisoners, the bishop may have his men to attend them there; but good sir, let order be taken they shall be there "eyther bound or free" as the Queen pleases.

\* Since writing, I hear M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick is far worse than he was, I fear

\* What follows holograph.

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greatly he will never escape it. "Th'open ayre is thought will dooe him most good. I wishe his sun might be thought fit to supply his place till his helthe wer sumwhat repayed."

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . R. at Whithall 6 Feb."

Feb. 13. 1039. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I send your honor inclosed M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson's letter with the original of the Scots King's resolution, which I received "this last night very late." It seems before any trial, the King desires to know if her Majesty will yield to his demands: whereof some I think reasonable, others not expedient. First—give me leave to say, I think their resolution of the Queen's proceedings is not worthily regarded or accepted by them as it should be: for she was pleased to imprison the gentlemen ever since the act, and has consented to the trial desired by the King, which it seems he thinks not sufficient.

One of their great reasons urged for delivery of the gentlemen is, that the King delivered his officers. This I think is soon answered: the commissioners agreed that pledges should be delivered and in default of them, the officers should enter. On the day, Mansfield and Harry Bowes, keepers of Redesdale and Tyndale, entered in defect of some of ours, and were kept in Scotland till our full number were delivered.

In defect of Scots pledges, Baucugh keeper of Liddesdale, and Cesford for Tyvydale, entered for want of their pledges—and when their friends had gathered their pledges they were likewise redelivered under the treaty. "Where is this great justice the King hath done to her Majestie, that she to the full hath not requyted him in the lyke?"

At the last commission both Cesford and Baucugh were fyled of cruel murders by their own confession, but neither of them was delivered for his own fault. Thus in my opinion, her Majesty may soon end the matter, and if the King will deliver these officers so fyled, she will very willingly deliver hers for the last attempt, if they be fyled by this trial. I thought my duty to state this reciprocal justice, that her Majesty may better answer the King's first article.

The 2<sup>d</sup> merely imports the King's willingness to proceed by his ordinary officers in justice, if his conditions are granted. The 3, 4 and 5 are not to be misliked.

The 6 is very unreasonable, for it debars all questions but one—whether the men were slain in Scots ground? which is not denied, but the occasion thereof is not to be talked of, or anything to our advantage. I refer it to better consideration.

The 7<sup>th</sup> allowable: the 8<sup>th</sup> I must yield to as I am directed from above.

The 9<sup>th</sup> as I guess is to no other end, but if it is left to Sir Robert Kar and myself to end the matter, his purpose is, our agreement shall be: I to have these two gentlemen freed of this deed and never again called in question, and he to have his pledges set at liberty. This is his mark, for had it not been these pledges, we should never have heard of this affair "so haynously followed."

For the 10<sup>th</sup>: They require this last action to be first tried and repaired under treaty, *viz.*, to deliver them on the instant if fyled of the fact: which no question they will be, if it come to that. So I pray you for her Majesty's pleasure herein.

The 11<sup>th</sup>—"very allowable yf they meane as they say."

Thus you see it will be long before the matter is ended, and I most earnestly desire yon to favour the enlargement of these gentlemen, or if her Majesty's promise is passed to detain them till trial, I beseech you let my house be their prisoo, where they shall be in safe custody, never to stir out

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of my gates till released by her Majesty's command. I desire it the rather, having them with me, I shall the better appoint the assises and other matters before the meeting.

You will see by Nicholson's letter how requisite he thinks it, that Sir William Bowes be sent with speed to Scotland. I know not how Sir William's health will serve him: for I hear he is very ill both of his sight and hearing: but it is very necessary that some one of better accompt than Nycholson were there. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 15. 1040. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I hope you will not impute my long silence to forgetfulness, but to want of matter.

The Earl of Angus when he last went to Court, promised me redress at his return to the borders. Hearing he was at Dumfries on the 6<sup>th</sup>, I solicited him earnestly by letters and messages, to make performance: and we met at the foot of Sark water in Scotland yesterday, and agreed only to the effect of the inclosed. Their object is but to defer justice and delay time, than which there can be no greater mischief to these distressed borders. I do my best to keep all well, and will "obmit" no means to continue it. The Earl is repairing to Court within these 4 days, and for my satisfaction has promised to get hold of the principal men of the chief surnames of his Marches, and keep them in custody as pledges for justice at our next meeting: but as yet I cannot see he is able, and knowing these surnames are not yet under his subjection, I doubt there is no hope for us. *Rose. Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet: quartered.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

## (Agreement between Angus and Scrope.)

"Att the foote of Sark water in Scotland the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of Februarie 1598." Effect of the agreements between the Earl of Angus "lord lieutenant of Scotland and lord warden of the West Marches of the same," and Lord Scrope lord warden, &c., both for redress of bye-past offences, and prevention in future.

First—The bills of offences done since Lord Angus entered on office to be enrolled and interchanged, that trial may be had.

(2) That their deputies meet at Carlisle and Annan on 15<sup>th</sup> March next to fyle the same.

(3) Thereafter the wardens themselves to hold a day march at the place above on 3<sup>d</sup> April to deliver the offenders.

(4) They have this day proclaimed, and will do the like at Carlisle and Brampton, and Dumfries and Annan, that all under their rule forbear incursions, &c., on pain of immediate delivery and redress: and that none reset fugitives of either nation, on pain of being fowle of their crime, and delivery in satisfaction.

1 p. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed.*

Feb. 17. 1041. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

I must ascribe her Majesty's late gracious acceptation of my mean endeavours here, to your good words for me, or her highnesses own princely disposition, rather than any service I have done or can do. And I am bounden not only "to poure out my heart daily to God for the long and blessed contynuance of her most excellent Majestic," but confess my debt increased to your honor, "myne especiall freinde and favorer."

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I am sorry to see the King's drifts and delays against M<sup>r</sup> Henry Woodington and M<sup>r</sup> William Fenwick, "my guesstes, or rather (as the worlde esteemeth them) my prisoners." For by these overtures sent by him to Sir Robert Carey, and ere now with your honor, and imparted to me by the gentlemen, it seems he has no intention to have them orderly or indifferently tried, but would rather by unreasonable and unusual "postulacions," hinder all justice against his own ill deserving people, and all benefit due to her Majesty's sore afflicted subjects.

But that I marvel at nothing the Scots can or will require, I should wonder that either the King's own letters, "or rather Sir Robert Kerrs insolent importunitie to him," could expect such a form of proceeding as in these Articles, so repugnant to the last commission, "disadvantageable" to these defendants, dishonorable to this realm, and prejudicial to gentle and simple.

By these men's absence their countries grow disordered, their adversaries insult them beyond measure, the very common people see and say we are forced to flatter our opposites: and therefore "to be plaine," the worst affected combine with those whom they fear our state is loth to offend. Your wisdom can well judge the result in time: "the rather having Irelande, false Irelande, so true a glasse to looke in." The Northumberland border "woe is me"! is part of my scattered flock; I can but pity and pray for them. I have often been about to write for them to many great councillors, and heretofore have written both to the Lord Keeper and the late Lord Treasurer "of most honorable and reverent memorie, more liberally then your leysure could now serve you to peruse or myne to enlarge: your honor having many great affayres both in heade and hand, and myself being at this very present advertised from the maior of Newcastle, of your lettre of intelligence addressed thither, concerning the sodayne surprise of that towne, which God forefend! if it be his blessed will." This greatly appals these north parts, the place being of more importance than strength: the people of more courage than experience: their provisions rather competent as aforehand, than sufficient for a fierce assault: their number not many: their leaders none: Tynemouth castle a promontory in the mouth of the haven 7 miles off, utterly disfurnished: no blockhouse or other piece or platform for defence on the river between that and Newcastle: no shipping among the merchants worth the naming: therefore of themselves, their men being untrained, unable to resist a mean force in my opinion. Yet, good men, they are preparing as well and fast as they can to encounter the enemy.

I would beg to know her Majesty's pleasure what we of the Bishopric should do for their assistance, if the design proceeds: for Newcastle not being on the border, but "bateable" between Northumberland and us, our men think themselves not bound to serve, as they should be on invasion of the frontier, certain days on their own charge. Wherefore the Lords of Council might please to advise that a commission for musters were directed to this County palatine, without which the justices of peace cannot act, seeing there is no lieutenant over them. Formerly such a commission under the great seal lay dormant here with the bishop, but since the late Lord Huntigdon's time, it was never executed, nor is there any such extant.

I most earnestly desire your honor to move the renovation thereof, and direct my course therein. I shall intimate thus much to my Lord Keeper also, lest though the enemy pretend to Newcastle, "he may chance to fall with Hartlepoole, Sunderland, or some other port or creeke heerabout." Bishop Auckland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

2 pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Quartered with signet (Mutter).

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Feb. . 1042. WILLIAM SELEY ON THE BORDERS.

"Commissioners—Sir William Bowes knight; M<sup>r</sup> Nycholas Foster sone to Sir John Foster who was his fathers depute warden longe, and of good experience in border causes,—M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Bradford of Bradford.

"If M<sup>r</sup> Witherington and M<sup>r</sup> Fennick be deteynd into ward, then it may please your honour to urge some assurance from the Scotcs ambassador in the safetie of their goodes and ther frindes duringe the time that they remaine in ward: for if the Scotcs make spoile of them it woulde make them so poore that they will not be able to serve hir Majestie, and when they have there libertie, force them to take a revenge, whereby great troubles betwixt the nations might arise."

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Cecil*: "M<sup>r</sup> Selby concerning the Borders."

Feb. . 1043. M<sup>r</sup> SELBY ON BORDER AFFAIRS.

You write that the King desires the hunting accident to be tried by 12 men. We are informed that agrees with Border law. When the wardens at a truce day, find a question arise that they cannot decide, it is usual for them to choose an assise, *viz.*, the English warden 8 Scots, and the Scottish warden 8 Englishmen, who being sworn call for the defendants. If these confess, they do no more: if they deny, the assise calls for proof and decide on conscience. Defendants must be present, or are fyled for non-appearance.

The Queen is pleased that the slaughter at the hunting, and all others since the commission met at Berwick shall be so tried, and such justice and punishment done on both sides as to terrify others: and hopes the King will concur and not let slip murderers, &c., as heretofore.

She wishes the King to give order to her wardens as she will do, to fix a day truce for trial of these offenders with expedition.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *In same hand as last. Indorsed partly by Cecil*: "M<sup>r</sup> Selby. Concerninge border affaires."

Feb. . 1044. MURDERS, &amp;C., BY THE SCOTS.

Murders by the Scottish warden and the people under him.

First—At a public day of truce, Sir George Heron, M<sup>r</sup> William Shaftoe, &c., murdered against assurance given: the Lord warden, Sir Francis Russell, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood and the chief gentlemen of the country taken prisoners to Edinbrgh.

Secondly—At another, Lord Russell "that worthie man" murdered.

Thirdly—Sir Robert Carr with 80 horse came at night to M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Gray's town of Wooler, slew two men, "blurred in his trumpett" and so retired. Soon after, he murdered 2 of the Queen's subjects at M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Gray's town of Killam.

Fourthly—His bloody intention when he came with 60 horse to the Westford of Norham, sent over to the town to murder Sir Robert Carey's men, seeking them up and down with candles: but they chanced to have gone to the castle and escaped. But in the house where the men had lain, they "so affrighted a woman beinge new brought to bed of childe that she died."

Your honours will remember the "unworthie abuse" offered to her Majesty's commissioner, when he was taken away against the law of both nations: as we of the Border conceive, "a greater indignitie then if a great number of her Majesties subjects had been murdered in some other time." With other murders too long to relate.

1 p. *In same writing. Indorsed.*

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Feb. . 1045. NOTE ON BORDER CAUSES.

First thing to be done is to appoint a day trew where the wardens or their deputies must attend.

The Englishmen must swear the true value of their goods stolen, and file that the pledges now lie for. Then the pledges must be spoken with severally by themselves, "and must saie, 'Lard of Overton you ar to aunswer for your selfe and surname so muche': so to Jocke a Borne of the Coate and to Jeames Yongge of the Cove, and to all the rest of the pledges, 'If ye will not take order to satisfie the plantiife, then loke for thextremitie of the lawe as the commissioners have set it downe in ther indent.' Of necessitie this must be done before the yeare come owte of the pledges: and I assure your honor they will make hast to satisfie the plantiffes."

Since I came from Berwick the Younges and Burnes have sent to desire a tryst with gentlemen in the East March, at Graydon foord within 6 miles of Berwick, where they will satisfy all the goods stolen from those men that these pledges lie for, agree all deally feades, and lay in band for "leyfull kindnesse" in time to come. This I know is true, for they wrote and required my opinion whether to accept or not. I wrote advising them to acquaint Lord Willoughby, and if he likes it, to accept the offer: but I fear when they hear the liberty of the pledges comes in question before the commissioners, they will go back from the offer.

Your honor "asket" me if I knew any murders by the Scots since the commission: I remember one Fardinando Revely walking from his own house to a neighbour town, was cruelly murdered by Scots lying in an obscure place. They were Sir Robert Carr's men "or els at the least in his wardenrie." He was a man "never detectted nor defamed, a verie tall man of his handes, and in stature as tall as most of the garde." He was much lamented by his neighbours, and his life might well "countervale" all them slain at the hunting. He dwelt in the Middle March, and I thiek there are more murders there since the commission, but cannot remember them.

M<sup>r</sup> Foster is the only commissioner who dwells in the Middle March; therefore there should be but one commissioner for the Scottish Middle March. The best place to meet is at Norham and Our Lady Kirk in Scotland: for the only lodging they can get is in Berwick 4 miles from Norham. The Scots may lie at Hatton hawle, Blaketer, Wetherburne, Manderston, or Duncce a market town: or at Lanton or at the Spie law Sir John Carres. The furthest of these is but 6 miles—most of them but 4 miles.

1½ pp. *In same writing. Indorsed*: "Tutchinge border causes."

March 2. 1046. SIR R. CAREY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Warning him that the Scottish pledges have laid a plot to escape from York castle, and mean to execute it at once. Aluwick. Ro. Carey.

½ p. *Contemporary copy. Addressed at foot. Indorsed*: "2 Marcii 1598. The copie of the L. wardens lettre."

March 16. 1047. THE COUNCIL OF THE NORTH TO CECIL.

On receipt of your letter that there was some intelligence that the Scottish pledges meant to escape, colouring it, that by the hard usage and excessive rates of their victuals and necessaries in the castle, they could not ransom themselves: M<sup>r</sup> Redhead the Queen's gaoler being then at Hull, M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope told us he had often warned the gaoler to be careful of them, and undertook to give special admonishment to the gaoler's clerk. At Redhead's return, we had him before us, both to give him such charge, and to see if he could answer his hard dealing with them. He declared they were at no further charge, but being all willing to sit at the gentleman's table, the

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charge was only 7s. a week their diet, and 3s. 4d. their chamber and lodging; and of 16, there were but 4 who paid him any money since they came: and since Christmas he had only taken for their lodging, and suffered them to buy their victuals where they would at the best hand.

To prove this, he brought us next day a note under their hands, which we send to your honor; and having also received a letter from the lord warden of the Middle March (the copy whereof we send you) some of us again admonished him to take heed to them; "and upon his motion, it was not misliked" that he might find out their "intent" of escape. Whereon he caused one Canby, a prisoner for killing a man, this last week to insinuate himself as willing to escape by their means: to whom they said first that 8, then 12 of them, meant shortly to escape, and if he guided them he should be well rewarded. They agreed to escape on Wednesday night last, and on our learning this, we sent men to watch the place where they broke out, and laid guard by one M<sup>r</sup> Redmayne justice of peace and countrymen under him, at the other side of the castle, where they would fly; and so made sure of them. Thus on their breaking forth all 12 were taken "(with some labour and hazard)" and no hurt done, but the "watchmen of the country," hearing the scuffle, "came rushing in with their bills, in the darke, and not knowing one from another, sore wounded a man of myne the Archbishop, wherof the next daye he died, and hurt a servant of me Edward Stanhope; and the lard of Whitto in leaping downe from the castle wall, broke his legg beneath the knee." The particulars will appear to your honor by the copy of Canby's examination the chief actor, and M<sup>r</sup> Redhead's.

One James Dargon of York, detected to be a practiser to get them "horse or boote," on hearing their escape was intercepted, fled the town this morning, and we have sent after him.

We also inform your honor that M<sup>r</sup> Henry Bowes Sir William's brother, while near the border last Tuesday, got news of this intended escape, and rode hither with speed, arriving next day an hour before the watch set for the escape, as will appear by the copy of his "discovery" herewith sent. We must "let you know that that the rowmes in the castle are verie weake for so many prisoners to be lodged in, of one consort, and for so weightie a cause: but for this presente the gaoler keepeth them in irons till her Majesties pleasure be further knowne." York. Signed: Matth. Ebor., W. Malorye, Tho. Hesketh, E. Stanhope.

1½ pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Small wax signet: a demilion (or griffin) issuing from a tower charged with a crescent, "E.S." at sides. Inclosed in the above:—

## (1) (Note by the pledges.)

The Scottish pledges underwritten, are weekly chargeable to M<sup>r</sup> Redheade our keeper, for our diet and lodging at the rate of 10s. 4d. the week for 13 of us, from 22<sup>d</sup> June last until the 12<sup>th</sup> instant—and 3 of us from 16<sup>th</sup> September until the same day at the same rate—and subscribe our names 13<sup>th</sup> March 41<sup>st</sup> year of the reign "of our most soveraigne lady Quene Eliz., &c., 1598." Roberte Frysell, Thomas Eynesley, Dandy Hoppringle, W<sup>m</sup> Elwood the elder, Simon Armstronge, W<sup>m</sup> Hall, Dandy Davidson, Ralphe Mowe, James Younge, Richard Rutherforde, Ralf Bourne, W<sup>m</sup> Taitte, Richard Yonge, John Robson, Raphe Hall, W<sup>m</sup>. Elwood the younger. *Vera copia.* Signed: E. Stanhope.

½ p. Indorsed: ". . . the pledges charge at the castle."

## (2) (Henry Bowes' report.)

15<sup>th</sup> March 1598.—The discovery of Henry Bowes of Stelling in the county of Northumberland esquire, delivered to Edward Stanhope esquire one of the Council in the North.



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Being keeper of Tynedale under Lord Eure's warderuy, and having done a favour in the Queen's service "to a couple of borderers," they in requital told him last week of a practice for delivery of the Scottish pledges; thinking it important, he entertained them kindly, appointing to meet them in 5 days, and coming to North Tyne on Monday last, met them on Tuesday before noon, and learned for certain that 8 of the principal pledges, *viz.*, Simon Armstrong, Richard Rotherford, Thomas Aynesley, William Elliott the elder, Dandy Pryngle, William Hall, John Younge and Robert Fryzell were to be taken out of the castle, and would have been ere now if they could have got a guide about York as well as on the borders. And one of the Armstrongs had often passed between Liddesdale and York under colour of taking relief to Whithaugh from his friends, but really to lay the plot, &c.

They know also of a stable of horses for them, but whether at York or by the way, he could not well understand. Also that the Tyvedale men in the castle, under Sir Robert Kerr's wardenry, lately sent to their friends for a good supply, saying they hoped to need no more: and the friends of the Liddesdale pledges had given out that they had done all they could for them "and now they must doe for themselves or els starve."

So he came with speed on Tuesday last at noon, to York on Wednesday before night, to discover the matter to the Archbishop and council, fearing "it might have been performed that same night." Henry Bowes. *Vera copia.*

1 p. *Indorsed*: "The copie of M<sup>r</sup> Henry Bowes his discovery," &c.  
Another copy of same. *Signed*: E. Stanhope.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

## (3) (Canby's examination.)

The examination of Laurence Canbye "yoman" taken before Edward Stanhope esq. 15 March 1598.

Saith that being committed to York castle from Howden fair where a fray chancing in the street between one Dawson and him, Dawson being hurt died: the Scottish pledges at sundry times wished him to break prison and save his life, Whittough and the laird of Everton telling him, if he took their letters to Scotland, he should be so well used he would not need to care for England. But he said he would rather abide his trial, hoping the truth of his case would save his life.

This soliciting continuing, Edward M<sup>r</sup> Redhead's clerk, while his master was in London, told him that Redhead had lodged him in the Scotsmen's chamber to have a care of them at night: and M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope had given him (the clerk) special charge, so he wished Canby to have the more care. Thereupon he observing closely, saw they had an eye to the likeliest places for escape, both inside and out, and thought if they saw him willing to escape, they would declare their intentions, and he from time to time told M<sup>r</sup> Redhead: who "about this day seuint," said he would use him in a matter of counsell, and as M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope wished him to feel their minds, "which (said he to this examine) 'you may easylie do if you will once seme to yeld to them that you are willing to escape.'" To which end, Redhead seemed to rebuke him and threatened to keep him shorter. Whereon the lairds of Everton and Whittough said to him, he might now see what to expect unless he got away.

So he said he was never afraid of his life till now, and if they would use means for him in their conuntry, he would be beholden to them. They said 8 of them meant to escape unknown to the rest, and if he would go too, the Laird of Cesford would give him a horse and he would have gold enough and live better than he ever did in England. They said they would get horses by the way, and meanwhile lie in the woods and moors by day, and travel at night: that 4 of them "which laye in an owter chamber should

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"breake ther wall into the gallery, and so unbolte the doore where the other iij lye, and this examine and one Cabbage within them: and would then breake the gallery windowe and leape out over the posterne towardes the water syde, having (as they sayd) helpe promysed them by one James Dargon of Yorke to get them horses. But this examine thinking that they might by that meanes have escaped before they could have bene caughte, advised them rather to use him to get them a boat to S<sup>t</sup> Georges close, and he would conduct them to the water syde, and so go along with them to the waistes towardis Lancashier; which he wished because he was sure that if they were once on foote in S<sup>t</sup> Georges close, they could escape no waye for water but by the castle mylls." They liked his advice, and Dargon in his hearing, promised them a boat against Wednesday night.

About Tuesday last the lard of Whittough told him they were going to take 4 more with them: Raphe Bourne, William Elwood "the boye," Richard Yonge and William Tayte, which he told Redhead next morning, their day for escape, that he might provide more strength for their apprehending.

He says further—to save "his bed fellow" Cabbage from violence, he advised them to give him a "pottle" of wine to drink and he would sleep sound: which they did.

That betwixt 8 and 9 o'clock after locking up, Hall, Pringle, Yonge, and Rutherford burst their chamber wall, got into the gallery, and unbolted the door where the laird of Everton and three more lay, and this examine in the inner chamber: and then with an iron they had, wrested back the bolt of their lock and so Whittough and his company broke forth of their chamber, where the examine likewise was, and then broke the chamber where young Elwood, Bourne, Tayte, and Yonge were, and so got all 12 into the gallery, where presently they broke the iron bars of the window and threw out straw to light upon, where William Hall, Raphe Bourne, James Younge, Robert Fryssell and Richard Young leapt down: and with the noise of breaking the window, other prisoners above them awoke and cried out: but with that Whittough, Rutherford, Aynesley, William Elwood elder, Dandy Pringle and young Elwood, ran and burst 2 doors and so ran to the walls, and all leaped over save Elwood the boy: this examine running down a pace to the postern, getting forth with the keeper's men, to help to apprehend those that got first forth, and with assistance of those at S<sup>t</sup> Georges and the watch, and the keeper's men they were all taken—Whittough breaking his leg in the fall.

He does not know how long Dargon had practised with them, but has seen him with them: and rather did "harten" him to get them a boat, than any horses, lest they escaped. Thinks he was acquainted with them on the Borders when he served there, and knows of no other man that practised with them. Laurence Canby. *Vera copia.* Signed: E. Stanhope.

3½ pp. *Indorsed.*

Another copy. Laurence Canby. *Vera copia.* Signed: E. Stanhope.

3 pp. *Indorsed.*

(±) (Redhead's examination.)

Examination of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Redhead keeper of her Majesty's castle of York, taken before Edward Stanhope esq., &c., 15<sup>th</sup> March 1598:—

First—He says he was straitly charged by M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope before Christmas and often since, and his deputy in his absence, to take great heed to the Scottish pledges, as they meant to escape if they could: wherefore he placed some Englishmen among them, to discover their intent.

Farther, some 10 days since, M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope and M<sup>r</sup> Hesketh gave him

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special charges, as M<sup>r</sup> Secretary and the lord warden of the [Middle] Marches had written of the Scots' intent to escape: and on M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope's advice, he bethought himself of "a verie tall man" one Laurence Canby a prisoner for manslaughter, and in favour with the Scots, who might be trusted "to enter in league" with them for escape, if some favour was held out to him: and by M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope's order, "adventered" to make trial of him, apparently using him more straitly than before, and threatening him "he would do his best to gett him hanged." Whereon Canby "made his mone" to the Laird of Whittough and some others, of these threats, and that he would lose his life without their help to get away before the Assises. So they "discovered" themselves to him, and said if he helped them as guide, Sir Robert Carr would reward him, and he should "want neyther horse nor mony" in Scotland: all which discourse be reported to this examine, and their further intentions, "with the very hower" when they meant to break out; who acquainted M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope and M<sup>r</sup> Hesketh, and dealt as they directed. At his request the Council sent 20 men to a place called S<sup>t</sup> Georges, and M<sup>r</sup> Redmaine a justice, with another company to lie on the other side of the castle, if they broke out there. And on Wednesday the 14<sup>th</sup> before 9 p.m., 8 of M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope's men and 12 of his grace's, with M<sup>r</sup> Redmaine and his, were placed as directed: when 12 of the chiefest Scots broke the chambers and an iron-barred window towards S<sup>t</sup> Georges and 2 of the strongest doors, broke out, and when going to take the boat to cross the river of Owse, this examine encountered them at S<sup>t</sup> Georges, taking every man unhurt, save Whittough who broke one of his legs leaping a wall, and he now has them in irons in the strongest places of the castle: and says if he did not so keep them "and well garded with men to his great charge, that the strongest place in that castle would not keepe them one hower, the castle is so weake." *Signed*: Robert Redhead. *Vera copia*. E. Stanhope.

1½ pp. *Indorsed*: "M<sup>r</sup> Readheades examinacion."

March 17. 1048. WILLIAM SELBY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

There is an intention to steal away all, or at least some of the best, of the Scottish pledges, either by breaking their chamber window towards the Owse, and taking a boat down to a ship or pinnace lying "redy for the nonce"; or by having led horses brought over the waste from "Teffedayle" as near York as possible, to wait for the pledges' escape, and if they cannot have horses for all, 3 or 4 of the best to escape thus: and they think they can do it easily, for they go into their chamber at 5 p.m., and no body sees them till 9 next morning.

They intend this presently, before the nights grow shorter. "I told Redhead the gaoler of a practise, but this advertisement is new comde."

I beseech your lordship to keep this secret, for if they hear, they will know what Scotsman advertised it. At the Court at Richmond. William Selbye. *Vera copia*. *Signed*: E. Stanhope.

¾ p *Addressed at foot*: "To the right reverende father in God my verrey good lorde my lorde Archbishop of Yorke." *Indorsed*.

March 20. 1049. SIR R. CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL

I received the inclosed this day from the Council of York showing the Scots' pledges attempt to escape, which if they had effected, would have been a great loss to this poor country, and a glory to their directors: for I assure you it is Sir Robert Ker's own doing to overthrow the borders, he being already tired of the justice begun and like to continue, "which is his fall, if his thieves fall."

I wish it would please your lordships on this occasion to solicit her

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Majesty to be pleased to set at liberty M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick, still prisoners with me: for they are much needed, the March being wide and myself not able to look to all the corners thereof. And very like that Cesford being disappointed of this purpose, will attempt some new device, which by their help I should the "redylier" prevent. I will "pawne" my credit for their appearance when required by her Majesty.

I pray you to direct the Council of York to be "verie circumspect" in examining the business: for I assure myself there be Englishmen of good sort on the March that have been Cesford's instruments, and cannot be too sharply punished. Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: To the Council. *Indorsed*: "... Sir Robert Carey to my master."

Inclosed in the same:—

(The Archbishop, &c., to Carey.)

Thanking him for his letter advertising the intended escape of the pledges—which had been prevented through their confederates, and the 12 recaptured, Whitbaughe's leg being broken, and one of their own men slain. York, 17<sup>th</sup> March 1598. *Signed*: Matth. Ebor., Tho. Hesketh, E. Stanhope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: To Sir Robert Carey as lord warden, &c.

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April 1.

1050. E. STANHOPE TO SIR JOHN STANHOPE.

"Good brother, I receyved your last blanke packet, wherin was one from my honorable good lord th'Erlie of Essex, which though it were short, it was very sweete, purporting her Majesties allowance and good acceptance of my diligence and care to prevent thes Scottisshmens pretended escape, wherin I take as much comforte as of any good that might befall me."

Yet I was not satisfied with their capture, but desired to find out the contrivers of the "platt," which, however boldly denied by them, it seems certain was laid in Scotland, and should have been executed unless we had found out by Canby; for "(if we had had Argus eyes)" we could not have found out, seeing we thought them secure in locked chambers, "with duble boltes of the outside; but truely they are men of great strength, and to ther strength they had gotten one or two iugens, wherby they burst downe walls, doores, and iron wyndowes in a moment, which workmen could not have done in halfe a daye"!

That it was intended from Scotland, how to be done, and who should escape, will appear by M<sup>r</sup> Henry Bowes' discovery, who came hither post, the instant we had set the watch, also by William Selby of Newcastle's letter since from London: copies of both which I inclose you.

The only means to make further discovery since, was through James Dargon late a smith here and served long under Thomas Percy ou the borders, who Canby told us, resorted much to them, was to provide horses, and afterwards by his direction, a boat, lest they got too far. Dargon fled to Hull next day: I sent to stop his ship, and he made for Westchester, whither I sent to Raphe Mansfeild who knew him, and "to my lord" \* against his coming. I sent also to Thomas Percy at Alnwick, as I had told him now untrushtly his man Dargon had dealt, "notwithstanding he acquainted him with it the daye before, and then being discouraged, came to me a quarter of an hower before they were taken, and yet as I saye fledd the next morning." But haply being rejected by them who were to take him to Westchester, he ran straight to Alnwick where M<sup>r</sup> Percy apprehended him

\* Essex.

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and sent him to me here on Sunday last. I took his examination, but "though a trecherous fellow," having dealt with some of them, yet find nothing from Scotland. Herein I have taken care both with him, and conference with the pledges, to ask nothing about Sir Robert Ker or any other, but dealt in general terms, thinking it not policy that any knew themselves suspected, till we can detect them. I think if M<sup>r</sup> Selby were sent for and charged to deliver his "tales" or learn his "talesman," it might be discovered. "He is an alderman of Newcastle and so is his father, and a great man of lving. He was very great and conversant with Bodwell when he haunted into England. If he be still at London, any of your northren gentlemen in Court know him, for he is a proper man and hath much resorted to the Court.

"I sent my foote man yesterday to West Chester, with lettres to my lord of Essex, letting him know that I had taken Dargon, and the copie of his examination likewise, as I have now sent it you, and Canbyes also, that you may be acquainted with the whole proceedinges of this matter.

"There is lately taken in Lancashier one Dudley graundchilde and heire in blodd to old Richard Dudley of Yenwith in Westmerland, who is not onely a semynary of viij or ix yeres contynnauce in this cuntry, but knowne to be a very notable practiser in matters of State. I had a speciall note given me in February wher to be sure to take him in Easter weeke, at one M<sup>r</sup> Damportes in Lancashier, and I had laid platt for it: but the sheriffe of Lancashier hath very happely prevented me, taking him by chance upon the hie waye within a myle of that house." York. *Signed*: E. Stanhope.

"My lorde wrytes nothing concerning the booke for which I wrote, which is a great mayme to our servyce, and doth small pleasure ther. They that have it may discrybe Dudley (who is now sent up) and his hauntes, but I would I had it for thos that be untaken."

2 pp. *Closely written. Addressed*: "To the right honorable his very loving brother Sir John Stanhope knight, Thesaurer of her Majesties chamber, and master of all her highnes postes, at the Court be this delivered." *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Wax signet as before: broken.*

Inclosed in the same :-

(Dargon's examination.)

25<sup>th</sup> March 1599.—Examination of James Dargon of the City of York locksmith, taken before Edward Stanhope esq., &c.

Being examined as to his dealings with the Scottish pledges or any others for their escape: he says about a quarter of a year since or more, one George Davydson an Englishman, brought 20*l*. and some letters to the pledges in same bag, from their friends in Scotland, to M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Percy constable of Alawick castle, requesting him to see it conveyed to York: who sent this examine then serving him therewith to York, to take the Archbishop or M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope's directions. The latter being "at the terme," the Lord Archbishop opened and read the letters, and sent one of his men with this examine to the castle, where in M<sup>r</sup> Redhead's presence, he gave the money and letters to the Scotsmen, and then returned to Alawick, having little acquaintance with any of them. Further, returning to York about Christmas on other occasions, he went to the pledges, making acquaintance of William Hall, who in secret talk told him, if all the City of York was his, he would give it all to be at home: and asked if he could "make meanes" with his brother Hobby Hall to bring him one or two horses for himself and another pledge to get away after escaping. He answered that he knew Hobby well, as he was "prisoner with his master M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Percie at Warkwith castle, till the house was sett on fyre," when he released him on bond: but knew not how to speak with him. Then Hall said his "sister"

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widow of another brother, was married in Kirkebymoresyde to a "merchant, petty chapman, or pedler," and if the examinee would get her to go "over the fell" to see his brother Hobby about horses; and named her husband, but he remembers it not. He answered he would tell her what "her brother William Hall required"; but he never spoke with her, returning to Alnwick a day or two before Christmas, where he was butler to said Thomas Percy, and remained till his master came to York about 5 weeks since. He waited there with leave to follow M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Mansfeild, who expected a charge of horse into Ireland, and was but once in the castle, the week before the escape, to see one Burrell of Bransburton, a prisoner for debt, at request of one John Dakyns whose father the examinee had served; and the second time, on Monday before they escaped, being sent to Christopher Hamond by M<sup>r</sup> Percy on Hamond's request, who told him he would not trouble M<sup>r</sup> Percy till Easter term, unless he went to London. At this time (by Canbye's means) he "laid his pistoll to gage to the tapster of the house for iij s."

Next day, Tuesday, he redeemed his pistol: and being in Canbye's company told him "he hard saye" he had gotten a lease of his life: who answered it was not so, and he doubted he should die at the assises unless he escaped, and he wondered the Scottishmen had not escaped before. This examinee then told him William Hall's saying about York; when Canby asked him if none of them had "been in hand with him"? and he replied as to William Hall's scheme for a horse or two. "Naye," said Canbye, "if I go with them I will have viij or ix of them, and I will dye before I be taken": whereon William Hall came in, and then Canby said to this examinee: "You must do something for us," "What is that"? said this examinee: "Marry," said Canby, "You must get us a boote in S<sup>t</sup> Georges close within thes iij or iv nightes," which he promised to do in Hall's hearing. Then Canby took him up into the gallery, and showed him from the window, the place where to tie the boat on Wednesday night between 9 and 10 o'clock. Further speech with them he had none; but that same Tuesday hearing M<sup>r</sup> Mansfeild had written to his wife to come to West Chester, and hoping to accompany her, he thereon rode to her at Sheriffhutton, when she willed him to wait for her at York with his friends till Saturday. Next day Wednesday, M<sup>r</sup> Percy stopped for an hour on his return from York, wishing the examinee to remain with him: but he told him he must needs go to York, and on his asking "Whie and wherefore"? confessed what he knew of the Scotsmen's plot to escape that night. Whereon M<sup>r</sup> Percy said, "Thou villaine, wilt thou hang thy self, and discredytt me, whom thou hast served, by dealing traterouslie to the Queene and thy cuntry? I charg the thou do yt not, but go presentlie to Yorke and reveale yt to M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope, that he may prevent ther escape." He thereon came with M<sup>r</sup> Mansfeild to York, spoke with M<sup>r</sup> Wetherall at M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope's house, who said his master was gone to the Manor to supper, "but the gates being locked," he waited, "for the porter wold not let him in till M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope came fourth": when he told him his message, &c., but he seemed to give little heed, telling him to go about his business, whereon he went to bed at his mother's house before 9 o'clock, "and one Nedd that workes in his mothers shopp laid in a bedd by him all that night." Next morning, he went to Hull to see his brother "that served M<sup>r</sup> Tirwhitt as her cooke; on Satterday he returned to Yorke with one M<sup>r</sup> Dakyns that had bene his maistres, and layd at one Cookes in the Thursday markett with M<sup>r</sup> Dakyns man; upon Sondaye morning erly he came to wydow Elwickes to M<sup>r</sup> Mansfeild to have wayted on her to M<sup>r</sup> Mansfeild, whome he had served: who answered she might not have him with her, for she harde he was in suspesion for the intended escape of the Scottish men." He told her he would go to his old master M<sup>r</sup> Percy, whither he came on Wednesday late, was ordered into custody that night, and sent next morning with two men to M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope "wher he came this Sondaye about ix of the clocke."

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Protests the substance of this examination is true, and that M<sup>r</sup> Percy willed him to come and "discry" the matter to M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope, and to take the whole blame on himself: for he knows in respect of his own dwelling so near Scotland, if they knew he wished Dargon to reveal it, they would seek either to kill him, or fire his houses and do him a mischief. James Dargon. *Vera copia. Signed: E. Stanhope.*

3¼ pp. *Closely written. Indorsed.*

April 3. 1051. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

"Even nowe M<sup>r</sup> James Hudson brought me this inclosed," for a speedy convoy to your honor: also a letter from the King, only with his "earnest requisicion to have the difference betwene M<sup>r</sup> David Fowles and M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bowes determined."

A conspiracy against my life has been lately detected, "mischevously plotted by certaine notorious recusantes and famops theeves:" I cannot write now thereof, for M<sup>r</sup> Hudson calls for the dispatch of his packet. "Only therfore this the whyle Sir, that a Jesuite (whome I am in hope shortly to talke with) or a seminarie priest, hath a Bull to pardon and reward him or them that shall kill me, poore gowne man! and some other of highe calling . . . The Lorde of lyfe blesse and protect her Majestie, and be grations to her trew subjectes his faithfull servantes, and compasse her highnes and them round about with a fyrie walle, as the Prophet speaketh." Bishop Awkland. *Signed: Tobie Duresm.*

½ p. *Holograph; also address: "To . . . Sir Robert Cecyll knight principall secretarie . . . Cancellor of the Duchie of Lancaster." Indorsed. Wax signet (Mathew).*

April 4. 1052. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Recommending the bearer Jerom Mason, who has been long in the Queen's service, and is of honest and good behaviour, who has been moved by some of his friends in Yorkshire to solicit for the post of overseer and surveyor of armour fit for service in that shire, hitherto greatly neglected—that the Council would be pleased to further his suit, and order allowance fitting. York. *Signed: R. Carey.*

¾ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 5. 1053. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"I have receaved your letters for Captain Boyers repaire as is said by her Majesties commaund." You know the express charge given me by her Majesty's self for the guard of this place, the strength of which consists in the dutiful assistance of the captains: "all is hur, and our obedience is hur due: yet the times seme to require the fulfilling of hur first injunction, rather than this latter: wherein it is here geven forth that Boyers employment is by some others for horses and other sutch Persian and Turquish stufes. Always your hand shall be my warrant: who, destitute of my proper helpes in a place of sutch accustomed careles government as this shoves it self to be, may be excused of that which is not my owne fault."

Therein I refer myself and them to superior power, "and commend my selfe to your frendshippe, which you daigne to call (poore) but out of your vertuons power I cannot but esteme and value as the wordle doth you." Berwick. *Signed: P. Willoughby.*

I send you an advertisement come, but will not avouch its credit till

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farther inquiry, nor conceal it, lest "time should ripen it to disadvantage." You may compare and esteem it with your own intelligences. "The party is of good quality, a man of note, desireth conference with me and assurance by retrait here in England, if matters fall out ill." I desire to know her Majesty's pleasure: or I shall soon answer them and quit me of trouble.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Quartered waz signet: broken.*

April 13. 1054. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Pardon my again importuning you for full enlargement of M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick, who are evil spared from their offices—for though they have more liberty than when with my lord of Durham, they are restrained from any public affairs, and stir not from their own dwellings. The cause why I keep them not here, but suffer them to be prisoners in their own houses, is knowing their many enemies in Scotland and late practises against their lives, the house I lie in is so weak, I dare not hazard them in it: besides which, there is not almost a borderer in Scotland but knows every corner of it as well as myself, and specially these that "deadlyest hate" these gentlemen. But remaining as they do, they give me no assistance, and for the country's good I most earnestly beseech their release: besides having great occasion to be at London this term, if they were at liberty, I might be better spared for 3 weeks or a month. In good faith it is more than half my undoing, if I be not at London this term. I have written to my lord Admiral and my lord Chamberlain to get my leave: assist them I pray you. Alnwick. *Signet: Ro. Carey.*

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 13. 1055. WOODRINGTON AND FENWICK TO CECIL.

We thought we could do no less than give your honour our dutiful thanks for your goodness in our trouble. We are now by your means come to Alnwick, nevertheless remaining prisoners in my lord warden's house, having no power to do the Queen service or aid the people under our charges, who have had divers losses since our imprisonment, besides these done to ourselves and our friends. We therefore humbly beseech your continuance of favour in procuring our full liberty. As for the cause objected to us, we shall always be ready to answer it as her Majesty appoints: trusting she will remember it fell out merely for her service, and she will not make us an example. It is bruited hereabouts that our enlargement shall free the Scots pledges at York, which causes the people to murmur very sore against us, without cause: for we know how it would be the undoing of the country. And though men naturally desire liberty, yet we protest, that rather than our country should receive "so unspeakable" a loss, we can be content to remain prisoners for life. Alnwick. *Signed: Henry Woddrington, Will<sup>m</sup> Fenwicke.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Waz signet: a quartered shield, over all a ribbon dexter. Crest: a bird's head.*

April 14. 1056. RICHARD LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Lord Scrope having appointed me his deputy warden, I thought it my duty, as I once promised my special good lord your father a monthly advertisement of the state of this border—to signify to your honor that it stands in reasonable good order, saving of late, that on some "particular," one of the Grames has sore hurt another, likely to cause trouble among them. Also that on Thursday last, there was some contention at Brampton among the officers, as to the authority and course of keeping courts; yet though many



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guns and "dagges" were shott, yet (God be praised) small or no harm was done among the people assembled. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed.*

April 18. 1057. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

By your letters received the 17<sup>th</sup> hereof at night, I understand her Majesty's resolution to employ me to the Scottish King for one month only; thus declaring her princely consideration in tendering my estate, and your own favour therein.

Hereto please to receive for answer: that in all services wherein her Majesty is pleased to employ me, I shall do my uttermost. My only fear is that her princely disposition may overvalue my weak ability for so weighty affairs, or that an infirmity lately happened to my hearing might hinder or blemish that service; this in due reverence I mention, without purpose of further excuse.

Since your last letter to this purpose in December, howsoever I have been pressed, either for my health a little to withdraw from the coldness of this place, or for my works, whereupon depends my chief livelihood, or upon the great occasion of the revolt of my wife's tenants in Derbyshire, by the late entry made by Francis Foljamb to those lands: yet have I not been one day absent from hence, awaiting her Majesty's commands; except some fourteen days in the beginning of Christmas, when (notwithstanding the bitter storms wherein I got this continuing cold in my head) by the cross dealing of the receivers disappointing me of my pay at the ordinary time, whereby I was forced to strain both my health and credit; which attendance here I must state more precisely, because I find in your letter a suspicion of my less residence here than meet. Which my just excuse, I rely on your continuing favor to notify to her Majesty.

I must shortly dispatch my servant to attend you, both for the 1000*l.*, part of the receiver of Yorkshire's allotment to this half year's pay; which as I could not receive it last year, your noble father delivered to me out of Exchequer: also some other occasions very importantly concerning my private estate, wherein I trust to depend on your favour. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wax signed (Bowes): an indistinct object at side.*

April 18. 1058. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Mr Treasurer in some haste, returning the post that came with your letters, I would not slip the occasion to thank you for your honorable remembrance, having no other matter worthy. I pray you sir, receive into your care the state of this garrison, whose ancient walls have made ruins and breaches already, and whose weak ports open themselves to any little force. The whilst we are slenderly provided of good counsel and captains: of the first sort there is none here but Sir William Bowes who I fear we shall not long hold for his other affairs—for the second sort I am well fitted with "honest ancient gentlemen," such as on any sudden business, cannot far outrun my slow motion: which howsoever "the wordle" stands, shall ever be sure. But for my infirmities I should the less miss these helpers, and better answer her Majesty's service both in the town and wardenry, which I am fain to neglect in the latter: yet thank God, I have now quiet and good neighbourhood with both Marches. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllyngby.

I hope by your good means when they be returned, I may have some [leave] for my necessary affairs as they, which I left very "rawly" on my hasty coming hither.

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1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal of 8 quarters—good impression.*

April 20. 1059. WARRANT FOR LORD HUME.

The Governour commands her Majesty's posts, &c., to provide Lord Hume travelling southward with 7 servants, with 8 sufficient able posthorses and a guide, at reasonable and accustomed prices. Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed at foot* : "To all and singular her Majesties postes or their substitutes, all maiors," &c.

April 21. 1060. PASSPORT FOR LORD HUME.

Licensing "the bearer heerof the Lord Hume, with seven or eight \* other Scotos men his servantes riding upon their owne horses," presently going to London on their lawful affairs, to pass quietly to and fro. Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed at foot* : "To all justices of peace," &c.

April 22. 1061. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Though unwilling to be importunate, yet necessity enforcing me to write to their lordships of the Council, I have received no answer. I submit to your wisdom, the risk of leaving a place of importance, "a keye of a countrey," as this is called, where her Majesty has bestowed infinite treasure, and is daily at so great a charge, without necessary supplies : deairing your favourable respect as inheritor of your worthy father deceased, who was an honorable patron to this place.

The bearer M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave a gentleman of many good parts, can best present the wants of his office, and will attend your convenient leisure. I entreat your favour in dispatch of his suits : for the place, besides other necessaries, requires the presence of men of his quality—especially now, M<sup>r</sup> Marshal, the gentleman porter, divers captains, &c., being absent. When they have all had their pleasures and returned, I hope to have by your means the like favour, for a short time on my private affairs, which (hastened hither) I left in such "rawe" sort, as has been greatly to my hindrance. I have not a clamorous fashion to cry out of my wants. Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April . 1062. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"My very honorable good knight," I entreat you to satisfy her Majesty that in my late advice to you of the Scottish proffer, I merely advertised what I received : and as I desired to have no more intermeddling with such matters, I hunted after no more than they were pleased to make overture of. This "made me not to name the party, who at that instant was no otherwise described to me than in those titles of the Scottish facion given him." But for my respect of duty I would at the very first have shaken it off, knowing her Majesty's judgment of their humours,— "perfit in that point as in all things els"—but consulting with Sir William Bowes, we concurred it was fit to advertise it, being but the labour of writing, letting it live or die in her Majesty's liking. I confess myself weak to manage such matters, and if it stand with her Majesty's pleasure, shall refer these to her ambassadors or agents. Yet as I am wholly hers in all duty, I shall be ready

\* "Or eight" added by Lord Willoughby.

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to obey hur to my best power : "sory that my infirmities should be let to any sarvice I ow her Majesty (as in dede they be) . . . I have since learncd it is the Master of Glames a man better knowen I am sner to hur Majesty and you than to him selfe : yet accounted as they tearme it, undertaking and fascheux. For my part therein I have not since medled nor inquired after it : he may happely loke I should send him answer to the project—but unles I am thereto commanded or directed, he gets none from me. And I had rather it were anothers office than mine : who am an ill travailer,\* too plaine a dealer : and a very bad relater of sutch matters." *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 1. 1063. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL

By her Majesty's warrant of privy seal dated 20 April 1598, the receiver of Yorkshire was ordained to pay 8000*l.* yearly to the treasurer of Berwick, equally at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin and Michaelmas. On demanding payment of Thomas Scudamour the receiver, he alleged he could not make equal payments, from the inequality of his receipts by sundry alienations by her Majesty : whereon the late Lord Treasurer your noble father, was pleased to grant warrant for 1000*l.* from Exchequer, to supply the defect of the former half year, to be paid back by the receiver at his next account.

Having already expended more than my receipts for last year, as my accounts now ready, show, and Scudamour still stands on disability as before, I humbly desire warrant as before for the 1000*l.* from Exchequer, that I may complete this instant pay before Midsummer, which otherwise I shall be forced to "breake."

And whereas her Majesty was pleased to grant me 20*s.* a day while on her Border service, and 40*s.* a day while negotiating in Scotland : whereof payment from Exchequer and the receiver of Northumberland has been made only from my entrance to said service, viz., 8<sup>th</sup> October 1596, till 10 November 1597 ; since which time I have continued in said services, attended at Court, &c., and not discharged till the last of May 1598, being 204 days, whereof 24 on my journey to Scotland : my suit is that your honor will procure me order for the remain, hitherto deferred by the Lord Treasurer's death. Having addressed my servant the bearer with my letter to the Council also, I beseech you he may be timely despatched, for the discharge of my duty depends thereon. He is also to solicit sundry causes much importing me and I cannot follow myself by reason of my present employment : humbly praying you, to countenance him in such causes as he shall recommend for me, especially to move my Lord Buckhurst and M<sup>r</sup> Chancellor to be favourable in my suit to renew some leases I hold of her Majesty. Berwick. *Signed* : Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

2 pp. *Holograph ; also address. Indorsed.*

May 4. 1064. RICHARD LOWTHER TO CECIL

Agreeable to Lord Scrope's conference with me, I have this day met the chief of the surnames of the Ellottes and Armstranges "apperteynyng the Scottes pledges," and have received their written offer to be sent to his lordship, the copy whereof I make bold to inclose to your honor. For my own opinion, I think if accepted, it will bring quiet to these borders, to the comfort of true men, and "dawnting" disturbers of peace. Carlisle. *Signed* : Richard Lowther.

\* The rest written lengthwise on margin.

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$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed:* ". . . M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther . . . R. the xj<sup>th</sup> at London." *Wax signet: defaced.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(Offer referred to.)

4<sup>th</sup> April 1599.—Sir we whose names are underwritten, humbly entreat the favour of your sending this offer to Lord Scrope.

First—If it please his lordship to move the Queen to place the pledges our friends into his hands "for Elliott and Armstrange," we will enter four gentlemen of England their bands to his lordship in 500*l.* a man, that our pledges shall remain true prisoners in Carlisle, or wherever else he appoints in his wardenry: and if it please him at any time to licence them to go home, they shall deliver their eldest sons till they return.

Further: we will oblige ourselves in any way his lordship thinks good, that (not offending our King) we shall do him such service in our power, and all ours from time to time, the heads and points whereof we wholly refer to him; always reserving our service to our lord of Liddesdale. Robert Elliott of Readhewghe; Gilbert Elliott of Hardlisdalle; Gawine Elliott of Broughe; Symone Armstrange of Mangerton; Lancye Armstrange of Whitehawghe, John Armstrange of Kynmont; Lancy Armstrange sonne to Symon Armstrange; Francie Armstrange brother to Symon Armstrange.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy by his clerk. Addressed at foot:* "To Richard Lowther warden depute," &c. *Indorsed.*

May 13. 1065. REPORTS OF A FRAY IN BEWCASTLE.

Upon Sunday 13<sup>th</sup> May M<sup>r</sup> Rydley and his friends hearing that certain Scotsmen to the number of 12 were to come to a tryst in the West March of England, he having had friends "murdered downe bye the sayd Scotcs men," took his friends and men with him to the number of 40, and thought to apprehend them on English ground. But the Scots having intelligence of his design, came 200 strong and more, 3 or 4 miles into England, "and ther did most crewelly murder M<sup>r</sup> William Rydley of Willimontswyk, with two other of his frendes, and wounding John Whitfeild hir Majestes officer soe grevously, which we think it is unpossable he should leave: and did tayk to the number of xxvj men and xxxij horssees, with all ther spoyle and furniter. And we, whose names ar underwriten, being of the feld, will wittnes this to be a troth, as is her sartified." *Signed:* John Whitfeild, Francis Whitfeild,\* James Rydlie of the Waltoune, Uswalde Rydlie of the same, Hew Rydlie of Plenmeller, Nicholas Rydley of the Hardridinge, Christofer Rydley of Unthanke, Thomas Rydley of Milbredge, John Rydley of Henshaughe, Nicholas Snawdon of Plenmeller, Marmaduke Rydley sonne the foresayde William Rydley.

1 p. *Rudely written by 2 hands. Indorsed.*

(1) "Whilst the chase lasted and the Scotcs taking prisoners on every hand, there came rydinge upp unto me one Quintin Whytebede servant to the capten of Bewcastle, and bad me be taken with him and he should save my lyfe, so as I yealded unto him; which so sone as he had me oute of the company, would nedes have spoyled me of horse and sutch furniture as I had about me—for savige wherof I must eyther promise to pay him a ransome, or ells be carryed away into Scotland: but havinge no lyking of Scotland, I agreed to pay him xxxxs. upon Midsomer eve next cominge, which I must eyther do though comand to the contrary by the authority, or otherwise be sure of an evell turu to my utter undoing, and this is the treuth of my takinge." *Signed:* John Kell his mark.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Contemporary hand.*

\* The remainder sign by their marks.

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May 18. 1066. HENRY WOODRINGTON TO SIR R. CAREY.

In my last letter I wrote what I knew of M<sup>r</sup> Rydley's death: but this now is the truth as follows—M<sup>r</sup> Rydley knowing the continual haunt and receipt the great thieves and arch murderers of Scotland, especially them of Whythburgh, had with the captain of Bewcastle, went about by some means to catch them in English ground, to avoid offence by entering Scotland: and hearing that there was "a football playing and after that a drynkyng hard at Bewcastle house," betwixt 6 of those Armstrongs and 6 of Bewcastle, he assembled his friends and lay in wait for them. But the Scots having secret intelligence, suddenly came on them and have cut M<sup>r</sup> Rydley and M<sup>r</sup> Nychol Welton's throats, slain one Robson tenant of her Majesty's, and taken 30 prisoners, mostly her tenants except Francis Whytfeild—and many sore hurt, especially John Whytfeild "whose bowells came out, but are sowed up agayne, and is thought shall hardly escape, but as yet lyveth."

The surname and friends of Elwood and Armstrong that were pledges at York were all in this action, where they had no cause of quarrel but only wantonness. I leave further consideration to your lordship, and desire to hear her Majesty's pleasure for redress of this outrageous murder: which though not done within your March, as the gentlemen slain and taken are under your charge, it may please her to impose revenge on you.

Your lordship commanded me to muster the country: but such is the overthrow of South Tyne by this affair, they have neither men nor horse, the men not daring while their friends are prisoners, and the horse which were out, wholly lost to the number of 50. I hope you will let Thomas Musgrave's service be known: his son in law dwelling in house with him, being the only slayer of M<sup>r</sup> Rydley: the fact done in his office, his daily conversation and inclination to these people, and himself made the match with Robyn Elwood, and some which escaped the Scots, taken and ransomed by his men.

Sir Robert Ker has given strait charge to his March to provide themselves with horse, and I think intends to be very busy here: but I have known a man "catcht" in his own turn. I pray you order the repair of Harbottle, that we may draw near him: it gives me nothing but hazard and charge and you best know its necessity. My brother met Fernherst on Tuesday last, who did you all justice that could be desired.

Baugh, who is somewhat recovered of his sickness, is in such contempt with his people for his just dealing with you, that they would gladly shake off his "yoake," and are privately working his overthrow, that they may have their "raynes louse" again, and this of M<sup>r</sup> Rydley is the beginning.

So much for the West Marches: to come to our own, the outlaws have never rested since your departure, but such is your good fortune, that they coming by daylight this morning to rob within a mile of Newcastle, I with only my own servants and the horsemen you allowed me, met with them, when Thomas Rotherforth of Chattoe and Nychol Hall were slain, and we took Anton Pot, Hob Shaftoe, and Hob Eryngton, who attend your censure at your return. Bothall, this present Saturday" 18<sup>th</sup> May. *Signed*: Henry Widdrington.

"Your lordship knows the forfeit of my bonds concerns my whole estate. I have followed your counsell in not disobaying her Majesties command for my going up: I pray you get me dyspatched thereof, before your coming downe, which I wysch be very soone."

2½ pp. Addressed to Carey. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Small wax signet: a flower.

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May 26. 1067. HENRY WOODRINGTON TO SIR R. CAREY.

On Tuesday last the 22<sup>nd</sup> instant the inhabitants of Hexamshire under the bailiff's office, going to fetch away their bailiff who lies wounded at Bewcastle, were surprised by the Armstrougs of Liddesdale, it is thought again betrayed—for they lying within 2 miles of Hawtwysell in your lordship's march, suddenly broke upon them, killed one Swynburne and took 12 prisoners, showing their cruel and bloodthirsty minds in so insolent a manner, escaping so often without any "snuffle" or revenge, that the more outrages they commit, the more they are prickled forward to the like. They have almost wasted the parts of the West March bordering on them, and intend the same to yours, unless prevented and requited "lyke with lyke." I have sent to Buccloghe, but he is not at his own house: when his answer comes I will send it. It seems the Armstrougs and Ellottes have combined to do as they please, refusing to be ruled by him: and it is certain that Cesford has given the Tyvydale thieves and riders "lowse reynes" on your March. The Liddesdale men at these slaughters are brethren and nearest of kin to the Liddesdale pledges in York: it were good you acquaint her Majesty and Council thereof, and urge the extremest and hardest course may be taken against them. I beseech you to remember your speeches and mine concerning Rotherfurth, and I can but say as before, that unless some revenge be taken, it is very hard to keep this March in safety. You remember the last service done on these outlaws and how hard it is to effect the like, they have such "favyrytes and bearers": some for fear of revenge, others for their own safety. "He that wrought the purpose (for his offences before comytted) ys and wilbe so mightly pursued, that onelesse he have her Majestyes most gratyous generall pardon, or a lease of his lyfe, he can not any wayes be in safety." I beseech you to effect the same, and I will defray the charges, whatever they be. Bothall. *Signed*: Henry Widdrington.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 29. 1068. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Reporting that many of the gunners, "maisters," &c., absent themselves from the city and castle—that powder, &c., is also much wanted: begging him to give orders for the absentees' return, and to stop the pay of the non-resident, sending also a supply of munition for their practice. Fears the late Northumberland troubles will cause disorder in the West March. Begs him to cause the customer to reside in Carlisle according to statute, as at Berwick. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "... Mr Richard Lowther," &c. *Wafer signet*: indistinct.

June 1. 1069. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

My cousin Francis Ducket wrote to me to come near his house to speak with him: but my occasions preventing me, I sent a trusty servant, by whom he wrote the letter to me which I inclose and came to my hands this morning. Being forced to play the secretary myself I dutifully take leave. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet*: quartered shield; crest: a griffin.

June 4. 1070. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

There is on some indirect course, process procured furth of the Star Chamber, for the appearance of Lancelot Carleton and others at the suit of

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one John Musgrave : as I am at this instant in the Queen's service here, and daily employ said Lancelot therein, and can by no means spare him,—for in truth he is one of the "sufficientest" men this wardenry can afford, and he and Richard Grame of the Breakinghill are my two principal men I use in other great services to the Queen, I am an earnest suitor that your honor would be a mean to the Lord Keeper to grant a commission to take the said Lancelot's answer, and your letters to myself, to stay him without danger of contempt of law—which letters I must have here within 8 days, for he has no longer stay of appearance, and will not be stayed by me, for he will not run within the compass of contempt. Carlisle. *Signed* : Richard Lowther.

Postscript :—I received your honor's letter to the captain of Bewcastle, and it was delivered to his own hand this day.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed as before.*

June 12. 1071. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I think myself happy that our former petitions and the danger of this place shall be succoured by so "good a Maecenas" as yourself. "Since in our profession it is not lawful *bis peccare*," I shall on dangerous intelligence, require pardon if I lay open our difficulties. I acknowledge with you, lacks are sooner found than supplied, yet sometimes the postern though one of the least gates of a city, if neglected, ruins the whole.

For the ordnance book of supplies, there was a book of the expenditure formerly sent up to the Master of the Ordnance general, whereof I thought Mr Musgrave had kept a copy and might have made the matter clear. For my part, I receive willingly the reproof of the expenses of powder, but can justly say I have stopped many of "the superfluous volleys" here : but custom is so strong, I cannot do what I would. Fees are large, training powder a heavy expence, though small in respect of the profit of the learners : our pieces here in great number stand always charged by order, and much must be spoiled by foul weather and damp, and must be renewed. We spend much powder on days of truce, answering petty incursions and "noyances" by sea and land, not usual to any other garrison of England. This is also the arsenal of the whole country of Northumberland and bishopric. Some powder is spent in "salves," the place standing chargeably for ambassadors and persons of account passing through, wherefore something must be done for honor's sake, since we see it not spared in poor private merchants' ships : but I have done this very sparingly, and after this advertisement will be "more straighter."

On solemn festival days whole "tyers" of ordnance have been discharged : these I have cut of, and hold none but "the solemnitie of her Majesties day," which I do as a duty among these rude and barbarous people. But if I exceed, I shall gladly retrench conform to order ; and hope to satisfy you more fully, if her Majesty confirm her purpose for my leave to come up this Michaelmas. I am much bound to you for imparting to me the news of the Irish success, as any news seldom comes to this remote place. Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllyghby.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 13. 1072. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Having intelligence by my lord ambassador and one Waynman my follower, that one Ashfeild a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, had lewdly and suspiciously behaved himself in Scotland, practising many treasonable matters : I sent to Edinburgh a gentleman my cousin Guevara, with 5 or 6 horse to apprehend him, who managed so discreetly, that winning him into a coach to disport himself, they surprised and brought him hither. I had a pinnace of

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my own lying at Preston near Leith, to ship him in, if they had been hotly pursued: but it was so well carried out, that though there were many Scottish gentlemen on the sands, they discovered nothing. Now he is this instant arrived, and I would gladly know her Majesty's pleasure. I have not examined him, but know that the ambassador and Wayman can say much against him: and if the ambassador, as I doubt not he will, can "cense" his papers at Edinburgh, there will be much certainty thus discovered. Thus much with first opportunity, and I hope the ambassador will advertise the rest, of which as yet I am ignorant. "This Wensday the 13 of June at 4 in morning." Signed: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: quartered as before.

June 15. 1073. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

My last was dispatched on a sudden, and I could not give particulars of Ashfeild's apprehension, and therefore follow it with this "desiceons" to have him brought back with as much cunning as he procured his pass. On sending some to Edinburgh with instructions for his "reducing," the ambassador approved of an overture, viz., "to drawe him to Lieth, there under collour of a dissolute kindnes and good fellowship, to make him merry with wyne, then to perswade him to ryde home in a coach sent out of purpose, therein to surprise him and bring him away, which as it pleased God, had very good successe in all particulers, without any shewe or suspition of tumult or disturbance to any: the actors being four havinge no manner of armes, save onely their rappers and daggers as they usually goe in my house." Before this was done, he had given one of them a note under his hand, that upon protection of my honour, he would come when he wrote for him: and then jested at my man's simplicity being pleased with paper. The "religious" take knowledge of his treacheries against religion, and bless God: while the King and greatest sort are much grieved with it, though they have done many enormities, viz., pursuing many with bloody intentions into England—not thank God, in my time—for far less faults. If any complaint against me is made to her Majesty, I hope your honour will answer for me, that it was no offence to let a man ride in a coach that was willing and weary, and to bring a traveller home at my own charge—especially such a one. My lord ambassador is somewhat "streitned," and he and I are much threatened: for my part, I seek to please none but one, and "wey" not the displeasure of any, so her Majesty is faithfully served; and I repent not of what I have done. I inclose the prisoner's letter to Sir Robert Kerr, showing their dealings. I have hitherto spoken of Sir Robert as I found his dealings towards her Majesty and her subjects, but if this changes to his old courses, I shall cease to do so. If these things are important, I pray you order the posts to greater speed, for my letters go slowly to you, and yours very long in reaching me. At this present I send you Ashfeild's answer to certain interrogatories, and a letter of Sir Robert Kerr's brought this morning with my answer. Berwick. Signed: P. Wyllughby.

After I had written this, an immediate messenger came with the King's letter, the copy whereof and my answer I inclose. "I have used good complaints, which I have seene observed with all due regard amongst open enimyes: synce we had geven the blowe, I would not make the sauce to sharpe." However things may be construed, I shall be content if her Majesty be pleased, which is my main end. M<sup>r</sup> Weanman "the putter fourth" of Ashfeild, is now come, though with great danger, and has brought Ashfeild's papers, which I would not take from him, being unwilling to prejudice his deserts, or to wrong the worthy endeavours and adventures of my lord ambassador. I have further sent you 2 letters of Ashfeild to Sir Robert Kerr, which he greatly importuned me to send him, but I detained, fearing it might occasion some "covertures" betwixt them.



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1½ pp. *Addressed by hand like Willoughby's. Indorsed by Cecil:*  
 " . . . My lord Willoughby to me." *Wax signet: quartered.*  
 Inclosed in the same:—

## (1) (The King of Scots to Willoughby.)

"Having considerit the indignitie done to ws be taking away violentlie out of the hart of our countray in sight of our cheif palais and eyis of our Counsaile, ane Inglis gentilman callit Ashfeild, being under our protection and recommendit by your lettres to ane of our privie counsaile, without any interpellatioun maid to ws for his delyvery, in cace he had bene ane offendour, and how the same is done be some of your speciall freindis and servandis: we cannot marvell aneuch thairof, seing we hopit at your handis als great respect to our honour as at any subjectis of Eugland of your rank, speciallie sence your experience in princis service within and without your countray hes techit yow sufficientlie qubhat apertenis to the honour of a priuce. And gif sa be, that by any warrant from your soverane the same have bene attempted, we requyre freindly to be acquainted thairwith, or gif upon any particuler offense done to yow be the said Ashfeild, yow have upoun ane suddane passiou interested ws sa heichlie in honour, we crave the same by restitutioun of him, to be spedelie reparit: Willing alwayis yow to wey how farre sic ane attempt twichis ws, our honour, and estate, and as none ellis of your rank can better jage of that point of honour, and of nane of your rank we rest more assured of that lauchfull dewty qubhilk apertenis, we expect with this bearer sic satisfactioun as will repair our honour and releve yow of that suspicioun of misregaird of your dewty towardis ws, qubhairn we can not weil beleve that ye will fayle: Willing yow alwayis to assure yow that it is a mater qubhilk without spedie reparatioun we will nocht pas ower. And sa resting to your answer we commit yow to the Almychti. From Leith this xiiij of Junij 1599." *Signed: Youre loving freinde James R.*

1 p. *Addressed: "To our trusty and weilbelovit cousing the lord Willoughbie lord governor of Berwick." Indorsed. Seal gone.*

## (2) (Willoughby to the King.)

"Most mighty, most renowned and most excellent King." I am charged with a grievous indignity done to your Majesty, by the violent taking of an English subject licensed by me to go to Scotland, and, as is said, under your protection, also with a letter of commendation from me to one of your Privy Council. To each of these with your Majesty's pardon, I answer: my intendment is free from the first, my devoir and duty bound me to the other, besides the "overture" that his frank admission of no protection from your Majesty gave me, which he is ready to avow. I acknowledge no writing to any councillor on his behalf, which is a mere mistake. I hope your Majesty is persuaded there must be an informer and accuser of Ashfeild's proceedings, before I can notice them, as I am bound to do as a public officer. And being here her Majesty's servant, I should be accounted slack by non-performance of any "particularitie" concerning her service here. He came, it is true, with my license, which so much the more concerns me, he gave his hand and word to return in three days—then promised very shortly—wrote lastly he would presently make his repair. Accordingly I sent not violently " (as is enforced) " but quietly, without armour, arms or ambushments, nor stirring nor "emotion" in your Majesty's realm, nor discontentment to the party, who acknowledges himself, before, then, and since very willing to come. Those things thus made known " (as I appeal from you yll informed to yourself well informed) " will settle your judgment, that nothing is further from me than willingly to prejudice your highness. But if intrusion be tolerable in hostile manner in England, for a cow or a "silly beast," or recovery of a "lewd" fugitive, how much more may it please you to moderate your

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censure of this quiet and peaceable act in execution of my duty? Lastly in answer to your Majesty, it was by no private advice now given by her Majesty, but by my public charge, wherefore I humbly desire excuse, if I return him not till her Majesty's further pleasure be known, which then I shall be very willing and ready to do. Berwick, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1599.

1½ pp. *Closely written. Copy by his clerk. Indorsed*: "His lordship to the King off Scottes," &c.

(3) (Willoughby to Sir Robert Kerr.)

"Sir in truth and honor I cannot be tedious, but playne and shorte." You must know that being informed something of Ashfeild that concerned me nearly in duty, as his entry in Scotland was by my leave and his "moyen" by your friendship "(things of greater consequence to me then at the first apperes to you)," I wrote to him to repair to me, who promised under his hand, and if I hastened his journey, blame me not. If it be true as you write, that any accuse me to the King as principal, it may be "they have don yt out of a deeper knowledg then I had of Ashfeilds dealing, prejudiciall to them I ame most bound unto: wherby they were not ignorant how I was engaged to do my mistres service. This I must say for ambassadors, that I have heard say the French leger at London, executed a French man in his owne house." Their "priviledg" is very great, and I believe our ambassador in his honor will stand on it, and not "post" it over. Now my part was but this, to draw him the Queen's subject, in whom I knew not the King had interest, to come as he promised, "spedelyer then he would, but not then I ought in duty," without force or hostile manner or indirect meaus. If there was any cunning, "lett them that did devise yt auswer yt."

Thus much is true on the faith of a soldier and my honor. I am sorry if the King is displeasid, but he must think me a true Englishman, and dutifull subject. "To conclude . . . I ame sory you gave excuse the last day for breackinge of the trice, and satisfying according to justice and honor: for which, upon your hand and woorde, I assembled diverse persous, who expecting justice, found themselves frustrated and the good purpose, together with your promise, fayle." The long expected remedy of these puts me in doubt of the performance. "Thus for this tyme I leave you to God." Berwick 15 June 99. "Your faythfull and honest freend as becometh me." *Signed*: P.W.

1 p. *Holograph. Indorsed.*

June 19. 1074. R. LOWTHER TO SCROPE.

In discharge of my humble duty, I signify the news from Scotland, which I hava from James Murray through his friends, and from the Goodman of Bonshawe, upon letters to him writtan from Francis Dacre, viz., that the Queen's ambassador Sir William Bowes is committed to Edinburgh castle, for having as alleged, caused an English gentleman, much favoured by the King, and having a protection by land and water, to be transported from thence, much displeasing the King, who offers very hard handling to the ambassador.

"The Lorde Sancker a great protested papist," is newly landed in Scotland, with great store of gold, earnestly desiring at the King's hand, to take up 500 horsemen, which he has obtained, and paid them a month's pay beforehand—20 crowns every man: where they are to be employed I know not.

"Yesterday the gentlemen of Northumberland and the Lorde of Bælughe trustyd at Cresoppfoit," touching the breach of assurance by the Liddesdales for the traitorous slaughter of M<sup>r</sup> Rydley and the rest. "And presently after, Andrew Whythaugh and Calfhills howses were brunte." Our opposites

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are at great strife, and ride and spoil one another, which is like to increase rather than abate. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

The Lairds Johnston and Drumlanryg are agreed, "and shall marry together."

*1 p. Addressed*: To Scrope as "knight of the most honorable order of the Garter," &c. *Indorsed*.

June 20. 1075. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Since the sending of my "trumpett," and stay of their ships and merchants, the King has issued a warrant to release my men and ship. I have also received a very "officious" letter from Sir Robert Kerr, that the ambassador is not so straitened as he was, and things are growing quiet. Evident appearance that the storm is past, and the most part of the clouds blown over. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

*½ p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 22. 1076. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I have received your letter, and dispatched, with speed and safety I hope, the others to Sir William Bowes. I gladly received her Majesty's admonition for wariness over passengers to Scotland, and in truth have suffered none, except recommended to me, or known to men of good place and credit here.

I shall send Ashfeld to you as safely as I cau, though his coming will be long, for I cannot send him a prisoner by post. For Waynman and the papers which he can best expound, I hope by this time you are satisfied.

The prisoner's letters I sent you were voluntarily written since his imprisonment: he was earnest with me to send them to Cesford, but I sent them to you without looking into them, for your opinion as to his inwardness with Cesford, which reason if I mistake not, I inserted in my former, and also some letters from Cesford to me. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

For the safety of the letters sent, I ordered my man to make up a false packet to show to interceptors, if the Scots had laid wait: and unless "those found papers" were in it, I know not how they should come to your hands. The "true pacquett" was bestowed "closely" on the bearer, and the false in the bag as usual, which should have been thrown away when the post had passed Durham, but by forgetfulness brought on. The paper signed by our hands was belike some order about the town, now of no effect.

*¾ p. Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . June . . . R. the 28<sup>th</sup> at London."

June 23. 1077. PASSPORT FOR JAMES BEATON.

Authorising the bearer "James Beaton Scochman," licensed by the Governor of Berwick to travel southwards, intending to pass into France—to go without hindrance. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

*½ p. Addressed*: "To all justices of peace, maiors," &c. *Indorsed*.

June 27. 1078. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

As directed, I inclose my opinion touching the bond that the master of the ordnance M<sup>r</sup> Richard Musgrave, and his brother Thomas are to be bound in. And if the master of ordnance refuses to enter into it, it were good that his brother be restrained of his liberty: for either such a bond must stop his further mischief or he will return to his old "vomyte" and be worse than ever. Nothing will quiet that country but binding him and his friends straitly, or discharging him from office and appointing another.

I have left M<sup>r</sup> Kylygray in trust to get her Majesty's hand to the patent for the baylywyck of Hexham for one Roger Woddryngton, a very fit man.

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It may be in my absence, those ladies that spake for "Rydley of the buttrie," will cross it and procure her Majesty's hand for him : which if you hear by M<sup>r</sup> Kylligray, I pray you for the good of the country, stand in it with me against them, and remind her Majesty of her promise to me before my departure, that whosoever I thought fit should have it. Somerset House.  
*Signed* : Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Waz seal of 20 quarters ; crest : a swan.*

June 27. 1079. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"Having sett up all this night to have drawn together xx<sup>ii</sup> horse of the Queens guarisoun of four score, I protest to you I could gett but fourtene ; and soe the day dawninge, least the purpose of sendinge the prisoner away should be discovered by such treacherous disservice, I ame inforced soe to venture him. Judge good Sir, I beseech you, whether these be a fitt troupe or noe for her Majesties charge, and wher there are foure constables, ther is never but one to doe any thinge ! Yf this be not innovated, yf innovation be reducing of things to order, I shall not be able to serve her Majestic eyther in the wardenrye or in the towne upon any suddayne occasion. This I thought good to touch in a word or tow, havinge th'opportunitie of my lord ambassadors pacquett 'for lyfe,' which instantly came to my hands as I was in the midst of this business : I hoop God will succeed it better then it begins. The rest I leave to the rlation of the gentleman who cometh after, and hath the charge of the prisoner." Berwick. "Three of the clock after midnight, the 27<sup>th</sup> June 1599." *Signed* : P. Wyllyghby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Waz signet : fragment.*

June 28. 1080. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"Accordinge to her Majesties pleasure I send up Ashefields body with the best and most silent security I can devise." I am most "afeard" of want in this barren place, and protest, "being behind of hur Majesties pay upon an after account, I am driven to more shifts for money than I am sure I could be in any place of the wordle els." This troubles me more than the Scots opposite, and I beseech you Sir, be a mean to furnish Sir William Bowes with the garrison's pay : for howsoever I suffer, it is not fit they should want. Yet give me leave for myself to say truly, "it is not 40*l.* per annum intelligence and post money, beares my chardge that way." Wherein I have given good proof of my sufferance, and "record it rather than impleade it." Were I worthy "to shote my bolt," I could wish for his own safety and the Queen's honour, that the ambassador "were licenced to return, for as long as he is there, the juniper coales will burne, yet it is a point I have mutch stood upon with them to break in all if they breake in using him well. The gentleman desarves mutch, it were greate pity he should receive luck and the cause no good : but these are above my reach, and therefore I crave pardon to think that another fre from imputations mought better and more securely finish his commendable projects than him selfe. I have I feare enlarged my selfe to mutch, but knowing love covereth as many faults as opposite mallice desireth to circumvent, I commend me to kind construction and your selfe to God." Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllyghby.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 30. 1081. INJUNCTIONS FOR THE CAPTAIN OF BEWCASTLE.

1. That he shall be always ready to assist the Queen's subjects, both within and without his office, on "hew and crye" against offenders both English and Scots.

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2. And harbour or assist no Scotsman without the lord warden's licence.  
3. Nor ride into Scotland or tryst with Scots, without the warden's privity.

4. And be always ready to deliver any one dwelling in his office, sent for by the warden.

7. And do his utmost to apprehend outlaws without favour or colour.

As the West border is at present very poor by the great "darth and plangue" these late years: and it often pleased her Majesty to allow the late Lord Scrope 100 soldiers from Berwick, it might now please her to allow 50—20 at 6*l.* a day above their ordinary pay to keep horses and serve "for shott of horsbacke," this would be a good mean that the warden might in time "cherish up" the country again.

1 *p.* *In a clerk's hand.* *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk:* ". . . Some thinges for the capten of Bewcastle to be injoined unto."

June 30. 1082. RICHARD LOWTHER TO CECIL.

It appears by the inclosed, that the Armstrongs Scotsmen, have not only given up assurance with the Musgraves for former injuries and harm done them without reason, as they alledge; but in revenge, this day ran a foray with 60 horse and foot in Bewcastle, taking the captain's goods, &c., 60 head of cattle, 6 horse, 100 sheep and "gayt," killed one man and hurt others. Which I doubt will cause further "combre" to this March: the rather, as I am informed that insolent persons are thereto animated by letters lately sent from Edinburgh. Therefore I humbly intreat your honor to hasten the lord warden's repair home. Carlisle. *Signed:* Richard Lowther.

$\frac{1}{2}$  *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Armstrong to Lowther.)

Your worship understands when we met you, "I was desyrand your worship to cawse the Musgraves to done reason"; and at your worship's desire I have done no harm to no Englishman, and caused all my friends to forbear "sensyne." I now write to let your worship understand that I will be no longer under assurance with the Musgraves, for "give I wald, it might come to my reproafe, for there is some sayes, give I wald not have dischargd with your worship, they wald not forbear them that hes made faultes. Therefore I thought meet to dischargd my self of my promisse, and give that I do in tymes comynge for your good will and honor, I have the maire thanke to receyve at your worshippis handea." I doubt not to have your good countenance: "for I take God to my wytne that I wold have tane les nor reason of them." I would you took my discharge in good part, and consider my case "howe ewell I have bene used without faulte done to them . . . Off the Hollowse the xxviij<sup>th</sup> of June 1599. Your frend to use lefully." *Signed:* "John Armestrange of Hollowse."

$\frac{1}{4}$  *p.* *In one handwriting—perhaps too good for a border rider.* *Addressed at foot.* *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Armstronges lettre to M<sup>r</sup> Lowther."

June . 1083. SIR ROBERT CAREY'S DEMANDS.

1. To have Rotherforth now one of the Scots' pledges in York with me in Northumberland, till I think fit to deliver him into Scotland.

2. His friends are a great surname, and can annoy England more than any other on the Border.

3. They are in deadly "feed" with many English gentlemen.

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4, 5. He and many of his friends are fyled for goods taken, and before I let him go, he shall make satisfaction for all.

6. All deadly "feeds" shall be taken up: especially if the Scot have the worst of it.

7. I will take special bonds of all his friends for their future good behaviour, and very good bonds of Englishmen for himself to deliver him to me at any time on 8 hours' lawful warning.

8. So if he or his friends offend, I shall be sure of him whenever demanded.

9. I will do much good and no hurt if I enter him to Scotland: and therefore would gladly have directions down with me to York, to have him delivered to me when I come there.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Written by a clerk. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

June . 1084. INFORMATIONS AGAINST THOMAS MUSGRAVE.

1. He is known to the whole country to be unfit for his charge under her Majesty.

2. His chief English companions are outlaws and the "verie caterpyllers" of their native country, sucking their neighbours' blood and goods: and thinking all lawful that they can get by violence. Quintin Rutledg *alias* Dandes Quintin, Thomas Musgrave *alias* Thomas Woddsword, and Mathew Erington, all notorious offenders unworthy to live, are maintained by him, his daily companions, and live chiefly in his household.

3, 4. Of Scots, none but outlaws are in favour with him: the chief of them is Sym of Whythaugh whom this captain has married to an English woman, it is said in the country, his bastard daughter. Of this I am not certain, but sure I am that this unworthy Scot and his wife were kept in the Queen's castle of Bewcastle by the captain's permission. Since the late accident of M<sup>r</sup> Ridley, he has forborne the place (for he was the chief killer of him), but before it, he was never out of it. And if Musgrave is demanded, I think he will confess that the said Scotsman's wife "is at this houre in his house."

5. For his lewd life, I cau say little but by report: only this of my own knowledge, he gives an evil example as a chief officer, "in keeping a very unhonest and an unworthy woman with him in his house, by whome he hath had dyvers children: she is hatefull to God and man." His friends have all forsaken him for not leaving her company. Neither bishop nor other officer can do any good of him, and it is thought she is the chief cause of his lewdness.

6. All that I have set down I know of my own knowledge to be true; and if you send a commission down to the neighbouring gentlemen to inquire further, you shall find him very unfit for his office, and that his younger brother is a far fitter man for it.

1 p. *In same hand as last. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk: "1599 June. Informaciones against Thomas Musgrave capten of Bewcastle."*

July 3. 1085. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"Most honorable knight, I am right glad that Ashfield's matters are, as you writt, suspended to his comminge up, which I hoop is before this, and soe for my part that service determined without more adoe, and I pray God I may hear noe worse of it." For the other point imputed to me, *viz.*, that I daily represent the imperfections of this garrison, without reforming them, "and to this added, an instruction of what lacks I should hold my selfe sufficiently discharged of, after demaunds made: as in these poynts whether her Majestie will fortifie or noe, increase her stores, or the garrison?" I answer, that if you examine my whole course, I hope it will be found that

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I have not written generally, "but att lardg particularized the same." First: The gentleman porter will clear me in my instructions, presented I doubt not to your "honorable table": next, the generall'master books sent, "specially for the nount devided," show the number of Northumberland and border men here, and the small remain to keep the place, if these were discharged by her Majesty's pleasure. I complained of my want of power to levy new, not contradicted by your last—and how ill served both town and country were: especially in my sundry letters that the form of the horse garrison is neither martial nor orderly. "Who hath hard in the discipline of one tyme of foure constables for four score horse, men of mean place and intertainement, who carye noe countenance, and soe noe obedience"? If I should "casshier" that troop, where is my power to levy others? I have often solicited you and others my friends, adding some horse of my own, to form a governor's company, as in all places where I have been. Here all the officers have companies: the marshal and treasurer both horse and foot, but the Governor is "naked," who being also warden should be best furnished especially in horsemen under his proper command. Now I have spoken, I protest that I neither affect "the companye" nor the government, but to do the Queeu service, and I know my own heart. I projected these things without increase of charge to her Majesty, but how to myself I forbear to say: and hope it is evident I have made matters clear, praying you to be a mean "that my best labours may not be worse interpreted." I have had less courage to deal in reformation since this time twelvemonth, though not I hope neglecting my duty, for when *ex officio* I called a marshal court in the marshal's absence, for sundry reforms, "I was therin taxed and reproved." This has made me fear a like result in greater matters, wherein you write I should proceed *ex officio*.

I have other reasons, which pray excuse my writing till I may give them myself, if her Majesty allow me to come up, wherein I pray you be a suitor, as winter is drawing on. The Borders are quiet, our deputies have met and had justice, neither of us far off, myself purposely, as I feared some affronts on the persons of them I employed—the same gentlemen who took Ashfield—but all things passed off well. I have been here about the borders "this sennitt," and yesterday hunted Cheviot by East Tividale, not so much for pastime as to prove things, which fell out well, only a few horsemen showing themselves to no purpose. "I doe not thinke that further into England great and rich heards of cattell depasture more peaceably then they doe here with us: this is the best newes from Cheviott mountayns that I can advertise you of." Twisell. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

I wonder that my servant I sent up with Weaynman did not satisfy you in this point, for I specially directed him, having written shortly, fearing to be tedious.

2½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed at foot. Inlorsed by Cecil and his clerk. Was signed: fragment.*

July 11. 1086. THOMAS WINDEBANCK TO WILLOUGHBY.

I would not let slip the opportunity of this gentleman M Marshall's return to your lordship, after discharge of his commission hither, without some confirmation of my true affectionate devotion to you, which I presume to do by these few lines: indeed to no other end, than to offer service according to my small means in any matter wherein it may please you to use me. I was very glad that it was my good hap to be in the way when the licence for your lordship's son was to be made for him "a Peregrin beyond seas," but rejoiced much more when at my procuring it to be signed, "it pleased her Majestie to utter unto me her greate good lykynge of your proceedinges there in her service, and of the jewell which her Majestie self

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"told me she had given him, and of the greate hope she had of him to prove a meete man for her service in tyme to com; in which kynde of speech, her Majestie contynued so long, that I wisshed your lordship had bene but in a corner to have hard it, for I think it wold have made you a wholle man thonghr you had been sick."

I write not of any other matters, trusting your lordship will bear with me therein; "as for a thing that I was warnid forty and one yeeres past, by my old lord and master the late Lord Treasurer, I should not doo: hoping nevertheless that your lordship wantes not from greater parsonnages, advertisements meete and requisite for your lordshippes knowledge. Only I will say this to your lordship: that her Majestie was never better of helth, nor more gallant of body and mynde, than I doo finde her at this present, which I knowe will be the best newes to your lordship that I could write." Greenwich.

1 p. *Holograph, corrected by the writer. Indorsed*: ". . . Copie of my lettre to my lord Willoughby by M<sup>r</sup> Marshall a gentleman whom he sent hither with one Ashfeld a prisoner."

July 13. 1087. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Having concluded my meetings on border affairs with both my opposite wardens, I have sent my man to attend you with some difficulties in these proceedings before my time, who will inform you more largely than I could in a letter. I have no doubt to settle those in my own time and leave them no worse than I found them. In this quiet time I beseech you not to forget my coming up, which imports me exceedingly, and pray you to finish that work, which it has pleased her Majesty "after a sort" to grant. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 17. 1088. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

This gentleman says he came hither on Sir William Bowes' assurance. But as Wayman charged him with making some "emotion" in Scotland on Ashfield's taking, and Ashfield (if I mistake not) in his voluntary confession under his hand, said that he made some overtures to the King; and lastly he passed secretly by Twissell ford to Scotland, and not by Berwick—I thought fit in duty to send him to you. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{3}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . Lord Willoughby to my master. M<sup>r</sup> Chute sent up by water."

July 21. 1089. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO CECIL.

Since my return from Court, the principal Rotherforths of Scotland have sent to me desiring that Thomas Rotherforth their pledge at York under the indent with the commissioners, shall be delivered, on their satisfying all bills then charged on him or his surname, or on them since his entrance. I pray you take order for his delivery to me when I send for him. I know this is for the country's good, and if I cannot be trusted with handling so small a matter, I am not fit for the place I hold. By the indent, if any of them are freed, they may ever afterwards continue to do as they listed before: but if I have this man, I shall see the indent thoroughly performed: I will have good bonds for him and his many friends, never to assist or consent to other Scotsmen annoying England; or else I will not part with him, but he shall be as safe with me as in York.



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I pray you let me have the Council's answer, whether or no he will be delivered on my sending for him. Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 27. 1090. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> instant I met the opposite Scottish warden Sir Alexander Hume at Fouldon-rig, not far from Berwick, where we so solemnly took our oaths of office to administer justice, in such ample manner as there has been no precedent for many years. And under an ancient treaty, we required the same oath of all the gentlemen of special name present: so that now the Homes being reputed religious, there is less cause to fear any breach than heretofore: howbeit I assure nothing. The King, my good friends tell me, is still highly discontented with the late accident, and resolved to take deep revenge on my own person, and those I employed: yet his subjects, in my opinion, though well affronted, will not unadvisedly execute his menaces. The Scottish warden on a private conference, told me the King disliked our place of meeting, where no truce was ever held, and had forbidden him to proceed in justice, and that he doubted some breach that day. I said I was well provided to keep the peace, and he should look to himself. Yet we gained so much, that three English complaints were "ordered," and the day being spent, could do no more, and at parting made proclamation by sound of trumpet to confirm a precedent of truce there. This done, I agreed to his entreaty, to meet at Westford on 1<sup>st</sup> August for redress, each with 40 men only.

It seems he (without cause) thought us too strong, but it was reported he had on the field 1500 horse, and 2 "ancientes" of foot—to my view I judged them some 800 horse—while we had not above 600 horse and foot.

For the bills dealt in by the commissioners, I find our own so imperfect, and the opposites so unwilling to "tilt" in these causes, that I doubt being able to do much.

I heartily thank you for your kind usage of my servants sent with the prisoner, and at my coming up must entreat some small favours for some of them. Praying your friendly mediation still for my leave so shortly as may be, that I may begin my journey before September, as my private estate greatly requires it. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

Postscript:—Since writing this I received Cesford's letter to meet me on 10<sup>th</sup> August "undelayedly" for justice, with but 60 horse on either side, besides plaintiffs, to which I have agreed.

1  $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: fragment.*

Inclosed in same:—

(Form of the wardens' oath.)

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *In his clerk's hand. Indorsed.*

July 30. 1091. SCROPE TO SIR JOHN STANHOPE.

I am arrived at Carlisle and find the country reasonable quiet, though the broken people are ready to attempt after their old customs. Wherefore as the countrymen are partly unhorsed and partly slothful, I pray you entreat M<sup>r</sup> Secretary to remember the soldiers with convenient speed, to strengthen us. I mean to write to him when I have gotten the certificate of the country gentlemen, and the pledges. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed*: "To . . . Sir Jhon Stanhope knight." *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

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July . 1092. EDMOND ASHFIELD TO CECIL

"Right honorable, I have byn examined this forenone and I am to answare certayne intargatories left with me, which leade me to deliver many things which I thought to impart unto your honour, because they concerne a generall truthe in matters of moste importance. Yf it be your honors pleasure to refer them owar without particular notice, because I have not it expreste them, then geve me to undarstand thereof by this bearer, and I stand in all dutties at your honors derections. Most humbly to be at your honors derection." *Signed*; Edmond Ashefeyld.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph*; also *address*. *Indorsed*: "1599 Julij. M<sup>r</sup> Ashefield to my master."

Aug. 4. 1093. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

I thought to accompany these with my salutations: the occurrences you receive by the packet. I see the Scots "brandle" in their dispositions, some "harken" after war, others after peace: no certaiuty among them, as though they waited an opportunity. At our last meeting, they promised but 40 as I wrote, but brought four to one "confusellie." Though Cesford as in my last, proposed to meet with 60, yet I hear of preparations and musters more than ordinary: so I have told him I will attend with the prescribed number, that he send 4 gentlemen to examine them, and I as many to his, and examine all the country 3 miles round: if he break promise, that I shall account the service unperformed: if he come with many, I shall do the like, not caring.

If things were to be done as at my last day at Norham ford with Sir Alexander Hume, we should go together by the ears, which by a simple fellow's discretion was avoided: who on our parting, was made prisoner by the Laird of Blackiter, but did not resist or make fray. When sent home, and asked by me, why he made no cry? he replied "his life was not worthe so much, as the hassard of that daies worke betwene the nations." I have demanded, and am promised the offender after a sort. "Thus Sir I enlarge to far Petrarkes old verse *Puce non trovo, non ho far il guerra*, the worst condition in my conceits that may bee."

The King's "awarding" Harreis, Maxwell, Johnston and the rest to prison, is rather to fortify his own borders thau to give any justice to us, as far as I can gather. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Was signed*: fragment.

Aug. 10. 1094. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

I this day met with Sir Robert Kerr, who notwithstanding the great bruit of extraordinary multitudes, came with few more than we agreed on. I propounded the oath, and though at first he made some difficulty as unusual, yet finally took it, and proceeded very orderly with justice. Farther he proposed to come "by course" to Carholme in England, to receive, and to be ready at Redden in Scotland, to satisfy, complaints, whereon we cast lots, and "I was so fortunate as to receive before I gave." Proceeding thus friendly, he told me in private of the King's command that he or his deputies should not meet "my coosen Guevera" my deputy warden, until his complaint to the Queen for Ashfield's apprehension against him, should be answered: which he after publicly propounded, and I openly answered, that when time and place served, I doubted not it would be justified, and meantime I hoped the King, of "propper" kingly equity, would condemn no man without cause, but charge him, and if not cleared, I would satisfy him. I was moved thereunto, (1) for satisfaction of our English gentlemen,

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redress to whom being in this unlooked for forwardness, I was unwilling to stay it; (2) for safety of the gentleman's person, in case of rash attempts before their "heate were determyued," as after public inquiry the thing of itself will fail, if the King brings nothing more against him; and (3) I thought it not amiss, "according to the old proverbe (synce we have had our wills in everie thinge, to geve the loosers waye for a while)." Thus we are in great hope of quietness, Sir Robert Kerr having more public show to justice than heretofore. And Sir Alexander Hume warden of the East Marches has very honourably delivered to me the Laird of Blackiter, to be punished at my discretion for his disorder at our last meeting. So we are all in friendly terms: and this being so, and the time drawing on, I pray you remember my leave. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: quartered*

Aug. 20. 1095. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Urgently representing the weakness of his March by famine and the late extreme visitation of sickness, and humbly entreating aid, either by some of the Berwick garrison as formerly, or allowance of pay for some countrymen to be placed in Gilsland and Bewcastle the "needfullest" places. Having called the Graymes before him, they have promised both to keep their own bounds, and assist their neighbours to stop malicious ridings and outrages, which he hopes they will perform. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Traces of a large wax seal.*

Aug. 20. 1096. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Sending him the letter to the Council and craving his aid therein.

That many suits have been made to him about the pledges, which he has refused, and begs no favour may be shown to them till he requests it.

Thanking Cecil for his many favours, in return for which he "may challenge the greatest interest of a setteled love." *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 24. 1097. WILLOUGHBY TO THOMAS WINDEBANCK.

I received your letter dated 11<sup>th</sup> instant, on 24<sup>th</sup> of the same, and doubt whether these I now send may have any quicker passage. For your further soliciting of the warden's causes recommended to you in my last, I have already made entrance thereinto in such sort, as that directions now "would but come the day after the fayre," and cause my longer stay here: and I much desire the dispatch of my leave. I shall always thankfully acknowledge your pains therein, and other kindnesses. Berwick. *Signed*: "Your lovinge cosen and assured friend, P. Wyllughby."

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To his lovinge cosen M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Windebanck one of the clerks of the counsell, att the Court." *Indorsed by Windebanck. Wax signet: 8 quarters.*

Aug. 25. 1098. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"I received this 25<sup>th</sup> your paquett directed after Hardret, sent accordingly." I hope you have received Sir Edward Chute, and sundry my other letters on her Majesty's affairs, most of these already performed? and therefore expect no speedy answer but that "sylene is a privy assent I have not don yll, at least my conscience beares me record so: when I do, I shall expect no extraordinary favour, *modo currat veritas.*" Meanwhile

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let me hope from you as I have deserved of you. - "Pardon me, Sir, yf in plaine dealing, especially of love, I endeavour not to pare my self, but mend me." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph*; also address. *No flyleaf*.

Aug. 28. 1099. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Your letter of 22<sup>d</sup> instant I received on the 28<sup>th</sup>, whereby you have freed me of some doubt of your good remembrance and opinion of me, and given me contentment answerable to your true value and my desire of your honourable friendship. Our occurrences are not worth advertising, or fit to be mixed with your serious and troublesome affairs; occasion serving, I shall impart what time brings forth. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: fragment*.

Aug. 31. 1100. WILLOUGHBY TO WINDEBANCK.

I thank you for your pains to procure my leave: I would not that her Majesty be urged to her displeasure. "The worst that may insue of my stay here, is but the loss of my livinge, and the hazard of my lyfe, which I weigh not with her Majesties service." Yet my coming will more further it than my stay here, for I desire to impart to her Majesty some matters of special importance, which I will not write, unless commanded on my allegiance. This I say not to further my leave, but for the nature of the things themselves. But I desire to learn her pleasure "for it is now winter with me," and in the uncertainty I can neither provide for my abode nor departure. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

\* Reasons for leave (1) all things quiet; (2) order in garrison and wardenry; (3) sufficient deputies in both; (4) people obedient; (5) the opposites sworn to keep good order with us. So my absence shall not hinder the Queen's service in the wardenry, and in the town M<sup>r</sup> Marshal has shown his sufficiency for the same.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Windebanck*: "xxx<sup>th</sup> of August 1599.  
... " *The address and postal indorsements all bear "30<sup>th</sup> August*.

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1101. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO [ ].

"Sir, This lettre, wherunto her Majesty commaundeth me to deliver my opinion, consisteth in these 2 heads: the former, th'evill estate wherin the late commissioners for the Borders left the wardens bookes in the bills of th'East March: the latter, the validity of Sesfurd's offers to make for her Majesties service."

The former of these is very important for her Majesty and her borders, and would require a larger discourse than can be here set down: only these few propositions may give her "some tast" of it, to be examined at her pleasure.

The last commission (1) fyled more bills than any 4 commissions then extant; (2) it concluded a treaty more "behoofull" for the good of England than ever before written or practised; and (3) as caution for performance, pledges of every broken surname were delivered, both in payment of bills fyled, and security for future good order: failing which the pledges were to be executed, and new called for, to be a continual bridle to that broken people. This last point of pledges, gained to the Queen's great charge and my great labour and peril, has been hitherto the only means to surcease violence, ordinary justice on the West and Middle Marches having been little done since.

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Though the wardens impugned the treaty, as straitening them, and I being sent hither laid their exceptions before the Council, "both by conference and writing in May was a twelvemonth," their lordships concluded the treaty was profitable for the realm, and should proceed. [He then describes his return to Berwick—joint letter to the three wardens with the Council's resolution to act therein—but nothing had followed. Neither had the wardens done anything to bring to a conclusion the business begun by the commissioners.]

Touching Cesford's offers: it is to be considered (1) Their quality; (2) the points of his danger; and (3) whether entertaining them will be better for her Majesty than to prosecute the case against him.

(1) He only promises future discoveries, nothing present. His ability to do this, and his willingness if released from present danger, may be conjectured by his former performance of promises to her Majesty. It is evident that neither the man's disposition in religion or good nature, or thankfulness to the Queen, will afford any trust: while his inwardness with the King, his youth, undertaking, and high conceit of doing great service in England for the King in time to come, will tie his ambitious conceit much rather to his King than to deserve well of the Queen, with hazard of his credit: and therefore whatsoever he pretend, he is like to prove "rather a cunning intimater of the Kings devices, than a true intelligencer to this estate."

For his justice: it is no more commanded on the East March, than it is exclaimed on in the Middle: and is more likely "turne-serving," if not more fitly imputed to the "ronden" and strength of his opposite by the bauds of Berwick.

(2) The nature of his danger: he has engaged himself very far in the dishonorable attempt to break York castle to free his pledges, and sees that the gentleman whom he trusted in, has discovered his letters, and is likely to avow them by the sword, being in all points of encounter as able as himself. He knows that the King on his violent protestations, has written to the Queen with his own hand, "that Sefurd desyreth no other then to be taken for a traytour to him, in case he be found guilty of that attempt." He cannot be ignorant that the King promised to me that Cesford should undergo an assise for his trial, the Scots to be named by her Majesty, the English by the King: and if not acquitted, thus "shalbe taken" as a traitor to his persou. He knows how far he has entered with Ashfield and that his handwriting will testify it. He hears her Majesty accepts well of that service, and cannot hope "the now ambassador" can salve the matter with slight discourses. He knows that he and his faction of the King's chamber "are hatefull to the kirk," and the greatest and best disposed of that nation. So if driven to undergo an assise, he shall either involve the King in a dishonourable partiality, or see his own ruin unavoidable.

I must leave the third point, whether to entertain or prosecute Cesford, to her Majesty's excellent wisdom: presuming merely to "present, by way of remembrance" that he may, without delay and "cautelous generalities, show his deserving well of her Majesty": namely in th'intelligence with Ireland—in the negociation of this French embassad—in th'intelligence with Spayne and Spanish Low Cuntries—with Denmark—with the Bishop of Glaskoe—and especially to discover the projects concerning Ashfeild, and what Scottish are the chief instruments for every of these about the King." On the other hand, of what importance it may be to the common peace, and strengthening the better side in Scotland, and crossing the worse, that her Majesty proceed in the aforesaid assise, so as the persous by her therein named, being 8 or 10 of the soundest and honouablest of that nation (the more the better), her proofs well digested beforehand, her ambassador well informed of the diversity of the Scottish dispositioun, aptly intimating (not at first, but in process) the case of Ashfield—and that not against the King, but against Cesford—may notably discover, cross, and impeach, the Romish plots, and

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both the haters and favourers thereof in the nation : a matter very proper for a longer and more leisurely digested discourse.

3½ pp. *Holograph of Bowes though unsigned. Probably addressed to Cecil or the Council.*

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1102. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO CECIL.

I have this long time forborne to trouble you, for by report, yourself and the Council have had enough to do for the defence of our country against the Spaniard : but hoping that those affairs be something quieted, put your honor in mind of my last letter touching Rotherforth the pledge at York, and would gladly know whether I may have him or no?

This march is in good quiet and the Scots do not much trouble us : but I can get no redress of Sir Robert Ker, only delays and idle excuses, and I think he will do worse rather than mend of his fault : for he has of late given cause of quarrel to my deputy Harry Woddryngton, in charging him with a great untruth, whereto M<sup>r</sup> Woddryngton has sent him an answer, but what will follow I know not, though I fear as much disorder as he can privately procure.

Having occasion to be at London towards the end of this next term, I humbly pray you to procure my leave. Alwick. *Signed* : Ro. Carey.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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1103. WILLOUGHBY TO WINDEBANCK.

To requite your kindness, "I intertayne a smale occasion, which well handled, might have grown greater, but now through the faint coldnes of some, is scarce worth the relatinge." This 14 days past there has been a bruit of a quarrel betwixt Sir Robert Kerr and M<sup>r</sup> H. Woddrington : what it is you may see by the copies I send you. Sir Robert was at the place appointed ; the other came not. Pray forget not my leave, I am now by a "late accident of a new disease worse then all my former sicknesses," forced to be more importunate and earnest. Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Windebanck. Signet quartered as before.*  
Inclosed in the same :—

(1) (Woodrington to Kerr.)

Whereas certain speeches are given out, that I said I was equal in authority and joined in commission with the Lord Warden of the Middle Marches : and I hear you are a reporter and affirmer, I let you know thus much, that these are "lyes," and if you have so reported them, "thou hast falsely and dishonestly belyed me." Bottel, 4<sup>th</sup> September. H. Widdrington.

(2) (Sir Robert Ker's answer.)

"I have received some lynes with the name of Henry Woddrington subjoined unto them, doubtfull in themselves, yet daringly sounds of despite. They geive matter to draw answer, but far is yt from true magnanimity : so scorn I to follow the grounds they project, the rather of the forme used in their coming to my knowledg, having changed from one hand to another of the same basnes, who unclosed brought them unto me. Their smal sence joined to thy braving shew, the unclose coverance, bindeth me for avoyding the lik censur. To mak the matter short with the owner, gif thou dare claym them, I shall on Fryday morning next being the 7<sup>th</sup> of September, God willing, be at the Hayr Craggs on the March between England and Scotland by eight howers in the morning with an short sword and a whyniard, with a steel bonet and plate sleeves, without any more weapons offensive or

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“defensive : wher I wish som spark of courag may mak thee appears in the same forme. I shall have one boy only of the age of sixteen yeers to hold my horse, who shall have no weapon, without any other body living neare me to my knowledg. Yf thou have anything to say to me, ther shall thou find me, for answer I will have none : fayth and honesty therby I promise, and hope for the like. Yf thou pay thy self with penning, and noe performance, I leave thee to the wordle to be judged of—a pratlyng coward—for things more publik, the princes will not tollerate. At the Freers the fift of September '99. S<sup>r</sup> Ro. Kerr.”

1 p. *Copies by Willoughby's clerk. Indorsed by Windebanck.*

Sept. 12. 1104. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I should be more troublesome “in this kind,” but our quietness here affords no occurrents. There have arrived of late near Berwick, “divers Scoch gentlemen of good account, returning from Italye, th'Earle of Athols brother, and th'Earle of Catnes brothers sonne,” with others, and well attended. On my inquiries of the parts whence they came, they could say little “save the common brute of the Spanish fleet determined to assemble at Slenuse, and to persevere, and fortifie their enterprise begun against Ostend,\* which I lightly touch, as better known to your selfe, then me.” Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllynghby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet as before.*

Sept. 16. 1105. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

The inclosed to your honor and the rest of the Council, is to signify a day of truce to be held betwixt Sir Robert Kerr and myself on the 27<sup>th</sup> hereof. I hear credibly that the King has ordered the whole force of the three borders to attend him : and as we have a private meeting on the 21<sup>st</sup>, I will alter their determination if I can : if not, I desire your instructions how I shall meet him.

This place I hold is one where neither honour, profit, pleasure, nor contentment, can be reaped. If by your means I could procure some pension or other office, and be freed, you should bind me for ever. Alnwick. *Signed* : Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 17. 1106. EMANUEL SCROPE TO CECIL.

You may wonder most honoured Sir, why I write to you so occupied : but I hope on considering the matter you will cease to do so. For when I see my most honoured father and myself, in danger of losing (at other's hands) the rightful possessions of our ancestors, which he lately at London not only had confirmed by promise, but would have already redeemed, but for his heavy and necessary charges this year : you will not wonder, if I seek through your goodness, that the lands received by my father from his ancestors may happily descend to his son, whereby you will bind me for ever. Carlisle. “*Tui semper amantissimus.*” *Signed* : Emannell Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Latin. Holograph ; also address* : “To the right honourable my very loving freind Sir Robert Ceicyls knyght,” &c. *Indorsed by Cecil* : “M<sup>r</sup> Emanuel Scroop to me from Carlisle.”

\* Willoughby adds on margin—“More likely Flushing.”

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Sept. 17. 1107. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I received your letter of the 9<sup>th</sup>, and not finding the book you wrote for, here, I have sent my servant to search my "evidence house" at Bolton, and if found, he shall bring it to you beginning of next term.

For the Grames' riding in Scotland: I never heard of it till your letter, marvelling it has been so close kept; but by public proclamation and private messages sent by some of my gentlemen, I have ordered them to desist, for the reasons you mention. For the aptness of the Earl of Angus to justice: it does not appear, for his broken people have made "refts" in Gilsland, and I have no redress, "notwithstanding my instance made both to him, the King and Nicolson." And taxing me with not meeting him is equally true: for I have been and am ever ready, and most desire it, if effectual.

Touching purchase of such parcels of S<sup>t</sup> Agathe's lands as I have by leases: as I am presently to redeem Hambledon a lordship in Buckinghamshire, I have not the money now, but hope by means of such friends as yourself, to protract the day for passing these lands till I make the money, "wherabouts" I will send up one of my servants this next term. But if it cannot be delayed, I must make such hard shift for the money, rather than the land be taken to the overthrow of my house. With thanks for all your honorable favours, daily succeeding those received from my good lord your father, I hope a long day will enable me to requite them, and manifest my never ending love. Carlisle.

Postscript:—Good sir, be a mean to her Majesty to remember my dutiful service, "and Emanuell": that seeing we cannot now purchase S<sup>t</sup> Agathes lands by reason of redeeming Hambledon, "and of my charges at the feast day of S<sup>t</sup> George last past," the passing of these lands may be put off till I may procure the money.

If we had the soldiers, it would stay this country well. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Since writing I am credibly informed that Henry Leigh is ridden very secretly into Scotland, under pretence he asked my leave to go to the marriage of an aunt's daughter. If by her Majesty's or your leave, I am satisfied: if not, as I hear from you, "so Ile proceede with him at his returne."

2½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in same:—

I hear Lord Scrope has an old book, containing most of the tenures in this land, in the times of Kings Henry 3<sup>d</sup> and Edward 1<sup>st</sup>: made by one Kirbye then Lord Treasurer, who travelled into many parts of the realm to search for these. Sir John Fortescue has promised a gentleman, of all others most expert in these cases, to entreat Lord Scrope by letter to lend the book to the gentleman to copy, and then return it safe to him.

If this book were to be had, it were more meet for the Master of the Wards than any other, and by request of his honor M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, it might soon be obtained.

½ p. *In a cramped contemporary hand.*

Sept. 23. 1108. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

This is but to inform your honor and the rest of the Council that Sir Robert Ker met me on the 21<sup>st</sup>, when we agreed well and I hope to have good justice. We concluded to meet on 5<sup>th</sup> October with 30 gentlemen of a side, and the great gathering is "layd a part." Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

\* "I pray your honor let me heare from you, and procer me my leave to

\* What follows holograph.



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"cum up this winter: for it is very cold and far from the sun this on-  
pleasant place I nowe live in; which if ever I get free from with my credit,  
it must cum by your honors good meanes."

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Sept. 23. 1109. SIR R. CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

[To same effect as preceding letter, without the postscript.] Alnwick.  
Signed: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{3}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Sept. 29. 1110. ONE YEAR'S WORKS AT BERWICK.

Brief of the works done between last of September 1598, and 29<sup>th</sup>  
September next following, and note of the authority for each.

*Extracts.*

Repairing the castle, making "corpes of guard, and sentinell houses" for the soldiers, &c.,	298l. 8s. 8d.
Putting in "great joystes of great tymber into the longe bridge over Tweede, being in great decay, with the setting up of somme newe railles thereon," un- finished for want of timber	40l. 13s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Making a new bridge of stone "over the stange or towne ditch without the Cowgate"	22l. 10s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Winning and hewing stones to mend a breach in the "White wall" under the castle.	112s.
Making up two breaches in the old town wall next Tweed, betwixt the Bridge gate and "Mason Dew," fallen down	115l. 7s. 2d.
Also a breach in the old town wall in the "Windmyll hoole" fallen down	44l. 8s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Repairing the long pier at the haven mouth, torn up by the storms and spring tides	21l. 12s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
A new gate and mending the bridge in the "Conny- garthes"	20s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Making a new drawbridge, and footing and mending the old town wall decayed and ready to fall, at Bedford mount	49l. 1s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Mending the Marshal's prison	8l. 4s. 6d.
Holy Island:—	
Repairing the ordnance platforms in the fort	67l. 18s. 8d.
The Lord Governor would have saved the Queen the third part of these works and more. Signed: P. Wylloghby.	

$3\frac{1}{2}$  pp. Indorsed.

Oct. 1. 1111. THOMAS LORD BURGHLEY TO CECIL.

By your letters of 24<sup>th</sup> of last I find how favourably her Majesty has  
been pleased to take my proceedings since I came hither. I know not how  
to serve her here, but to make her both loved and feared.

Before you receive these, you may have heard of the escape of some of the  
Scottish prisoners from the castle. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of last month, about mid-  
night, "two of the basar sorte tooke opportunitye in a tempestuous night,  
being lodg'd in the topp of a garratt, to uncoover the slate of the roofe of the  
chamber wher they laye, and so tying ther shetes and coverletts they laye

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"in, slypped downe and escapyd, being not knowen untill an hower after they were goone, wheruppon hew and crye was made, but as yett not harde of."

On examining, I find no likelihood of corruption nor practise either in the keeper or his men, but a mere desperate adventure of themselves: for any practise would have been for release of the better sort, who are as sorry at the escape as the keeper:—for they are more hardly dealt with, as the keeper by my order "hath sence sett boltes uppon ther leggs untill such tyme as they be restoor'd back agayne." They have written to Sir Robert Carr warden of the March to which they are thought to have escaped, hoping he will send them back.

I find on a view, the common and private armour of this country so defective, as I am ashamed to certify. But I hope by spring to have it as well armed as any shire in England: and to say truth, they are willing enough to strain their purses, and I do not doubt to arm their minds for their prince's service. York. "Your broother all yours." *Signed*: Tho. Burghley.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph*; also address: "To . . . my very good broother, Sir Robert Cecyll knight secretary of state," &c. *Indorsed*: ". . . Lord President of York to my master," &c.

Oct. 2. 1112. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I have this day received her Majesty's most gracious leave for my repair southward, and cannot but give you thankful acknowledgment of your furtherance therein. My wardenry is in quiet, and the opposite wardens well affected thereto: on a late meeting with Sir Robert Kerr for redress, I received extraordinary justice, "himself voluntarily put out th'offenders unknown, and unsuspected to the partie greived." I have left the town to "M<sup>r</sup> Martials" government: "soe that now I hope I may the more frely take my playnge tyme." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 2. 1113. SCROPE TO CECIL.

As your favor has been great to me regarding those parcels of lands I hold of her Majesty, and to be purchased: so must I offer most hearty thanks, and will ever be "prest" to deserve your innumerable kindnesses.

I had a letter from the Earl of Angus and answered it, as the inclosed copies show. I caused my deputy at once with the force of the country to attend him and learn his desire: who returned without any news of him. I now hear that with the barons and strength of the country, he rode upon and burned the Johnstons, who forcibly took and hold the King's castle of "Lowghmaken." It is said the lieutenant and his force "skaild" from the field on Friday last till further advices from the King.

George Nicolson reports from Scotland that the Laird of "Carmichell" is proclaimed opposite warden: but I hear nothing of it from the Lieutenant.

By this time you will have heard of the late roade by the Wooddringtons, &c., of Northumberland on those wicked thieves of "Annerdail," which will somewhat repair the losses those "lammers" have done in the Middle Marches. I entreat you to hasten the soldiers.

Notwithstanding my public and private prohibitions, yet the Grames with the Lieutenant rode on Johnston: whereof the King will likely complain. Let me know how to redress it. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

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(1) (Angus to Scrope.)

Signifying that by the King's command he is to be on the Borders 25<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> instant, to bring the insolent thieves to order, and as some may hope to be reset in England, requesting Scrope to forbid it, and in person or by deputy, hold hand with his forces against this. Dumfries 21 September 1599. Angus.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Copy by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed: ". . . Received the 25 of September."

(2) (Scrope to Angus.)

Signifying that his letter of 21<sup>st</sup> had only reached him at 7 A.M. this day—the day appointed for meeting—that he had at once sent his clerk to Dumfries, and so far as the "slack" receipt of his letter allowed, would draw the force of his wardenry to meet him and hold hand "with all rigor." Carlisle. 25<sup>th</sup> September 1599. Tho. Scrope.

1 p. Copy by his clerk. Addressed at foot: "To Angus as the King's lieutenant and lord warden of the West Marches."

Oct. 5. 1114. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Humbly entreating his favour for "this poore gentleman the bearer," who has deserved well of the Queen and country: but now being aged and impoverished, and moved by his friend Lord Willoughby, intends to prefer a suit to her Majesty for relief, which if granted, will be a high favour to Carey. Alnwick. Signed: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Oct. 6. 1115. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Signifying that Lord Willoughby (now on his way to London) left Berwick on 29<sup>th</sup> September, and himself as deputy "withoute allowanes." Inclosing some letters given him to forward, and having been in office so small a time, has no news worth sending as yet. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed: ". . . M<sup>r</sup> John Carye to my master."

Oct. 8. 1116. SIR R. CAREY TO HUNSDON.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> instant I held a day of truce with Sir Robert Ker and had good justice as my letter to the Council shows. If he continues as he has begun, this country will soon be an altered place. This sudden change of his breeds many doubts, and most men think he hopes thereby to get some ease for his pledges: but I hope, whatever the King's and Sir Robert's persuasions may be, the Tivydale pledges may not be delivered without my knowledge, and receive their liberty from me by her Majesty's direction. And this not from any hope of good to myself, but I will so handle them that the setting them free shall be a "meere thralldoms" to them and their surnames: and yet their warden and themselves shall all think they are very kindly dealt withal.

To confirm this good beginning we are to meet again on the 26<sup>th</sup> instant, and if he continues his well doing, we shall have a quiet time this winter and my absence will not be hurtful. I pray you let me know her Majesty's pleasure on my coming up this winter: for I have great occasion to be at London before this term end, and use your best means to procure me leave. "My humble service to my Lady your love." Alnwick. Signed: Ro. Carey.

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1 p. *Addressed*: "To . . . my very good lord and brother the Lord Hunsdon, lord chamberlen of her Majesties household," &c. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: ". . . Sir Robert Carie to my master," &c.

Oct. 8. 1117. SIR R. CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Reporting his peaceful meeting (as in preceding) on the 5<sup>th</sup>, with Sir Robert Ker: who in testimony of his love of justice, hearing some of his March were spoiling in Carey's, lay in wait for their return on the "border edge"; took the principal man, detaining him till the King's pleasure be known, and returned the spoil, about 200 sheep. They are to meet again on the 26<sup>th</sup>, whereof he will report to their lordships. Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 15. 1118. SCROPE TO CECIL.

As I said before, I learn by Lancelot Carleton that Henry Leigh was with the King "in privat at \*L . . . , for so the Liewtenant, which saw him there, tolde to Brakenhill." If neither by the Queen's nor your license, "looke what you will have me doo, that will I execute."

I sent my clerk to the Lord lieutenant with the English complaints enrolled, and he is to send me the Scottish, when we shall proceed with justice.

It is alleged he is become a party in the "feades," with the Maxwells and Dunlanrig against the Johnstons, which moved the last to seize "Lowghmaken," and is like to cause more displeasure unless the King take present order.

The Laird Johnston "being in holde" has made means to show his "griefes" against Angus to the King, who directed his appearance to answer them. But by advice of Lord Herries and barons, he has stayed in the country, signifying this by a servant, who is not yet returned: so it is doubtful to which party the King will adhere. But since the castle was taken, divers slaughters and spoils of worthy persons have been done among them.

The Laird of Carmichael was commended as warden, and expected the Lieutenant to proclaim him: but as yet not done, as he sought that authority from others, "and not from him selfe solye."

The Lieutenant with Lord Herries and the barons, I hear intends to levy 50 horse to suppress the Johnstons, and also to send for his wife "(being greate with childe)" to remain at Dumfries, where he intends to call about him Lord Herries and the lairds of that "new supposed faction this winter." I beg your hasty furtherance of the soldiers to this border. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Holograph. Addressed.*

Oct. 27. 1119. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SCROPE.

The commodity of this bearer "the good lard of Greatney," a gentleman well devoted to your lordship, as upon occasion he "hathe kithed here," makes me present my humble duty, leaving him to give occurrents.

The lord lieutenant (for the time) uses many good speeches of you, and looks for justice. "And Baucleughe is truly and faithfully your lordships in all lawfull sorte." And the Laird of Johnston, "as mete a gentleman" for your benefit as any, is minded to run your course, so you suffer him not to be overrun by the Grames in his troubles, which will soon turn to his liberty.

\* Word carefully crossed out, probably "Lythco."

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The King and others are much grieved at their rodes, a matter which your lordship may stay, and set them at peace with these two worthy gentlemen Baucleughe and Johnston, whereby you shall have great ease and surety: otherwise the Grames' continued riding will bring more trouble than they look for at the princes' hands. For Sir John Carmichael, if he occupy the warden's place "(as he hathe it by warrant)," he is with you in like sort, and will omit no means for peace on the border, "my lord Harris being also peaceable, and good, and the Lord Maxwells frendes (him self being young) of like myndes." Edinburgh. *Signed*: Geo. Nicolson.

I wrote in my last on a matter you may benefit by at your discretion. The party is very honest, thankful, wise and secret.

1 p. *Holograph*; also *address*.

Oct. 31. 1120. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I inclose those two letters from George Nicolson. I have ordered the Grames of whom he complains in the one, to bring me their reasons for riding on the Johnstons against my orders, and on receiving, will send them to you. By his other I see that the Laird of Spott is presently to ride to London. He is greatly commended to me by divers friends, and being requested to do so, I commend him to yourself to expedite his business. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signet* (*Scrope*) with the *Garter*.

Nov. 5. 1121. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I have just received your letter, and perceive her Majesty's unwillingness that I come up this winter: I must obey, though to my great loss. But I hope, if things keep quiet, she will be pleased to let me come up after Christmas, that I may not lose the benefit of next term, as I have of this. She is not well acquainted with their chief time of stealing: it is not the dead of winter as she says, for then the ways are so foul, and cattle so weak, that they cannot drive, or carry anything off. Their chief time is always betwixt Michaelmas and Martinmas: "then are the fells good and drie and cattle strong to dryve": which time is now past with great quiet and little or no stealing.

On the 2<sup>d</sup> instant I held another "day of trew" with Sir Robert Ker at the Stawford, with good justice as before. He still does well, and protests he will so continue: which sudden alteration from being a protector of thieves, to a suppresser, causes much wonder in these parts. Some think it is to regain her Majesty's favour; others, to gain some ease to his pledges, and others that it is because he and his thieves can do us no hurt, such is our good order. I think all three causes are great motives with him: but whatever it be, it has done great good to the country, and the honest subjects of both realms enjoy their own in quiet. I think it were not amiss if her Majesty by her agent in Scotland, or by myself, took knowledge of it and her good acceptance thereof.

I pray your honor get me leave to come up so soon as you can. Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signet*: *quartered*.

Nov. 8. 1122. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Though there is no news here, these packets from Scotland give me opportunity not to neglect my love and duty in saluting your honour, and signifying my readiness to serve you. These parts hereaway are in wonder-

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ful quiet; and there is such justice done as was never known nor seen within memory of man. There is neither stealing nor riding, and if any such chance happen, we have but to send into Scotland to get restitution, whether Cesford be there or no, such command has he left with his officers; showing he has become another man, for besides doing justice and "violent keepinge" his people from doing harms, he seems very sorry for her Majesty's hard opinion justly conceived of him, with great desire to have it removed, and offers her all manner of service both here and elsewhere, reserving his allegiance.

"Shewer he is a fare altered man that ever I saw from so bade to so good, wiche sheaves he cane be bothe, and belike wilbe as he feyndes!" but it is far better for her Majesty and her subjects, and if he found she had knowledge of and likes his alteration, it might encourage him to continue "his well begun change." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Inlorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Nov. 17. 1123. THE DEAN OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

This day a Scottish gentleman the Laird of Weemes, passed through this city, travelling to London. He seems a friend to our state, and signified that a ship late come from "Brauges in Flanders" is freighted from Scotland to Calais, wherein he has shipped certain horses and "grayhounds" for France. All goes in his name, and the chief in the ship is one Moryson, who he says "hath commissions from Scotland to the Pope": which he willed me to signify to you, and will declare more largely at coming up. Praying God long to preserve her Majesty, and multiply upon your honor your father's years and honors. Durham. *Signed*: W. James.

*½ p. Holograph; also address. Inlorsed. Wax signet: a shield charged with a dolphin; crest: a bull or cow.*

Nov. 18. 1124. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I have nothing to trouble you with, but an accident in my March about 2 months since, whereof I did not write as not worth notice. But hearing that the King by his ambassador at our Court, means to join it to the last years' hunting, for more disgrace to my officers M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick, complaining that they invaded his realm with 2000 men: I humbly beg you to handle the matter that her Majesty may take no mislike till she hear the truth, which I will here set down.

By my labours since coming to this March, Liddesdale and Teviotdale our former great spoilers, are now quiet. But "a new pack of theves" have started up out of the West March, who never rested last summer with daily spoils and incursions to the overthrow of many a poor widow and fatherless child. I wrote in the beginning of summer to the Earl of Angus, lieutenant there, and received a "kynde" letter promising justice: but I "gate" none. The mischief continuing the whole summer, at the latter end I wrote again to the Earl, who replied, that I should be righted, when he brought these people to his obedience, desiring me to have patience. Finding there could be no speedy redress, I and my officers thought a "pownd" should be taken of the chiefest offenders to stop their outrages: and M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick with 1500 or 1600 Redesdale and Tynedale men horse and foot—"and very requysyte yt was" that they should go in strength so far from our March—went to the Langhame, the laird of which has been the chief resetter, and his own sons the leaders, of these malefactors, and brought away the laird's brother and 200 head of cattle, without hurting any other Scottish subject. The effect is, the laird came to redeem his brother, and make restitution of all spoils done by his people, and has given bond that he and they shall not offend us again: and poor men hereabouts can now travel in safety from

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market to market, as never before. The offenders made no complaint to the King or his officers, but made their own peace: and yet I hear complaint is to be made to the discredit of these gentlemen, who deserve praise rather than blame.

I most humbly entreat for my leave to come up after Christmas, as things are quiet: as your honour respects my credit. Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 21. 1125. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL

I perceive by letters from my lord my brother that the Scots ambassador has complained of the "rode of Langhame": whereof I hope your honor has informed her Majesty as I truly reported. The causes were very great for that course, and seeing no good redress could be got from the Lieutenant, and the fact in itself lawful by the practice of the border, to take "a pownd" of the offender, I could not otherwise have discharged my duty. It has wrought great quiet, and I can say no more than I wrote before. I beseech your honor to be the patron and defender of M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington: he is a good subject, and has not many "marrowes" where he lives. To clear doubts and satisfy the ambassador, it were good he were sent for, and if he cannot discharge himself before the Council and the ambassador, let him suffer according to his deserts. It will be a shorter course to satisfy the King, than by a commission in the country, and it is what he desires. If he is not suffered to come, I pray your honor let me have my leave the sooner. Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Quartered signet: indistinct.*

Nov. 23. 1126. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL

I send the inclosed letters received from Master Nicolson out of Scotland, with request to forward them to you: also "this boke," sent by the messenger with like request. There is no news here but peace and quietness, for Cesford hitherto keeps his promise to do justice. "Ther hathe of lat byn sume littyll stear between the Kyng of Scotland and his ministres about sertayen Englishe players that ar in Scotland: whoe the Kerke have forbedden to playe and have preached agayenst them withe verey vehement reprehensiones: and the Kyng hathe commanded they shall playe, and that none shalbe prehibetyd comminge to them. Wherat the Kerke is muche displeasid, and muche trubeles it had like to wraighta." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan.*

Nov. 27. 1127. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL

I have thought good to acquaint your honor Sir Walter Scot will be at London very shortly—within 2 or 3 days after receipt hereof. He was with me at Alnwick on 26<sup>th</sup> instant, and thence set forward on his journey. "I think he wyll be desyrous to kysse the Queenes hand: which favour of late he hath verie well deserved, for scynce my comminge into this partes, I do assure your honor he is the onely man that hath runn a dyrect course with me for the mayntenaunce of justice, and his perfourmaunce hath ben such as we have great quyetnesse with those under his chardge." Nor have I wanted present satisfaction for anything taken by his people: and he has had the like from me. There is not an unsatisfied bill on either side between us. For all Sir Robert Ker's great justice of late, I cannot say the like of him. So I pray your honor when he comes to you, take knowledge of him,

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and respect him for his well-doing. It will encourage him to continue when he returns. He has left a very sufficient honest gentleman in his place with great charge to keep correspondence with me; so things are like to be very quiet this winter. I have appointed another gentleman beside Mr Woodrington to be my deputy and manage all matters with Sir Robert Car and his officers: Mr Woodrington to be my absolute officer in all other matters.

I pray you therefore remember my old suit and get me leave to come up, the sooner the better. Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(His propositions for governing his March in his absence at Court.)

(1) The Lord President of York to be authorised to release the hostages at York, when others are sent by the Governor of Berwick, and Carey or his deputy to replace them; (2) thereby Sir Robert Ker will have part of his desire, and keep his border quiet; (3) he will make peace between Sir Robert Ker and Henry Woodrington, discharge the hunting accident and all other feuds between them and others; (4) he will build a lodging for his deputy at Harbottel, and quarter his horsemen round the castle ready for service; (5) recommends Sir R. Cecil to write to Woodrington with the Queen's thanks for his good services to encourage him; (6) thinks that his deputy may supply his place, except for a month or 6 weeks in summer: for the rest of the year, hopes her Majesty will allow him to wait on her at Court; (7) that she will make trial of this for a year only, and if it does not succeed, he will be ready to go back to his charge; (8) Sir Raf Sadler governed the same place by his deputy Sir John Foster many a year, and so may he, if it is the Queen's pleasure by his honor's means.

1 p. *Holograph. Indorsed by Cecil.*

Nov. 29. 1128. JOHN GUEVARA TO WILLOUGHBY.

Only now I have received answer from Sir Robert Ker to my letter about this late disappointment. He excuses himself by his servants' negligence (with his letter saying he could not keep the day), threatening them with severe punishment: and has appointed the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> December without fail. Vows to keep peace in his charge as within his own house, and if any of his have wronged your border, while he was at Court, he will send them to me "tyed under horses bellies." He has proclaimed that if any pass through his charge to attempt your wardenry, all whom we call on, shall rise to fray and following, as if they were wronged themselves. He not only wrote this, but commanded Anderson to come and show me precisely his men's neglect. He is yet at Court as great as ever, and lately hunted a match with the King: when his horse and dogs gained such credit, as they be since the King's. My "cussin" Veare is with the Bishop, where I wish he may profit in learning as he has lately done here. Now your lordship is absent and has disposed your son, I beseech you bestow your picture (that is here) on me, that I may have something to look on with delight. I would beg your daughter's—at least the possession during your absence: and do not think Captain Norton will be discontented, in whose lodging they both are. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Guevara.

1 p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 7. 1129. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

Being detained here on a very important occasion, lest I seem to neglect my last charge from her Majesty, I inclose this paper, beseeching you to intimate it to her highness as opportunity may offer: purposing



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myself to attend you with all expedition. "From my lodging in Warwick Lane." *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Reasons for his absence from Berwick.)

I was called by command to her Majesty's presence to report my negotiation in Scotland.

And my longer stay is caused by these occasions—

(1) For her Majesty's service.

I am to give up my account in Candlemas term next, for the past 2 years' receipt of the treasure for Berwick; and cannot do it sooner, for the Michaelmas half year's pay cannot be made till Christmas.

Then I think I shall let the Lord Treasurer see how a "full fourth part or more" may be saved on her Majesty's works at Berwick.

And some alterations in disbursement, by order of the now Lord Governor, require my attendance, before they are allowed by her Majesty.

(2) For my private estate—I humbly command these particulars. "During my service in Scotland, M<sup>r</sup> Francis Foljamb (whose sonne shalbe heyre to Foljamb's lands of Walton), hath commenced sute and sought to evict from me better then 300*li*. yearly of my wifes joynture: against the which Francis, for withdrawing of my tenants and many other heavy wrongs, I have been enforced now lastly to complayn in the Chancery, which sute doth require both great charge and my owne attendance."

Secoundly.—While in Scotland my chief lands in Derbyshire were extended for some debts of Henry late Earl of Huntington "with the uttermost rigour of law." Wherein I must humbly see her Majesty, that by her goodness the lords of her council may call the matter before them and do me such justice as I deserve.

Thirdly.—Some differences between my wife's friends and me, how her late husband's debts should be answered in equity, can only be settled by myself, and here.

Fourthly.—Last Midsummer term while in Scotland, one Bee an auditor's clerk, bought "over my head" some lands held by me in lease from her Majesty, which I intended to buy myself, and has also taken another lease in reversion over my head; who refuses to take a reasonable composition to let me have it, and I must be a humble suitor to her Majesty, "that he may be delt with to do me reason."

I humbly recommend the premises, with such relief as her Majesty may see fit, to her gracions consideration.

$1\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Holograph*.

Dec. 10. 1130. THE CAPTAINS OF BERWICK TO WILLOUGHBY.

With their humble duty, referring him to their petition to the Queen for increase of pay, and his promise to help therein. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Carvill, Antonye Tompson, John Twyforde, William Boyer.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed by Guevara*.

Dec. 24. 1131. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I pray your honor's pardon that I still importune you for my leave; but my occasions are very great to be at London before next term. "It is very hard for me to mayntayne my self, that have little or nothing to live of but her Majesty allowans, and that very small in respect of the great chardge I live at, exept I have liberty sum teyms to look to my owne estate." I have brought the country with great care and charge, to a civil

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government, and the Scots to good neighbourhood, and having thus done my best, if I cannot be spared at this time, I may well perish under my burden. I most humbly entreat your honor to let her Majesty know my case, and that I will be altogether overthrown unless I have time to look to my own affairs. "Beseyds many other occations, as to take sum order for my detts and such leyk: ther is a widowe in Suffolk that maks clayme to alle that I have in the world left me by my father, and in the begining of this terme it is to be tryd betwen us; it is sum six score pound a yeaere land —exsept I be ther my self, I dooe assuer my self it will goe agaynst me. If I loss it by my absens, I shall live longe in thes parts before I recover such an other thinge: it is all that I have to leave to my poore children to keepe them from begiuge: suerly to great a los for me to indur! I mak no dought of good suceses if I be ther to followe my owne caues." I hope her Majesty will not refuse me leave; but if she do in my necessity, I shall be sorry to offend her, but under my patent, "which is to me my deputy or deputis," will leave a sufficient one in my place, "and will ventur to com up without leave, for I will not lose my childrens livinge throwe my owne negligens." Alnwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

## Dec. 26. 1132. SCROPE TO CECIL.

If this "barren place" had afforded news, I would not have been so long silent. But now the Bishop of Carlisle having occasion to write to you, I advertise yon of a foul murder within 2 miles of Carlisle "the Sunday next too Christmas on the person of an honest gentleman esquire, somtymes retayner to M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Warcope the pencioner, named Edward Aglionby, often maior of Carlel, and ever ready to serve the Quene." It is suspected to have been done by the 2 sons of Ambrose Carleton, John and Thomas, and a Grame. John is committed to the castle, but the rest are fled to Scotland. He stands on denial, but I wish he may clear himself.

For my cousin Metcalfe, whose good fortune to be towards you greatly rejoices me, I will do what is in my power for him, as he will show you. This only I dare commit to paper, till I have leave to come up, which I hope for by your means when this winter is past.

"I heare that the Scottish Kings intelligences of the Earle of Essex doo him no good." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet with Garter.*

## Dec. 26. 1133. JAMES VI. TO SCROPE.

"Upoun the continewance of the disorderit estate of our West Marche, we have now employed our trusty counsallour Schir Johnne Carmichaell of that ilk knyght, with the charge and office of wardanerie over the same, in hoip be his meane and experiance to repres the insolence of the brokeu men and inhabitantis thairof . . . And seing ye ar his opposite, effectuouslie to requiest and desire yow to hald hand to him on your syde:sa far as possible can be in persute and punischement of these malefactoris . . . From our pallice of Halyruidhouse." *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Flyleaf and address lost.*

## Dec. . 1134. NOTE ON WARDEN MEETINGS, &amp;c.

"The lait Laird of Spott James Dowglas resident at Londoun, sone to the Erle of Mortoun lait regent. The olde ceremonie in meeting amongst the wardens, in memorie of the death of one of Sesfoord his predecessors:

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whereby ever since the English warden hath bene accustomed to enter the bounds of Scotland and pass the Marches."

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Contemporary hand. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk as title.*

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1135. SECRETARY CECIL TO SIR JOHN CAREY.

I have informed the Queen that the whole burthen and care of Berwick falls on you by absence of others: which she minds to reform, and her pleasure was I should write to Sir William Bowes to go down with all speed to assist you: but he lies at Hackney in extremity of sickness, "verie much possessed." I know of no other officer to send you, "but old Selbye"—in whose place you have his nephew—Musgrave excepted. I will send him, on hearing by your next whether he is there or no.

"Now Sir, for that wherein you would have me moove her Majesty to amend your allowance: I will not hyde it from you that I have in meere discretioun forborne it, untill I heare your answeare, and out of this reason, which is shortly this—first, you know that her Majesties allowances merely out of her purse, are obtayned with difficulty—next if she should allow you as much as heretofore hath been to any, it would not be soe much as would amend your entertainment a hundred 2, or 3, in the yeare, untill she bestow the supreme government. Now Sir when I consider that is not like to be longe before some greater matter will come in question for you, for your brother doth decay very fast—I thought it not amisse to forbear directly to presse her Majesty for this which would be but a trifle: although for the present I did lett her see the reason she hath to take care of you that have soe little to mayntayne soe great a charge."

Now you see my meaning, let me know your mind, and I will do what I can to requite your profession of good will.

You have noted my omission to date my letters within. Yet you must observe that all post letters show by their indorsement when they are written: but I have now received answer to that packet which I suspected to have been "layed for betwen" Berwick and Edinburgh, therefore you need not make any inquiry.

3 pp. *Draft by Cecil's clerk.*

Dec. . 1136. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

My desire to perfect the pay of Berwick and to furnish myself with all things necessary to make my account next term for the 30,000*l.* passed through my hands, caused me to journey northwards. My want of health "impeached" my waiting on you at Court as I desired.

I think it would be very meet that the comptroller of the works should be at Berwick early next term, that some better course may be taken: a full fourth (if not a third) may be saved yearly and the works equally well doue: with my opinion whereon I have acquainted my lord treasurer and the lord governor in my duty.

"Havinge attended by her Majesties call untill hir Majesties remove from Richmonde to Westminster," I humbly crave your furtherance for my allowance, having appointed this bearer (my friend M<sup>r</sup> Ewens) to attend your honour's pleasure. *Signed: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.*

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk: "1599, December . . . from Barwick . . ." Wafer signet (Bowes).*

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1137. DIFFICULTIES SINCE LAST COMMISSION.

A Remembrance of some difficulties arising since last commission at Berwick.

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Dec. .] (1) Complaint that the commissioners merely filed bills without swearing them, leaving redress incomplete. (2) Evil effects of delivery of "innocentes" as pledges for "nocentes." (3) The wardens cannot remedy the commissioners' omissions, which the latter must implement—though the wardens or deputies could have done everything with as great facility and less charge to the Queen. (4) "Because of this knotte which he seeth nobody goe aboute to untye," Lord Willoughby as warden of the East March can do no good service in regard of matters before his time, and requires direction from Cecil. (5) He cannot find that Cesford is fyled for the murders, &c., he committed: and as for conferring with Sir William Bowes therein, he has done so, but to no great purpose.

1 p. *In a fair clerkly hand. A memorandum for some messenger from Willoughby to Cecil.*

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Dec. .] 1138. NOTES AS TO BERWICK GARRISON.

As to need of new fortifications—stores lately supplied—that the garrison is now very near 900 in the Queen's pay. As to the horse garrison, their 4 constables and the Lord Governor's authority over them: to levy a new company would cost her Majesty or the country 2000*l*. The horsemen have always been Northumberland men, ever since Berwick was English, and are fittest for that service. For others of the 4 northern counties excluded by the 1<sup>st</sup> article of the Establishment, such as had served in Ireland or France were allowed: the Governor and captains may reform the rest.

\* "L. Grey, John Fenwyck, L.Ch., Cutbert Armore, John Cary, Joseph Dalavel, L. Hunsdon, Leonard Morton."

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Jan. 2.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Same hand as captains' letter, No. 1130. Indorsed: "The state of the garrison at Barwick."*

1139. ANGUS TO SCROPE.

"I ressaiffit your lordschippis lettre, albeit it wes lait in cuming to my handis in respect of George Nicolsonis seiknes at Edinbrucht. Alwis for your lordschipsis bettir satisfactioun and redressing of enormiteis, I haiff appointit the Laird of Carmichaell wardane under me, quha is to be schortlie in the cuntrie, and be and the Laird of Newbie my lieutenant deput, will speik your lordship, and according to ressoun and equitie, will tak sic ordour that your lordship will be contentit." Douglas, "the second of Januar 1600." *Signed: W. D. Erll Anguss.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed: "... January 2, '99 ... Trace of large wax seal.*

Jan. 4. 1140. PASSPORT FOR ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, &c.

License by Sir John Carey knight, captain of 100 foot, chamberlain, marshal, and deputy governor of Berwick, for "the bearers hereof Allexander Levyston, James Monteithe, Robert Duglesse and Barnett Lynsey gentilmen of Scotland, with John Foord, William Clercke, James Culley, and Thomas Edward Scottesmen also," travelling to London on their lawful affairs, with 7 grey stone horses about 16 hands high, one grey gelding ambling 15 hands, and 6 brown bay nags ambling and trotting 14 hands high. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed at foot: "To all justices of peace, maiors, &c." Indorsed by Cecil's clerk: "Hugh Montgomery, Mathew Symple, to go into France."*

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## 1141. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

Intreating as a personal favour to himself, his assistance for the bearer's suit, an ancient servant of the Queen's, and much bound to the late Lord Burghley—it having pleased her Majesty in respect of his merits (being lieutenant in Berwick) and his 60 years' service to her and her predecessors in the wars, to give him hopes of her gracious bounty. London. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

## Jan. 13. 1142. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL

Before the receipt of your last letter, I was so far as Newcastle on my way towards London: but being infinitely bound for your sound advice, and I meaning to follow it, I am determin'd not to adventure up without leave. But having special business with M<sup>r</sup> Ros of Laxton, I have ventured to come so far off my journey as his house, where I mean to remain till I hear from your honor if my leave is granted. If her Majesty will by no means be persuaded, upon notice from you, I will return though it be to my ruin. All things are in great quietness, and I have so ordered them that I hope it shall continue till my return, or a new officer in my place. "Be Crist sir, my occasions imports me very much to be at London and Court: your honor gave me sum hope in your letter that within 4 or 5 days you thought to procer me my leave (God grant you have obtaynd it). I will heare at Laxton attend the good ouer: whether it be good or bad, I pray your honor let me knowe her Majesty pleasur at your best leasur, for I will not stur from Laxton till I heare from you whether I shall retier or march forward." Laxton. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wax signet: gem, a staj (or goat).*

## Jan. 16. 1143. SCROPE TO CECIL

Having signified to the Earl of Angus lieutenant opposite, and George Nicolson, divers offences by the Scots, I have no answer but the inclosed letters.

Finding that the "ofteu exchange" of officers in Scotland greatly hinders redress, and doubting that Sir John Carnichaell "now comended warden," will take no burden for byegones, but only offer to quiet the border and stay riding in future: I will not yield to this, without your direction therein, which I pray may be with expedition.

I have lately kept a gaol delivery and quarter sessions here, which has brought great quietness.

I hear some go about to procure my leases of S<sup>t</sup> Agathe's lands over my head: which a word from you to the Lord Treasurer would stay from passing, and I hope to obtain this, like many past favours.

The Scottish King in all his former letters called me "cosen," but not in this last—I think as I refused to meet him as requested—"but I passe not, for I am none of his subjects," only desiring to rest in her Majesty's gracious favor. I pray God her happy and most noble state "maye be as fortunate as her vertues are admirable." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

## Jan. 17. 1144. EMANUELL SCROPE TO CECIL

That he cannot in mind conceive, or in words expresse, his debt of love for the letters he has deigned to write to him. Praying earnestly that his more

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arduous labours will not hinder his soliciting the Lord Treasurer to confirm to his father these holdings at present in some danger: in return for which offering the same love to himself, which he ever felt towards the Secretary's late most honoured father. Carlisle. *Signed*: Emanuell Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Latin. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Scrope) : quartered, plain.*

Jan. 26. 1145. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

That since his sickness he has had no occurrents from the north, except these inclosed: one from Sir Robert Kerr, more of compliment than otherwise, repeating his good intentions: the other from Willoughby's deputy warden, of his acceptance of justice from Sir Alexander Home opposite warden, in all matters since he became governor. In other matters, wherein he craved the Council's advice, he has not yet received it, nor is the treasurer returned from Berwick: but so soon as able he will attend Cecil therein. London. *Signed*: P. Wyllngby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of signet.*

Feb. 7. 1146. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I have some special business in London shortly, requiring my presence, and heartily pray your favour for my most gracious sovereign's leave, that about the 3<sup>d</sup> of March I may take my journey to London.

This wardenry is quiet, watches all in order, and nights waxing short. I have appointed M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther my deputy, as most acceptable to her Majesty. Sir John Carmichael opposite warden still continues at Court and no certainty of return to his wardenry. I hear the King has commanded Lord Heris and the Lairds of Dunlanrige and Johnstou to appear before him and the Council to subscribe "a general band and submission, or all bloods, lands, and goods hertofore fallen forth amongst them." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet, Garter, &c.*

Feb. 18. 1147. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I have even now received the inclosed letter, that a strange ship is on the West "coste" here near Wolstie castle: 5 of her men were taken as they came on shore with the boat. To-morrow I intend "to goe and see whats in it," when you shall hear more with speed. Meantime direct me what to do with ship and men: for I will keep them till I hear. I have asked none for my leave but you, and hope to have it shortly: have appointed M<sup>r</sup> R. Lowther my deputy, "and on Monday come a sevenight sets forwards towards London having som busines in the way": where as I get leave so I shall proceed. Meantime let me hear in the premises. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph; also address. Flyleaf with address, &c., gone.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(William Chamber to Scrope.)

"A straundge shipe ys drevn out of hir course so as she hath ridden upon ancker upon the myd see betwixt Ereland (?) and Skottland, and v of hir men ys comed aland": which I have in safe keeping to wait your pleasure.

"I cannot git anye to goe to the shipe wheles tomorrowe, for there ys not watter to bring hir over the sand ryge." She has been off Wolstye castle since yesterday morning. In haste, craving your lordship to take my

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"read" letter-in good part by the bearer my son. Wolstye Castle. 18<sup>th</sup> February. *Signed*: Willyam Chamber.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*.

Feb. 19. 1148. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Being intreated by Master Nicolson to address this inclosed letter, I thought good to certify the King of Scots' progress to these border parts. "Whoe meanes to be on Freydaye next at Lawder that night, a plase in Lodyan: and uppon Satterdaye in Halleyden Ser Robert Keres, wher he meanes to tarrey Sundaye all daye, and uppon Mondaye he goes from thens to Storkstrother, wher he meanes to hunt, and so that nighte to Kelsey, wher he meause to remayen, howe longe I knoe not." His farther progress yet undetermined. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: a swan.

Feb. 21. 1149. SCROPE TO CECIL.

You heard in my last of the strange ship cast by our boisterous winds on shore within 5 miles of Wolstie castle. It was "hoovering therabouts" a whole day before I heard of it on Monday last at 7 P.M. Next morning I rode thither 16 miles from this, arriving "at 8 houres before noone," and on examining the 5 mariners landed in the boat "for fresh watter," I found they were Flemings, the ship *Leethe* of Emden, coming from Portogal, "fraught" with salt, apples, and oranges, though some think there is better "welth." They intended to sail either for Emden or London. The master of the ship is a rich merchant partuer of the wares, whose factor is resident in London: by whom when I get his name and send it, we may learn whether they are the Queen's friends or no. There was but the master and 4 mariners with a lad, left on board. Of the 5 landed, I suspect one is an Englishman, "and to conterfet his tonge"—some think they were for Ireland, to relieve "Tiron," which I refer to your better knowledge. The 5 men shall be kept as they are at the castle till I hear the Queen's pleasure, which pray let me have with speed, for "Monday come sevenight I start for London.

"The same day the Scotts borded the ship, before my men for the vehemencie of the windes could with the boate com at her, and convoyed the same awaye. But by the hands of Nicolas Curven esq<sup>r</sup>. I have writen unto Sir Thomas of Orcharton, a Maxwell, brother to the Lord Heris, and vice-admiral for that coast, requesting that he wil take order nothing be stired of it, til our sovereigne her gracious pleasure be knowen touching the same, seing the men proteste to bee her friends"; whose answer shall be sent to you. Yet if the men of "the Abey hom" had done their part, they might have taken her before the Scots. Carlisle. "Your deare freude." *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Waxer signet*, &c., as last.

Feb. 25. 1150. SCROPE TO CECIL.

My man is now returned from viewing the ship in Scotland, and finds it of "seven score tunnes" burden, laden with salt, as by the inclosed note appears. I think she should have better stuff in her, but the Scots would not suffer her to be searched. This is all I can do about her.

This day sevenight, I set hence towards London, hoping meantime to hear of my leave. Richard Lowther my deputy comes hither about that time. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Flyleaf and address*, &c., gone.

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Inclosed in the same :—

"The shipe is of Emden, loden with salte at Sainct Touis (?) in Portugale a towne a litle distante from Lysbourne, taken by M<sup>r</sup> Herberte Maxwell of the Cavins in Gallowaye and his associates, and the said M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell haith receyved commandement from the Larde of Loughinver admirall, that noe spoile be taken of her till the Kinges pleasure be knowae."

*In a clerk's hand.*

Feb. 1151. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

I am deeply beholden to you for your courteous answer returned by my man : and beseech you now the term is ended, before other occasions of more weight "divert you," the Berwick matters may have a day of bearing : the place I wish may be at your house. "There may peradventure some questions arise about the works and treasure, which it may be my lord Treasurer will loke to be acquainted withall : I shall yeld him what respect is due, but he maintaineth a felon publique in his house that did manslaughter a kinsman of mine very foully in my gates. For many reasons depending thereof, I would be loth to repaire to any house but the Court, or yours . . . And so desiringe to have my plainenes excusd, which is rather a fault of nature than artifice, since I cannot dissemble, I rest." Signed : P. Wyllughby.

"Before any generall metinge, I pray you Sir, do me the favour that at your best layzars I may attend you privatly, to acquaint you with these matters concerne that sarvice."

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 1152. MEMORIAL BY WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

- (1) "A shorte relation to bee considered of for the East wardenry and 'gouvernement of Barwick."

As to fortifications in convenient places, to cut off forayers when returning "tyred" and laden with baggage : the expence to be provided for by disposing of her Majesty's lands, farm rents and impropriations, for chief rents reserved, which I recommend to be done under "the statute of *Philip and Mary*" under advice of the Queen's learned counsel : also that condemned arms be put in the country mens' hauds at reasonable rates, to be maintained for their defence, who are at present "altogether naked." The East wardenry—a "baliwick" compared to the rest, having scarce 1000 men able to confront the Merse, the strongest part of Scotland—had need of all advantage. Military discipline must be revived—the wardens being now confined to Scottish matters, and the rest of the government commauded above the warden, by justices of peace, thus detracting from that officer's credit, who as *Dux limitaneus* should be chief commander.

- (2) I thought good to send you again what I formerly set down regarding the East March [as above], and now as summarily as I can, the state of the garrison.

The Establishment of Berwick should be reviewed, what is good maintained, what is doubtful cleared, and what is impertinent or superfluous, taken away.

The Governor's voice should prevail in all questions, as a general in the field,—and it were better that a weak governor were removed, than to learn his power by displacing councillors who oppose him, and appointing others.

The distinct privileges should be cleared—of a deputy governor, a marshal, a treasurer, a gentleman porter (which I should suppose a sergeant major) a master of the ordnance (which title I never heard afore in a garrison, but



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either commissary or controller). "(By the way) high titles is gunpoulder to mens mindes, and stretches the stringes of pryuces purses! Doringe the siege of Berghes\* wee had none. In Millan nor in France, ther is no suche : that chardge consistinge on the Gouvernors lief, for it is his head must answeare the towne, and not the others." But after this digression, the question is, whether we should rank them after the old English form, or since we have begun (though imperfectly) to embrace a new—"as the Romanes lerned to better the Greekes"—we should proceed after the modern manner, to know what to do when differences fall out, as not unlikely they will.

Though as an Englishman I love not the Spauish nation, yet their martial laws are the best, and "if chardge and triall may breed perfectnes, they have had it in a more royall manner then any nation, savinge our nation of late." Their discipline is much grounded on the Civil law, and with pardon, I like it better when a man can justify himself by law and reason, than in an "antique visard" of some custom, whence derived, unknown: There is no man so "silly" that has been in the Low Country wars, or those of Hungary against the Turk, who would not receive such law and reformation as a "puritane" soldier: it may be some borderer has a better method—but I would every man knew his own right and conformed himself. If a tempest come, it is no great matter to lose the pilot, but it is all to lose both ship and goods.

As for the other officers, their petitions show their wants, and it is my part to present them, leaving higher discretion to decide. What they ask, they need: the difficulty is to grant it, without increasing the Queen's charges. The foot captains' pay is but 2s. a day: and all have officers as companies of 150, yet are but 50. I speak not of the Marshal or Sir William Reade, who have 100 a piece, and other "ayudas de costas." If the others were placed in whole companies and reduced from 6 to 3, their means would be increased, and they contented.

For the constables of horse: though a captain of horse is commonly placed before foot, yet neither their denomination, their squadrons (being indeed but a corporal's charge), nor the custom of the garrison, gives them other place, and I reckon them as I find them. These leaders' pay is small, their squadrons' much less, being but 8*l.* a day "for man, horse, armes, and adventures, which will scarce feed a wretch with bread and water to susteyne lief: yet are they daily call'd on, some tyme to convoye letters, for dayes of trues and conventions, as well for the Midle wardenry as my East chardge, very often sent to recover theftes, followe roades, make long cavalcados, skory the fieldes, and as manie other toyles as any creatures of that nature can doe": and much need some help. And if it were thought fit as advancement for those that "turmoyle and venter" their lives, only at such times to be allowed 16*l.* a day, I dare undertake with the council of Berwick, it should not cost the Queen above 200*l.* in all—80*l.* supplied if they were reduced to an orderly company under the governor's orders, their rightful commander—who would not ask a penny for them—the rest of the 80*l.* would be easily supplied out of the 1500*l.* yearly lying in the treasurer's hand for works. Here my duty binds me to this caveat—that she pays usance for her own money above a third; "viz., a noble in a pounce, 300 in 900." None of them can deny this: and this 200*l.* saved would supply the poor horsemen. Here who found fault would merit a Berwick "libell": but well I know I have seen greater works done "better cheape." And for that, let my French journey and carriage in the Low Countries witness. But if I try to mend suddenly, "all the tyles and stickes" would light on my head, and no good ensue. It requires credit and countenance to alter an old habit: this I say is for her Majesty's advantage, being myself content with her grace and bounty.

\* Bruges ?

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I should now speak for the cannoneers : but leave it to their petition, which deserves to be hearkened to.

"But there is a kinde of poore catifes, that wee call the Queenes watche, nowe tyed to the garde of the castle, a place of some 700 paces circuit, scarcely defended with so good a wall as an antient monasteries orchard ! Theis may bee in number some 42 persones, which heeretofore kept the whole towne, whilst ther was, God knowes, what watche in the towne of the rest that tooke her Majesties paye ! nowe indeed drawne by mee to garde that place, wher to saye truth, ther was litle garde or none at all, before. Theis have but iij<sup>d</sup>. a daye to live withall, most of them poore impotent aged creaturs : yet are they forced in miserable wether and terrible nightes, to stand 16, 17 or 18 howers sentiuelles." Some of them should be put in hospitals in the shires adjacent, and their 'places supplied : I will not ask "increasment" to them, but think some idle "maouell" officers as bowyers, fletchers, &c., might be "converted" to relieve others. "I will now conlude with the moste impotent man of the garrison—my self." I would ask for enlarged instructions, so as on emergency, men may be drawn from Yorkshire, Durham, the Middle Marches, &c., a commissoa dormant to lie by me. Farther that no man be admitted Lieutenant or captain unless he have 3 testimonies at least from generals whom he has served, of his deserts, or be a man of good livelihood and unrepachable behaviour. For it is not fit to trust the keys of such a garrison with every ordinary tall fellow, who has been "some honest servinge man." Lastly : if any could tax me with neglect of duty, I would it were charged when I am present, and have as I deserve. Most of these are propounded as considerations only : if there be a desire to mend them, I can justify every point—but if not, keep it to yourself till a fit time, "and reserve mee from the poyson of aspes," unless to do good, when I will refuse no condition, fearing nothing but God, her Majesty, and dishonour.

Pardon me that I have troubled you thus much : it was because I thought you able to judge of me and mine, thereout taking the "best creame" for the Queen's service, and that you would bear with the "thynn whey" of the rest : for it is the yield of my best devotion, though I might have set more lustre on it. Let plainness prevail with you, "since the emptiest barrells gives the moste sounde." *Signed* : P. Wylloghby.

I beseech you forget not her Majesty's warrant for my yearly repair home for some convenient time as others of the Council do.

I send you the plot of the towne, that you may see we "poynt at" fortification, though this season's charge restrains soliciting.

$7\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Indorsed* : "For the most honorable Sir Robert Cicell principall secretary to her Majestie." *Noted on margin by Cecil and clerk.*

March 10. 1153. WARRANT BY JOHN GUEVARA.

Being persuaded that Bartie Bradforth of Berwick who has divers times been before him and showed sufficient evidence that he hath rightful estate in "the moytie or one half of a sixt part of the coales and coalemynes renning and encreasing in the towne and feildes of Orde," lately appertaining to one Rowland Burrell, afterward to one Thomas Shotton, from whom said Bertie now claims : commanding the tenant of the freehold to pay to said Bertie all arrearages of his part which the former has now reaped these 5 weeks, and by the granter's award, promised to satisfy—further to deliver peaceably and quietly to the said Bartie Bradforth, possession of the "moytie" in question, until such time as he shall be lawfully evicted and dispossessed by course of common law. Berwick. *Signed* : John Guevara.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed at foot* : ". . . To the tennant of the freehold to atturne to the plaintiff." *Indorsed.*

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April 5. 1154. PASSPORT FOR ALEXANDER HUME.

Licencing Alexander Hewme a gentleman of Scotland travelling southward on his lawful affairs, on a "blagg nagg" ambling, of 14 hands, to pass and return without hindrance. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed at foot*: "To all justices of peace," &c.

April 10. 1155. SIR ROBERT KERR TO SIR ROBERT CAREY.

"I moist earnestlie intrait your lordschipis favor for the better forderance and helpt of the laifull effairs of this berer, ane quahis honestie I knawe be his being in my awin companie: now hes resolvit to us sum laifull trade, and repairing in the pairte quhair your lordschip is, it will pleis yow do him sik favoris as may be bestowed in his resonable desyris. The greatestt that is luikit for, he at this present is to us yow into, vilbe for your helpe and good opinizoun, how he may transport with swirtie sik kynd of laifull commodeteis as he sall treffect withall, and gif it sall happin any impedimentis be maid him, do your lordschipis best for his forderance, as ye sall fynd me reddie in quhat I am abill to do the lyk or greater, as I salbe pressed be yow, swa restis." Edinburgh. *Signed*: Schir Robert Ker.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 10. 1156. PASSPORT FOR THOMAS CUNNINGHAM.

Licence for Thomas Cunningham Scotsman and "factor in Camphere," travelling to London intending to go thence by sea, on a gray ambling and trotting gelding, 18 haods high, to pass without hindrance. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed at foot*: "To all justices of peace, maiors," &c. *Indorsed*: "Thomas Conningham."

April 12. 1157. HENRY LEIGH TO CECIL.

With pardon for my boldness, I present in all humbleness my present poor estate, hoping by this time by your good relation, her Majesty is fully satisfied of my loyalty, and by her accustomed mercy I may be released from this punishment: or if any distrust remain (which God can witness is causeless) I humbly desire further trial. Yet knowing my innocency, I most humbly in sorrow of heart crave remission of this contempt "not growne by presumption, but necessitye." And if your honor think it "a necessary complement" that Lord Scrope be satisfied, I will (though I confess against my nature) intreat him to be a suitor to you on my behalf: though then he will arrogate that my freedom comes by his favor, as his own letter inclosed shows he has done all her Majesty's former favor to me; the glory whereof my discretion cannot admit him, for as I acknowledge one God, one truth, and one sovereign, "so wyll I not hunt after strange gods, but only rely and trust by the continuance of the same favor to be revyved, to do her sacred Majestie further service." *Signed*: Henry Leighe.

1 p. *Holograph*; also *address*: "To . . . Sir Robert Cicill knight master of her Majesties wardes and lyveries," &c. *Indorsed. Wax signet: device and inscription, broken.*

April 13. 1158. RICHARD LOWTHER TO CECIL.

That notwithstanding the good affection of Sir John Carmichael opposite warden (who has from the King extraordinary allowance, far surmounting any of his predecessors of "that ramphie") and his own

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endeavours, the worst of the Scots and English rogues are doing and like to do great damage—therefore craving to be allowed 40 horsemen to strengthen his march.

Sir John and he are to meet at Greta kirk on Saturday next for order, the former intending then to go to Court on private affairs. Carlisle.  
*Signed*: Richard Lowther.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 16. 1159. H. LEIGH TO CECIL.

"The languishing hart of a poore prisoner," in all humbleness craves pardon for his presumption in importuning your honor amidst your graver affairs, to remember my distressed estate, not for want or pain by imprisonment, but in fear lest the continuance confirm a suspicion of my disloyalty: rather than which I desire a thousand deaths. "Though lyfe be sweet and naturally deere, yet honesty and innocency surmountes all worldlye joyes . . . Therfor sweet and honorable sir, I most humbly begge the benefytt of her Majesties mercye . . . that I may address my self towards her Majesties service, accordinge to my hartes desyer. I most humbly take my leave from this place of smale pleasure, attendynge your honors pleasure howe I shall dispose of yonge Dacres letter directed to the Erie of Cumberland, for loath I am by my neglect to smother the honest meaninge of another." *Signed*: Henry Leighe.

1 p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed*: ". . . Mr Ha. Leigh to my master, from the Gatehouse." *Wax signet*: device, &c., as last.

April 19. 1160. RICHARD LOWTHER TO CECIL.

This day as agreed, the opposite warden met me at Greatney kirk for border causes, and we appointed 19<sup>th</sup> May to deliver bills fyled. He is now to ride to Court: "and as I am credibly informed the Lord Maxwell both contrarie the Kinges mynde, and to the greife of his father in lawe the Marquies of Hambleton, haith made his repayre haistely into the countrie, for whom yt is spoken that the King will geve charge for returne to hym in all haist: yet yt is thought that the lord Maxwell will scarsely obey the same as he ys purposede." So the warden leaving his office and the coming of Lord Maxwell his "unfrind" to the country, is like to breed disorder, which my small allowance will not afford dealing with, though my good will and ability shall not be wanting. I humbly intreat your honour to consider the same and the need of horsemen.

It is also reported that the assurance between the Maxwells and Johnstons shall break up, and of late, great cumber has risen between the Maxwells and "Gardens," which will stay Lord Maxwell going to the King. Carlisle.  
*Signed*: Richard Lowther.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Quartered wafer signet*: indistinct.

April 21. 1161. PASSPORTS FOR ALEXANDER DRUMMOND, &C.

Licencing the bearer "Alexander Drummont a gentillman of Scotland," riding a grey ambling nag 14 hands high, to travel to London on his lawful affairs and return without hindrance. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed at foot*: "To all justices of peace, maiors," &c.

Similar for Alexander Hey a gentleman of Scotland, riding a black ambling nag 15 hands high; and for John Henderson a gentleman of Scotland, riding on a brown ambling nag 14 hands high.

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April 22. 1162. JOHN GUEVARA TO WILLOUGHBY.

"Mr Controuler and the survayer weare instant with me to give way to theise their letters," and to intreat your lordship for answer, as they durst not pluck down the Queen's house for the repair, without your express warrant: "such are the actions and speeches of some!" There is nothing new here; "only this day the *Artophilax* goeth doune to the Carr, to attend a fayre winde." Lord Hume came to Dunglas on the 18<sup>th</sup> instant—he purposes to go to the King shortly, but stays till Sir George Hume "qualifies" the King's displeasure "for his trystinge with Earle Bothwell in France."

There is great working against Sir Robert Kerr, as well to turn lord Hume against him, as to disgrace him with the King. "The plotts are perilous," and he is gone to Court to prevent mischief. It is generally suspected that Earl Bothwell is secretly returned to Scotland, and doubted what will be done. "Backlugh is sent for, and the speech is, that the Duke goeth ambassador into France."

"I pray your lordships retorne the Scottish bell, that though your mayre be not able to rune, yet it may be caried in att the day." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Guevara.

1 p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Small wax signet: quartered; 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, 3 bends charged with billets (1); 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5 leaves (or flowers), 2, 1, and 2.*

April 24. 1163. OFFER BY THE LIDDESDALE PLEDGES.

The Lard of Whitbaugh and William Elliott, who for more than 2 years have been prisoners in York castle, for bills fyled on them and their friends by the late commission, bind themselves to pay and satisfy the Englishmen owners of the same, if the Queen of England of her clemency grants them liberty to return to their country, viz., on delivery of Launcelott Armstrong eldest son of Whithaugh 20 years of age, and of Robert Elliott eldest son of William Elliott, of like age, to remain true prisoners in York city: and to lay in bonds of 4 English gentlemen of yearly revenue and inheritance of 300*l.* or 400*l.* sterling at the least, in sums to the full value of the bills,—to be forfeited if their sons break prison, or if they pay not the said bills within 3 months of their freedom; their sons to be freed on payment of the bills. *Signed*: Symon Armestronge lord of Whitanghe his marke, Will<sup>m</sup> Elliott his marke.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *In one hand. Indorsed by William Selby, junior.*

April 24. 1164. OFFER BY THE TEVIOTDALE PLEDGES.

Whereas they are bound for certain bills, and have remained prisoners for 2 years in York castle, they undertake to satisfy the same, either by payment, or by delivery of men contained in the bills to their value, or by English men's sufficient bonds to satisfy the parties in 3 months, at their choice: provided that on any of the foresaid satisfactions, her Majesty will be pleased to grant them liberty to return to Scotland. *Signed*: Robert Frissell, Richard Rutherford of Letilhewh, ThomasAinslie, Will<sup>m</sup> Tate of Cherrietrees his marke.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed by Selby.*

April . 1165. NAMES OF THE SCOTTISH PLEDGES.

For Liddesdale, delivered by Buccleugh:—

Symon Armstrong laird of Whithaugh; William Elliott of Esker; William Elliott of Clintwoode.

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For West Teviotdale, delivered by Cesford :—

Robert Frissell laird of Overton; Richard Rutherford of Littlehewgh; Thomas Ainsley of Cletehawgh; George Robson, escaped out of York into Scotland, and thereby freed the bills he lay for; Raphe Hall of the Syke: died in York castle.

For East Teviotdale, delivered by Cesford :—

Dand Appringell of Hownam; William Hall of Heavyside; John Burne of the Cote; Raphe Burne his brother; James Yong of the Cove; Richard Yong of Feltershawes; William Tate of Cheritrees; Dand Davison of Promeside; Raphe Mowe of Linton, died in York castle the day he came there.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. In William Selby's writing. Indorsed.

April 25. 1166. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

I made haste in my way to Berwick but found not my lord President here, who was gone the day before to Snape, whom I follow thither to-day. The inclosed papers and this letter will declare my conference with the pledges, and how they propose to satisfy the bills they lie for. By one subscribed by Whithawgh and William Elliott, Liddesdale men, and delivered by Bucclugh, your honor will see they offer English men's bonds, "esteamed of borderers the surest payment." The sums they lie for, if "rigour" be taken, will be above 3000*l*. I think. There is a young boy with them, another Elliott, the third delivered by Bucclugh, whose friends and "this William Elliott" are at variance, and "therefore would undertake nothing for hym," but thinks that when his father and friends see the others' offer accepted, they will "do noe lesse for this boy."

By the other paper good satisfaction is offered by Robert Frissell and Richard Rutherford, delivered by Sir Robert Kerr, and being West Tividale men, therefore "lesse respective" of him: the like by Thomas Aynesley servant to Farnehirst: and of all East Tividale, 9 in number wholly at Sir Robert Kerr's devotion, only William Tate of Cheritrees offers satisfaction. These offers I think the English subjects will gladly receive (for except instant payment in money or goods) the pledges can do no more—and in my poor opinion, her Majesty by accepting it shall be honorably discharged "for so much," and the rest of the pledges, "more obstinate then unable," drawn to the like, especially if after delivery of the others, their liberty is more restrained than now. If accepted, her Majesty will be pleased to signify her mind that her wardens give extracts from the rolls of the particular bills, that bonds may be laid in to the owners, as by these offers. Divers of them say they have made these or the like offers before to some of our wardens, who said they would have nothing to do with them; but if Sir Robert Kerr and Bucclugh would offer for them, they would then treat: but those pledges say our wardens well knew "that Bucclugh was beyond the seas," and that Sir Robert Kerr would never agree to any satisfaction: nay they say plainly that at his instance, and to gratify "one other greater personage," all our wardens earnestly labour at Court for delivery of the pledges, and 8 of Sir Robert's do firmly believe it and hope for present liberty, which hinders them offering as the others: some of whom told me, and I hear by one of my servants. Your honor can best judge how the tale arose, and I leave it to the event: but I thought it my duty not to conceal it. If it be true, then "woe to the sheape when the sheapebards pleade for the wolves!" I may say privately to your honor, that I fear our wardens in persuading the free delivery of these pledges, have other objects than those they pretend. When I hear with certainty you shall know, though it is now a matter of great peril for any borderer to oppose the free delivery; for notice is given to Sir Robert Kerr, and thence comes the danger, stopping better men's

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mouths than mine, making others silent, or disguisers of the truth. I have sent the names of the 17 pledges, 2 of whom only have died in 2 years—and if her Majesty under the treaty, call for two others, it would show the rest that they will get no liberty without payment. It were well the gaoler were ordered to see to their safekeeping—their liberty is too great. Their diet and lodging is 10s. a week—the Liddesdale men pay well, the West Tividale men somewhat behind, but yet have paid much: they of East Tividale, Cesford's own, have paid little or nothing, but I know that divers of them are as well able to pay as West Tividale. This letter is longer than I intended, but I was unwilling to omit anything material. Toppclif. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

The sum of the bills for which they lie, appears much less in the wardens' rolls some say, than given out, and will I think be satisfied for less than 2000*l.* (above what is received from English thieves)—whereto 1000 Scots at least between the East and West seas are to contribute: and albeit on the West March, it is said, we have more to pay than to receive, yet thieves there are, that should pay on both sides, and troublers of peace, on whom the more trouble falleth the better it is for the true men, whose good and not the good of thieves was effected by the commission.

2 pp. *Closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed*: "... M<sup>r</sup> Willyam Selby to my master ..."

April 25, 1167. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Notwithstanding the report of Lord Maxwell's discontentment, I am now credibly informed, that yesterday the warden took journey to the King, having the day before spoken long and well agreed with Maxwell, who promised obedience of his friends, servants and dependers for justice. Assurance (except Lord Maxwell himself) is taken betwixt the Maxwells and the Johnstons.

Drumlanrig and Johnston are charged to be before the King and Council this day, "for trysting their combers" under their submissions.

Assurance is taken betwixt the Johnstons, Bells and Carlells till the first of July. So their private quarrels assured, there is more danger to our border, and some faults have been perpetrated of late, the gentlemen and officers having neglected watch, though commanded by letters and proclamation.

And with all my diligence to stay disorder, in good faith, my allowance is so little, I am unable to effect that quietness I wish, which cannot be done without men and money. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: shield of 8 quarters—distinct.*

April 23, 1168. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Your letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> April I received on the 26<sup>th</sup>, with the inclosed to Master Nicolson, which I sent away to him, and have presently received this inclosed returned again from him, which I address to your honor by post. I think myself highly bound for your kind and honourable letter to me: the quietness of the town and country offers nothing worth sending. "I am sorry to hear the ill newes of my lord of Ormud: and glad to hear of the good escape of thoes other honorabell men in his compeney." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan crest: an annulet on its breast.*

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c. April 12. 1169. DECLARATION BY HENRY LEIGH.

I humbly beseech pardon for my long silence—not from neglect of duty, but to give your honor satisfaction: for though at my first entrance to this place, I was not well at ease, yet have I not lost much time, but according to my poor understanding, set down all the circumstances and true causes of my acquaintance or conference with the King of Scots, from the first day that ever I saw him till this present: and though it may seem tedious to your honor, yet considering how nearly it imports my present estate, reason I trust will allow it; for a little mistaking may much hinder a good cause, which a slender circumstance would make clear. But because I understand by the keeper of this house your honor's pleasure to be only satisfied how often I have been with the King in this twelvemonth, and the causes and conferences both with him and Dacres or any other, which concern the state of my gracious sovereign or country (such I take to be your meaning); and as I came hither to try myself an honest man, and desire not to live except her Majesty be persuaded thereof: if I commit any error either by haste or evil writing "with my owne ragged hand," I commend it to your favorable construction as I would a thousand lives. Not to be tedious: your honor must know that there has been exchange of goodwill, so far as stood with my duty, between the King and me, ever since Sir Francis Walsingham was ambassador there, as appears in my other paper, which you shall see at pleasure, and all the lords very well know: whereby I presumed to use his favor of late. Omitting our conference when he was last at Newby, being before the time you limit, I present his several letters to me as Lord Scrope's deputy, and if there is any doubt, I am ready to give further satisfaction.

Now to come to my being with him at Lithco in September last, it was not of set purpose, but by mere accident. After I had been at Court suing for relief after my exceeding charges in the Queen's service, and found the quality of my suit to depend on profit by Scots goods as may appear by my petition "not rightly tasted," yet referred by her Majesty to the consideration of the two Selbys gentlemen of good trust, for their report to your honor to be further considered by her,—“the suddayne expected trouble of the Spanyardes” forced me to surcease, and by advice of Sir John Stanhope, I thought to return to my charge in the Queen's service. Having here neither horse, armour, nor money, Sir John suspecting it, of his honorable kindness twice gave me gold for my charges home. Finding Lord Scrope's countenance “declined,” for causes your honor shall hear another time, and no hope from him: being in some want, I bethought me of relief, calling to mind that Lord Herise and his friends had once been very earnest with me for the revenge of his brother's murder late provost of Dumfries, slain in the King's service by “a sort of notorious base thieves which were harbored within thre myles of my howse”—to which I willingly gave ear, as her Majesty had written to the late Lord Scrope that Lord Herries' enemies should have no reset in England, though no revenge was taken. But Lord Herries dealt with me, and also the King at Newby intreated me, saying that Herries “cast still in his teethe” the gentleman's death in his service, and he would thank me for furtherance. On conferring with my neighbour the laird of Newbye, now deputy warden under Carmichael, he said Herries and his friends had lost much time by my absence, yet desired to effect the matter: so we resolved to speak with the Master of Herries and Sir Robert his uncle, for my lord was in ward for refusing to agree with the Johnstons, and I craved leave of Lord Scrope to be absent for a week, making show of other business, to prevent suspicion. On coming to Dumfries, we found the Master newly gone to his father, and all the parties ordered to be before the King at Lithco within two days: and thither we resolved to go and speak with the Master and his father. I bethought me of my other suit, that on opportunity I would procure the King's favor not to prohibit his subjects bringing goods



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into England, nor take exception to my imposing toll on them. Also, as many in my country laid all the troubles of the Border on my office, I would entreat him to give strait order to the Earl of Angus, also to the Master of Herries, who on Lord Maxwell's behalf had undertaken that the Armstrongs should not make incursions on my office: "suche meanes must border men use to meet with wycked practises!" If your honor would know the secret condition of profit between Lord Herries and me, making me so forward to assist him, "though with modesty I should conceale it, yett my hart, which wyll hyde nothings from you in hope of your secreesye in this behalf, doth blushinge say trewly, I should have had as good as fortye poundes yerly towards my howse kepinge in larder kye and meale, accordynge to the country maner. Well to be breffe: we cam to Lithco," and the King hearing, desired to see me, but as I was meanelly appointed, not intending to come so far, was pleased to "dispencc" with me, and to see me in the fields next morning when he came to hawk and would "fall of" from his company. On reporting my suit, he most willingly granted it, saying, for any horses he needed himself, he could have favor from her Majesty: and most of the others that came fell into the borderers' hands, making them proud and disobedient to the Queen and himself: "so as he wyshed ther were not a horse within xx myles of neyther border," with some discourse on its reformation, saying he would either come again himself or appoint a warden under the Earl of Angus, "whose slacknes he semed to myslyke."

Then we had a "litle tast" about the commissioners' delivery of pledges,—of Sir William Bowes and of Ashfyeld: "sayinge that he marveled the Quene would owt of her jelozy imbarke him in every idle fellowes humor! but he semed to be pleased that he had understoode the Quene had called Sir Wylliam Bowes 'Sirra,' which he sayd was halfe a satisfaction to him—but he marveled why it should be so dangerous for any of the Quenes subjectes to com to him, consideringe that as he should answer God, he might as yf he were not a Kinge, be tryed by the Quene of Englandes owne laws for any act or practise against her in all his lyffe: for he held it a most horrible sinne for princes to practise one against another, for he sayd, 'God would not lett kingdomes so stand.' These were his owne wordes, as nere as I can remember: and therupon I replied bouldly to him, that as I had professed my love to him, my allegiance reserved to my soveraigne, so yf I thought he ment any thinge agaynst her Majesties person, I would he the first would put my 'hand to him.\*' Though every man would not peradventur have passed so bowldly with him, yett God and he can wytnesse this trewth: for which he gave me assurance he would never move me in any thinge agaynst my allegiance, for he sayd, 'Those that would not be trewe to those they were sworne to, ther was lesse hope to utthers.' Then we spake a lytle of the newes of Ireland, and of my Lord of Essex, whom he held to be a very gallant nobleman, but he suspected him somewhat ambitious, as appered by his appologye. Somwhat he towched your honors self, as both to wyse and to riche for my Lord of Essex: then he comended Sir Philip Sydney for the best and sweetest wryter that ever he knewe—surely it semeth he loved him muche—but he concluded the Quene was the most happy prince in the world, that had so many worthy subjectes that did love and dewtyfully obay her owt of ther naturall affection and not by constraynt: sayinge, that though her Majestie did stand jeloosly suspecttive over him, for his hope to England, yett he very well knewe that ther wer but tow ways to attayne to it—the one by conquest, the other by love. For the first, he dispayred for dyvers reasons, and love he sayd never prospered upon an ungodly or bloody roote: so as her Majestie had to longe suspected him, and especially in combination with the Spaneard, whom he had no less secrett cause to accompt an enemye then her Majestie. Then it semed he had a desyer to be gon eyther to his sport or home: but I

\* These words substituted for others carefully cancelled.

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"lastly pressed him, so far as I might with good maner, in the behalf the poore Layrd of Spot the layt regentes sonne, whom I had promysed yf ever I gott fitt oportunitiy, to prove the Kinge for him: and the Kinge answered me that for all those that were in Bothwells action, his wrathe was not implacable, except only against John Colvin who he sayd, by his libells and defamations, practised to prove him a bastard: but he gave me no further answer for Spott, but upon his deserving hereafter." So I took leave and he rode homeward: but I had forgotten to move him to stay the Armstrongs and Irwynes, and on consulting Lord Herries and Newbye, it was thought meet I should again speak with him, and procure a charge to the Master to keep the Armstrongs in order, to show the cuntry it was not done of favour to me, and prevent suspicion of our other purpose—and also intreat him to let Lord Herries come home "to effect his desyer for his brother," and return at the King's pleasure: which they thought he would yield rather at my request than theirs; and Herries would have time to satisfy him in the agreement and other things, for neither the Duke nor Johnston can. So in the evening I went towards the castle, and the King vouchsafed to come forth to a little green and two with him, when I preferred my second suit, which he freely granted, and gave Lord Herries leave to go home, commending his cause to me. "And I think we had not ten wordes but I toke my leave." I then went to Edinburgh to speak with Francis Dacres, "to knowe howe he had ended the matter of his pencion, which I had warrant from my lord Essex to deale with him in: but I could not gather by him that any thinge was done. Then after we had spoken a litle merely of our owld acquaintance in England, I desyered to be assured of his good favor for my powre howse and those litle thinges I had of those landes which were his fathers, yf ever her Majestie should please to restore him, or in another age his fortune or his sonnes were ever to come to it? For I had buylded thre mills att my owne charges and had bestowed much cost on the howse, and all my estate depended thereon: wherof he gave me full promyse, and so we parted." Then I came home at "the weekes end," informing Lord Scrope where I had been, and my friends told me I would be complained on, I said I would answer it: a letter from Lord Angus came to me for a meeting, which I showed Lord Scrope, who said I should go, but I told him I had better go to London to answer for myself, and he gave me leave. But when here, I heard of nothing, and thought it unfit to complain on myself. "In trewth I shewed myself twyse to your honor, albeyt ye marked me not, and I was with Sir John Stanhope in his chamber in Cowrt: but I was so hunted with sergeantes and bayliffes, after it was reported that I would go for Ireland, that I could not stir abroad, and had a *sub pena* served on me in my bed, at M<sup>r</sup> Huttons sewte of Grays Inne, upon suspicion of former assurance made by me of landes, which one Brigges his father in lawe, bought of me: to whom I stand bound in thre thousand powndes for warrant. Whose danger when I could not avoyde, I conditioned with him for forty poundes more to delvery into his handes all former assurance, and put in my answer into the Chancery accordyngly, and mad good speed owt of the towne for feare of worse, and left my sewt and all at random, resolvinge directly for Ireland. And in my way home in Warwyckshyre, I understod by my cosen Hayles that ther was a motion of mariadge between him and a sister of Sir Harry Goodyeaes, which was one Waynmans wydowe, who had a good lease in Ireland, but nowe in the enimes handes: which he sayd yf the match went forward, I should be farmer of, yf I could do any good upon it. Wherof I had better hope by the Lord Deputyes favor my neere kinsman, who I thought would showe me any reasonable favor: and therfor I bethought me deeply of this busines and my best meanes to effect it, and sped me home, wher I found dyvers goud fellowes wyllinge to followe my fortune, both Inglishe and Scottes, provyded they might be assured of victualls, for they were so terrified with the lamentable spectacle of the poore hunger sterred soldiars which cam thens, that

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"they held the jorney almost desperate : yett did I comfort them with probable hopes.

"But nowe grewe on the tyme that I must delyver over the wrytynges covenanted to M<sup>r</sup> Hutton and receive the rest of the money, which in deed I was hungry for, to help to make my provision for my jorney, but when I sought amonge my wrytynges, I fonde not all that I looked for : whether my wyffe or some of her frendes in my absence beyond seas, withdrewe them and kepe them secrett, or my memory serveth me not what became of them, I knowe not—but always I had not to geve them that they expected. Yett caried I with me a dischargd for a statute of 70l.\* knoledged xx yeres sence, wherunto the land was leyable, and some other wrytynges of smale account, thinkinge that those would exhoner my conscience for the money I then received, consideringe the land was at the first sould so much nder valewe : but I conditioned to meet M<sup>r</sup> Wylliam Hntton and M<sup>r</sup> Page in a playne fyeld for fere of intrappinge, because every one that I aught any thinge to sought to catche me, for they thought yf I went for Ireland I would eyther dy or be slayne—and in that playce to geve the wrytynges with one hand and receive the money with the other. Which I did, and trustinge theyr payment therof without tellinge the money, I bad them farewell, not dowtyng but they would afterwarde seeke to gett hould of me yf they could : which I suspected most by my lord Scroopes meanes under cooler of his martiall authorite for the Quenes service, and so might I have bene easely intrapped : to prevent which I placed an honest yonge man which married my dawghter, in my house and office to answer the Quenes service, which I did by my lord Scroopes consent, so as he could take no exception to my absence—and having bene frighted with the sheriff ballifes and neerly escaped for Lacy and others, I thought it my best for avoydyng of all danger, to step into Scotland wher I might lye and sleep soundly within six myles of my wyffe and children, untill I had eyther compounded my busines, or otherwyse resolved. For I still dowted ther favor with my lord Scroope, Edward Hutton ther neere kinsman, being best beloved in his lordship chamber, and John Musgrave the land sergeant of Gilsland, theyre cosen german, so as they might sodaynly have surprised me under surmyse of some other matter—as that country people are bould enoughe to venter when they have the lawe and favor of thawthorite on ther syd—all which considered, I went into Scotland to Newby, wher I could not indure to lyve lyk a dogg in a kennell or a knave in a ayle house, but bethought me of my busines and intended jorney, and that it was fitt tyme for me to procure the Kinges favor alsweel for my protection to lyve in his country, as to bye and transport victualls and weapons necessarye for my purpose, and lycence for so many of his loose subjectes as I could procure to go with me—of whom I had some hope by the intended appeasement of the troubles between the Marwells Duglasses and Johnstons, which had nurished agaynst theyr wylls a great number, of whom in more peaceable tyme, they would be contented to be eased. Wherupon I addressed my self towardes Edenburgh, and the Layrd of Newby gave the Kinge to understand of my beinge, who gave order that I should be brought to him in the eveninge, for that I was but in a playne ridyng sute of grey and was loath to be seene with the lordes and my former acquayntance who had never seene me but as gallant as them selves : so I was brought throughe a greate lardge chamber, wher thre or fowre wer standyng by the fyre, into an inner withdrawinge chamber, which they called the Cabonett, but ther was neyther bookes nor any thinge but a chayre, a litle table, and a caskett. But ther found I the Kinge, to whom after I had imparted my estate and purpose, he most wyllinglye granted my desyer : sayinge that yf the Quene would accept of him yf she needed, he would go him [self] in person in that action : but he merely sayd, perhaps the Quene

\* Sum doubtful.

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“thought that ther were to many of his that were wyllinge to go the wronge way, but yett she should yf she pleased, have as many good ones, for he could not reewle all, as she myght well perceve by thè Lewes and other his disobedientes in the Owt Iles. Then he asked me, howe longe I would stave theraboutes? and I towld him thre dayes untill I had provided some smale necessaries: then he sayd ‘We shall speake more before ye go,’ and then I was dismissed and wyllted that yf I would have anye thinge els, I should tell eyther Sir Thomas Erskyne or M<sup>r</sup> David Fowles. So I went to my lodginge, and the next eveninge I went to Francis Dacres, wher I also founde his sonne, and pittiinge his estayt, I prayed him to lett him go for England and serve his naturall prince eyther in Cowrt or in warres: but he withstooode it, sayinge that he thought Georg Nicholson and I had spoken together, for we were bothe of one mynd, and defended it with some other idle reasons—but the yonge man liked my perswation so well, that he whispered to me, that he wished he were in England, though he it were agaynst his fathers mynd—for he had no lykings to marye in Scotland as his father would needes urge him—and he sent me word by his man John Bletarne, that he would not stick to steale away from his father, so I would help to convoye him, for he had rather submitt him selfe at his princis feet, and lyve amonge his frendes, then ther in misery, for [he] hoped her Majestie would not lay the faultes of his pupiladge to his chardge, but if he staid longe ther, his father would undo them bothe, for he should com to full adge at Whitsontyde next. In trewth, his pittifull moane and honest meaninge, much moved my mynd, for ther is hope his education may by good company be altered: so as I promysed him my best help, but I would first sound some of his best frendes howe this cowrse would stand with her Majestie lykings, wherof I was in good hope for some respectes. Wherupon the next day he wrote a letter to his sisters to the same effect, in great secrecy from his father, which I delyvered to M<sup>r</sup> Anderton, and she comended it in a letter of her owne to my lord of Cumberland or to my lady Montague, which I have yett undelyvered.

“I had nothing to do more with Francis Dacres, but renewynge his promyse that whatsoever becam of me in Ireland, my wyffe and children should have his good wyll for my thinges at home—and so we parted.

“The next day M<sup>r</sup> Davyd Fowles invyted me to dyne at his brothers howse, tow myles owt of towne, and towld me, though I would not go openly to the huntinge with the Kinge, yett I should be partaker of the sport: for the Kinge would hunt therabout, and I might stand on the howse head, and see all, and peradventur after the Kinge were wery with huntinge, yf the dogges cast up neere the howse, he would com in and refreshe him, for he sayd the Kinge was good fellowe, and was not curious. And in very trewth, so all thinges fell owt, for I sawe all the sport, and about midafternone, the Kinge and a sort of his curtiairs alighted and eat some meat: which done, I was brought to the Kinge, and he asked me howe I lyked the sport? and after a litle huntynge talke, he gave order to M<sup>r</sup> Davyd Fowles gett my warrant redy: so after dewe thankes, I tooke my leave. The next day, I went homewardes to the Layrd of Carmichels howse, and with him to Lowgh-maben: and when I cam in England, I understoode that my lord Scroope was very vehement agaynst me, and some sayd he would committ me, others sayd he expected warrant from the lordes of the Counsell: but I sent him word by my brother Dalston, that I would save him that labor, for I would go myself and answer whatsoever he or any other could chardge me with, and seinge I knewe I had comitted no fault but a contempt, I would rather receive the measure of my punishment at her Majesties handes then his, for from her I dowted not to fynd gracious favor accordynge to the honesty of my demerit. But suspectinge the strengthe of his humors, I withdrew my self agayne into Scotland, tyll I had effected some of my busines, and he were gone. And so intendinge to go to the towne of Ayre and Dunbretton to see yf I

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"could discover who were the cheefe victulers and suppliers of the rebels, and to understand the cowrse of the passages; but the storms of snowe was so great in those hyelandes that I was forced to geve over that jorney, yett have I made some enternace into that service. Then was I advyded to go to S<sup>r</sup> Johnstons to a great fayre that was ther then, where I might have choyse of the best necessaryes for my purpose, and knowe the rate of all thinges, and so proportion my self accordyng to my purse.

"I wyll forbere to recyt the severall weapons and ther uses most necessary for Ireland, wherof I ment to furnishe my self in those partes, as braid Highelandes sowlrdes with a cross and to turne into a muskett with a vyce for the last syght, which is better then eyther galleglass or sowrd and targett—but I returne to my last speaking with the Kinge, which grewe by meere accident and not of purpose, for I had no busines in the world with him.

Leavinge my Hyland jorney as befor, wher I had neerly perished in the snowe, not far from M<sup>r</sup> Balmers and M<sup>r</sup> Fowles mynes, I fell into the Lowe country, and beinge not well at ease, I toke up at Collington, wher I had bene kindly entertyned befor, and sent one to Sanct Johnstons to bringe me a rate of the prices of such thinges as I sett downe, wher I did see tow of my neighbors cary fyve fyne geldings to the fayre, which greved me not a litle. I stayd at Collington, the rather because the tyme was troublesom—for the Layrd Johnston had layne in wayt for the Lord Sancquar and had chased him twyse on one day, and Sim of Puddinge burne was abroad with his guard of theeves, to rob the passengers to the fayre, and I was loath to fall in such handes. After I had refreshed my self thre or fowre days, I hard the agreement of the feedes between the Maxwells and Johnston was subscribed by the Lord Herrise and his frendes and the Laird Drumlanaricke and his: and that Beltryes who had bene ambassador here, was com home: so I thought to go to Edenburghe to here some newes; wherof when the Kinge understode, he sent Sir Thomas Erskine to bringe me downe to 'cracke' with him, as he called it: who brought me as befores into his Cabonett, which I then perceved was next to the Quenes chamber, for I hard the musicke, and the dore was a litle a char, that I might see a litle: wher the Kinge was excedyng pleasant, and havinge as it semed received a letter from Roger Aston, who was then here, he toke occasion to remember a jest which mad him lawghe hartely, which was, that Roger havinge the kepinge of Litheo pallace, had honged his owne petegre in the gallyary, right over agaynst the Frenshe Kinges—thus familiarly was his pleasure to use me. Then he towld me ther was good hope of our good successe in Ireland, wher he wished my fortune might be worthe ten thowsand poundes by yere—for he sayd ther was a Spanishe ambassador come to our Cowrt and ther was hope of peace, and then was it lyke Tyron would settle: but I gathered by him he intended to send some ambassador about the tyme of the meetyng, to observe the procedynges, that he might not be excluded no more then he was with the French Kinge, and to see that nothings were contrived prejudicial to him or the religion. But he fell from these matters, and asked me, Howe I would do yf I were comitted for my beinge with him; for he understood George Nicholson was inquisityve after me, and would advertyse my beinge ther? I answered, I knewe no less and by the help of God I would offer my head at my soveraynes feet, for my own hart could not accuse me of any capitall fault; for though I fled for dett, yett I would not flee from my fayth, and I had rather lyve in England in prisou with bred and watter, then abrod to be an erle with suspected fayth. Then he asked, howe I would avoyd the danger of my bondes? I answered, I would take as good heed as I could tyll I cam at the Cowrt, and then yf her Majesties comandment were layd upon me, I were sufficiently protected: and when I had satisfied her highnes I should be sett as free as befor. He comended the order, but sayd he would be sory that I were trobled, and yett he would laughe to see that all was fishe that cam to the nett—for were it for good cause or evell, all were

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"alyke accepted that cam to him : but [I] towld him I hoped my honest meaninge would fynd more favor, and so kissinge his handes I toke my leave. But lett her Majestie understand thus muche—that more then these honorable favors for the furtherance of her highnes service, I never receved eyther money or Gould from him, but one litle ringe of diamondes, which he sent me the next morninge by Sir Thomas Erskyne for a remembrance, wyllinge that yf I were slayne or dyed, I should leave it to my sonne that he might knowe him by it hereafter—except exchange of horses, hawkes and dogges, in former tyme.

"Thus in the sight of the same God whom I toke to wytnesse in my begininge, have faythfully and trewly thoughte rudely in hast, sett downe the materiall things which have passed between the Kinge and me, so far as my memory wyll serve, except suche noble mens names as it pleased him to aske me of, in triffelynge things—as the quarell betwen my lord of Sowthampton and my lord Gray, and what kynd of men they were? howe he hard that my lord of Sowthampton and the lord Bothwell were familiar in Fraunce : also he asked whether my lord of Northumberland and his lady were together or no? he thought he grewe ritche, and whether he should come to be lyutenant of the Marches, as was spoken, or he should go in comission for the peace? and what grace my lord of Shrewsbury had in Cowrt? and what becam of my lord of Cumberland, he hard no speache of him a great whyle? and of my lord Burghley his government in his presedency, and of my lord Montjoyes tender body, unable to indure Ireland by report? Of my lord Wylloby and my lord Scroope, as occation hapned? Of the hope of my lord of Essex liberty? But why should I trouble your honor with these litle impertinent things, which are scarce worth the wrytynge : neyther would I, but that I would not have your honor thinke I would misse or howld backe a hayres bredth : but upon my salvation, ther was not anything of more moment concerning these. But sence I have made your honor stay longer, I thought good to geve you all at once in hope of your favorable pardon."

It now rests that I humbly acknowledge my offence in contemning Lord Scroope's authority over me, for which I will thankfully endure what punishment her Majesty shall please to inflict on me; beseeching humbly that my past services and those to come, may mitigate her heavy displeasure for this contempt.

"Nowe I most humbly heseche your honor to pardon my tediousnes and take in good part this rude hasty scribled worke, for the trewer tryall wherof I am redy to any further torment shall be thought needfull, for *Spes mea Christus*, and I fyrmly belyve that *Veritas liberabit*. Her Majesties poore prisoner and most faythfull servant." *Signed* : Henry Leighe.\*

"I have not reserved a copy hereof, nor scars perused or poynted it, for my eyes are not well."

13 pp. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed* : "April, M<sup>r</sup> Ha. Leigh his declaration of his being in Scotland."

May 11. 1170. SIR JOHN CARMICHAEL TO CECIL

"My werray guid lord." The King having appointed me warden of his West Marches, commanding me to keep order, "I heiff mett M<sup>r</sup> Lowther and done him sic justice as I remitt to his declaration, being altogiddir unwilling (for avoiding of waine ostentatioun) to mak ony mentionne off it my self." But finding him though very willing, unable to command his Marches, or give me redress, without some help from her Majesty, "the clanes thair being grett, his forces and commandement litle, his charge being bot by deputacione and for schort tyme, the people thairfor les regarding him" : in my lawful duty to her Majesty, I must signify this to your

\* He also signs each page.

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lordship's honor for remedy, otherwise I cannot keep the country long in quietness, or avoid complaints by the King's subjects that I get no justice for them. M<sup>r</sup> Lowther refuses me delivery of "ane Musgrawe callid the wood sword," who is in ward to answer justice, though no "incountry law" ought to protect any of either country against common justice between them. I request your lordship to present her Majesty "my humble dewty" for remedy of these matters, and cause Musgrawe be entered to me to satisfy the King's subjects, and I shall reserve him for M<sup>r</sup> Lowther afterwards when required. Edinburgh. *Signed*: Carmychell.

1 p. *Addressed*: "To my werray guid lord Schir Robert Sicke," &c. *Wax signed*: a shield with a chevron charged with a mullet, between 3 trefoils. *Inscription broken*.

March? 12. 1171. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I have been importuned by M<sup>r</sup> Gray and M<sup>r</sup> Selby to take upon me the compounding of the differences depending between them, and to disburden your honors of that trouble: for as many witnesses are to be produced on either side, the matter would be tedious, chargeable to the parties, and keep M<sup>r</sup> Gray longer here than stands with his other affairs. So I have proceeded therein according to these articles "included," and hope good offices will continue betwixt them. I have to-day heard from my deputy warden of good justice on both sides: "and withall the report of Bothwells being in Liddesdale this third tyme confirmed, which notwithstanding, I commend not unto you as truth." Hackney. *Signed*: P. Wyllaghby.

$\frac{1}{3}$  p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "12 May 1600." *Wax signed*: fragment.

May 12. 1172. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

My letters delivered to my Lord President at Snape would show your honor my dealing with the pledges and their offers. Since I came here, I have informed myself as to the Borders, and learn that the West March is "full of trouble," the Middle and East Marches in good quietness: "the peace of the first" ascribed to the still holding of the pledges, and the special care of some gentlemen here—"the quietnes of the other," to the detaining the pledges only. For it is believed by those that should know it, "that if the pledges were returned home, Sesford will not long keape touch with my lord Willoughby, being a man that holdeth promise or friendship no longer with any man, then maye serve for some speciall purpose, except ther be other cause of straighter intelligence betwixt them: which is rather beleaved then much spoken of by Englishmen, but by Scottes of all sortes openly and plainly affirmed. Thus much I have from Scottes of good credit, that the King maketh no lesse reckoning of all the borderers from Newcastle to Berwick and of ther chief officers, when he may have cause to use ther service, then yf they were his naturall subjectes, saving of a very few, whom the King, in naming them, openly calleth his ennemys, being men that have for the service of ther countrye alwayes opposed them selves against Sesfordes designes. And I feare that this pervasion of the Kinges is not altogether vaine, for divers gentlemen of this East March being asked privately what they thought to be the cause of ther peace? answered, the holding of the pledges, required to testify it under ther handes, refused: the cause of ther refusall is plaine. The gaying of a partye to the King, which is said to reach furdher then the Borders, is the onely cause of Sesfordes credit, together with such intelligence, as he dayly haith or pretendeth to have out of England, both by lettres and conferences, wherof he maketh great use for his owne partieulier standing, and so tickleth the Kings humor with ambitious desier of this crowne, that impatient of delay, he inquireth after noth-

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"ing more then of her Majesties health, and is maid beleive by Sesford, that her bodye so decayeth in strength, that she cannot have manye dayes : and that her Majestie maye before her death make some frendly and publick demonstration of her mynd for the Kings better furderance thereafter,—was the first inciter of the King to sende some honorable ambassadge to her Majestie for that effect, to the ende he hymself might for the furder advancement of his reputation, be employed therin, assuring the King that as he had already done on the borders, so in his passage through England, and especially in the English Court, he doubted not to gaine hym manye frendes. This man is greatlye envied for his credit, hated for his pride, and being of small party, easye to be brought out of credit, if the King might once see that he cane doe hym litle service in England : which if the wardens would doe ther dewties, would sone appeare. I wish that they and ther deputies might have nothing to doe with Sesford, bnt in matters that concerne ther office, and that Englishmen maye be more restrayned from conversing with Scottes, then now they are. How dangerous the Kings hast to this crowne, and the drawing away of his subjectes maye be to her Majesties good estate, your honor cau wisely consider." I shall advertise as I learn more, protesting that nothing moves me bnt my zeal to her Majesty's service. "Wourship the sone rising who shall, I will while I live, without regard of present or future perrill, wourship the sone shining, and doe hope, that although my life should be long, that sone shall overlive it." Berwick. *Signed* : Will'm Selby.

The charge of the gaoler is much objected for freeing the pledges. I have learned that such of our pledges as gave not bond to be true prisoners, were put in a common gaol at Edinburgh among malefactors, and had no provision but what they bought with ready money. If these men were so used, the gaoler should be eased of his charge, they in safer custody, and would make more haste to pay than they do.

1½ pp. *Holograph* ; also address.

May 15. 1173. NOTE BY SIR ROBERT CAREY.

Since I came up, the Scots "damnified in the huntinge action," themselves sought M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick, met them, agreed to forget all quarrels and to be good friends. The King however still demands justice for it, which her Majesty may well grant ; and as Sir Robert Ker and myself cannot well be judges, in case of suspicion of partiality, it were good that my lord governor of Berwick and my lord Houme should hear the cause, when the former returns, and decide it by Border law. This I think the King will accept, and then he cannot say but justice has been offered him at least.

½ p. *Holograph*. *Indorsed by Cecul's clerk* : "1600, 15 May. Memoryall for Sir Ro. Carey."

May 17. 1174. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Sending him 2 packets just received from Master Nicolson. One he understands from the bearer, to be a "fallese packett" made up in case of intercepting in Scotland : but as Nicolson sent a letter covering each, he thinks it better to send up both, not knowing which is the right one, than to make any mistake. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

½ p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.

May 19. 1175. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I desire your honorable favour in a certain matter lately happened here. "Uppon Good Freydaye last, ther was on Jhon Hardinge, a gentyll-



1600.

"man I cannot saye, for that noe man hear knoes what he was, nether had he begininge or eandinge that aney man hear cold ever knoe—save the eand that all men have—wiche was uppon Good Freydaye last he departed this world: and havinge some goodes and detes bey billes, after his deathe everye bodey was spearinge of his goodes, and thoes who wear indetted to him came, and wear everye man getting out ther owen billes, tyll in the eand longe after his deathe, I rememberinge he had byn her Majesties customer of this towen, and therbey was in great ackowentes to her Majesty, thought he myght be indetted to her Majesty: as also I thoughte that ether sum ayer or summe of kyn myghte come in, or that some wyl myghte be fowend in tyme—and so beinge lothe to see the goodes dispersed into everye bodeys handes, nott to be gotten together if ned wear, mad me gett out a letter of sequestratyon to gether the goodes into my nowen handes, that wch so ever wold justley challenge them myghte feynd them together. Bey wiche meanes I have hetherto kept them all to gether, wiche otherwayes wold bey this tym a byn in maney menes handes. Nowe maye it please yoner honer, I haveinge nowe kept them together this ix wekes, and find nether reyghte ayer nor aney of his kyn to com and challenge it, nor aney will to dispose of it, ame lothe to stand charged aney longer withe it, consitheringe I have it bey administratyon also and have put in bon of xvij hundred powendes to be a trewe administrater if lawe shall convinse it from me, and feyrdinge that for want of ayeres it falles to the Queenes Majesty bey her prerogative: I have thoughte good therfor to singneyfey this muche to yoner honer, intretinge you to move her Majesty for me thus muche, that what soever he the sayd Hardinge shall be proved in her Majesty dett ether for his offes of custom or aney other wayes, I will presentley paye into her Majesty exchecker: and humbeley beseche her Majesty that she will bestowe the rest of the remayen wiche will not be muche, uppon me, in consitheratyon that I ame lefte hear nowe cheft in charge and have no allowans of my lord gaverner towerdes my great charges that I am forst to be at: as also for the better maynteynanes of my daughter Ane Carey in her Majesty serves, wiche is verely chargeabell to me, it wold bey for her ij or iij gowenes." Berwick.  
*Signed: Jhon Carey.*

Such a fortune happens not in many a year. I have already all that law can give me—both sequestration and administration: I only want her Majesty's good will, who may hinder me by her prerogative. But I hope by your favor to obtain her right also, paying to her what any way he was indebted.

*1½ pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wax signet: scan with annulet on breast.*

May 26. 1176. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

My lord Willowghby sent yesterday by a special servant, a letter of attorney to the mayor of this town, his kinsman M<sup>r</sup> Guevara, and myself, authorising us to demand of "M<sup>r</sup> Marshall" and others, certain sums of money the goods of one Harding who died here intestate and without kindred, it is said: my lord's title being a letter of administration granted him by the "Bishopp" of York. We all went to M<sup>r</sup> Marshal and I told him our orders to deal with him, that I had little knowledge of the matter, and would meddle no further therein than might stand with his liking, for as I was bound to obey my lord Governor if present, so would I obey him equally in my lord's absence. Whereat he seemed contented, and said he had given bonds in great sums to the Bishop of Durham to administer these moneys, and had also order from the barons of Exchequer, to detain them in hand till it were seen how Harding stood with her highness, for he had been customer here. "This money was extorted from the souklier by extreme usurye, a noble in the pound—and it seameth that the good fortune of the souldier haith appointed it to be employed for his benifit in the building of

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"a church or some other charitable uses here, yf privat respectes prevent not ther good happ. This pelf haith bredd great unkindness betwixt my lord Governor and M<sup>r</sup> Marshall, and may work a furdre deviation to the hurt of the service, and good estate of this place, if other order be not taken." Her Majesty, on this people's petition, was formerly willing to bestow some good sum for the building of a church "in lieu of that which was ruined" for the fortifications; if it please her to give administration of Harding's goods to some "speciall personage" of her Council, who may appoint a fit man here "to the edifieng" of the church, it would ease her of that charge, and furnish the soldiers with what they most need: "the chappell (for it is no other) which is now the only and all the churches in the towne, being scarcely equable of the 4<sup>th</sup> part of the people." This would abate the contention between the Lord Governor and the marshal: "for, the cause taken away, the effect would cease." Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph*; also *address*. *Indorsed*.

May . 1177. LORD WILLOUGHBY ON HARDING'S AFFAIRS.

"A true narracion of the state of the cause touchinge the goodes late John Hardinges of Barwick intestate, deceased."

This Hardinge being possessed of divers monies, &c., partly in the diocese of Canterbury, partly in Yorkshire, but chiefly at Berwick in the diocese of Durham, died on 21<sup>st</sup> of March last thereof possessed, *viz.*, in diocese of York, debts, &c., value 10*l.*; of Canterbury, debts, &c., 25*l.*; and at Berwick, ready money and gold, 466*l.* 10*s.*; plate, apparel and household stuff, 200 marks; in bonds, bills and tickets, payable by good debtors, chiefly at Midsummer, a small part at Christmas next, 1,245*l.* and "odd money."

Sir John Carey, 3 days after Harding's death, seized all the money, &c., at Berwick under pretence of letters of sequestration granted by the Bishop of Durham.

On 16<sup>th</sup> April last the Archbishop of York granted administration of the intestate's goods to Lord Willoughby, to build a church at Berwick, for which his lordship gave bonds of 2000*l.*

Lord Willoughby moving the Archbishop of Canterbury to grant the like: "to delay him therein, one Arden a traveller, allso Sir John Caryes ladye, in the prerogative courte of Canterburie pretend kinred to the intestate, yeat are they bothe mere straungers to him."

Meantime Sir John Carey has since got letters of administration from the Bishop of Durham: the lord Treasurer has written to the Ordinary of Canterbury to grant administration to no man till he be acquainted therewith, and to Sir John to take Harding's goods into his hands for a supposed "arriage" due her highness, "whereof Hardinges *Quietus est* is extant of record." His lordship has farther written to Sir William Dowes treasurer of Berwick, to pay all sums due to Harding that pass in his receipt, to Sir John's hands.

It is now said I hear, that Arden has sold his pretended title to her Majesty: and again, "it is provable and partlie confessed," that Sir John has compounded with him, and has his bonds for performance. My counsel advise me that administration belongs solely to the two Archbishops, for what is in the province of each. Sir John Carey and Arden deal for their private interest; and no true kindred to the intestate is yet heard of. There is no debt set forth due to her Majesty, which if made known, and the money or goods delivered to any "religious man," it may be paid proportionably.

If there is no such debt or kindred, it is easy to see, as Canterbury and York yield their rights to the finishing of this most needful church, what is fittest to be done against private claims upheld only for private benefit.

1 p. *In a contemporary hand*. *Indorsed*.

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May 29. 1178. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Being intreated by Master Nicolson to address this inclosed packet, I send such "slender" news as I have from Scotland. Within this 4 days a gentleman is come from the King of Denmark, to intreat the King of Scotland to send 100 shipwrights to build many ships in Denmark, it is said. "I understand the King of Scotland toke somewhat hardley withe the Earle of Goerrey when he came into Scotland: gevinge him maney jhestes and prettey tauntes, sayinge he had byn greatley intertayned at the cort of Ingland, charginge him withe great conferens had withe Queenes Majesty, and that he shold have byn offered some goold—to wiche the Earle acknowledged he had byn verey honorabley intertayned and gratyusley used bey her Majesty, wiche he toke to be for the Kynges sake—and as for goold, he denyed he had byn offered aney, sayinge he had goold enofe for himselfe. The Kinge marved the ministers mett him not! withe maney other suche speches. It is thought that the alteringe of the yonge prinse from the Earle of Marr, and the convension shortley to be holden, will bred some alteratyones: but I fear noe. Ther is great mutteringe about Bodwelles beinge come into the conterey; the sertentey wherof is not openley knowen, but muche misdoweted."

In my last I presumed humbly to request your honor to move her Majesty to bestow the "remayen" of Harding's goods on me, her debts being paid by me into Exchequer; the rather as my lord Governor deals very hardly with me, "as without aney maner of coller or tytell, to take and violatt it from me, whoe allreley have it bey all order and corse that lawe cane geve me, yet upon mear will and malles, he dothe so appoese him selfe agaynst me, as without her Majesty counteynans, he will forse me from it: althoughe he wold not geve me aney on peney of alloweans towerdes my great charges hear beinge left in his plase, yet will not be content I shold injhoye toos good fortunes that God layes upon me, and ar bey all honest meanes proseded in. I humbeley . . . believe that my lord governors godley intensions to byld a chorche, prosedes but from an uncharetabell consayt agaynst me." Berwick. *Signed*; Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Inclosed. Fragment of signet.*

June 2. 1179. WILLIAM SELBY TO CECIL.

M<sup>r</sup> Raufe Bowes has petitioned my lords of the Council against me, regarding money due by him and others to me, "lente out of my purse, not as a usurer," but of my own kindness and good will. Part has been due this 16 years, some part for 5 years, and they have done their ntermost to defraud me. I outlawed them, they purchased their pardon: I had judgment and outlawed them again, and my counsel now tells me they cannot have a protection, yet he labours for it. I agreed to refer it to two gentlemen, who took order and named the sum and time of payment: at which vey instant he urged my lord Treasurer for a protection. I beseech your honor that I may be heard before my lords of the Council, and I shall satisfy them M<sup>r</sup> Bowes has greatly wronged me. One of his pleas is he is poor and indebted for his father, but I shall show my lords "his case is nothinge so evell as he saythe, but exceedinge good." I should have waited on your honor, but I have been very little out of my bed since I was with you on "Sundaye was sevensnighte," but as soon as God makes me able, I will attend you and lay down my case, which is too tedious to write. London. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Inclosed. Wafer signet: shield barry of 8; inscription indistinct.*

Inclosed in the same:—

1600.

(William Selby's true report.)

M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bowes late treasurer had a lease of the Queen, paying a 50*l*. fine, which I bought, and paid him 800*l*. ready money for it. He promised me to surrender it, and get another from her Majesty to me, but when at London, he sold it to another for 750*l*., taking the lease in his name. When I came and charged him with his "hard dealing," he promised with many good words, I should have my 800*l*. again immediately, but kept not his word, so I had to sue him and the rest under the bond, but he held me off 5 years, by the friendship of the sheriffs of Cumberland and the Bishoprick of Durham—and though at last, with great charge, I got judgment for 1600*l*., yet I am not satisfied of my money.

He made no pay for 2 years, and was "arreraged" to the garrison 6000*l*. for which Sir William Reade and I were sent up to sue, and by means of the late Lord Treasurer, we got 3000*l*. and made the pay.

Some years after, the garrison sent me for the balance, and after a long suit, by the said Lord Treasurer's means, I had it granted by her Majesty. M<sup>r</sup> Bowes then a suitor at Court, receiving "many sower wordes" for his arrears, offered, if he got 2000*l*. from Exchequer, he would furnish 1000*l*. himself, and so "cleere with" the garrison. The Queen accepted his 1000*l*., and allowed the rest, "but at no hande wold trust him with the money." So her pleasure was I should receive the 2000*l*. at Exchequer and "that 1000*l*. also." So I went down with the 2000*l*., and M<sup>r</sup> Bowes' order for the 1000*l*. at York, and my lord Treasurer's instructions. But at York "with much adoe" I only got 200*l*. or 300*l*.; and at Berwick in "tyckettes" as much more as made it up to 550*l*. But after 2 months' tarrying, I could get no more of him. He then so urged me, saying the Queen had stayed his suit and would not grant it till the pay was made, and it was his utter undoing: and by his wife and friends urged me to strain my credit for him "with vehement protestacions both of due repayment and great freindshipp." In the end I was content to disburse it on these bonds, without any interest or gain: notwithstanding which fair promises and many appointed days of payment, no day was kept, but I was forced to put the bonds in suit, not having to do with M<sup>r</sup> Bowes at all, but with the men named in them.

Thereafter M<sup>r</sup> Bowes came sick to Berwick, and sent for me. When I came, he called in his son M<sup>r</sup> Raph Bowes, "and beinge in his bedd deadlie sick," ordering all out of his chamber but his son and me, said as follows—"Captayne, I have donne you many and great wronges, which I pray you forgive me, and I aske it from my heart, that you will hartely forgive me"—repeatinge theis wordes, three or fower tymes. And then called his sonne Raph Bowes to him, seieng, 'Sonne, if this man had not ben, thou hadest never byn a man. For had he not lent his money, I hadd never gott my suitt. And if I had never gott my suitt, thou hadest never byn worth anything. And therefore, Raph, I chardge thee on my blessinge, that thou see him satisfied and contented. For I have left enough to paie all men: and yett thou maiest dispend 500*l*. a yeaere beside, and live with the best of them. And I chardg thee wheresoever thou meetest him, that thou accept of him as thou wouldest doe of the best Bowes in England.' And see, within two daies after, he died."

Then I asked M<sup>r</sup> Raph Bowes as the bonds had been long in suit, to take order; he promised fair, but did nothing. On my way to London I desired to speak with him at Newcastle, but he would not, "and so stood owt with me." He was then outlawed, had pardon thereof, then I had judgment. He is outlawed again, and I offered, if I had done anything against conscience, to be "censured by my Lord Keeper: or against lawe, by my Lord Cheife Justice." After that, I referred at his instance, to two gentlemen and to stand by their order: who met and decided the sum and day of payment: but he did nothing. And on Monday 29<sup>th</sup> April 1600, M<sup>r</sup> Pepper a counsellor

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"at law, whom he greatly trusts, dealt with me (as he had often before) and said the money was ready except 60*l.*, which should be paid at a "short daye." Yet at the same instant, Raph Bowes laboured for my [lord Treasurer's (?)] protection, and hoping for it, "went from all former dealings," and has now taken ont a writ of error to delay me longer.

1 p. *Closely written, same hand as letter. Indorsed.*

June 13. 1180. PASSPORT FOR JAMES GREAME.

Licencing the bearer "M<sup>r</sup> James Greame gentillman of Scotland and servant to the Kinge of France," with his man Lowronce Sparton, to travel to London with 3 ambling nags, *viz.*—one grey, of 13 hands, one brown bay, of 14 hands, and one white, of 14 hands, without hindrance. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed at foot*: "To all justices of peace, maiors," &c. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

June 14. 1181. SIR JOHN CAREY TO WILLOUGHBY.

I think good to let your honor understand before you come from Court, "that the seas upon thes costes dothe swarme withe Dunkerker in suche sort, that none of the coste men cane pase or dare venter; and hear they ley in Scotland uppe and downe, as at Crell, at Lethe, and at Coldinghame, and make salle of that they take. Ouer poer contreyemen goe to and froe and see ther goodes sold befor ther fases, and cane gett no relefe. It is verey pittytus and lamentabell to hear the cryes of ouer poer contreyemen: for the Dunkerkes ley so uppon the coste and have so good intertaynement in Scotland, as not a mane cane loke into the see, but they have them presentley." Your honor might deal with the Council for reformation.

M<sup>r</sup> Vernon is so negligent of this town, that we have little but beans, which they sell to Scotland—no time of year for us to have anything to do with them—that I pray your honor to order him to supply us better.

I hear the great convention in Scotland is shortly to hold, and the King is working all he can to have his intentions go forward. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of waz signet.*

June 14. 1182. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

On Thursday last I met the Scottish warden at Gretnoe kirk, and interchanged rolls, appointing 15<sup>th</sup> of next month for delivery and redress.

On Thursday night 7 "of th'insolent base disobedient of Scotland" with some of the like of England, took 10 head of cattle from a place called Avertisheholme, "being to a brother of the Bushops," driving them a great way into Liddesdale. They were freshly pursued by my son, servants, &c., to their great danger, and part rescued.

I have written to the gentlemen and officers of the country for assistance in watching, to come here with some of their tenants. But in truth they have not come at all, *viz.*, for the time past, M<sup>r</sup> Dudley, M<sup>r</sup> Pickering, and M<sup>r</sup> Lancaster principal officers.

George Nicolson has written from Edinburgh to me, to deliver Thomas Musgrave, now in the sheriff's prison, to the Scottish warden for old attempts: but I have stayed till I know your and Lord Scrope's pleasure therein. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

I would wish your authority to deliver him to Sir John Carmichael, on condition to be redelivered when the bill is taken order with: otherwise I expect small justice from the warden.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

1600.

June 17. 1183. RICHARD LOWTHER TO CECIL.

"Yesterday about two of the cloke Sire John Carmychell ridinge from Annon to the Langhome, in his waye ther was xvij men, wherof xvj<sup>th</sup> weere Scottes men, and two Englishmen, providid in jackes, laid in waite for him, and chaised him and kilde him with a gonne. He that shote him was a sonne of Rynyon Armstrange callyd Thom. Ther they spoyled him, and from thence he was carred before a Scottesman on horsebacke to Lowmablen: he that carrid him was Wille Kange."

I have written to the gentlemen to come down with their tenants, 100 at a time: the gentlemen "of the factyon" will not obey me, so unless I have allowance of men as in my old Lord Scrope's time, I cannot keep this March, for now the thieves will ride. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

"This is the therd warden they have kild and taking prisoner in Scotland."

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Small wafer signet: indistinct.*

June 20. 1184. JAMES VI TO SCROPE.

"We dout not bot ye have hard of the recent accident tuitcheing the barbarous and wyld murthour of our warden the Laird of Carmichael, committit sa neir your bonndis be Sandeis Ringanis sonniss, certane uthers of the Armstrangis and thair associattis raittit thevis and lymmeris, and evir professit ennymeis to the peace and guid reule of the cuntreys: quhilkis being affrayed and despairing to find ressett or favour within our realme, will (ua dout) tak occasion to seik refudge within the boundis of your office and charge, and be ressett, without be your guid meanis and cair the same be prevented: and thairfor wischeing you to consider how far we ar greved at the losse of sa worthie a subject, being ane of our privie counsall and officiar inclynit sa weill (as ye knaw) toward the peace and quietnes of the cuntreys, and be quhom ye alwayes ressavit a correspondence, We earnestlie intreat you to be instant and cairfull in searcheing and deprehending of any of the committeris of that wyld murthour incais of thair resort and ressett within the boundis of your charge, and to send thame in to ws or our warden your opposite to be puneist according to thair desert. . . . We have constitute our traist cousing William lord Heryis warden and justice ower that our West Marche till owr awne cuming in the cuntrey quhilke wilbe schortlie . . . From our palice of Halyruidhous." *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To our richt trusty and weilbelovit cousing the Lord Scroope," &c. *Indorsed.*

June 20. 1185. JAMES VI TO RICHARD LOWTHER.

[In similar terms to the preceding.] "From our palice of Halyruidhous." *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To our trusty and weilbelovit Maister Lotther warden depute," &c. *Indorsed. Wafer signet (Scotland).*

June 23. 1186. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Since the untimely death of Sir John Carmichael, "those wicked persons his kyllers, Sandys Rynyon with his sonnys and dependantes, have not only rydden within the baronie of Burgh (and from thence toke ten nagges), but also have associate themselves to an insolent company of Arin-stranges and Yrwyns, specially the Hollases and Kanges, men of the lyke wicked dispoision, with the number of fourescore persons on Thurslay last at night came to a place called Holme end within the baronie of Lynstock, brack a house and toke certaine goodes which was rydded, hurt one man": the followers put them to flight, took 6 horses and one of them prisoner.

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I have writtē to George Nicolson thereof, humbly desiring that the King will put some stay to those disorders: for the "late prowde fact" against the warden, will yield "such ungodly harting" to the wicked, that great outrages will follow. Carlisle. *Signed*; Richard Lowther.

Notwithstanding my letters none of the gentlemen have yet appeared.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Large wafer signet: shield of 8 quarters: winged dragon crest as before.*

June 25. 1187. JAMES VI. TO SCROPE.

"This gentill woman berare heirow, having that hap eftir hir former mariage of our umqle trustie and famliar servitour Johne Stewart our vallas, to be joynd in the lyke band with umqle Robert Grahame of the Fauld inhabitant of that bordeir quhilk ye command, and falling be his deceis to ane dew portioun of his moveables and insicht, besydes the lagacie quhairwith it pleisit him be his lattir will to remember the loveing pairt quhilk scho dischairgit to him evin to his lattir houre: scho notwithstanding is be his sones maist violentlie bereft of that meane confort quhilk onlie restit to hir of that marriage, and with maist contumelious and undewtfull behavioure to hir on thair partie, utterlie debarrit frome anie intromissioun with anie part of his said substance: quhilk being in the self sa evident a wrang, we have thocht meit to address hir with ourre requeist unto yow for hir help, quhilk we man pray yow maist effectuouslie to lat hir find, aganis sic violence, and respecting hir sexe and wedowheid, and the guid interest scho hes to that scho clameis, to favour hir with your auctoritie for the compelling of hir saidis parteis, to conforme thame in hir behalf, baith to the will of the defunct, and to your lawis and practique in sic caiss . . . From Haliruidhous." *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 26. 1188. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Yesterday evening, the Laird of Newbie the King's deputy warden, came to me from the Lord Herries, earnestly desiring to meet with me at Tordowathe to-morrow, to confer as to keeping quiet on the Border, to which in respect of the times, I could not refuse to agree. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a crest, a winged dragon on a wreath.*

June 29. 1189. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

On Friday last I took journey to meet Lord Herries and Newbie, but on the way received letters from them, the Laird's signifying that as he heard that Sir Hugh Carmichael was made warden for the better revenge of his father's murder, and Lord Herries had a public appointment elsewhere, he thought the meeting should be put off.

As I hear that the King in person will be shortly on this March, I would entreat your honor to give direction that the gentlemen and officers will be ready in attendance with those under them, when duly warned. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: 8 quarters; and crest as before.*

1600.  
June 31. 1190. ACT OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT.

Prohibiting the King's subjects from trafficking with the "Dunkerk-eris," or any stranger ships within his highness's waters, except the goods dealt in are lawfully come by. Edinburgh.

1 p. Broad sheet. "Printed be Robert Waldegrave prenter to the Kingis Majestie."

[1600.  
June.] 1191. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

A brief representation of the decayed state of the West Marches, humbly tendered by the lord warden, with his requisition of some present aid.

1. "It is conspicuous in every eye" that the strength of this March against all sudden incursions, forays, &c., consists only in the towns of Cumberland and the city of Carlisle: who must endure the "skeath," without help of Westmerland, except in open invasion, which seldom hurts the borders.

2. "These limitts" of Cumberland, as Bewcastle, Gilsland, most part of the lands late the Lord Dacre's, where once were many able horsemen, are now utterly ruined, by death and sickness, unredressed spoils of the Scots and our own outlaws, and the "ill cariage" of their officers. Some, as in Gilsland, "unsetled and at variance with themselves": others by their suspected favors with the opposites and neglect of duty, are in general contempt.

3. As for the other confines in the waters of Eske and Leven, they are chiefly inhabited by the Grames and Armstrongs "broken men alied and in kindnes" with the Scots, and feared by the English for their misdeeds, "conspirators in everie rapine done by the Scotcs," who pass and repass through them to spoil England without so much "as shout or crye"!

4. Touching the inner part of this border: the civil contentions of the chief gentlemen and their followers distract their forces, and unfit them for defence against the Scots.

5. The long dearth and universal sickness in the towns of the border, especially in the city of Carlisle, "with some inordinat withdrawing, or unfitt dispending of the revenewes of that citie (which *singulis annis* amounted to ij<sup>l</sup> 4<sup>s</sup> or thereabouts)" by some of the chief citizens for private ends instead of public benefit, has so weakened their force, that it grieves me to say more.

6. Lastly, your lordships know that this border now so weak, has always at its greatest strength under former wardens, been backed with some garrison of foot or horse: as ancient tradition shows.

7. I was warned by Sir John Carmichael the opposite warden, that his people would take the first opportunity to spoil us. This gentleman is now most cruelly murdered by those in his own wardenry for his good service and agreeing with me to keep them in order: and thus they are broken loose.

8. I therefore humbly desire, like my predecessors in office, by your good mediation, that a convenient force may be speedily settled here in this seasonable time, to prepare themselves at least charge for defence of the people.

9. Also that you would be pleased to order that the surpluss of the city revenues, beyond their necessary disbursements, may not henceforth be disposed of without the consent of my lord bishop of Carlisle and myself: and that we be empowered with the mayor and his bretheren, to intermeddle in the distribution for the good of the people and city.

10. Now that the King has just cause to do revenge on these murderers, her Majesty has special opportunity "by inciting and joyning with" him, to effect their utter destruction and such desolation of their borders "that her



[1600.]

"owne shall rest in tranquillitie for these c<sup>th</sup> yeeres to come." I also desire her highnesses warrant as she graciously promised me, to make reprisal on the opposite offenders.

3½ pp. *Holograph*. *Indorsed*: "To the right honorabell the lordes of her Majesties most honorabell privie Counsell."

[1600.

June.]

## 1192. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Lord Scrope's opinion for redressing present, and preventing future mischiefs, as presented and complained of to your lordships by the gentlemen of the West March.

PAST OFFENCES: to be referred to her Majesty's clemency or justice.

BLACKMAIL: by border law is march treason punishable by death, if the taker of it share it with a Scot, as their custom is. There should be a royal proclamation "in print," that any blackmailer suffer death, and the warden to proceed.

For the offences of the Grames and Carletons and other broken men, and their "forren" marriages.

1. That those allied to Scots come in at next assizes, on 14 days' proclamation before, and find caution to the warden for good behaviour: or be prosecuted as fugitives out of the Queen's protection.

2. That no man henceforward ally himself with the Scots "*sub pena* marche treason," if he dwell on the Marches.

3. If any marry his son or daughter "within age" to a Scot, this to be march treason in the parent: and on like pain, the son to depart the March at full age.

4. That none "triste" with Scots, or unless "in trod" or lawful business, enter Scotland, without the warden's license on "like paine."

5. That they discharge their Scottish farmers and servants by a fixed day, and receive none hereafter without the warden's license and giving security for their good demeanour, on pain of fine and imprisonment at his discretion.

6. That those who dwell in the Scottish border shall return by a day, or be dealt with as March traitors.

7. As they usurp royal jurisdiction and liberties: to be dealt with by statute and proclaimed under pain of death: unless they submit to the warden, justices of assize or of peace.

8. A "keeper" should be appointed over them to execute the warden's precepts and process against them.

9. A "legier" commission should be renewed yearly to gentlemen of integrity to inquire and certify offenders to the lords and the warden, whereby the greatest as well as the poorest man's faults shall be published.

Lastly, that the land sergeant of Gilsland reside within his charge: and your lordships to procure licence for the warden to make reprisal in the opposites for unredressed offences. That the 50 soldiers of Berwick appointed for Carlisle may be there on the 10<sup>th</sup> July next—the receiver to pay them monthly as wont—and if it pleased her Majesty to allow each man 4*d.* a day more, it would enable them to get horses.

2 pp. *Holograph*; also *indorsement*.

## July 5. 1193. WILLOUGHBY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Hearing of their purpose to draw certain companies from the garrison of Berwick to strengthen Lord Scrope, he remonstrates very strongly against it: pointing out that in respect of Scrope's wardenry, the East March is not a bailiwick, a mere handful of "poor creatures," and the opposites "the strongest and gallantest parte of all Scotland": while Lord Scrope "may make at least 10 or 12000 able men," and the opposite March ill inhabited

1600.

against him. "But this is not all: how shall the towne of tow miles compass be guarded that hath not in yt 500 soldiers? What watch wilbe kept ther? . . . Souldioury is a cloake that ought to be worne in fayre as fowle wether: in peace, for securitie, in war, for necessitie. But is ther no cloudes of mischeife? Your lordships I hope have heard by the deputies complaint how many sayle of netled Dunkirkers are one that coaste: the least man of warr hath 100 men aboard him, and ther number is twenty ships at least. How accessible the towne is on the sea syde, for all the new fortification, every on knowes, and they perhaps have not forgotten how their Cales, near the Medeteranian straights, was surprised." If Berwick had been Spanish, "the English and Low Contry cuning takeres of townes would easely have won yt ere this." The watch row is "skant" enough, but if made less, will be nothing. If Lord Scrope needs help, the Middle and East March will assist on necessity, but his service is fitter to be done by horse, of which he has plenty, than by foot who are more proper to keep a town than "to catch theves on horsback." Trusting their lordships will not consent to weaken a place of such importance, while he will always be ready to help on sudden necessity, he asks pardon for delivering his truthful opinion. Greenwich.  
*Signed: P. Wyllagbby.*

$2\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Inlorsed. Neat octagonal wax signet: quartered shield; 3 crests: the central one 2 horns on a helmet.*

July 8. 1194. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL

The fees and profits of the Lord Governor and councillors here are sufficient for their housekeeping "and to spare": except my place, the fee of which is so mean, that my year's pay defrays not the charge of my house above 3 months; and as my father's was, I know my own continual attendance on the place while I serve it, will be more than any other councillor's. The greater part of them, being either wholly or mostly absent, have means to spare, while we who reside and do the service, must spend, and the more through their absence. I would better my place, yet without further charge to her Majesty. "The porters office and the sergeant majors is the same: a paye without check in everye companye belongeth and is dewe to the sergeant major in all garrisons": and if I were allowed it by her Majesty, I should be able to do her service without hurting my own poor estate. As I owe this place to your favour, I may without offence, sue your honor to move for me therein. My clear yearly entertainment for my housekeeping is 103*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, as by the underwritten note, and though I might increase it "by some meanes," yet I will never "help my self one pennye" above my "very payes allowed," and "would be ashamed to offend in that"; which I wish for the Queen's service were reformed in others, as appears by my former letters. I know not how my lord governor will take this my suit: but fear the worst, for since my coming here, we dissent in opinion of his authority of wardenry, whereof you may hear more—"for his deputy usurpeth in this March the offices of lord chancellor, sherif, justice of peace, and coroner," without any warrant mentioned or to be collected out of his patent, the treaties, or any approved custom of any wardenry either of England or Scotland. But hercon I will not trouble you for the present. Berwick.  
*Signed: Will'm Selby.*

"The porters intertainment."

"The porter himself *per annum*, 20*l.*; 6 horsemen at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* le piece *per annum*, 40*l.*; 14 footemen at 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* le piece *per annum*, 74*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; ane increase given by the Quenes Majesties gift *per annum*, 50*l.*  
184*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

1600.

"Deductions out of the forsaid summe:—

"Ane underporter that carrieth and delivereth the keyes to the Lord Governor, and attendeth all services about the gates, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; 8 yeoman porters, which waite continually at the gates from the opening to the shutting, at 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* le piece *per annum*, 42*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; house rent, *per annum*, 20*l.*; to the ministers, the phisitian and the poore, *per annum*, 4*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*,  
80*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*

"So remaineth cleare to the porter toward his housekeeping, 103*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*"

The pays of the officers for the gates in "Callice" are about 400*l.* *per annum*, as appears by the pay books of that garrison. Those of all the Berwick officers are at least equal to them of "Callice," save the porter only.

The Lord Governor and other councillors have horse and footmen allowed them, and find not one man, but have their pay without check, for their own use "as it is wise, those payes being the best part of ther interteinement." But the porter must keep one underporter, and 8 yeomen porters, for the necessary service at the gates, out of his own allowance.

1½ pp. *Closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

July 9. 1195. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Since my coming home, I hear the King of Scots is much offended at those gentlemen of his border that agreed with M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington and M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick for the hunting accident, moved thereto by Sir Robert Kerr's means; and commanded them to surcease from farther dealing. Yet they met and agreed so well with our people, that it was referred to 4 gentlemen of each country to settle all disputes: and the King learning this by Sir Robert Kerr, ordered them all to appear before him at Edinburgh. Two only, the Laird of Hundele, and the Laird of Hunthill's eldest son, are gone, and the King has committed them to Edinburgh castle. The others all say they will rather lose their livings and lives, than go back from their word, or break the custom of the Border. Thus your honor sees Sir Robert Kerr's malice more than his justice: and he has got great ill will of his neighbours, especially those chiefly interested in this case.

I am presently to send to him to know his mind as to swearing the bills which the pledges lie for.

I found the country in such quiet as never has been in the memory of man: there is none but Sir Robert Kerr who will disturb it, for the other Scots are willing enough for peace. If he will not do right by fair means, I hope by foul means to make my part good, and keep the country quiet "in sypte of his teeth." But as he has protested much to me, I will hope the best till I see the contrary. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 9. 1196. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Yesterday afternoon I met Lord Herries at Torloe wathe in Scotland, and find on conference he is not proclaimed warden, though appointed by the King, and has done something to stanch the great disorders. He delays accepting office till he knows her Majesty's approval of him, without which he has no mind to that troublesome office. For my own opinion, since the untimely slaughter of Sir John Carmichael, I think him the fittest man in that country for it. "Albeit his cheefe the Lord Maxwell and he be at great disliking, and small hope of their faithfull attonementes, yet he and his brother in law, the Larde Johnston, are nowe verie fyrmes frendes, leaving Maxwell to his choise, either of assurance with the Johnstons, or otherwise (for a tyme) for to take travell into some other realme." Since the warden's death I hear that the disorder "and skathes" in Scotland by their own thieves and some English, is threefold to ours. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

1600.

I hear the King will be on the opposite border within 12 days; the personal appearance of our gentlemen is very necessary, and their non-appearance is not only a discredit to me, but a danger to the state. If he should desire to speak with me, I would beg your advice for meeting.

The 12 outlaws that were at the murder of the warden ride weekly "twyse within this office."

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: shield of 8 quarters and dragon crest.

July 10 1197. LORD HERRIES TO CECIL.

The late slaughter of the warden of this March committed by some insolent thieves, and the daily enormities falling out to the good subjects of both countries has moved his Majesty my sovereign to burden me with the charge to suppress the malefactors. "And calling to memorie that my unquhill father lang governit this charge happilie be the gracious favour of hir Majestie and dew correspondence of her hienes officiaris in doing of justice . . . I have thairfoir thoct expedient as to seik to that fountaine quhairfra his happines procedit, and to crave that be your lordschip I may have hir Majesteis lyke favour and gracions countenance in discharginge of this my dewtifull service . . . That finding hir Majesteis favour and guid disposition towardis me, I may the mair willinglie accept this charge . . . Frome Terreglis." Signed: Herys.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Addressed: "To the right honorable Schir Robert Cecill knight principall secretorie to her Majestie," &c. Indorsed.

July 11. 1198. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Though at the late meeting with Lord Herries, special order was taken for due proclamation against all roades incursions, &c.: yet divers gentlemen of the inner part of this March (whose names are contained in the inclosed schedule), yesterday morning being Thursday, a little before sunrise, with at least 200 well appointed horsemen, and 80 foot, ran a foray in Scotland above Kynmont tower, where the horse and the Scots met with many strokes, yet no deadly hurt, nor any goods brought away, as I credibly hear, saving that the common English people was in great danger of the enemy.

These unauthorized rodes will give much discontentment to the King and his officer and produce disorder, as I leave to your honor's consideration.

I hear the occasion "(as is alledged) did accrewe for the taking of a pune, in luye of a meare and two horses, stolne by two or thre lymmers theifis from Thomas Sandford of Howgill, which meare (being a rynnner) was afterwarde bowght of the stealers, by Will of Kynmont, who rode upon the same." Carlisle. Signed: Richard Lowther.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed.

July 18. 1199. LORD TREASURER BUCKHURST TO SIR W. BOWES.

I have been advertised by the commissioners that rode to Berwick under the Queen's commission, that when they applied for sundry sums due on divers tickets "assured to John Arden deceased," and payment of certain debts due to her Majesty, whereof I had at large given you notice both by letter, and by word had expressly charged you to direct yourself therein for her Majesty's satisfaction, "and not to satisfy any course that might be taken by my lord Willoughby to impeach the same, wherof as likewise I told you I had some information: I have been I say, advertised notwithstanding all this, your substitutes and servants in the day of payment there, did answer the sayd commissioners that they had received direction from you

1600.

"to mak defalcation from the captains and victuallers of the sayd somes, and to mak stay of that money in ther hands on your behalf—and this by a warrant of your owne hand dated the 12<sup>th</sup> of June last, and that to the sayd commissioners they neither could nor would mak any payment at all—all which your substitutes seeme to cullor to be don by vertu of a warrant sent by my lord Wyllyngby unto yourself dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of May last." Which is so strange to me, from my hitherto firm opinion of your discretion and judgment in her Majesty's service, that "I will not now open myself unto you" my just opinion of your proceedings; "only I will now according to the duty of my place, once more chardg and command you in her Majesties name as you will answer the same at your perill," to make instant payment of such tickets and warrants as the said commissioners or their servants shall demand of you, assured to John Arden, and now payable to the hearers thereof: requiring you farther to satisfy me of your intention to obey or disobey this my charge, by advertising the Bishop of Durham by this hearer, that the commissioners be not forced again to take a vain journey as before, and that I also in case of your refusal, may take such order in the Queen's service as I may see fit. I am "right sory" that cause is given me to proceed thus: and never could have thought such a course would have come from you, but you are wiser than I, and therefore I marvel what shall be the end of this beginning. Tho. Buckhurst.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Indorsed*: "... Lord Treasurer to Sir William Bowes. Copie."

July 19. 1200. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

With your honorable letter, I received two others: one to the gentlemen of the West Marches, the other to the Mayor of Carlisle—and have delivered them.

Herewithal, at the instant motion of Lord Herries the opposite warden, lying with some forces at Hoddome to quiet that country, I send your honor a letter whereto he prays answer as soon as may be.

Since my last, this March stands in good quiet without any material offences. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

"Before your honors lettres came to Scroby (as the post wrytich) the packet was broken, which hath ben overmoche used, not without entercepting also."

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 23. 1201. SIR W. BOWES TO THE LORD TREASURER.

Your lordships letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> instant, sent to me by the Bishop of Durham, found me here at my own house in the bishopric, in some indisposition of body by my hasty journey in the heat from Derbyshire, where I was detained by my lawsuit in defence of part of my wife's estate there: whence I was drawn on hearing of the strange proceedings touching my office at Berwick, viz., "that my substitutes were not suffered to make the Queens paye to the garryson," to the offence of the soldiers and my great discredit. As the ground was said to be the want of satisfaction given to the commissioners lately there to levy Harding's debts, and my tender of repair to them, so far as rested in me, refused or deferred, on new directions expected by them from your lordship, in answer as it seems, of information by M<sup>r</sup> Marshal and themselves: I was forced to wait here, expecting such further resolution. Now your letters have come to hand, they cause great grief to me, as shaking some points of my loyalty, they add to my disability of health, and have caused me two days' deliberation, how to answer "so great a person" in such a cause.

1600.

Your lordship charges me with disobeying her Majesty's express command, signified to me by your self, that I should defalk the money due to the late John Harding "upon tickets, bills, bondes, &c.," and pay it to the commissioners: my answer is with all reverence, that neither I nor my substitutes, have disobeyed that commandment, beseeching you to examine the circumstances hitherto come to my knowledge, to be enlarged on my reaching Berwick.

The first and greatest is, that M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Colmer and M<sup>r</sup> Clopton, had their journey frustrated by my substitutes' denial to pay them the said money: my substitutes could "by no act of theirs" do so, for Harding's debts leviabie by the commissioners, being divided into three parts, the least part was defalkable by me, *viz.*, "supposinge the debtes to be about 1700*l*. I cannot understande as yet, that there is 500*l*. defaulkable by me. Of the rest, as I take it, about 500*l*. in ready money and in jewells, was seized by M<sup>r</sup> Marshall as governour for the tyme: the remaine seemeth to depend upon bondes of townsmen and others, without the compasse of my charge." As I notified this in writing to your lordship, it is the commissioners' own defect that they did not levy the 1200*l*. For this as is said hindering the pay, my substitutes will affirm on oath that they pressed it, but M<sup>r</sup> Governor would not suffer them, saying the captains would not let the victuallers pay their or their companies' debts, but if they got it, would pay it themselves. So my substitutes had no choice, but one of two—either make no pay, or no defalcation—"or rather in dede nether of bothe."\* So the commissioners' failure to levy the 1200*l*. and M<sup>r</sup> Marshall's seizure of 500*l*. "and neare thone half of all the rest which I should defaulte, sought by him to be deteyned," are cast ou me by your lordship's letter, and my credit deeply touched in Berwick.

[He next proceeds to explain the two warrants complained of: one given by Lord Willoughby and the other by himself—as they were issued before the commission was heard of, and related to the questions raised by Sir John Carey's attempt to get Harding's property. He then justifies his absence from Berwick, as the pay could in ordinary course have been by his substitutes, Eleazar Hodgson, John Mason and his brother Henry Bowes. His presence was most necessary in Derbyshire to defend a suit by *nisi prius*, against M<sup>r</sup> Francis Foljambe at Derby, where by the mediation of the chief country gentlemen, the judges were pleased "to move compromis," and the parties agreed to refer the cause to two arbitrators, "with the unperage of M<sup>r</sup> Sergeant Glanvill and M<sup>r</sup> Sergeant Gaudy—but on the news from Berwick, he left the arbitration just begun, and hastened to clear any misconception with the commissioners, ineffectually, as they waited the Lord Treasurer's further directions. Finally, he denies privity to any other courses with the Lord Governor, than his honorable purpose to devote the money to building a church there, graciously favoured by her Majesty, which purpose he hopes the Lord Treasurer, even if he collects the money for her use, will further, and thus their objects will be easily reconciled.]

To accomplish your last commandment I have written to the Bishop of Durham, that if he sends me the copies only of the tickets, bills, and bonds, I will do my best to defalk and pay them to his lordship and his chancellor with speed—also offering to act as a commissioner to levy the rest, and not intermeddle with the money.

In conclusion, I beseech that sinister information or jealous apprehension, may not abate the favourable opinion you were wont to have of me, after examining the particulars now laid before your lordship.

3 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. Closely written. Indorsed by Bowes: "Coppie of Sir W. B. his answer to the L. Treasurer, Julie 23, 1600."

\* Added on margin.

1598.  
July 25. 1202. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

"Being requested by Master Nicolsun to adreſſe this incloſed unto your honer, I could not omitt thanks to you in that it pleaſed you at my request to move her Maieſty for me tuchinge Hardinges goodes, wiche was never gotten bey so good meanes nor to so good an intent as to byld a chorche with the all, I fear me. But wear it so that so ill gotten goodes shold goe to so good a use, I shold be very glad that I shold be occasion of an exampell of so rare a president as to se a chorche bylded, hopinge that after that moer wold followe. And for the suggestyon of her Maieſty dett, I offered fayer that I wold presentley a satsyfeyed what cold a byn demanded; but he is unhappye whoe cane no waye jhustley have anye thinges crose hime but the bildinge of a chorche wiche is nowe out of use. Ser, I cannot but be thankefull to your honer for adventeringe your brethe, and be sorey for my nowen mysfortune, that it wiche I have ever ben a fortherer of to my small porſion, shold be the culler of my greatest crose: but knoinge her Maieſtye plesser, I have delivered all ether bey it selfe or bey meanes awenserabell.

" . . . The best newes I can wryghte is to geve frendley warninge that bey your honorabell meanes her Maieſty may loke well to her tresserer of Berwike, for that ther have of lat maney rare preseydentes fell out intendinge to no good, if weyse prevension be not moer. Your honer mnste perdun me at this tyme that I saye no mor, and I dare saye no lesse. I wold the worst wear to my selfe, and then her Maieſty shold have no wronge: so humbeley deseuyeringe your honer to pardun me that I have not awenscred your letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of Jun befor this tym, havinge had maney ocasionnes of great trubell." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan and annulet.*

July 26. 1203. SCROPE TO CECIL.

According to her Maieſty's command, I called the gentlemen of the country before me to know why they rode into Scotland, and this is their answer—That it was at request of M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Sandford of Hawguill, who had a mare stolen from him for which he would not have taken 100*l.*, and a horse worth 40*l.* "That those thieves (while the lord bishop of Carlell was preaching at Stannikes which is but a fleet shott from Carlell) had made an open forraye, and taken away all the nagges that belonged to that poore towne," 30 in number: and the said men, 80 in all, had ridden on the Bishop's tenants of Linstock, about a mile distant from this city, and stolen all their cattle: "wherat the lord bishop is very sore troubled." Also these men (the principal murderers of Sir John Carmichael), took all the cattle the lord bishop's brother Adam had: "whose wife they beatt, and wounded pitiouslye."

Which considered, these gentlemen thought neither the King nor her Maieſty would be offended at their roade: which is the effect of their answer.

Now in good faith, unless it please her Maieſty to send speedy relief—I mean the soldiers, by the 1<sup>st</sup> September next—it will overthrow our terror stricken people who dare not resist for fear of more mischief.

I understand that many letters passed between the King and Henry Leigh: but M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther assures me he thinks it was with the Queen's privity: whereof I advertise you. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Postscript:—I mnst call the country to keep the March for want of the soldiers, to its great charge. Our gentlemen got no goods at their roades in Scotland, so the King has no cause of offence.

Since writing, I received the incloſed from the Scottish King from whom

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nothing shall come "of never so small moment that shall not be shewed to ye."

3 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: shield and Garter.*

July 27. 1204. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

This gentleman the bearer, master of the ordnance here, being stopped of his due by the treasurer Sir William Bowes, *viz.*, his extraordinary charges laid out in his office and never before questioned, I refer it to his own report. But knowing his care and respect in the frugal disbursement on his office since his entry, I advertise your honor, "that some wiese course may be held (*obstare princepsis*)." Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet; swan with annulet.*

July 28. 1205. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Presently after my repair to the North, I sent to Sir Robert Kerr for a meeting to swear the bills fyled at last commission: and his answer was he would meet me on the 24<sup>th</sup> instant on the Border edge. I agreed, and held the time, but the night before we should have met, I having ridden 32 miles from my own house on my way, had a letter from him that he was "greavously sick" and could not come next day. I think he has no mind to meet, for as he cannot relieve his pledges by his own means, he makes fair shows, but privately plots by secret unhonest ways to effect it.

I impart this secret to your honor (not to be spoke of at least not heard of here as yet).—

I know for certain that Sir Robert Kerr met 5 of his countrymen most desirous to work the pledges' ease: and assured them there was no hope of their liberty, after the orders by your honor and the rest of the Council—but if they would be ruled by him, he would bring to pass that some man of worth should be taken in England, whose ransom should release the pledges: assuring them he had the King's promise "to oversee yt." So they departed to wait further orders.

The man from whom I have this is one of the five, and will advertise me farther from time to time. But meantime I will look to myself at meetings with him (if I have any) and travelling near the border side: for doubtless he means to surprise some chief officer.

I shall acquaint your honor with what falls out: and meantime being weary of this troublesome place, desire your furtherance to procure me a better or at least a quieter. Woodrington. *Signed: Ro. Carey.*

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

July 31. 1206. SCROPE TO CECIL.

"Upon Monday last certen of the Grames, with a Scotsman, came to one Thomas Salkelde esq<sup>r</sup> his house, being within three miles of Carlel, in the day tyme, and tooke and caried awaye the gentleman his eldest sonne of the age of sixe yeeres, and caried him into Scotland." He is sherif of Westmerland under the Earl of Cumberland—whose kinsman had apprehended one Wattie a brother to Jock of the Pearetree, the chief taker of the boy, and both Grames. This Wattie was to be tried at the last assises at Apleby in Westmerland, being accused of stealing a horse in that country.

The child's friends taking it heavily, and fearing the boy should receive harm with hard usage, I was forced to gett the "ladd" from them, as I have done, on promise that Wattie shall be delivered; and thought good to advertise you.



[1600.]

I hear credibly that the broken men opposite muster 200 or 300 horse to spoil this March, and look daily for them. I can put no trust in most of our borderers, and must give you no rest till the soldiers be procured to strengthen us. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

"It is likely that a hainous complaint wilbe made to the Quene and Counsell for the taking of that gentleman his sonne."

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[July .] 1207. NEW ORDERS FOR BERWICK.

ARTICLE AGAINST DECEIT IN HER MAJESTY'S WORKS.—As we perceive that our works are very burthensome, and there is no proportion between them and the money defrayed, which though paid beforehand, private persons get more for 20s. than we for 60s., which we think can only happen by the negligence or unfaithfulness of our officers: Our pleasure is, that whereas hitherto the works have been set down without dimensions, so as it cannot be seen whether it be great or small, hereafter the length breadth and height of every several work built with stone be set down thus—"so many foote of hewen worke," so many of "broched" work, so many square yards of "roughe wall" work; and how many square yards of earthen "rampier," if any, behind same wall, with the number of loads of stone and lime, and adjoined thereto the charges. The like order, or as near as may be, shall be observed "in tylinge, sclatunge, leade, iron and timber worke."

ARTICLE AGAINST BANKRUPTS.—That no bankrupt or indebted person, soldier or other, shall be suffered to retire to or hide himself in Berwick, to defraud or avoid his creditors, but shall be auswerable to all her Majesty's courts at Westminster or elsewhere, without hindrance of the Lord Governor, council or other officer there, who on knowledge thereof shall discharge them. Provided nevertheless, that any soldier falling in debt after joining the garrison, shall answer in the garrison court as hitherto.\*

THE CHAMBERLAIN'S OATH.—As the councillors and all others in pay have their oaths set down in the establishment, saving the chamberlain, it is fitting he take the following:—To be faithful to the Queen—to obey and assist the governor and other officers to the uttermost—to see to her Majesty's lauds and revennes, and exact no more fees in his office, than in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the Queen's reign. Also in granting any ground or inheritance there, to reserve power to take it for her Majesty's fortifications, &c., hereafter.

1 p. *Closely written. Indorsed.*

[July .] 1208. PETITION BY THE GUNNERS OF BERWICK.

Praying Lord Willoughby as governor, to take such means as he thinks fittest to renew the yearly allowance as in Lord Hunsdon's time, of 6 demy barrels of powder to the master gunner and quarter masters for practice of the great ordnance, also of 2 demy barrels to be made "in fireworkes" for exercise of the new and old gunners, and to remain in store in case of need arising.

1 p. *Broad sheet. Addressed at head. Indorsed*: "The cannonyers petition for ther wanted allowaunce of powder for the teachinge of yonge schollers."

[July .] 1209. THE CAPTAINS' PETITION TO WILLOUGHBY.

Praying him, as their pay is only 2s. a day, which as he knows is insufficient to maintain them in the Queen's service, and fitly attend him

\* Note by Cecil—"that is in the Marshalls courts."

[1600.]

as lord governor—to move her Majesty (without increase of her charges in the town) to grant each of them “some paies” in their several companies, as he knows other captains have elsewhere—in augmentation of their estate and to avoid the scandal of selling pajs, though not so usual as is said. *Signed*: Robert Carvill, Antonye Tompson, John Twyforde, William Boyer.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Broad sheet. Addressed at head. Indorsed.*

[July .] 1210. QUESTIONS TOUCHING BERWICK.

Questions (7) by Sir W. Bowes and replies (7) by Lord Willoughby—touching warrants for works, extraordinaries in the ordnance office, tools and candles in the “corps du guard,” excess of yearly charges for works, and whether the soldiers should be paid by poll, or by their captains as hitherto? The last decided by Willoughby in the captains’ favour to avoid “mutynye.”

2 pp. *Contemporary hand. Indorsed*: “Sir William Bowes objections and his lordships answers ther unto.”

1600.  
Aug. 1.

1211. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

The Armstrongs that killed Sir John Carmichael, have got together broken men to the number of six or seven score: they spoil where they can, “England and Scotland is all one to them,” and they fear no officers of either side. They are so well provided with stolen horses, and the strengths they lie in so fortified “with bogge and woodd,” that they know a small force cannot hurt them. They have begun to spoil in this March, as my letter to the Council shows, and are like to do more before winter be done. It shall go hard but I will by Michaelmas get one of them for money and fair promises to betray the rest. These outlaws durst not spoil so in their own country never encouraged nderhand by some better than themselves: it is only Carmichael’s friends they spoil, and it is thought those that murdered him had plotters behind them. Sir Robert Kerr held Carmichael his greatest enemy and opponent in all his dishonest designs in Court and elsewhere. Sir Robert’s credit is altogether “quayld” in his government—his name and friends have almost all forsaken him, and he can do little hurt, but annoy England as he cannot recover he pledges himself.

It is said in Scotland, he is the man that from the first set these outlaws to work: but “his hornes being shorte,” he dissembles his malice. I hear by other means than I wrote of before, that he means without appearing in it, to take some man of worth in England, to release his pledges.

If Harbottle castle were repaired, that I or my officer might sometimes lie there, I would fear him less. It would greatly strengthen this March, and I have set down in my suit to the Council, how it can be done without charge to the Queen: which I hope you will like on reading it. Arden’s money could not be better employed, and it is but a small part I ask to make the place strong to lie dry in.

If it was for my own interest, not the country’s good, I would rather ask allowance for Norham—my interest wherein is better—but I only desire to advance the Queen’s service, and the sooner I had the warrant from the treasurer, the better, for summer is almost past. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Aug. 1. 1212. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Your daily favours bind me much, but your good advice especially: “wher unto I shall shape my course with noe lesse joye then a ship a

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"wracking would to the comforte of an experienced pilott." Yet pardon me : I contest neither with my lord Treasurer, nor Sir John Carey, nor hinder the Queen's service. The Lord Treasurer's and my ways are diverse—"my lord without law but his pleasure : I desire to be censured by law, even in the courte of the Exchequer, wher him selfe sittes judge! He employes one Arden, a supposed kinsman to Hardinge, a fellow of noe greata meanes, a dangerous fellow, a suspected papist, and an od traveller. This fellow, scant worth 2000*li*. yf all his debtes were payd, bound to administer wher I have right, mine not revoked, as though administrations mought play at leape frogg! I on the other side am bound in 3000*li*. with other my freendes. Whether the Queene is liklyer to be served by him or me, is the question. To second this mans courses, the whole establishment of Barwick is transverted, the order of the pay and tickettes put into forrayneres haudes, a thinge unheard of, and of dangerous president, as though her Majesties counsel, the Governour and treasurer, sworn magistrates for that purpose, could not as well take order for these monies as others! Did they refuse it? No." The treasurer's letter to my lord Treasurer's objections, both which I send at Sir William Bowes' desire, and my own to my lord Treasurer will clear me, and show that if there was any fishing in troubled waters, it was by them.

I am bound by my oath to maintain the privileges of the garrison : and let the matter be so handled that these are dispensed with, I dispute no further. The world knows I neither have the money nor desire to finger it : I only stand to give God and my sovereign their "deodans," by legitimate not wrong ways. Much ado is made with those that have it : but there are great sums in Sir John Carey's hands passed over, and the poor garrison fleeced by much usury, and so discontented, that if any more stops are made of their pay, they will cry aloud. When all is done, the money can never be better paid to the commissioners than by an orderly proceeding. Let the goods be levied by lawful administrators, they may account to the commissioners, as my lord Treasurer appoints in his wisdom. But under his correction, my lord's office is not to appoint administrators, to be treasurer of the church, or "to alter alone" the establishment of Berwick! If we do otherwise than becomes us, we submit ourselves to censure and punishment. I desire for my own part not to be worse dealt with "then a coosen Arden to Hardinge in the face of both nations wher I serve." I have written at large hereon to my Lord Treasurer, but have no direct answer. If it please you to intimate so much to him, the service may go better on. Grimsthorp. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

\*"Most honorable of my friends, interprete not this to trouble you. Let my lord Treasurer se it, as a declaration of truth to be abide by, an accusation of none, an intention of goodnes : if his lordship would have credite, the truth in him, is able to justfy it, more than in those he doth, I would spare no labour to satisfy him. But now I seke to obsarve from partialty my God, my prince, and a fre conscience, succour it as it will."

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Small wax: octagonal signet; shield of 8 quarters and 3 crests as before.*

Aug. 3. 1213. JOHN CRANE TO CECIL.

Representing that Sir William Bowes as treasurer has stayed payment to Richard Musgrave master of the ordnance, on the ground that his book of extraordinary charges is unsigned by the Lord Governour, or the marshal in his absence, and the comptrollers of the works and of the ordnance—but that the payment of these is most necessary and urgent, and was made by all the

\* Holograph from this point.

1600.

treasurers up to Christmas last, without any question of these signatures. Berwick. *Signed*: John Crane.

1½ pp. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*.

Aug. 7. 1214. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I have this morning received this packet from M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson to address to your honor by post: "and witheall ther is nowe presentley come unto me out of Scotland a sertayen report that the Earle of Goerrey and his second brother, a very tall yonge gentyllman, ar bothe slayen bey the Kynge and his page beinge at bucke huntinge together. The maner howe it was, or whear, I doe not yet knoe, but shewer it is the earle and his brother ar bothe slayen, and it is sayed the Kynge bathe sent to the earles hewes to aprehend his other ij younger brothers. This newes comes withe ferst, so as the sertentey is not yet knowen, but shorteley it wilbe moer sertenley knowen." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

Now that my lord governor is to be shortly down, your honor might bind me highly if you would get me leave to come up: I have great suits in law and many other occasious, which unless I have leave to come up, will be to my utter nndoing. "Wherfor good ser, for Godesake" get me leave if but for Michaelmas term when I have many "troyalles," which if I am not there to follow, "will have but ill succes."

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: *seen as before*.

Aug. 10. 1215. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"Most honorable knight, tho I persuade my selfe the newes of th'Earle of Gowries misfortune cau not but come more spedely than these; whiche are come but of the post way and found me journeying northward at my fardest house that way—I credit them for that they come from Sir Jhon Carey: and for respect to you, who hath interest to receive th'effects of my best affections, whau God shall give me occasyon to testefy the same to you." Eresby. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

½ p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: *fragment*.

[1600.

Aug. 10.]

1216. THE EARL OF GOWRIES DEATH.

These are our Scottish news: the Earl of Gowrie and his brother are slain, the maoner certaiely reported thus.—"At this hunting in Funckland, the King being attended by diverse of the nobilitie (the Earle of Goury being on) after they had retourned home from their sports, he began to enter into some speeches with the King concerning his fathers death, none being in the Kings chamber save one John Ramsey. The Earle is sayd to be very peremptory with the King, and being sharply answered by the King, to draw his sword: which Ramsey seeing, prevented his purpose by thrusting him trough first. The younger brother hasting to revengd, had his death by the same Ramsey. The Lord Hume and other lords are hasting to the King: doobting that this attempt was not without som further plotting. This attempt was at S<sup>r</sup> Johnson at the earles house, whither he had invited the King.

"This is the first advertisment: yt wilbe seconded with moe circumstances, wherby we may judg the intention and pretences of the parties. Ther is likewise mention certein hurtes\* betwen Sir Thomas Eskin and Doctor Harys (?)."

1 p. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*.

\* Substituted for "a combat."

1600.

Aug. 11. 1217. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

"Ther is yet no moer sertentey of the Earle of Gooreyes deathe and his brothers then was wryghten befor : but yet ther is some altertyon of the maner of his dethe, and maney men doe mutter in a contrarye maner, bat nothings dar yet be spoken playen out, for that the Kinge dothe so fermely hold it downe accordinge to his first settinge of it downe. But the report nowe dothe contrarye the former this muche : that the earle ded not send for the Kinge to his howes, nether knewe of his comminge tyll he was alighted at the doer : and wher it was sayed that the earles brother came to Fanceland to invit the Kinge, it is nowe known that the Kinge sent for him, and he toweld his brother the Kyng had sent for him—whoe commanded him presentley to goe to the Kinge. The Earle had newe dyned befor the Kinge came to his howes—in so muche as his tabelle wear not uncovered when the Kinge alighted—and it is sayed the earle had not past v or vj men in his howes, having sent awaye all his men and his provision to a nother howes of his wher his mother laye, meninge to have removed the same night. But allwayes the Kinge prosecutes it styll veray hardley, and hathe mad great serche and layes great wayghte for the to yonger brothers, whoe bey great fortun scape! from the scoles, and not daringe to tarrey in Scotland, they ar this daye came into Barwike closley in disguised apparell : and beinge broughte to me, they onley deseyer that ther lives maye be safe, and they maye have a littell oversighte hear, tyll the truthe of ther cause maye be known. And the pittayfull case of the pooer oweld destressed good countes, hathe mad me the willingeleyer to geve my consent for ther staye hear a while, tyll I maye bey your honorabell meanes, knoe the Quenes Majestey plesser whether they shall staye hear, or goe sum whether forther into the contery? for they onley deseyer the saftey of ther lives and the oweld countesses case is pittayfull and lamentabell. I beseeche your honor lett me knoe her Majesties plesser withe as muche sped as maye be, for that I wold doe nothings to offend her Majestey. The pooer gentyllmen stall into the towen this morninge closley, and I cold not well torne them out agayen, seinge theye came for refuge to save ther lives." Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wax signed as before.*

Aug. 11. 1218. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Representing the lamentable condition of his march, and sending a petition of the gentlemen of Cumberland and Westmerland thereon—urgently requesting some aid of soldiers as in Lord Wharton's and his father's time, when not so requisite—and that the Queen will grant it despite the opposition of "some."

While he was at Durham with the Bishop and judges on the matter between M<sup>r</sup> Lowther and the gentlemen, now ended—the Scots robbed a poor man of all his goods, and slew him defending them. Carlisle. *Signed* : Thomas Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1600.

c. Aug. 11.] 1219. PETITION TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

The gentlemen of Cumberland and Westmerland represent the waste condition of the frontier : that the lord warden draws the men of the innermost parts to assist in its defence, for which, by inexperience they are unfitted, and the charges are oppressive : praying the Council to appoint a reasonable number of soldiers to be placed for a time on the border, till it recovers strength. *Signed* : James Bellingham, Tho. Salkeid, Chris.

[1600.]

Pykeringe, Thomas Sandfurth, Edmnd Dudleye, Thomas Sandfurthe, Will'm Hutton, John Wharton, Tho. Byrkbeke, Ryc. Wharton, Robertt Leigh, Thomas Browham.

1 p. *Broad sheet. Indorsed by Scrope's clerk.*

1600.

Aug. 15. 1220. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I hear from Scotland that a great number of their "owne insoleut disobedients bothe of Liddesdaill aud Annerdaill have made a roade to a place called Cawder more, being thirtie miles from the Borders, slaine sundrie gentlemen, hurte manie, taken much cattle, comitted greate spoiles and brought away many prisoners of calling and worth, namely Sir James Sandland as is creadibly reported a speciall courtier: wherby wee maye expect to have small justice of them that bee so devided amongst themselves.

"I perswade my selfe that you have hearde of the Kings escape, and killing of the Earle Gowrie and his brother: wherof, and the occasion, sundrie reports heare are spread abroad, but of what credit, I canot certenly signife—som alledging a grudge of conceited jealousye of the King against Gowrie, by reason of the Quenes affection towards him: others, as they heare. Therefore, I leave the same to your further intelligence from Scotlande."

The outrages of the opposites are such that I must still desire your soliciting timely aid from her Majesty—at the furthest to be here on 10<sup>th</sup> September—and pray let me know what hope there is hereof, by your next.

"I caused diligent serche in Scotland to be made for marlins, but the truth is ther was none: but if it please you, I will send you a good tarsell of a goshawke to kill pardriges." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 16. 1221. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

"It becomes me not but to speake reverentley of kinges and princes, wherfor I dare speake no moer of the slaughter of the good Earle of Gooerey and his brother. The Kynge wold fayen hold it downe to be good on his seyde: but the moer he labures, the greater suspityones growes. The ministers v of them, ar forbiden preaching and not to come withe in x myles wher the Kinge is. All the Revenes\* ar banished for comminge withe in x myles of the Cort: the ij yonge ladeyes his sisters that wayeted on the Quene, are sent from the Cort. The Kinge labores muche, but cannot put belefe into the most part. The ij yonge gentyllmen I ded befor wryghte to your honer of, that wear come to this towen his bretherine, have ever sines kept themselves close—in so muche as my selfe have not yet sene them. I wold be glad to knoe the Quenes Majesties plesser what shold be dun with them? and I wold also humbeley intreat your honer to gett me leave from her Majesty that I . . . come upe for a littyll while to dispatche my bisneses wiche is very great, bothe by shewetes in lawe and maney other things that consernes me very greatly . . ." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

We look presently for the Earl of Bedford and his countess, my lady Harringetun and divers other ladies and gentlewomen, to be here with a great train.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: seau.*

Aug. 18. 1222. THE QUEEN TO WILLOUGHBY.

Vouchsafing to him on his petition, leave to return from his charge at Berwick on any of his "sodaine and often visitations of sicknes," in order

\* i.e., Ruthvens.

1600.

to find remedy, committing the charge in his absence to the Marshal or other sufficient officer. Nonesuch.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Official copy. Indorsed*; "xviii<sup>j</sup> Augusti 1600. Copy of her Majesties lettre to the Lord Willoughby."

Aug. 19. 1223. CECIL TO WILLOUGHBY.

As I hope by this time you are arrived, I address these to you: and with them the best wishes that any friend can afford you. It has not been forgetfulness that retarded the inclosed warrant: "but some little difficultyes made by her Majesty whose seemeth rather to sticke at it, because other governors would sew for the like—but this is now superfluous—it is dispatched with her Majesties verie good favour and protestation, that she would not for any good, that ever you should receive the least blow to your health for lack of such a liberty, as she knowes shall never be ill used." Lord Scrope "pretendeth" his border is all broken, and that without assistance the Queen will be dishonoured: and his friends importune for 50 soldiers of Berwick. Her Majesty I see is inclined, so you must expect a letter to that purpose ere long.

Our news here is little worth: since the Archduke and the States "last measured the length of their swordes," they are loath to draw them again.

"In France the King talketh of warrs, but it agreth not with his marriage, nor will sinke into my heade that ever the Pope will suffer it to come to any extremitie, but will ether compoude it or put of the matter, from 4 monethes to 4 monethes, as hetherto it hath been.

"Out of Ireland we heare better and better: for the Lord Deputy hath lately given a great blow in Leinster where the rebelles weare strongest; and had his horse kylled under him in the encounter. For home newes, I know litle worth your understanding, saving only that I conceive the Earle of Essex shall verie shortly receive a further enlargement for any mans cominge to him or his going abroad in the country.

"For our peace: although the commissioners brake on the other syde, yet the matter is not altogether cast of, for the Queen is now offered to have the preccedency for her embasadours, soe as the Queen will send them to treat in the Kinge of Spaines country. The like offer now we doe make them, soe they will come hether: what will become of it I know not."

3 pp. *Official draft. Indorsed*: "19 August 1600. Minute to the Lord Willoughby."

[1600.]

Aug. 19. 1224. PASSPORT FOR WILLIAM LAWDER, &C.

License by William Selby gentleman porter of Berwick and deputy governor for the time being, for "William Lawder gentleman, one of the archers of the King of Fraunce his body, Maister Sammuell Clapperton, and Mr John Jakson, scholers," their servants and horses—3 dark grey and 1 black, with their stuff and utensils, to travel to London on their way to France. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed at foot*: "To all justices of peace, mayors," &c. *Wafer signet*: shield, barry of 6 (Selby), impaling another—quartered.

1600.

Aug. 20. 1225. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

Yesterday afternoon, I received your former pacquet, and forthwith dispatched both southward as far as Topcliff, and northward as far as Newcastle, several warrants by such as I trust. To-day your other pacquet came, whereon I have sent others forth. What success we shall have, I dare not yet divine, but am in good hope. I have ordered the service to be

1600.

attended with all diligence and discretion till Monday or Tuesday next. Done or undone, sooner or later, your honor shall instantly be advertised of the sequel. Bishop Auckland. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet* (Mathews); a mullet in the honor point.

Aug. 22. 1226. CONFESSION OF M<sup>r</sup> JOHN HAY.

I John Hay Scotsman, left Scotland in my youth but a little past 16 years of age, trained up under Maister Robert Rollock in the College of Edinburgh, and "wisched" to come to England by Maister Robert Bowes then ambassador in Scotland, who recommended me to Sir Henry Bromeley then in Scotland at the baptism of the Prince, "who for his request and his ladyes, promised me all kyndnes, as hir ladyship can att this preysent testefie, if scho be required."

During this time I sometimes visited my friends at home, and now last when there at my sister's marriage, I resolved to come here to take leave of Sir Henry Bromeley for his undeserved courtesies; and then go back to Scotland to do the best I could for myself. So having taken leave of him and done some little business of my own, I left London on the 15<sup>th</sup> instant, riding on a gelding "of ane flebitiue or spurtle gray colour, as we terme it, apparelled with a riding cott and bases of Scottis cloath of mixt colour without any cloack, having in my cloagbagge my coat of French russet made in the French facion, having the britches of the same, and bouthose upon me: nather ever had any other horse, as Maister Hews myne hoste att the Old Bailyea and Thomas the ostleare where he stood att the *Blacke and the Whyte*,<sup>\*</sup> can testifie. Nather did I change him by the way, nor yett my apparell from tyme I come out of Maister Ireland his house in Bow laine to the tyme I was apprehended. I come in companie with Robert Montgomery gentleman and Scottish man: We came from London to Hoddidsen, where we dyned at Maister Sydes his house: and from thence we went to Roiston to bed and luidged at the *Thre Swannes*: from thence we come to Stilton to dinner, to the inne next the postmaisters where we dyned with a gentleman that went to Peterborrou, whom they of the inne knew weil: from thence we went to Stamford to the *Bull*: from thence on Sondag we went to Grantham, where we hard a sermon and dyned at Maister Greenes the postmaisters, and so come to Tuixfuird, and lay att the postmaisters. From thence we come to Doncaster, and dyned at Maister Lovets att the *Beare*, and at night come to Ferribrigs to the postmaisters; from thence because we could have no oats for our horse, we went somewhat early in the morning, and baited at Aberfuird att one Schillingtons house: and from thence we went to dinner to Borrowbrigs to the postmaisters, and at night come to Allertoun (where we lay in our cloaths all night for lacke of a bedd, the house being furnished with ghestes before we come) att the postmaisters house. From thence journeying, in our way we were invited by Maister Sandersoun to dinner to the right reverend fathers my lord bischop of Duresme, where being accused for seminarie priests, I for my owne part, doe utterly refuse it: yea I protest before God, that I never was a priest nor never saw masse. Nather am I sonle priest nor masse priest nor seminarie priest: bot am free from all such detestable idolatrie and subjection to that Romane Antichrist: and to my knowledge this gentleman who is in my companie is free also from all such errors or treasons to God and man. I will referre my selfe to all those that bathe knowen me from my youth: James Hurton is one who is able to give some record in this matter, so is Maister James Hamilton now at London, and George Nicolson now agent for

\* Note by the Bishop—"Signe."



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the Queenes Majestie in Scotland. I was borne in Louthiane, in Wyndone, and am sonne to wmqhile William Hay of Barro, sonne to the Laird of Limlum, twa myles above Hadynetoun."

I confirm the truth of the premisses by my subscription before the afore-said right reverend father in God at his manor of Aukeland the 22<sup>d</sup> of August 1600. *Signed* : Jhone Hay.

2½ pp. *Holograph. Indorsed by the Bishop.*

Aug. 22. 1227. DECLARATION BY ROBERT MONTGOMERIE.

I Robert Montgomerie Scotsman, being required by my lord bishop of Durham, "to set down in wryte withe my awin hande," my journey out of Scotland, on what occasion, how long and when I was at London, and if ever I was beyond seas? I answer thus—

I went to France in October 1583, and remained till 1585 (as I remember) and for the most part in the towns of Rotchell, and Sainte Foy in Gascony, which stands on the river Dordon. In Rotchell I lodged in Captain Chalmots house, in Sainte Foy in Jean Roy's house, both towms of "the religion" now professed in Scotland and England. I left France in 1585, and came to the town of Dublinge in Ireland, when Sir John Parat was lord deputy for the Queen, and remained at M<sup>r</sup> Saules house in S<sup>t</sup> Thomas street for half a year or thereby, and then went home to my country where I have been "evir sensyne," till my present journey. I left Scotland on 21<sup>st</sup> July last, came to Berwick next night, as my passport from Sir John Carey dated 23<sup>d</sup>, shown to my lord bishop, testifies. I lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Crawford's house, and left for London on 23<sup>d</sup> with a merchant of Edinburgh called Samnell Blakburne. We came to London at night on 1<sup>st</sup> August, and lodged in Braid street at the sign of the *Thrie Coups*, where my horse stood all the time I was in London. Then Blakburne setting out for Paris, and I being a stranger without acquaintance, he conveyed me before leaving, to Thomas Iyrland's in Bow lane at the sign of the *Halfe Mone*, where Scotsmen use to lie. I remained there "oulie to sie the town, ancient monuments and cuntrey," till 15<sup>th</sup> August, when I left home-wards with M<sup>r</sup> John Hay, with whom I was acquainted at the table in Iyrland's house, not before: "bot was glaide to have wther cumpanie be the way to saive ws fra voleuris and robberis." When we came to the Ferry of the Hill we were stayed by a gentleman called M<sup>r</sup> Sanders, by command of the Lord bishop of Durham, with which lord we yet remain. M<sup>r</sup> James Hammiltoun Scotsman presently at London, knows me, my parentage and religion. I met him on the way riding post to London on Tuesday the 19<sup>th</sup> August, 3 miles from Weddirby.

I likewise "avow and protestis that I nevir was, is, nor (God willing) salbe, ather popische or seminary preist, bot with my hart alluterlie wpone my conscience, detestis and abhorris all that sette, or ony kynde of Romane idolatrie or superstitioun quhatsumevir (as knawis God) . . . I have wryttin and subseryvit this presents withe my awin hande" before the said Lord Bishop at his manor of Ankland 22 August 1600. *Signed* : R. Montgomerie.

"Postacripta :—beinge moir myndful of myne awin alois nor my fellowis," I avow and attest with my snbcription manual that M<sup>r</sup> John Hay presently in my company, is neither popish nor seminary priest, nor loves the papistical religion or idolatry in any point or particle. *Signed* : R. Montgomerie.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Indorsed by the Bishop.*

Aug. 23. 1223. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

Your honorable favors, always beyond my deserts, have now even prevented my expectations: I looked not for so quick an issue of my

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signed warrant, considering the multiplicity of your affairs abroad and at home.

"I was exceedingly ill surprized the nighte before I intended my joynry, with a kinde of myne olde infirmitie, which helde me muche in my bodie, more then in any other partes: but these cordialls of yours have so revived mee," that I hope soon to perform my journey, being so far forward. I am sorry I have not "a bodie of brasse," but hope God will supply my weakness otherwise, since he works not always by "gyauntes nor strouge bodies." Earesbie. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

My lord Scrope sent me word he would not need any of my garrison, thinking himself strong enough. Now Michaelmas and long nights coming on, I shall need my own men for meetings and watchings.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 23. 1229. SCROPE TO CECIL.

On behalf of one Smelt a servant of his, who is accused of remissness and negligence in bringing up "younge Smelt" her Majesty's ward, and breach of his promise to the ward's grandmother, to appear at York before "M<sup>r</sup> Attorney of the Wardes," and other charges. That of his own knowledge, Smelt is much wronged touching the ward's education: and if any of the grandmother's or other charges are proved true, he will at once give up his interest in the ward (though he has paid full value for it). Praying M<sup>r</sup> Secretary to cause M<sup>r</sup> Attorney of the Wardes to call the parties before him and examine into the true state of the case. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet and Garter; good impression.*

Aug. 24. 1230. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

On receipt of your letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> instant, I sent for the tutor of the Earle of Gowrie's two brothers. I have not myself seen them since they came: so close have they kept themselves—and never stirred out of their chamber since they first entered it, to look abroad. I conferred with their tutor on the best way for their safety, advising them to go further from these border places, that the King might not so easily hear of them: and wished they would go to Richmond or Ripon or about Hull, or such inland towns out of the way, and thus be free of danger from their country men, "who are very conversant upon the streete waies." He willingly agreed, only desiring, as they came very meanelly without horse, money or apparel, to have 3 or 4 days' respite to send to their friends for these necessaries. "Then will they presentlie departe, as secrett as may be, and in the meane tyme they shall remayne veri close, till their necessaries be gotten—which wilbe within four daies. . . Further, toiching the Earle of Gowries death, I dare not write ani thing: for that the longer the worse growes still, by the Kinges contrarying his owne courses, wherein there are so mani differences, as breedes greate suspicion in the best affected to the Kinge: of whom it becomes me not to speake, but with reverence."

I must renew my humble suit for your honor doing me the favour to get me leave to come up, when my lord governor returns: as it imports me very greatly.

I hope this packet of M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson's will satisfy you touching Scotland. "He is gone after the Kinge, towardes Glasko and Dunbarton, whither (it is said) the King is gone a huntinge." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet; swan with annulet.*

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## Aug. 27. 1231. THE LAIRD OF JOHNSTON TO SCROPE.

Signifying that the King and Council had "arectid" him warden of the opposite March, and desiring to have an early meeting, to consult for the quiet of their borders. Burinswork. *Signed*: Johnestoune.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*: "To the rycht honnorabill me lord Scrope wardane of the Vest Marche of England knycht of the most honourabell ordour of the Gaerttain." *Indorsed*.

## Aug. 28. 1232. SCROPE TO JOHNSTON.

Acknowledging his letter: that there had been so many changes of previous officers, and unredressed offences, notwithstanding many promises, that the Queen is mightily offended: suggesting that the best course will be for Johnston to call the principal of the surnames and offenders before him and send them to lie at Carlisle, as pledges for a month till the Queen's pleasure is known: Scrope doing the like to him. Carlisle. Scroppe.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Copy by his clerk. Indorsed*.

## Aug. 29. 1233. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Your last of the 22<sup>d</sup> instant shows the effects of your "true love" in furthering the soldiers, and also the peace and wealth of this poor country.

The very news of their coming, has already struck terror in the outlaws and "egregious" offenders, and I still urge it, for I fear Lord Willoughby is, and will be, much against it: but I am satisfied since you have taken it on you.

Lately a gentleman came here from the King, telling me, he means shortly to repair to the border privately: and he thought it was the Queen's pleasure I should meet him to concur for the peace of this March. I answered that the warning was so short, I could not provide myself and "traine" to honour him as her Majesty would like. He replied he was not sent to me by his Majesty, but only had heard him "say so moche." Now I would be glad to know the Queen's pleasure: "for while I live, she shalbe the director of all my enterprises, whose estate and life I pray God may be as longe and prosperous, as her vertues are admirable.

"If he come, I will fayne not to bee in health, and will not stirr from hence."

I have a man in Scotland, in whose return you shall hear any news of worth by Sir John Stanhope. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$1\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*.

## Aug. 30. 1234. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I received your letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> on Thursday the 28<sup>th</sup> at 3 P.M., and presently sent the letter inclosed to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson in Scotland.

"Ser Harrey Brounckard came into this towen upon the Freydaye after, lat in the afternoon: I fear it wilbe looge ear he will gett his safcundett, for that Master Nicolsun is gone from Edenborrowe after the Kynge, and the Kinge is gone far upe into the conterey toweries Drumfrees and into thoes partes: wherbey it wilbe summewhat longer he shall hear from thens. Tuchinge the deathe of the Earle of Goorey and his brother, the conminaltay and the prechers, whoes mowethes have more libertey and lese respects of observans, begin to speake moer liberaley then was expected, in the contrarey of the Kinge, whoe hathe latley justefed iij moer of the Kinges servantes." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan and annulet.*

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Sept. 4. 1235. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

"Havinge reseved letters from Master Nicolsun, I have thoughte good witheall, to sertefey youer houer, that befor this daye I cold not bey aney meanes gett the yonge Earle of Gooerey and his brother out of the towen: for that they had sent to ther mother for maynteynans, and cold not hear tyll nowe anythinge from her; and nowe it fales out so ill withe them, as she hathe sent them no maner of mayntenans, hopinge they shold a stayed hear styll; nether dares she trust maney of her servantes—for if it shold be knowen that she ded aney maner of waye either geve them sucker or maynteynaus or aney maner of helpe, she shold presentley forfett and be throwen out of all that she hathe. Suche secrett searche and prevey speyall is ther thoroughte the hole conterey, for her and her sunes, as no frend ether dare or cane travayll betwen them; suche prevey searche is layed for them in all plases, as almost no man cane travill in ther conterey, but he is searched, and if I had sent them soner awaye, I shold but a sent them to verey great danger ether of beinge killed or taken, for that they beinge verey yonge, themselves, and havinge no frendes nor aney acqayentans, cold nether a told whether to a gon, or what to doe. But feyndinge ther nesessetey and ther willingenes to submitt themselves to aney appoyntment, and for that I wold have them out of this towen befor aney fawlt wear fowend, I have fowend meanes that they ar furnished withe sume money, and ar stolen preveley out of this towen. I have sent them withe a man of my nowen to Dorhame, wher they shall ley secretley for a xx dayes, tyll ther mother maye take sume better order for ther mayntenans: and then they mean to travayll to Camberige and ther to studey for a tyme. They have non but themselves and ther scolemaster withe them.

"All the tyme of ther beinge hear, they wear as in a prisson, for nobody ever sawe them, nether ded they ever ster out of ther chamber; so as ther can be no sertentey knowen of ther beinge hear but onley uppon mistrust: and as secretley ar they gon out of the towen.

"I have thoughte good also to send you suche as I have reseved out of Scotlande this morninge on bothe seydes—bothe on the Kinges parte and on the Earles part, that you maye red them bothe together. It is generley spoken in Scotland, that Ingland was the cause of his deathe, for that he was so well intertayened ther." I am still a humble suitor that you will get me her Majesty's leave to come up on my very great causes and occasions. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*1 p. Holograph: also address. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk: ". . . M<sup>r</sup> John Carey to my master." Wax signet: swan as before.*

Sept. 5. 1236. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

"This instant" while riding to meet Sir Robert Kerr, I have received from Scotland, "the full discourse and trewe maner of the late accident attempted against the King, the original wherof I herewith returne unto your honor." Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

*½ p. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk: ". . . A discourse of the E. Gowryes practyse against the King." Swan wafer signet.*

Sept. 7. 1237. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

"Sir Henrie Brounkar her Majesties embassatour, received his safe conducte for his comminge into Scotland, from M<sup>r</sup> Nichollson upon Frydaie the fifts of this instant, veri late in the uight. Upon Saturdsdaie he departed this towne verie earlie in the morninge at the gates openinge, so as he was at Eddenbrough the same night: a veri glad man he was to be gone from

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"hence! He is appointed to have his audience with the King not till Thursday next at Sterling: his Queene remaines still at Dumfermling her owne joyntor. The five ministers are to be examined before the Kinge at Sterling upon Mondaye Tuesdaye and Wednesdaye next: it is thought they shall all be forfeited, and putt to the horne. I received this packet from Mr Nicholson this present morninge, yeven as I was goinge to the sermond, yet I thought it convenient to dispatch it awaie with speed before I went. The hast whereof causes me that I do not write with my owne hand, whereof I must crave perdon of your honor." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan as before.*

Sept. 8. 1238. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> instant I met Sir Robert Ker, and after we had set down the best course for the Borders, with great protestations by him, and a time fixed by him when I shall hear as to swearing the bills the pledges lie for: which he refused then to agree to, as he had not yet spoken with the gentlemen of his March—he told me the King's pleasure touching the Scottish outlaws who spoiled the west side of this March, whereon I had inquired by George Nicolson—that he was well pleased I should do my worst to them, if I took them in England, and if I sought them in Scotland he would not mislike it, but had commanded all assistance to be given me. Then he told me of his own suit to me: that for certain he is very shortly going to France to stay till the latter end of October, and desired me to write to your honor for the Queen's license to pass through England, that he may take shipping at any English port "best fittinge his turne," to be for himself and 8 or 10 in his company—that his desire was to pass through London, and he would gladly "kis the Queenes hands befor his departur out of England, if he thought he might be so happy; but unless he had sum hope of so great a favor, he would not to his disgrace pas so neare her Majesty," but would take shipping at Newcastle or elsewhere. I promised him to acquaint your honor and report your answer. Many here wish he would keep his intention, and I think if her Majesty's license would hasten his departure, it would be not amiss to grant it. So I will attend your next letter. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. No address. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: ". . . To my master." *Swan waffer signet.*

Sept. 10. 1239. SCROPE TO CAREY.

I am certainly advertised that Lord Willoughby "is verye sore sick, and in danger of life, unles hee be mended a very litle tyme since." By my last, you said he was very unwilling to let any of his men come here: so if it please you now to write to Sir John Carey for the number we should get, he would send them more willingly and speedily than the Lord Governor. For we need them, though the place is quiet save a little stealth by our Grames.

I hear all the gentlemen of this March intend to prefer a petition to the Council, not taxing any one man of faults, but for a general reformation to strengthen this country.

They also commend Mr Richard Musgrave to be my deputy—a gentleman well known for wisdom, good carriage and sufficiency. Though I like him well, I have yet said nothing to him, but if it please her Majesty, I would make trial of him this next winter, and on hearing from you, will acquaint him and agree with him.

I inclose the Laird Johnston's letter and my answer: whereby you will

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see they mean nothing, for all their fair pretences. [Carlisle.] *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed as before : indistinct.*

[1600.]

Sept. 11. 1240. SCROPE TO CECIL

I have apprehended one Edward Leighe, who by his examination here inclosed, says he is allied to my Lord Keeper, to whom I have written to let me know the truth. I will take care of him till I hear. "He saieith that he hurte his brother in lawe with a grievous wounde, which is the cause his father could never endure him since. His manner of cariage is strange, and therefore I pray you let mee know what I shall do therein."

I trouble you no further as to the soldiers, as I rest myself assured. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

*I p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed and Garter.*

Inclosed in the same :—

The examination of Edward Leighe son to Thomas Leigh of Adlynton in Cheshire, taken 11<sup>th</sup> September before Thomas lord Scrope of Bolton, &c.

(1) Examined : says he came forth of Ireland on Saturday last 6<sup>th</sup> September.

(2) About 24<sup>th</sup> August there was a great overthrow given by the forces of the Earl of "Tirrone" near a place called "Munnoughon," where about 200 English were slain, but he knows not how many of the enemy.

(3) The principal men slain on our side, "was one Sir Henry Dockerin and Sir Urin' Leighe his owne brother, knighted by my lord of Essex at Caills"—and he knows no more of any account.

(4) He says he "did not passe tenne myles in the enimies countrye," and came to Workington on Monday last the 8<sup>th</sup> September.

(5) Examined : "Whether he could write or noe? He said he was a very good scoller : and when I would have had him to have written his owne examynation, he said he did not wryt this fyve yere." I could by no means get him to write it, "nor so much as his owne name."

*I p. Written by Scrope's clerk.*

Sept. 15. 1241. THE MISDEMEANORS OF THE GRAMES.

"The scedulld containinge some parte of the misdemeanours of the Graymes and their clanne."

1. The attempt at Brampton in Gilsland, a market town and the safest place there, to murder John Musgrave the land sergeant, "discharginge above thirtie dagges and gunnes" at him and his company, and seeking to burn him in the house, if the country had not "rescued" him.

2. When the judges of assize were sitting at Carlisle, they insolently took out of prison John Grayme *alias* Jock of the Pearetree, awaiting arraignment, and took him away.

3. At last assizes they entered M' Salkeld's house of Corbie and by force took away his son and heir 8 years of age, of purpose to redeem Watte Grayme a notable thief in prison, threatening to do to the child as Grayme should be dealt with : whereby Grame was liberated, for the child's deliverance.

4. They levy blackmail, and rob their next neighbours who refuse it, bringing the country into great bondage.

5. They burned a house to force one Hutchin Hetheringtou to come forth, when they cut him in pieces : and one Richard Browne, who killed one

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Grayme a thief in defending his goods, had his houses burned, and was forced "to buy his peace."

6. They assaulted and wounded Thomas Myddelton a young gentleman of our country, as his late father a justice of peace, was present at Richard Grayme's condemnation for horse stealing, "taken with the manner": and forced him to pay money and buy his peace.

7. They so threaten and assault followers of hne and cry, that none dare raise it, and murder any who give evidence against offenders: and not even the sheriff of the shire can serve process among them, without the power of the lord warden.

8. They not only resisted the lord warden's own servants sent to seize offenders and felons, but refused to appear before him, and say his lordship has nothing to do with them.

9. They reset and maintain these common spoilers, viz., Stoddort, Henry Wilson, William Wilson, Robert Scott, Jocke the Troter, Fergie of the Readkirke, Jock Richeson, Robert Saundie, Thomas Carlton, Gifford Carlton, Thomas Tailor, Davies Willie, William Lambe, Rowlande Battie, Hector Riche, younge Hector and others.

10. The robberies of the townships of Newbie, Home endes, Comewhitton, Hayton, Newtowne: and the robberies and murders at Wragmyer, and Wampole: and the robberies at Comewhitton, Prior Parke, Barrock feild, the Wrey, Wetherall, Corby, Overied holme, Parke Nooke, Heske and Englewood forest, &c., were done or procured by them or their clau as guides to the Scots, as shall be duly proved.

11. The records of the sessions in Cumberland and Westmerland show above three score Graymes outlawed for murders, burglaries, &c., unpardoned, whereof they are not afraid.

12. They daily draw nearer into the country by making the Queen's subjects weary of life by night spoils: thereby men of good service, as the Stories, Taylors and many more are banished: and Scots and other "badd people" placed as tenants, who share the spoils of the country. They are beginning with the Queen's Gilsland tenants, as appears by the decay of her revenues there.

These are set down in general among the Graymes, for if they were particularly written, "it wold contayne a vollume"—and they can all be proved.

2 pp. Broad sheet. Contemporary fair copy. Indorsed as heading.

Sept. [19.] 1242. THE GRAMES' PETITION TO SCROPE.

We her Majesty's tenants and faithful subjects whose names are underwritten, humbly beseech you to stand our good lord: understanding the destruction of ourselves and posterity is intended by some of the country gentlemen, whose cunning has drawn other "semple" gentlemen to join them in their dangerous plot. Wherefore in discharge of our duties, "first, to oure Lord God, and syne till her Majestie, and thirddie, to your good lordship, and last to our country," we have thought fit to offer as follows:—

First, to show our affection to justice, we will stand bound to you, every man for himself, children, servants and tenants, to nderly her Majesty's laws at the general sessions.

Secondly, to be ready as becomes good subjects, to rise and assist your officers and servants and all the Queen's subjects in following hue and cry to our utmost power.

Lastly, if any offence be committed by any of Scotland, we shall serve your lordship truly in seeking revenge thereof, without regard to "kynred" or favour as good subjects. Craving your favour and care of us against these gentlemen "confederatis of this new leige laitlie erected amongst ws, the lyk nevyr hard of in thais parteis heirtfoir! What caus we have to fear

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"to answer law, how cleir so ewir oure caus shalbe, God and your good lordschipsis may jugde, whairis thais gentilmen sitteth on the bench at the Gilde ly[k]weaeis as oure jugdeis, that is knawin to thrist for oure bloodis, and would cutt oure throittis with thair handis if thay durst." They know we depend on no subject, but only her Majesty and your lordship, and hope these gentlemen's meaning may appear to her Majesty (1) in convening such a league; (2) joining to disgrace "Maister Lowder" her officer under your lordship; (3) in seeking our destruction for our loyalty. "Fourtlie and lastlie," in presuming to nominate your lordship's deputy, thus laying open the cause of their practises against "Maister Lowder"—which if they can obtain, "being all birdis of on nest, and fetheris of on winge," they will get their own will in your absence, and thereby have Carlisle castle at their command: a perilous matter, which we refer to your lordship. But who hath read "hystoris" hath found such presumption often prove dangerous! Especially in this case, "M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Sawchill and M<sup>r</sup> William Huitoun," two chief men of this new league, with others of them, are deeply allied by kindred and otherwise," to M<sup>r</sup> Francis Daiker ane man who we do hold no good subject to her Majestie, who lyeth heir most part within twentie myllis." We fear the worst to her Majesty in their consulting, and crave your good lordship to send this our humble petition to the Lords of the Privy Council, to whom and to your lordship, we hold ourselves, lives, and livings, bound to discharge our duties as becomes true subjects. Signed: Walter Grame, J. Grame, Willem Grame, Mot, Richart Grame, Brekandhil, Wyllyme Grayme, Rostreis, Alex<sup>r</sup> Grame, Kirkanders, David Grahame, Bankheid, William Grahame, Fauld, Hutchone Grame yownger, "with the rest of owr frendis."

2 pp. *Closely written in a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "September 1600. The Graymes peticion against the gentlemen."

(1) Another copy.

"Exhibited upon Frydaye the 19 of September 1600."

1 p. *Broad sheet. Written by Scrop's clerk. Indorsed.*

Sept. 21. 1243. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL

I have "even nowe presently" received your letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> instant: "understandinge therbey the Queenes Majesties plessor for the Earle of Gooreyes ij brothers. All that hathe byn sayed of them tuchinge ther behavior hear in Berwike, is but surmises and supposis bey the contrarye partey; for I will asshewer youer honer upon my faythe, it cold not a byn better carryed nor closleyer handeled bey aney creaturs livinge, then bey them deuringe ther beinge hear: for my selfe did never se them but ons, and that was at midnichte and onley myselfe. And for aney other, I knoe they kept themselves close enofe, for they dorst doe no otherwayes, they wear so affrayed of themselves: they went awaye as secretelei and to Dorhame. They went longe sines withe an intent to pase onward to Camberige, as I ded befor singneyfey to youer honer: so as what is nowe become of them I knoe not, nether whear they be, for sines ther departuer, I have not hard of them anythinge: so as I knoe not whear to hear of them. Thus muche I thoughte good withe sped to serteifye you of, that ther maye be sum corse taken for ther dispatche accordinge to her Majesties plessor." Yesterday the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, both my lord ambassador and my lord governor came to the town almost at once—the one from Scotland, the other from Eogland. There is no news, but such as the ambassador has sent you. I humbly beseech your honor to remember my old suit for leave to come up on my "swetes in lawe," wherein I am greatly prejudiced by my absence. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan and anulet as before—good.*



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Sept. 22. 1244. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

To write of ourselves or neighbours "were to add water to the sea": I know you are advertised, and my lord ambassador is returning; only let me acquaint you, "that upon my home comming which was of Saterday last at night weary, Sesforde would not suffer me to rest the Saboath, but with mervelous and ymportunate intreatyes both by letters and messengers, required conference of me, which this afternoo I condiscended unto." I met him at Longryche 2 miles from Berwick, where he told me it grieved him not a little that his honest carriage in office, these 2 years past, was rather attributed to detaining a few "leand" persons, than to his sincere devotion to her Majesty to be a good neighbour to her Borders. Being now relieved of travail, he only desired the bills might be sworn before going, and that Sir Robert Carey and myself might concur with some expedition—also if thought meet, the prisoners to be brought "neere hand" for privilege of "back byllinge" if the goods were falsly sworn: and as their prison fees were at very extreme rates, he humbly petitions you for some moderation.

Whereto I answered, I thought I heard you find fault with the keeper therein, and if the bills were sworn and justice done, he should find you very favourable.

He farther pressed me to move you for liceuce for himself and 10 or 12 persons, to pass through England, which he had recommended also to the ambassador and Sir Robert Carey. Some here thought his travel arose from some discontent between him and the King: but I think the contrary, and that he "being loath perhaps to put his hand betwixt the barke and the tree, and discerninge some future emotions, is rather desirous to sytt out, then to be a carde holder of soe doubtfull a game, wher he ymagyneth he should please neyther partie." I gather by him, "he thinks this present calme may yet prove a tempeste, which astronomy is of to highe a nature for my reache, and since it is amongst them selves, care the lesse, hooping it no whyt prejudiciall to us. I doubt not but these things are playner to you then I can make them. The Queene is reconcyled to the King in greate kyndness, more then ever heretofore, and those that thwarted that course fear a change yf she hold on. . . . This gentleman whom I mentioned unto you, vowes muche that absent nor present," our quiet shall not break through him or his servants. I beseech you favour him so far as your wisdom thinks fit for the Queen's service. It is as just to comfort in well amending, as to discourage in evil doing. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 25. 1245. THE JUSTICES, &c., OF THE WEST MARCH TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Whereas we her Majesty's justices, and most of the gentlemen of this wardenry, being commanded by the Lord Scrope, were in consultation with his lordship and the lord bishop, as to reform of disorders daily committed, as appears by our humble petition herewith presented to your honours subscribed by all our names: one Lancelot Carleton with 3 or 4 Grames drawn in by him, seeking to impugne her Majesty's service, "with impudent malicious and raylinge speeches, abused some of the said justices and greatly wronged the honorable presence and place." Wherefore in our duty, we present this misdemeanour, and crave your honours to impose such due punishment as Carleton's offence deserves, that the like may hereafter "be eschewed." *Signed*: Nicholas Curwen, James Bellingham, John Dalston, Tho. Salkeld, Tho. Blenerhassett, Robert Leighe, Henry Dacre, Thomas Sandford, Lancelot Skelton, Tho. Sandford, Henry Gent, Will'm Hutton, Cuthbert Sysson.

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1 p. *Indorsed by Scrope's clerk* : "The mysdemeanor of Lancelot Carlton before the Lord Scropp."

1. A copy of the same, dated.

1 p. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(1) (The gentlemen's petition.)

The humble petition of her Majesty's true subjects within her West wardenry to the lords of her most honourable privy council, to allow the following articles, without which they fear the ruin of the country.

(1) They are ever ready to serve her Majesty's warden, and are protected from open spoils : but of late "our own borderers," and especially the Graymes and their friends, commit such outrages and defy all law, that they pray for their proclamation to enter, and that the lord warden or deputy may be empowered to ride in force on the obstinate, and seize them, wasting their houses.

(2) That all conference between English and Scots be forbidden without the warden's licence : and without it, no Scot be suffered to dwell on or near the border.

(3) That all riding by Scots, through these men's country, be prevented by strict watch as of old on the waters of Eske and Lyddell, and warning the nearest officer of any inroad.

(4) That no man above the water of Irden reset in his house or on his land, any Scot not licenced by the lord warden, or any English borderer or lowland man who has been "a remayner beneath the said water within three yeares last," without the warden's license : and no borderer or lowland man on the north side of said water, shall resort to any part of the "ynne" country above Carlisle or Brampton, without license under the warden or his deputies hand, as the order has been in time of former lord wardens.

(5) As the offices of Burghe, Gilsland and Bewcastle adjoin the border, and the strength of the country depends on their officers residing in their charges : it would please their lordships to give special direction to the lord warden to reform defaults in these officers, and remove under-officers failing in their duties : and that the land sergeant of Gilsland may presently have the usual place belonging thereto to live in, without which or some other strong place, neither he nor others can do their duties to the country's good.

(6) That our borderers may be forced to deliver up felons and murderers now kept and maintained by them, and to reset none hereafter.

(7) That as the hope of the recovery of the country rests in the severe and sharp execution of justice, it would please your honors to move the lord warden to take to him some fit gentleman as his deputy warden : to which place we all request that Richard Musgrave esquire may be appointed, as also to take musters through these Marches, with aid of the adjoining justices : that horses weapons and furniture may be prepared for the Queen's better service in defence of the country.

That it may appear we have inserted nothing against the Grames on private malice, we have set down in a "scedul hereunto annexed" some of their heinous outrages, &c., since they were freed from the just authority of the lord warden. *Signed* : Th. Scroope, Hen. Carliolen., Nicholas Curwen, James Bellingham, Richard Lowther, John Lamplughe, John Dalston, Thomas Sandford, Launcelot Salkelde, Henry Dacre, Tho. Salkeld, Edmund Dudley, Henry Gent, Lancelot Skelton, Thomas Dalston, Wilfr. Lawson, Cutbt. Musgrave, Francis Lamplughe, Chris. Pykeringe, Will'm Hutton, Jo. Hutton, Joseph Thwayts, John Wharton, Tho. Brathwate, Tho. Warwicke, Tho. Sandforde, Rycharde Kyrkbyrd, Cuthbert Sysson, Robertt Leighe, George Fletcher, Edward Musgrave, Christofer Curwen, Anthony Patricke-

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son, Richard Tollson, Wyllyam Blenerrhassatte, Henry Sandes, Richard Denton.

4 pp. *Two double broad sheets. Indorsed by Scrope's clerk.*

A copy of same.

2 pp. *Broad sheet. Indorsed by Scrope's clerk.*

(2) Schedule of some part of the misdemeanors of the Grames and their clan, as in No. 1241.

2 pp. *A broad sheet. Indorsed by Scrope's clerk.*

(3) (The gentlemen's answers to the Grames petition.)

*After a summary of the contents :—*

They affirm that the Grames, their clan, children, &c., are the chief causes of the decay of the country: and as for their three offers, they are good enough if performed: but experience only can declare this.

They deny the slanderous charges of desiring the Grames' destruction, thirsting after their blood, &c. These suggestions come from Lancelot Carleton, who lately as a party with the Grames, came to prefer their petition, and used indecent speeches therein before your honor. He is a known contentious man, "a practiser of lewed actions," as was openly shown before the Bishop of Carlisle, your honor, and other justices of peace at sessions, when he accused John Musgrave land sergeant of Gilsland: who was cleared by Carleton's own witnesses, who confessed that he had tried to suborn them, partly admitted by himself to his own disgrace. He inserted these slanders in their petition, not wishing outrages put down, or regarding his neighbours' harms, so long as himself is safe, being allied to the Grames by several marriages of his kindred to them on both borders, thus not only protected but emboldened to prosecute his unchristian devices.

Their assertion of injustice from any of the gentlemen as judges, is unfounded: for they will answer their offences before no judge.

To the 4 charges of dangerous presumption, they answer,—1. There was no meeting except allowed by your deputy and confirmed by your lordship on your return. M' Lowther and his son and heir, were among them. 2. They had no intention to disgrace M' Lowther: but they justly complained of his "to greate bearinge with theyves," to the hurt of the country; which was duly heard and determined without any wrong to him. 3. This is untrue and frivolous like the rest. For the last: They are not so void of discretion as to appoint your lordship's deputy; but have humbly commended a fit gentleman of good worth and experience to your lordship, with whom they will heartily join in her Majesty's service for the good of her subjects and the country. The said Carleton and the Grames, fearing if appointed, he will look into their doings, labour to prevent your lordship's purpose therein, by suggesting that charge of resorting to Francis Dacres and disloyalty to her Majesty. It is not the first time this has been alleged against the gentlemen, or some of them particularly: and they hope your lordship will examine Carleton and the Grames, who those friends of the gentlemen are who resort to M' Dacres? that they may receive their deserts, as affirmed in their petition.

We humbly beseech your honor that this our answer may be sent with their petition to the Lords of the Council: if your lordship think fit to send their petition.

2½ pp. *Closely written. Indorsed by Scrope's clerk.*

1. Another copy of same, dated 25<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1600.

2 pp. *Broul sheets. Indorsed by Scrope's clerk.*

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Sept. 29. 1246. MUNITION FOR WILLOUGHBY'S SHIP.

A brief note of the powder and other munition delivered from the ordnance office for the Lord Governor's "new shipp," in the half year ended 29 September 1600.

Powder, 300*lb.*; match, 11*lb.*; saker shot, 20; falcon shot, 20; "robonett" shot, 60; lead, 28*lb.*; half pikes, 24; black bills, 10; ship carriages, 2; muskets, 20; "bandelers," 20.

Saltpeter, 40*lb.*; "sulpher," 30*lb.*; "rozen," 24*lb.*; "turpentyne," 1 pottle; "marlen" cord, 3*lb.*; pikes, 10; "iron for hoopoes for trunckes," 21*lb.* This was for fireworks for my lord's ship, and delivered to Henry Sisson master gunner by warrant dated 16 April last.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

Oct. 4. 1247. SCROPE TO CECIL.

The gentlemen of this wardenry having exhibited to me articles tending to the correction of the great disorders here, with earnest wish that I commend the same through you to the Council: approving thereof, I heartily commend them to you, hoping you will procure their lordships' consents, without allowing any private petition in the contrary, with convenient expedition. Since I received them, the Grames have presented a petition and the gentlemen have replied, all which principals I likewise send to you.

I hope her Majesty has already given direction to my Lord Willoughby to send the soldiers, for in good faith this country greatly needs them. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 4. 1248. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I have many messages from Sir Robert Kerr for news of his licence, and he earnestly intreats me to write for his safe conduct. His proceedings of late are good, I have great justice, and his border is very quiet. So if it please you I would gladly know, as he thinks me partly in fault. Some think he means not to travel: but whether or no, it were not amiss he got licence sent down, for it is better to keep him a friend than otherwise. And if your honor would acquaint her Majesty with his request, and tell me what answer to give him: as he says his stay will not be long in Scotland.

The West border is quieter since the Laird of Johnston was made warden: and so are all the borders, including this March, though it is much to my trouble and undoing my poor estate, that it is so. But while it is her Majesty's pleasure, and my body is able, I will endure the burden. But I hope she will consider me and remove me to a quieter place, or enable me to serve her here, for I will not die and leave my children to beg. When I come to Court (if you get me leave) shortly after Christmas, my estate must be bettered by your love, and no man shall be more thankful. I will trouble you no more till I come up, "but then you must help, or I must dye a begger."

Praying to hear her Majesty's pleasure for Sir Robert Ker's request. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 5. 1249. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

The greatness of your affairs for the commonwealth justly withhold men's pens from troubling you, and this, not forgetfulness of your honourable favours, has made me thus long silent. I formerly advertised your honor

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what I thought needful in this government for her Majesty's benefit, and the good of this place, so "I maye lay my ynke and paper apart": for through my long absence, my acquaintance in Scotland is almost worn out, while Mr Nicolson's long experience and residence there, with his care and diligence in service make all others spare their pains to trouble you.

Sir Robert Kerr is expected shortly to travel to France: his principal motive being to procure the Laird of Ferneyherst, whom he loves not, to be appointed warden in his absence: when his trustiest friends will incite roads over the March, both to discredit Ferneyherst, who is not very well skilled in border affairs, and make the world believe his own government caused the late tranquillity. Though he intends leaving by sea, he will use his friends in England, if he has any, to get him a safe conduct by land, in case by stress of weather, he touches at any port. Yet for all his fair show, he would willingly be countermanded by the King, and labours for this underhand, by his friends at Court. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Oct. 8. 1250. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Till the general conventions of the nobility and clergy of Scotland ("now att hand") no certainties can be written. I fear "these turbulent clouds wyl breed some stormes, yf the distemper be not calmed. . . . My neighbours beinge thus on fire about me, mnst make me more vigilant to keepe the sparks from myne owne chardge." I must intreat that none of our forces be withdrawn, the rather being in the midst of our harvest. At this instant Sir Robert Carey and myself are to deal with Cesford about swearing these troublesome bills of the pledges at York. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: a device—indistinct.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Since my writing these, a "wild murther" has happened of one Reveley a very honest man in the Marches. In like cases, because the Northumberland justices "challengd the dealing in them," I have referred them to Newcastle to undergo the law there: where they find means by their clans and allies to escape commonly unpunished. But if March law is not imposed in this case, I cannot avoid their clamours, do what I may.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p.

Oct. 13. 1251. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

This gentleman recommended by the lord Gray from you, and of my own knowledge, a man of good desert in sundry places and foreign services, I thought him fit for the vacant office of Captain Selby's lieutenant: having these precedents, Captain Selby's own step over others' heads, and my predecessor's appointment of one Lyndley and others—shunning that dangerous practice of serving men who have bought such places being put in. But I found great opposition: "first in the partie him self," who has never seen service, yet "did not styck to answer me in my chamber," that if I denied him the place, he would have it otherwise. And since then, he is violently seconded by others, whom I need not name, for their mediations will discover them. He has also "most mutynously" drawn his sword and fought with his captain, and menaces any man's life who gets the place—a most dangerous consequence in a town of war. This affronts my reputation, as I think the like has seldom been heard of, and if they find any favour against me, it were better I resign the place than

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suffer such contempt. I must not omit to let you know that they practised with the captains of the town to accost me in my chamber at 11 o'clock at night and expostulate; but I refused to see them at such unseasonable time, even had there been cause.

I am sorry to trouble you, yet have offered in all reason to justify myself by the establishment, propounding to them by the mayor, that he and the chief preacher of the town should decide, whether my construction or theirs were the better: but they passed it over, and I could hardly "perswade" that my lord Admiral and yourself should determine the cause: such are the humours of some set to assist me, who oppose me in every way, though treated with all courtesy. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Willoughby.

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: a quartered shield: over all a bend dexter charged with 3 fishes (?)*

Oct. 13. 1252. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] AND R. MUSGRAVE TO CECIL.

Two months before the Lord Governor came here, the master of the ordnance ordered the clerk of the check to enter in the first vacancy, a sufficient and skilful gunner. Two days after his lordship's arrival, a gunner died, whereon he ordered the clerk to enter his shipwright, though the clerk told him of the former order. Soon after, he discharged a captain's soldier, and unknown to the captain, ordered in his place a servant of M<sup>r</sup> Guevara's his kinsman. The master of ordnance before the porter and clerk, claimed gunners' appointments: his lordship said the contrary, and also as to placing soldiers in the companies.

After much reasoning *pro et contra*, his lordship claimed the placing and displacing of all men in pay in the garrison, without consent or knowledge of their officers (saving the councillors' and a few others' places).

[A long discussion follows: objections to Willoughby's claims under precedents when he was a governor beyond seas—references to the establishment of Berwick, and that the Governor's claims would upset the authority of the master and captains over their men.] We pray your honor to acquaint her Majesty, and procure her resolution, that the Governor may know what to command, and we and other officers how to obey. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Selby. Rycharde Musgrave.

*3 pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1600,  
Oct. ]

1253. RICHARD MUSGRAVE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Showing that he holds his office as master of ordnance in the town of Berwick and forts thereto belonging by her Majesty's letters patent under the great seal: but Lord Willoughby now governor, calling himself a "Lord Generale," a title never thought of by any former governor—in scorn of the council there, under pretence of martial law, discourages the petitioner and others from performance of their duties: praying the Council to view the following articles and provide timely remedy.

(1) That whereas her Majesty's surveyor of the fortifications ordered "the castle, a peice of fortificacion in the owld towne," to be defaced and demolished as dangerous to its safety, the Governor has lately re-edified it with buildings of pleasure for his own private use, to her Majesty's great charges.

(2) That he calls himself "Generale," so that he may use martial law on all who oppose him.

(3) That he has elected a new council, to the disgrace of the present one, appointed by her Majesty, and to the terror of the well affected.

(4) That he has displaced fit men appointed by the petitioner, putting unworthy men in place—one a fugitive for debt, the other a shipwright, who knows nothing of gunnery.

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(5) That he lately quarrelled with the petitioner, for refusing to disarm the town of 8 cannon to furnish his new ship.

(6) And for same cause, convened the petitioner before a council of war, some mere strangers, consisting of 20, chosen by himself, and incompetent judges,—the petitioner being himself a councillor of the garrison, and the cause already referred to your lordships—which disgrace and others of like nature contrary to the establishment, never offered by any governor before, must withdraw all obedience to the officers of the town, to the person only of the Lord Governor.

(7) That in contempt of the petitioner, as bound by oath and indent to her Majesty, the Lord Governor by his own appointment carried off 2 pieces of ordnauce from the Holy island to his ship, without consent of the officer in charge there.

(8) That he takes the title of chancellor of her Majesty's possessions in Scotland, and assumes power over all persons: admits no contradiction of his warrants for munition or stores: and if suffered, may thus take the lives of the council or any serving the Queen here.

1 p. *Broad sheet. Neatly written. No signature. Indorsed*: "The humble petition of Richard Musgrave."

Oct. 13. 1254. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I am much troubled to see that her Majesty will not grant me the soldiers: for I had an assured hope of them, and the country greatly needs them. It was always granted to former governors here, in times of less need, "howsomever the King would perswade my sovaine to the contrarie: neyther can I see ther was any tyme more dangerous then this, seing the King place those men in office that were the murderers of his officer!"

Though her Majesty thinks otherwise, this place neither is nor was ever able to defend itself: for in the time of the Lords Wharton and Dacre, who had great possessions here, they were always helped. And my father was almost never without them: I only desire the half number they had, seeing how the Grames are linked with outlaws and privy to all their villanies and robberies. My own men have watched by turns and done much good, as the country knows: but they cannot continue it, and the people are so terrified, they let their throats be cut without resistance.

I have as many good horses in my stable, as was this long time: but I fear some have persuaded her Majesty otherwise. I pray you acquaint her with our miserable state, and intreat for the soldiers, though but for this winter. In good truth I am very weary to live here, for the people cannot be trusted; and I can get neither honor nor profit. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scrope.

Pray acquaint her Majesty with the contents of this, and let me know what hope I may have of the soldiers.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 14. 1255. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

Soon after my Lord Governor came hither, I sued him that my brother captain John Selby might by the laudable custom here, appoint to the place of his lieutenant, dead a year and quarter since, one Mr Shattock his "enseigne bearer." He replied he could not, having promised your honor the place for another. I said, if your honor had known Shattock's valour and worth, you would not have prejudged him, and begged his lordship to stay proceedings till I might sue your honor with his good leave for Shattock. He said I might, and he would write also, but whether for or against Shattock, I did not understand.

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I beg your honor to believe I would not be unthankful, or cross any wish of yours here, but knowing your desire to do every man right without other respect, I will state the case and leave it to your consideration.

When my brother's lieutenant died, the Governor asked the place for one Marshall his servant, said never to have served in war. My brother showed Shattock's long service of 18 years, his worth, and the reproach he would receive by being passed over. My lord desired my brother to stay it till he was made "privy therewith": and though my brother has done so this year and a quarter, attended his lordship to London, and was with him till near the time of his coming down, yet neither my lord nor John Parker, for whom your honor intreated, told him thereof, nor was it known here till I moved my lord as aforesaid. Lord Gray on asking my brother for Parker, and hearing Shattock's sufficiency, desisted: if my brother had known your privy with it, he would have in his duty waited on and informed your honor of the cause. My lord alleges Shattock's un dutiful behaviour to him self, and his "affray" on Parker. Shattock says he only intreated his lordship's favour as best he could: and confesses the affray, as he heard Parker sought his place, but no harm was done, and such are punished by 8 days' prison. This is the second interference by a lord governor with a lieutenant's place, since her Majesty's reign began: the other was by my lord Chamberlain to prefer a brother of Sir Henry Lynlaes, at the request of the Earle of Essex, "which bredd much speache among the souldiers." Here they think it as wrong to take away the places they have served for, as if their inheritance were taken without suit of law! Beseeching your honor to pardon my long letter, in a matter of so small moment. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

\* If I may speak without offence, his lordship had "a farder reache" than "pleasuring" Parker: for being grieved at the refusal of his man Marshall, and desiring absolute power to give all places hereafter, which he well knows would not be yielded without express authority, got your honor to request for Parker, knowing that to me and mine that would be as a commandment: and so Parker, being placed without the captain's privy, would afford a precedent in future.

1½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 15. 1256. CAPTAIN JOHN SELBY TO CECIL

My lieutenant died about a year and a half since, whereon I presented to my lord governor as the custom here is, the bearer hereof "my aunchante," a man so sufficient for the place, as I dare engage my credit to your honor for him. My lord asked me for one Marshall a stranger, whom I refused, for the place is due to my "aunchant." He asked me to delay till he returned from Court, which I did: and now he says he would gladly have satisfied my request, if he had not "past his promise" to your honor for one Parcar a soldier of my own who seeks it without me, "and is now growen so proud therof, that he regardeth me not." I beseech your honor to "weae" the case, and what service I shall have from one imposed on me contrary to my will and to right, besides the precedent to others of "my sort," and the discredit to me. Craving pardon for my boldness, being unknown to your honor. Berwick. *Signed*: John Selbye.

¾ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed: fragment.*

Oct. 20. 1257. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO CECIL AND LORD BUCKHURST.

Your several letters dated in August last specifying the particulars of the complaint against me by M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave master of the ordinance, came to my hands long after: and I would have replied sooner, but awaited the lord

\* What follows holograph.



1600.

governor's coming, that he might see the answer and justify its truth. I have now received other letters from you my lord Treasurer with the grievous complaint of M<sup>r</sup> Ash and M<sup>r</sup> Collop the late Lord Hunsdon's servants, that I detain their pay. These, with the preceding, that I refused to pay Harding's debts, &c., deeply touch me, and cause great peril to the Queen's service here, and therefore I presume to address your honors jointly, and crave that my accusers may set down their charges in writing, that I may answer them in like sort, and reproof be inflicted on the persons in fault. Here I think it due to the trust vouchsafed me by her Majesty, to "notify unto her highness by your honors, that matters are growne in this garrison to so high a distemper, as without tymely remedy, her Majesties service is like to receyve dangerous impeachment, as the nature of faction is, in places of like kynd with this." For myself, "I take the holy name of God to witness, and therto pawne my credit with the world, that I have no private grudge or offence to any person of this towne eyther to breed or nourish any part heerof, other then such greif as meere humanity casteth upon me, in such deep touches as are undeservedly laid to my charge": and whatever I have said or done has either been to your honours directly, or through the Lord Governor after my writing to him. And since malice has no foot to stand upon, a device to supplant me must be "the mother of these accusations." To avoid tediousness, I have in a "severall" paper set down the accusations and my answers, "parallely, so truly, breifly, and directly as I could," humbly commending them to your honors' acceptance. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Complaint by the master of ordnance, &c.)

Informations in July and August last by Sir John Carey marshal, M<sup>r</sup> Richard Musgrave master of the ordnance, John Collopp and Lancelot Ash pensioners, against Sir William Bowes treasurer of Berwick, with his answers: all of which examined before the Lord Governor.

[Relate to the dealings with Harding's estate, stay of the pay, and attendant circumstances as in former letters.] *Signed*: Will'm Bowes. [The examination before the governor.] *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

2½ pp. *Broad sheets. Indorsed.*

(2) (The treasurer's answer to Collop and Ash.)

[In answer to their complaint that he detained their pay—that the 2 years paid them by him were struck off by the auditor—that they were not now on the establishment and had not been since 1588, though continued as a favour to the late lord governor by the Lord Treasurer.] *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

2 pp. *Broad sheets. Indorsed.*

Oct. 22. 1258. EXTRACTS FROM M<sup>r</sup> SECRETARY'S, &C., LETTERS.

(1) From the Lord Treasurer's letters of 26<sup>th</sup> August last—and complaint that the treasurer refuses to pay "the extraordinaries" to the master of the ordnance.

*Under 7 heads and as many answers by the treasurer.*

(2) From M<sup>r</sup> Secretary's letter of 21<sup>st</sup> August on same complaint.

*Under 5 heads and as many answers by the treasurer, who signs both papers.*

4 pp. *Broad sheets.*

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Oct. . . 1259. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMPTROLLER OF ORDNANCE.

Copy of the Council's instructions to Captain Selby when appointed comptroller of ordnance in the North parts.

W. Burghley,  
Th. Cobham,  
R. Cecil,

R. Essex, Ch. Howard  
R. North, W. Knowles  
Jo. Fortescue,

"This coppie agreeth wyth that gyven to mee by John Crane comptroller of the woorkes. Sygned thus, *Concordat cum originali* John Crane."  
*Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

1 p. *Indorsed*: "Coppie of instructions," &c.

Oct. 21. 1260. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Pardon my rudeness for sending you a packet the other day with my hand to it, and not "so much as saluting you myself": but at the very instant the letters came to me to sign, I was newly lighted from riding 2 days and a night after some English thieves, of whom I got 4 or 5 which I hope will quiet the country. The letters required haste, "and I was so weary and sleapye as I could scant hold upp my head to wryte my name to the pacquett (muche lesse wryte my self to your honour) at that tyme . . .

"Our Border newes is, that the Queene of Scottes ys very narrowly lookt unto, and a streight watche kept about her: and yt is further said that after she shall be brought a bedd, she shall be kept as prisoner ever after, and the Kinge wyll no more comme where she is. It is said that the Queene says playnlye that she will be utter enemye to all them that were at the murder of Gowrye, save the King him selfe.

"Ther is a lettre fownd with a bracelett in yt, sent from the Queene to th'Erle Gourye, to perswade him to leave his countrey life and come to Court: assuring him he should enjoye any contentes that that Court could affourde: which lettre the Kinge hathe."

There troubles in Scotland will not soon end: after parliament the issue will be soon seen.

The Border is so quiet, I might well be spared (my deputy being so fit) and gladly would I be at Court this winter; but my purse will not bear my charges here and my journeys up, unless I run more into debt, which I am loath to do: thus hindering my desires unless your honor befriend me as no one else can.

"My lord my brother his impayre of health" is often reported here. If before my coming up "yt be Godes wyll to take his life," I most humbly entreat your honor to remember me for the "Ile of Wight." I hope my brother shall live long to enjoy it himself: but if God's will is otherwise, good Sir let me be assured of your help therein. My trust and hope is in you, "(let this fall ow't as God please)." Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Seen wafer signed.*

Oct. 21. 1261. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I received your packet to Mr Hudson on the 18<sup>th</sup>, and another to Mr Raph Grey this morning, and have dispatched both: by negligence of the posts, they were 7 or 8 days in coming. "Yt is uncertain whether the Convention hold, but the King is resolved to have hishops. The Marquess of Huntley hath reconciled the King and Queen. The Earle of Mar is retired to Sterling, who hath very dishonorably suggested the King that I was privy to the practise of th'Earle of Goury: his reason to induce him to believe yt, was because I gave the sayd earle kind entertainment at his being

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at London." The country is in quiet, and I will endeavour to keep the town so: "but such are the contentions of the counsell heer, that unless Sir William Bowes had caryed himself very discreetly, and I my self presently prevented yt, they had quarrelled in my bed chamber being at counsell." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Willngby.

1 p. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*: "... Received the 26<sup>th</sup> Oct. Richemoude." *Small wax signet*: fragment.

[1600.

c. Oct. 23.] 1262. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL

"Your honors lettre, without date of tyme or place, was deliverid me by Edward Roe on the 23<sup>d</sup> of this Octobre. The contentes therof I shall diligently and secretly performe": but I have no power over the posts, which will be the greatest difficulty, and cause of slow passage. "I may cover them with my lord governors direction, if your honor appoint me not some other meane."

*Holograph*. Without signature, date, or address.

Oct. 23. 1263. LORD EURE TO CECIL

"Geve me leave to present my hartie affectione and unfayned thankes to your honor: bothe for your honorable and juste concepte, which by my lord your brother, our president, I understand your honor maketh of the late informacone, seameinge haynous at the furst, preferred by Sir Thomas Hobbie your kinseman, against my sonne and some my nearest frendes. . . . I doe protest unto your honor, that the gentlemen, out of myne owne knowledge, had ooe yll intentione unto Sir Thomas Hobbie, but onlie came to visite him in cyvill manner and neighbourly love, determininge to sporte them selves with delightes, as in a frendes house: and I doe verie humblie beseeche your honor to esteame them suche as there place and birthe requiereth: farr, I hope from suche angodlie or wicked behavior, and grace them with your honorable countenance."

Your honor has heard by my lord president, of the escape of Elliott and Armstronge, two principal of the Scottish pledges. The guarding of them so negligent and careless as cannot be excused: I dare not judge the dishonour to the Queen, and forbear to relate the triumph of the base people at large, leaving it to my lord president's report from myself and this council.

The jailor M<sup>r</sup> Readhead hastens to the Court to impart "a great secrett of highe importante service to her sacred Majestie": refusing to acquaint any of us here, or your honors, but only to the Queceu herself. I wish it may fit the dignity of her Majesty, and be not a mere excuse to escape punishment and procure pardon for his offences. York. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: fragment.

Oct. 23. 1264. SCROPE TO CECIL

I hear credibly from many, but especially by Mathew Grame, M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther's man, "that the pledges are broken loose out of Yorke castle, upon Sunday last": for he spoke to some that saw them in Liddesdale. This was the manner of it: "one Geordie Sibson a notorious thief, with three more with him, haveing disguised himselfe, went in unto them, pretending to supplie them with money, and so set them at libertie."

I swore the bills as the Council directed, but now we shall have little occasion to use them.

This last Tuesday, we kept here a gaol delivery, where three notable Scottish thieves were executed, a Nicson, an Armstronge, and an Elliott: "in whose behalfe the King sent to mee very earnestly, but I had no laysure at the tyme, and so the thief was hang'd, before I knew the Kings pleasure."

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About 4 days since, 30 Scottish thieves came to Scaileby, killed one man and wounded another in peril of death, but the goods were rescued. In revenge "we have taken one principal Scott out of his bead in Scotland, that was at that deed."

We shall do our best to keep order, but should be greatly helped if her Majesty gave supply as formerly.

Sir John Stanhope, I doubt not, acquaints you with my Scottish news. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 27. 1265. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

M<sup>r</sup> Roger Woodrington a friend of mine has entreated me to sue your honor on his behalf, and to acquaint you with his case. For money disbursed and other considerations, he had a lease from Francis Ratcliffe esquire of the Ile, of all his Cumberland lands for 9 years. The lessor being a recusant, the lands have been lately "enqueard upon" for her Majesty, and found worth 40l. a year, 2 parts of which being 40 marks, "shall comme in tryall betwixt her Majestie and the leassey." His humble suit will be, that your honor procure her Majesty's letter approving his lease, and discharging the commission so far as concerns these lands. "Doe him the favoure yow may for my sake." Your honor may think me indiscreet to trouble you thus but upon good reason: which indeed I have "to doe for this man the best I can." For he is an honest and discreet man, and such a borderer as he hath uot his fellow. If your honor desire to know the state of the Border, seek no further than to confer with him: for on my credit he can resolve you. His good services to me since I was placed here, have been a great cause of the quiet of this country: he has taken not so few as 20 of the most notorious English and Scottish thieves. And he has such "moyen" of the Border, that almost no attempt can be made, but he gets notice beforehand: so honest a friend is he to me. Believe me, I may ill spare him the time he is away: so I pray your honor dispatch him the sooner. Pardon my boldness with you: "I referre the man when he shall be to wayt of yow." Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 27. 1266. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> instant I met the Laird of Johnston warden of the West March, and we have agreed well, both for past and future wrongs.

Before, I met twice with Sir Robert Kerr for his charge, with Andrew Ker laird of Fernihirst for those in his charge of West Tyvydaile, and Buccleuch's deputy for Liddesdale—all seem willing for quietness and (for what I see) their deeds agree with their words. But there will be trouble on these borders, for notwithstanding our good order, the late unhappy escape of the 2 Liddesdale pledges from York, now with their friends at home, will breed more disquiet than anything that has happened since my living in the north. One of them is Will of Hescottes an Ellwood, the other, Sim of Whithaughe, an Armstronge. These two were the principal of their name, and only spoilers of the Middle March: and they defied their officer the Laird of Buccleuch, refusing to enter at his command, till by the strong hand and other means, he "got beyond" them, and delivered them whether they would or no. Now on their escape, they refuse him obedience, and proclaim openly that all fugitives Scots or English who join them, shall be aided and protected, respecting neither their King nor his officers, or any hurt that England can do them: so that all honest men will rue the time they came home.

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If my simple advice when at Court had been taken, this had not happened; but men of greater experience in border matters were hearkened to: the sequel will show whose opinion was soundest. This let me tell your honor: it had been better all the other pledges had escaped, than that these two had been lost; "for nowe wee kepe the shadowes, and have lost the substance." I doubt the poor hereabouts will too soon find it. There is no more to be done but prevent future harm.

There is a mean yet left, whereby we may defend ourselves with their own weapons, if taken at once. There were three principal men delivered for Liddesdale: these two that are escaped, and one but a boy. His father, an Ellwood called "Martins Archin," is one of the "greatest undertakers" among them. He delivered his son to Buccleuch of his own accord, and Buccleuch would take it as a high favour, if he might be freed on conditions. If he were put in my hands, I would so handle matters, that all who complain of his surname should be satisfied their bills. "And I know of a meanes to make such a jarre betwixt the boies frendes, which is a great partye, and thes men that have escaped, as there pryvate quarrelles shall be a great helpe to our publique good." And I will get such friendships by this boy's delivery, that no attempt shall be devised against my March by the 2 escaped pledges, but I shall have private warning of it: and it may be some of the best of them may fall into my hands, when I will keep them better than they were at York.

At last, Sir Robert Kerr has newly promised to meet 10 days hence to swear our bills. For Tyvidale it may do good, but the escape of these two has in a manner quit all our bills in Liddesdale.

I have wearied your honor, and am wearied myself with the troubles of this place: for I have ridden at least 400 miles since I last came from Court, to meet the opposite officers; which will be to little purpose if the intended disorders of these people be not prevented.

I will be glad to know if I am to have the boy at York or not. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Oct. 28. 1267. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL

As I hold it my duty to advertise anything that concerns the Queeu's service, so I am loath to be accounted an informer: protesting that what I have written or shall write, is void of all passion, and only to serve her Majesty. Our government here grows very powerful, or rather "absolute" in one person: your honor understands from M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave and me, two high points in martial matters, that my lord governor attributes to himself. Since then his lordship has challenged a new power and dignity in civil causes, never heard of in our age, or the days of our fathers, *viz.*, he calls himself and suffers others to call him "Chaoelor of Barwick," it is thought thereby intending to hear all civil suits depending before the mayor in the town court, and begins "to taste if they will submitt there necke a little to this yoake": he claims this by construction of a point of the town charter. Also in the East March, he or his deputies proclaim men fugitives for light contempts: as for not appearing on his letters, contrary to the express words of treaty—but confiscation quickly follows and the goods are seized. Felons' goods belonging to the sheriff for the Queen, are taken for the warden, the office of justice of peace exercised by the deputy warden, not being in commission. He binds men to the peace, not taking recognisance in the shire where they dwell, and if broken, seizes the offenders' goods for breach, to his own use. He also makes Scots free denizeus,— "but not without money,"— a power I conceived only permitted by her Majesty to the "Lord Keeper"; though the wardens always used to license Scots for a time short or long, to remain here, but not to naturalise them. They go further, and

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take on them to hear pleas of freehold, determining and awarding possession, "dispossessing the ancient possessor and possessing a new plaintiff by there owne warrant—a coppie of one made by M<sup>r</sup> Guavara to this effect I send herewithin." Many others I cannot find out, but in civil causes, especially debts of all sorts, they deal daily. In this wardenyry only I have always seen "confessed" debts for small sums, ordered by the lord warden or deputy. Your honor may judge whether the warden be chancellor or chief justice in the East March: in no other March of England or Scotland are such things done, and I have laboured to inform myself. M<sup>r</sup> Guavara does most of these things, not my lord himself, who has been here but a short time. It may be (though to us unknown) that her Majesty has given this extraordinary authority to my lord: in my poor opinion very unprofitable for her service. I give these things privately to your honor only, unless commanded further. My lord in this month has been but one day abroad, such is his sickness. Sir William Evers came with him and remains, to learn the manner of government and fit himself for deputy, some secretly whisper. He has been in Scotland with Sir Robert Kerr at his house and received kind entertainment. Berwick. *Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

1½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 20. 1268. WILLOUGHBY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Having received your letters "this" 24 of October, I assembled the council with the mayor and his brethren, and imparted your pleasure: whereto he prepares his justification, protesting before us that he had no connivance or interest in Norton's escape, and bringing his bailiffs and jailor to be examined thereon. Leaving these things to his relation, for myself I humbly beg to your lordships to suspend your judgments: maintaining the Queen's authority here, is not to lessen it elsewhere. The Queen's seignories and dominions here in Scotland, divided by Tweed, have always had a council of their own, with establishment and instructions signed by her own hand, "wherunto wee are lymmytted: sometymes of olde termed the Kinges chauncellour and threasorer of his Exchequour of Scottlande": with their own chancery, martial court, and probate of wills, and a distinct signal of government "by ther white staves of authoritie." There have been, with your lordships' pardon, questions between the late Lord Hunsdon and the Earl of Huntingdon the Queen's lieutenant of Yorkshire, Bishopric, Cumberland, Westmerland and Northumberland, "wherein it was supposed Berwicke stode, though it is verie well knowne ther is betwene Northumberland and Barwicke, Elandshire, Norhamshire, and as is afoirsaid, the river of Tweede": wherein the late Lord Governor prevailed, and till his dying day, held it both for town and wardenyry. It may be said that "absolute" generals of the Queen's forces into Scotland, as the Dukes of Norfolk, Somerset, &c., had special commissious to command these governments, but only for the time. Besides the great privilege to the Queen's soldiers here of freedom from all arrests, such as I think York or few English towns have, and other priviledges here, which the Privy Council of King Edward 6<sup>th</sup> time, compared to those of Callis: let me say (with pardon) that they of York might as well direct their letters "to that state," if English, or to Wales or Ireland, as to us. With all respect, we contemn not Yorke, but think ourselves equal.

For my offence in sharpness to their messenger, it was this: on my coming he had served a missive on the mayor, who complaining to me "next Saboth," I put them off till the afternoon, when I gave him this answer—"Sirra, goe your wayes into my seller, that shalbe your prison at this tyme, and breake your head with the best wyne I have: if hereafter you come to serve any more of those in this nature upon any of her Majesties counsell here, without first making me acquainted therewith, I will laye you by the heeles

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"in another place; in the meane season carry back your writing, for I suppose my Lord vice-president of Yorke and the councell ar so satisfied with my lettre and proceeding, that they will not holde this course with me." I send your lordships the copy of this letter to peruse, and censure me as it deserves. I have also sent the copy of my patent and instructions and a special servant to attend your pleasures: "though I know those two worthie gentlemen Sir Jhon Carye, and M<sup>r</sup> William Selby," officers of long experience here, can best inform your lordships. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: fragment.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Copy of Lord Willoughby's letter to the Lord Ever lord vice-president of York 10<sup>th</sup> September 1600.

Excusing himself for endeavouring to preserve the priviledges of Berwick granted by ancient charter—that the mayor should not be called away from his charge but for some higher offence than the escape, though he will not excuse it: and offering to deal with him as Evers directs—that the prisoner escaped, if he is taken shall be delivered to the sheriff for Evers and the council, and anything else not infringing the Berwick priviledges. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed*: "Copy of the Lo. Willoughby his lettre to the Vice-president of Yorke." *Wax signet: quarters and crests as before.*

Oct. 29. 1269. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I am in duty bound to explain the charges against me (1) the matter towards my lord your brother; (2) contempt of the Council of York, and (3) my severity to their "ministre." The first imports me most. When in London this last summer, my lord your brother visited me, as I would have done him first, had he not been at "Wimbleton," as I learned on sending my servant. When he visited me, after many courtesies, he spoke of a prisoner escaped from York detained at Berwick—that the mayor refused to send him, adding that he must send a sergeant at arms for him. I answered, there was nothing in my wardenry or Berwick but he should command me, not by authority of York (or to that effect), but by my affection for him: for my government was out of his jurisdiction, and if any such sergeant at arms came, "I being captain of the castle, or rather molehill, on the bridge, we should lay all our pott-gunnes to stopp his passage ther, for coming further; and if ther wer any wyne better then other, he should taste the furie of that fyre; but into the towne he should not come. Ther was present at this speeche old M<sup>r</sup> William Selby our gentleman porter: this past pleasantrie, for so was it spoken and taken." My lord said he wished the jurisdiction of both places settled, so he might neither do nor receive wrong: and I agreed with him to write to the mayor for the prisoner: aud did, but he had already escaped. For my behaviour herein, I refer to my lord vice-president and Sir Thomas Fairefax, who conferred with me when I lay sick at Maltoun, where I satisfied them I thought, that the first escape from York, could not be laid on the mayor of Berwick, "who received him by anothers procurement *causa indicta*, and whether legitimat or not, *sub judice lis*, evin in that point." And he was only prisoner for debt, which the York jailor must answer, not the mayor. As for the prerogative between the councils of York and Berwick: both are "subalternate" judges, yet we agreed that burgesses' pleas of land in Northumberland might be tried at York, but free burgesses and soldiers, the former by town charter, the others by her Majesty's officer. So I thought all had slept. [Here his rough

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speech to the York officer is repeated as in preceding letter.] This is all I said, and I beseech you weigh my part and let the mayor answer his.

Without vain glory or contempt of my lord your brother, let me say, that after serving her Majesty in honourable places as I have, I would be loth, like a degraded captain, to be reduced to a lieutenant's place, unless under a principal councillor of the Queen's: and I presume my lord your brother would do the like to me? and in that spirit I wrote to him, and would rather *vacare cum dignitate*, than serve disgraced. The council here are astonished to conceive those of York have authority over them, both being subordinate. For the burgesses, I leave them to their charter, wherein they will doubtless satisfy my lords and yourself. Believe me, that honouring you as I have infinite cause, there is nothing wherein I may show respect to my lord your brother—my own honour saved—"but I would marvelous willinglie observe it"; and whatever sinister information be made to him, I would not willingly offend him. Being a member of his council, I would yield them due regard, saving my deeper obligation to this place where I serve. "I hoist no sayles to ambitious winde, I love and seek to fashion my self to the royall and wise example of my prince and her government, which is peaceable. Besides my ende sommons mee, which cannot be longe before I accept to the Highest." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

\* Give me leave to give you humble thanks for "my lord Scropes cause."

3 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: fragment.*

Oct. 29. 1270. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Pardon my sending so late "this relation of the gentleman porters," as I received it late. There are many imputations in it which I could not but in duty reply to: but I will forbear to trouble you or their lordships, hoping to receive some better trial. Meantime our councils are so full of division and contention as I never before saw the like.

Albeit I knew the gentleman porter though more secret was "not a whit the better," yet to be indifferent, I made him foreman of the council, and he interrupted proceedings greatly, on his own showing. His pretext was to proceed in the usual manner, his inward design was his usual obstinate course. For Sir William Bowes being removed by exceptions, and I only remaining a partial judge in my own cause, to avoid imputation of injustice, I called a martial council under the establishment: but he factiously and partially, contraries 20 of the worthiest captains and gentlemen in the garrison, and instead of giving his opinion "*de facto* negatyve, affermatyve or *non liquet*," frames an apology against myself, which with your pardon, "I cannot but saye a mere untruth." In like precedents here in man's memory when Sir Nicholas Shirley was captain, and Thomas Bower esquire then marshal of this town, the said marshal was degraded and condemned in a martial court: which is a court well known to men of experience in war. Nor is it, as he pretends, derogatory to any other council either of the establishment or the town. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Small wax signet: bend as before.*

Inclosed in the same:—

The gentleman porter's opinion and verdict, and the Lord Governor's remarks thereon.

[The gentleman porter relates the summoning of 20 persons to inquire into the charges against the master of the ordinance—the latter's objections (1) want of notice; (2) the matter was before the Privy Council; (3) refusal to be allowed answer in writing; (4) exception to Sir William Bowes; (5) to the



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competency of the court to try a councillor—his lordship's refusal and orders to proceed with the case—the porter's own remonstrances and yielding under protest—and his justification of the acts of the master of ordnance.]  
Signed: Will'm Selby.

[Willoughby's reply under 7 heads ending—] "I humbly beseech your lordships we have no more of these writings and oppositions . . . yet that it may be censured by your grave judgments and brought to a short tryall, that he that is in the wrong may know himselfe." Signed: P. Willoughby.

3 pp. *Closely written, with marginal notes. Indorsed.*

Oct. 29. 1271. MAYOR, &C., OF BERWICK TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have seen your honours' letter of 15<sup>th</sup> October requiring us to satisfy you (1) of the escape of one Norton; (2) of resisting his delivery to the vice-president and council of York; (3) to see our charter for its terms, and lastly, that the then mayor give an account of his insolent behaviour. For the first: when Norton came here, Sir John Carey marshal, and M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave master of ordnance, both concillors, earnestly entreated the mayor to stay him, as M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave said he had escaped from York castle while a prisoner for debt. The mayor to gratify them, and for love of justice, though he had neither process against Norton, nor information from York, committed him to an honest man's house, and set a bailiff to be with him night and day; which we doubt we cannot well justify by law. A letter from the lord Vice-president and Council at York was brought to us by "a meane fellow, unknown, nameing himself servant to the shirriff of Northumberland": wherein we were required to deliver Norton to the said sheriff "at the farr end of the bridge." On asking a sight of his warrant, he had none: "our jurisdiction geveth noe further then the middle of the bridge, and lastly the shirriff of Northumberland hath noe anuthorytie within fyve milles of Barwicke, for that a parte of the country called Norhamshire and Ilandshire (beinge parcell of the conaty pallentyne of Durham) lyeth betwene Northumberland and Barwicke,"—so that we were required to deliver him (1) beyond our jurisdiction, and (2) where the sheriff had none, and (3) to a person without authority! We also heard that the "Pallentyne" officers would have taken him from the sheriff for infringing their liberties. And while here, one Branxton arrested him for 20*l.*, making the town chargeable. So we stayed him, not for any favor to himself, and wrote to the court of York that before delivery, his charges must be paid, and ourselves kept harmless for the 20*l.*; also to the vice-president and council offering to deliver him on payment of charges only: so desirous were we to please them. But before answer, Norton escaped without connivance in us or the keeper, after full inquiry before the Lord Governour and council: and we trust our zeal of justice in this voluntary action will not involve us in the law, though our good intentions had ill success—caused it is believed by some of the "military sorte" here, who were actors in the escape.

We trust this will satisfy your honor there has been in us no fault or contempt, and that it will not be necessary to send up our charter at this unseasonable time, "the dayes shorte, the wayes long and foule, and our abillyties not very ready for any matter of charge": humbly desiring (if it may be) that our coming up may be deferred till next parliament, when we may do both services at one charge. Beseeching your honors to consider the causes that moved her Majesty and her noble progenitors, to grant our privileges, *viz.*, to serve in this important place without the princes' charge, to allure inhabitants here for offence and defence, jurisdiction of suits at law in our own courts, &c., by special words in our charter. Lastly, for the mayor's insolence to the pursnivant of York: the truth is he served the letter on the mayor "with very small reverence" in the public market place on market day, before many people: wherefore the mayor told him he should

1600.

have regarded his office and served the writ more privately; but then caused him to be taken to the "taveren" where he got the best cheer possible. Berwick. Signed: Thomas Parkinson maieur, Wyll'm Morton, Roberte Jackson\*, George Morton, John Ourde, Mat. Johnson.

2 pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed: "... mayor and aldermen of Barwick to the lordes," &c.

Oct. 30. 1272. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I send you inclosed a true discourse of what happened among us yesterday sitting in council, whereby, since my purpose to the offender was nothing but clemency, you see how contemptuously they confront me in a matter of no moment, by a "conditionall negative," imputing wrong to me. I fear the likelihood of outrage, disservice to her Majesty, and danger to this place, from the daily contentions at council.

Having stayed this letter some two days, there fell out a new cross action, which will appear by "those annexed": whereof I humbly beseech your honor to take notice and inform my lords of the Council: I protest to God I have used all the patience I have with these gentlemen, "who not acquainted with military obedience, may err of ignorance, which I would not have had to breed this molestation to your lordships." Berwick. Signed: P. Willoughby.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed: "... Lo. Willoughby to my master, concerning new contentions in that councell." Wax signet: fragment.

Oct. 30. 1273. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

Since my last letter on the monopoly of authority usurped by the Lord Governor, the same is "no longer carried in clowdes," but plainly established by councils of war: the first issue being, whether under the 4<sup>th</sup> article of the new establishment, he may "convent" such; the issue being in the affirmative, in M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave's case, how improperly your honour can judge! He being master of ordnance, a councillor and principal officer, is again called before a second council; the articles against him, my lord's proceedings and sentence, I refer to his own letters. The lord governor never "enterprised" this course till Sir William Bowes came hither, "whose judgment and conscience blinded with mallice against M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave, serveth for a whetstone to make my lord rune faster, that with runing towarde the goale of ambition is almost out of breath!" But if I have any insight, mallice is not our treasurer's only mover: for his secret purpose is to further my lord's design of absolute rule, that he may requite his kindness, "by covering with his countenance his broken payes and ill paymentes," if any happen, as is much feared. "This gentlemans carriage is so peremptory and spitefull to those he loveth not, so full of ostentation to all, and so base in grosse flatterie and observance of my lord governor, that I wish there were in him lesse profession and more pietie, fewer protestacions and moe performances, more religion with lesse shew, lastly, that he would doe better and speake worse." If those two great officers go on thus, they will undo the town: though I wish I may be a false prophet. M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave is the first councillor thus dealt with since Berwick was English; whose disgraceful usage under mean pretexts, and my lords "terrible wordes" as to martial law, make the boldest shrink, and bring contempt on her Majesty's councillors here, who are arraigned before their inferiors, who dare find only what pleases my lord, who is "partie, appointer of the counsell, judge and rewarder!" Berwick. Signed: Will'm Selby.

1½ pp. Address: holograph. Indorsed.

\* Signs by initials.

1600.  
Oct. [30.] 1274. SCROOPE TO CECIL.

A gentleman of good account has sent me these inclosed advertisements out of Ireland : which if you think worthy, I will continue to procure them from time to time. Desiring your answer, and to remember the soldiers : for I protest this 20 years the country never had greater need of them, for all the lord governor of Berwick "his unwillingnes." *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk* : "1600. The Lord Scroope to my master. Without date . . . R. at London v<sup>th</sup> Novembre."

Nov. 1. 1275. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

I am sorry that our hard fortunes compel me to be "so unmanerly" as to trouble you with 3 letters in 3 days. Being compelled by my lord governor to be on the council of war to decide between him and the master of ordnance, they all found for my lord : I gave my opinion in writing herewith sent, contradictory to the rest, showing your honor the whole proceedings, and the danger of contradicting a lord governor ! I see not her Majesty's need of any other officer, except the treasurer "to bring money." If men in council may not speak freely, they are needless. We are now at that point we dare not speak or write for fear of wrong constructions, and in this respect the treasurer is more captious than the governor, "and a great approver of these new counsell's of warr." Finding that I may, like others here whose education has not been military, be drawn into charges before such a council, and found culpable, either of disobedience or mutiny, with unknown result, I am in daily fear of quarrels : and as I was greatly bounden to you for preferring me here, I shall be much more bounden to be relieved from this useless service, and put in the meanest place here your honor thinks me fit for, than be advanced under this government. I might say more, but spare your time : we are called to account before my lord at Sir William Bowes' instance for advising and concurring with Sir John Carey in my lord's absence, about the last midsummer pay, "which sore the treasurer with all his cunning, cannott salve, albeit he gladlie would." Berwick. *Signed* : Will'm Selby.

$1\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wajer signet : indistinct.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(1) Copy of William Selby's opinion in the matters handled by a council of war against Mr Musgrave.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Indorsed by Selby.*

Same as No. 1270.

(2) Letters and messages between the Lord Governor and the Porter thereon.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Contemporary copy. Indorsed.*

Nov. 2. 1276. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

The gentleman porter of Berwick has asked me to send you his packet inclosed : the cause I think is the dissension between my lord governor and some of the council there, which is greatly spoken of. I am sorry for it, but will look to my own charge which is yet quiet, and not have to do with my neighbours' quarrels.

1600.

Sir Robert Kerr is at Court and in great favour with the King, so I think his journey to France is stayed. When he comes here, I shall know as to swearing the bills, &c. He does justice in part, and makes fair show for the rest. The other king's officers deal very freely with me for justice. Woodrington. *Signed* : Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Nov. 3. 1277. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Your letter "for life," dated 29<sup>th</sup> October, I received this morning "the iij<sup>d</sup> of November," and will not fail to give "those honorable recommended persons the best entertainment this place will afford. But the entry into our gates at the coming into the towne, and especially the Scottes porte at the passage into Scotland, is so utterly decayed, and almost all that syd of the wale so ruinous, that I am not only ashamed, but also affrayd of them. To this, ther hath been such choppinge and changing of places since my departure, and noe of the soldiery as were fitt for the estimation of the place. The porter and the master of the ordnance, who should bee officers trayned and experienced in military affayres and duties, contrary to the first principles, have both contemptuously without leave, left the towne and her Majesties service to them that will"! I have been long taught to know, and will never forget to my death, my duty to her most sacred Majesty, and will do what I can to my uttermost, making the best of all things. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signed : a small gem with a device.*

[1600.

Nov. 3.] 1278. DECLARATION BY WILLOUGHBY.

[Narrating the late proceedings—the opposition by the "greatest parte" of the council to his measures in pursuance of his duties as governor—in particular of the gentleman porter and the master of ordnance—their contempt of his authority, and the latter's departure from his duty without leave.] *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

2 pp. *Closely written. Not indorsed. Probably for the Privy Council.*

1600.  
Nov. 8.

1279. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Though this packet will inform you fully, yet this morning before its receipt, hearing from a "particular frend that knowes some what," I send these few lines, as they come to me :—

"The Convention is put of untill Thursday the 13<sup>th</sup> of this instant at the sonnest. The Queene lyeth at Dumferling, to whome the King is now gon. Ther ar already come in, Huntley and th'Earle of Arroll in one company, with a very great number of frends and attendants.

"The greatest matters that ar thought ther to be handled this parlaiment are the forfeit of the Earle Goury, whose body with his brothers, as yt is geiven out, are brought to Edenbrough to be quartered : likwise some actions against Bothwell, his children, and followers.

"Ther is great dispute and high looks between the Marques Huntly, and th'Earle of Angus for their places : Huntley leaning to his late honor, and Angus to the ancient custome of his predecessors. Huntley hath been at Edenbrough and hath retreated himself to a house of his owne, of purpose to retourne presently : he hath out of finess, offered 1000 crownes for a license of absence, but the Kings importunity hath prevayled.

"It is rumoured that certein Jesuits are arrived ther, of whome I am promised to have more certein knowledg, for that some of them are known practisers. It is sayd the King upon some rumor spread, is very jealousouse

1600.

"that comissioners should be sent into the Low Contryes, and so the treaty of peace with the Arch Duck go forward.

"The 7<sup>th</sup> of this instant th' Earle of Argyle and the Lord Weames came through Barwick: ther is great liklyhood of th' Earles hard welcome, and contentation between him and Huntley about some particulars besids their generall question. The earle before his entry was very pensive heere: stayd one night, sending before him Sir Thomas Eskine brother companyon of his travell, to mak way and geive certein intelligence. Upon expectation of these things, ther is great concurse of poeple assembled: and as they are suddain and wyndy, so I think may become of these their expectations, likly enuff to end with a calme." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1<sup>p</sup>. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil*: "8 Novemb. 1600. The Lord Willoghby to me." *Fragment of waz signet*.

Nov. 12. 1280. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

After long expectation and many disappointments, the "Vicounts of Roan" arrived here on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant: whom I appointed M<sup>r</sup> Grey and the "Layrd of Food" to meet with 100 horse 12 miles off. As Sir William Bowes, who should have supplied my place, was sick, I sent Sir William Eure with the horse garrison, who met them 4 miles out, and convoyed them in. M<sup>r</sup> Selby according to his office of sergeant major, with all the foot companies, received them at the port, and with a double guard conducted them to their lodging. I have given them the best this place affords: "and att their earnest request (which I could in no sort well deny), have shewed them the artillery and best fortifications of this place, with some smale fyer works, which they likd very well of. And this day att their departure, I placed three cullors on the Scotch porte with a doble guard, to hid the deformety ther of, and so attended with the horse guarrison, I sett them well contented into Scotland, as I doubt not you shall understand more at lardg of them selves at their retourn." When I hear (as I expect to-day or to-morrow) you shall learn the fruits of this last convention, if worth writing. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "... The Vycountes of Rohan arryved," &c. *Waz signet: quarterings and 3 crests as before*.

Nov. 12. 1281. RICHARD LOWTHER TO SIR JOHN STANHOPE

"This gentilman M<sup>r</sup> Roger Wetherington, beinge the onely man off a borderer that my hart haith alwayes desyred to be towarde M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, is mynded wholly to depende upon him." I can assure you, in all that concerns our borders, East, West, and Middle, or service on the border of Scotland, no Englishman whatsoever can stand M<sup>r</sup> Secretary in so good stead. By his wise service to the warden of the Middle March, he has brought that March to such good order as never the like has been before. And my desire is that so worthy a man should be preferred by your worship to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, and be beholden to you. You will find he can let you fully understand the defects and dangers of this West March as of the Middle: and I humbly crave your favour and protection for his causes, as if to myself. Lowther. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: "To the right wor. Sir Jhon Stanhoppe knight one off her Majesties most honorable prey chamber att the Court." *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "... M<sup>r</sup> Lowther to Sir John Stanhope." *Fragment of waz signet: apparently barry, with a label*.

Nov. 13. 1282. LANCELOT CARLETON TO LORD THOMAS HOWARD, K.G.

"The greatnes of a most dangerous faction laytly begun upon this West Border, haythe forssede me to presum to writ unto your honor: for

1600.

"that the gentlemen who is favorers to Dacres howsse, ande followers to my lord of Comberlande, is combyned together by oythe, makinge justice the cawse to shaddowe the perrell. But the trewe intent and meaninge is to be so strengthenede by this course of faction, as thayrby to be ayble to pull downe or set up heare whom thay do lyk or dislyk at thayr pleasure: ande to mayke thayr plott the perfecter thay have choysen by election M<sup>r</sup> Richarde Musgrave to serve as my lord Skrops deputy—a man that is my lord of Comberlandes boddy and sowll: and his nephewe the best Musgrave hayth marryede my lord Whartons daughter—so as nowe beinge all byrdes of one nest, and fethers of one winge, thay are very sore dissavide if thayr can be anye contradiction to thayr dangerous practice, eayther fore the tyme present or futur." My reason for opening this at this present, is that M<sup>r</sup> Roger Witherington a gentleman of Northumberland has some suits to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, and will be often about him. No man in all England can better show him the state of the Borders: and he can also show the peril of this new league and how to prevent it—so that when Cumberland and Dacres have things all wrought to their will, it may be in M<sup>r</sup> Secretary's power "to dashe it even in the heaght of thayr pryde . . . ande so polittikly wrought as M<sup>r</sup> Secretary never to be sean in it." If he pleases to approve, then M<sup>r</sup> Witherington must be used "as the five finger in that plott": for his good carriage to Sir Robert Carey, has brought such safety in his March, as has never been before. Seeing these dangers grow great, I could not in discharge of my duty, but acquaint your lordship, that you may impart the same to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary now at the time of M<sup>r</sup> Witherington being with his honor, as best may stand with your pleasure. I hope your lordship will pardon my boldness, and think it written by one that honors you before his own life, "who will rest your lordships beadmane so longe as breathe lastithe." *Signed*: Lancillote Carleton.

2 pp. *Holograph*; also address: "To the right honorayble his singuler good lorde the Lorde Thomas Howord knight of the moste honorayble order of the garter, at his lordships howsse in the Charterhous." *Was signet*: shield with a chevron and 2 boars' heads in chief—broken.

Nov. 14. 1283. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Your manifold favors, continued by your letters received the 13<sup>th</sup> instant, bind me more than I can express: and it is not my least comfort that yourself and my lord your brother have so justly interpreted my meaning. As for the disorders here, I can truly say, I am clear in my heart and thought. I hear they purpose to inform against me as plaintiffs: I would gladly know of what particulars they charge, and then I could more properly inform my lords of the Council. I have acquainted you with all that has passed, and when they gather their heads of complaint, I crave that I may receive them: and let me lose my credit, if I do not show clearly the fault is none of mine. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Willoughby.

\* I have had an overture made to me, which in my duty to her Majesty I could not refuse, and what I have presumed to write thereon to her Majesty, I have sent open to you, praying you to close and deliver it at your liking. I sent your letters to M<sup>r</sup> Grey and George Nicolson.

1 p. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Willoughby to the Queen.)

"I have tow assured hopes of this my presumption: your gratiouse pleasure I should write: and your present service that presents the occasion.

\* On margin lengthwise in another hand.

1600.

"The Layrd of Cesfoorde, an endless sutor for your Majesties gracions favour and good opinion, who hath made me often more then becomes me, an earnest solicitor to your highnes in that behalfe, hath now offered to demonstrate his indevours, to the confutinge of his detracters, by layinge open to your Majestie, not only the devises and plattinge of the late escape of the pledges from York: but wher as now they are in a tumultuous and lawless maner infestinge your Majesties Midle and West Borders, to restraine them at his utmost, and beat downe their insolency to your Majesties pleasure, yf he be not by a greater power restrained: arguinge cleerly, that had he intended the escape of his pledges as was suggested, he was like to have beene as industrious in so doinge as any other Scotch man, and would not, yf hee had pcessed such a minde as hath been geiven out, have ingaged himself so servicable to your Majestie in this."

He is willing and I know he has power, and the King has changed his resolution to travel.

Your Majesty's exceeding wisdom may discern what is best, and put him on his trial: wherein if he answer not your expectation, he shall fail and make more enemies. My respect of duty hath led me to crave pardon for my boldness. Berwick. 14 November 1600. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *In a fair hand resembling Willoughby's. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Nov. 15. 1284. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Having received the Council's letter to report what he had done in swearing the bills, as directed when last at Court, he lays the fault on Sir Robert Kerr, who though much pressed by him, constantly defers and prolongs the time; making him believe that at his return from Court, he will make an end. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Nov. 15. 1285. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

"This is but to put you in meynd" of my former letter in behalf of the bearer M<sup>r</sup> Roger Woodrington, and to request your honor "that by the tediousnes of his shut, his stay may not be overloog defferd," for I shall need him greatly, by the escape of the two pledges.

"I thinke Sir Robert Ker his jorney be stayd for traveling, for as I heare, Bodwels land are confermd to him by this last parliament: the feare of the losing thos lands was the causes of his discontentments, but now he is in great favor with his king, and his former determinations are cleane desolved." Our countries are quiet and he promises they shall so continue. When he comes from Court, which will be soon "now the parliament is dun," we shall meet and take order for swearing the bills. "I wishe you as many happiness, as I have discontents in this uncristed cuntry, wher I now am forst to live." Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed: "... by M<sup>r</sup> Roger Woodrington." Swan wafer signet.*

Nov. 15. 1286. SIR R. CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Referring to their letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> instant, wishing to know as to swearing the bills of the Scottish pledges, in terms of their conference with him: he has ever since pressed Sir Robert Kerr and been put off by one means or other—but at Sir Robert's return from Court will again urge him. Though it "greatly skilles nott" whether they proceed, owing to the escape of the two chief pledges, who lay for the most part of these bills, and are

1600.

thereby freed from them, he will do his utmost, and report. Woodrington.  
*Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 16. 1287. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"Though I make no question" these packets from Mr Nicolson will give all particulars at this convention, I send the following, "received this day from a Scotch gentleman."

There has never before been such strife for precedency. "Anguis, in the facilitie of his owne nature, and by the Kings authoritie, was once resolved to yeeld, but returning to his lodgings, th'Earle Mourton and the rest of his freends protested never to acknowledg him heerafter, yf he did yeeld that honor which was purchased by the blood and burials of their ancestors; so in end he absolutly denied to yeeld the precedency unto Huntly. Whereupon the King by open proclamation, discharged all the Duglasses of any account and their clientele, from the parliament, and of one hath made tow parliaments: for at Dakeith are conveyned the Earles of Anguis and the Earle of Moortoo, th'Earle of Ruthan\* and th'Earle of Arguile. The event of this devision is likly to be perilous. The like contention for place is between the Lorde Hume and the Lorde Fleming: other matters of moment propounded amongst the articles, I heare of none, but the principall point was the forfeiture of th'Earle Gowry living; which as it is earnestly affected, so yt wilbe easely effected. Henderson hath his pardon all ready: I heare also by reporte, that Bothwell sueth in the Court of Spayne to be employed for Irlaad, and hath 3000 men granted him for that service." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

† Pardon me filling your letter with "idle papers" since I have nothing better. "I know some of these thing are not new though often confirmed for certentyes sak."

1 p. *In hand resembling Willoughby's. Addressed. Indorsed. Small wax signet: a gem, Cupid's bow and quiver (?)*

Nov. 18. 1288. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"I had not thought to have sent you these Scotch newes, having troubled you with most of those formerly: their worth, like the aire here, cold! But there arrivings here a messinger from the King of Denmark to the Queen of Scots, I toke some pains after he had ben well treated with drinke, to inquire of him some what thence.

"He sayth he translated the treatise of Gowries death into Dutch, sent from the King of Scots to the King of Denmarke: who never vouchsafed to reade it, but gave it to [the] Queen mother there. That the said King hath sent into Hungary for some principall cheifes to attend him on his jurny for Scotland, whether he is resolved to go this sommer: the Duke of Bruns-  
 wick hath promised to accompany him. He hath a building, a new shipp very glorious, framd by his owne direction, of some 2000 tonne: and 15 other of his best shippes he hath destined to the same: but the conclusions of full cupps have oft as lytle succes, as the vessels, licour left in them. He speaks much of the Kings fortefying in Dithmarsh to stopp the passags to Hamburg: of 40<sup>m</sup> armors provided: besids 500 French arms for horsemen: that they brought sundry French artisans there to make French pistolls, having redneed their Dutch to that fashion. The man is sensible, and some likelihood of what he says, to be true in intention: but tho they

\* Rothes (?)

† Holograph—written on margin.



1600.

"arme French, I think their effects will be homelike Dutche: but if they were as cunninge to surprise princes, as the French be nimble for townes, they might happs make the King seke his wife and his sonne! I beseech you Sir, pardon my merry bolt: I do not, I protest, reach at enterprizes, but seing a mist, stomble a lytle more boidly where I have so honorable a frend to interpret my slippe . . ." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of wax signet.*

Nov. 22. 1289. WILLOUGHBY TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM AND CECIL.

I received on the 21<sup>st</sup> instant your letters commanding me to send up Sir William Eure on these disturbances in our council. I have hastened him what I could, but have had little leisure to inform him for my defence in matters of great importance, not so well known to him. I should condemn myself, having always lived with soldiers, to whose report I commend me—if I should now in this town of war, give occasion of offence to those gentlemen councillors, though I may not flatter them by calling them soldiers—in doing my duty. I will say little, but refer all to trial, persuading myself I shall make that point of your letter clear, that whoever has done dishonor to the Queen or the opposite party, it is not I, who offered any thing reasonable for peace—but they refused these, as I can prove by the mayor, "akynn to the cheif of them," and a learned preacher, both employed in the matter.

I beseech you that no general accusations without proofs be allowed against me: and that whosoever charges me, write it under his hand: and if I clear not myself, let me undergo the disgrace and shame: but in the meantime let ill opinion of me be suspended, for I have never set any other end before me but duty to her Majesty and country. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: "To the right honorable my lord th<sup>e</sup> Earle of Nottingham lord high admirall of England, and to the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight," &c. *Indorsed. Wax signet: shield of 8 quarters, 3 crests.*

Nov. 22. 1290. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I have written more largely than I shall need here, in answer to my Lord Admiral's and your letter: but I only take leave to acquaint you with my letter in my own justifying to her Majesty: since I see she is acquainted with the case, which I leave to your honorable favor. I will follow your order in Parker's matter: I have deprived no captain of his rights, "unless the denying of such a lewd fellow, as sayd he would have the place whether I would or noe, be of that nature? . . . For this Shaddock can no more be tearmed a soldier for his xx<sup>th</sup> yeeres service heer, then a mumber of mattins in Queen Maries tyme, a learned doctor in this flourishing agge: having never don any thing singular in his life, but swagering, as Sir John Carey can wittnes, during the warres heere." Though in general captains ought to choose their own officers, yet when a governor has charge of a town "for his life and head," the chief officers and keepers of gates should be of special trust with him: lest being mean poor men, they might be practised with: "as I have knowne some in my owne tyme at Bergis \* . . . Yf yt ly in my power to doe for Parker (who deserves well in himself) or the meanest spaniell that comes from you, he lives not that shalbe readyer to performe yt then I." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Addressed to Cecil. Indorsed by Cecil*: "My L. Willoghby to my L. Ad. and me. Remembre to write to the maior of Earwick, and send Gr. writing." *Fragment of wax signet.*

\* Bruges †

1600.

Inclosed in the same :—

(Willoughby to the Queen.)

Addressing her "Moste sacred and dreade soveraigne," he regrets to have brought "the unpleasinge division and defectes" of her Berwick garrison before her—shows how his attempts to execute his office were received with libels at his entrance, now on his return from Court, with opposition—details his course of conduct and his long toleration, so long as it merely touched himself. Referring the case to the "noble gentleman" commanded by her Majesty to report. Berwick, 22<sup>d</sup> November 1600. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

1½ pp. *Addressed* : "To the Queenes moste excellent Majestie."  
*Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

(1) Another copy of the same.

Nov. 28. 1291. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"My oft lettres without matter of any importance, may breade rather satietie then satisfaction unto you." The Scottish news are but expectations. The Earl of Argyll will hear of no reconciliation with Huntly, and has withdrawn himself already homewards. Huntly stays still at Court, and most think "that he and Mounsieur de Rohaan shall christen the prince. The Jesuites lurk yet quietly, and manage their affayres in disguised habittes. The lord of Roxbroughes honor is accompanied with great envy. In their dealinges they have changed force for forecast: and are become more politike then Scottish, hardy in all their affayres, and yf they likewise reforme their opinioned bloodines into a cyvill and gentle constancy, the people, that gase like chased deare at alterations, and are much appaled with the late execution, will imbrace those metamorphosies as signes and wonderes . . . Though the subject of my lettre contain litle, yet like an ill debter that with smale somes peeces out great debettes, I would omit no tyme to pay that mite I had." *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

¾ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Waz signet with quarterings, &c.*

Dec. 5. 1292. JOHNSTON TO SCROPE.

I have received your letter craving full delivery, and shall meet your lordship at Gretnoe kirk on the 18<sup>th</sup> instant, having taken order with all the bills received from you: doubting not you have done the like. I was "of mynde" to have come for setting down matters, to "Rocliffe of Carliell," but cannot as your lordship craves, make delivery but in the accustomed place "whilke I have set downe alreddie." I hear by your letters you are minded to take advantage of some within my charge, for matters committed: "whilke I wold not wishe should be for breeding of further inconvenience." I shall always deliver for them that are answerable: and for fugitives, I myself shall meet your lordship, or send my deputy to meet yours, and use all rigour against them. Therefore if your lordship "do at your awne hande" I will think it disquieting our good estate. I will meet either two days before or after the above day as your lordship pleases to appoint. The castle of Lochmaben. Johnston.

¾ p. *Copy by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed.*

Dec. 6. 1293. WILLOUGHBY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

In answer to your lordships' of the 28<sup>th</sup> of last: first, you think it strange, that, according to yours of the 13<sup>th</sup> for sending up Sir William Evers, her Majesty's pleasure has received no satisfaction, at your dispatch of this last. I trust you will consider and signify to her Majesty, that of

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the 15 days between these letters, 8 is the usual time of the posts at this season, and adding time for my answers and instructions—for Sir William's preparations for his journey—"with the extraordinary foulness of the way, and my weak health," you will find, I hope, that he could not arrive sooner—but having left this on the 24<sup>th</sup>, will arrive "with all dutifull expedition." You write further that "her Majesty is growne exceeding sensible of these strange distraccions, in respect it will increase the scornes of her government, &c.": it is "hitterer then death" to me, that after such opposition in this important place, remote from trial, in the eye of the opposites, myself often honored with trust in her martial service, should now "in the closing up of my daies," be questioned as one without government, duty to her honor, to this place and garrison, nay void of religion, common honesty, and ordinary reason,—to forge vain titles, to force councils against law and oath, with much more mentioned in M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave's complaint, not kept within the walls of Berwick, but as it seems, presented to her royal Majesty, to the Council of State, and published in court and country to my deeper grief than my pen must express! I leave "to that sacred hand which hath onely power to relieve me." And my adversaries have (as you write) the opportunity of presence, time and place, while I can only commit my cause to papers, and solicitations of persons neither fully acquainted with my proceedings, nor "yet enured with the majestic and presence of such as must geve sentence." And though I have done my best to write, yet I fear either tediousness or too frequent packets may displeas or encumber, want of well timed reply to particular charges, disadvantage me, or delay and distance cast me behind. Your lordships write further: "that many heere pretend that I am so full of innovations in the martiall discipline, that it breedeth nothing but confusion." For reply, I cast myself down at her Majesty's feet, craving but trial, and resign myself my place and lands into her gracious hands. Yet I humbly entreat that the said innovations may be averred under the informers' hands, and then judged with my answers. And learning from the lawyers that "*in generalibus in est dolus*," I beg that the charges in this last complaint, be specified directly with all circumstances necessary: to which end I have extracted out of the master's complaint last exhibited to your lordships, his general imputations, with my desire for his reducing them to better order for her Majesty and your lordships' proceeding to trial: on his doing which in writing perspicuously I shall answer the same in like manner, and undergo willingly such judgment as appertains.

Meantime I confidently anticipate thus much: that I shall be found free of his odious imputations, and that he is ignorant of military discipline, factions, mutinous, unfaithful in his place, "quarrellous with his preceaders, wittingly and often breaking his martiall oath, and an untrue slanderer of diverse of us, his conversers and fellows in armes." But not to "dymme myne owne cleernes," by acnsing him of what may be due to others as well as himself, "I can be content to admitt him his best lustre untill his owne hand in sort aforesaid, may better discover the truth for all partes; nothing doubting but the soveraigne justice will (for the honour and right to it selfe) make the worlde see what is right and wronge." *Signet*: P. Willoughby.

2 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of wax signet.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Musgrave's imputations and Willoughby's answers.)

*In two parallel columns under 27 heads, not consecutively numbered.*—The charges are all as in the preceding letters and papers, with Willoughby's comments and notes on each.

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The Lord Governor affirms the whole slanderous and untrue, as already shown in various writings addressed to her Majesty, to the Council generally, and some of them particularly, and will justify this on trial. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

6 pp. *A single broad sheet. Indorsed.*

Dec. 7. 1294. WILLOUGHBY TO NOTTINGHAM AND CECIL.

I received your letters this Sunday morning about 9 o'clock: and yesterday about same hour I received your second letter for Sir William Eure, and answered it same day, but stayed sending it, for some things concerning these malicious suits against me. It will show whether I delay or not, and if you have received many letters of mine, after writing the first, I am very much deceived if your lordships had any other packet from me after the day I had yours, till that by Sir William Eure. If posts are so slack that they ride it in 7 or 8 days, "sometimes in tenn," that is not my fault: I have complained to the "Postmaster general," as the difference of time must be from them. Clement Armorer was not here when your letters arrived: but will be sent up as soon as I get him. Sir William Eure can answer for himself in that matter mentioned by your lordships. I knew him very honest and fit for the work he took upon him to do with Cesford, thus—Lord Eure and the Council of York sent earnestly to me to do all I could to recover the escaped pledges: and I take it, Sir William was written unto by my lord his brother to same effect. We advised hereon, and thought Cesford the best means, "and proceeded so far as you M<sup>r</sup> Secretary by my former lettres to her Majestie was informed. Yf he have spoken with the King, dealt with any other persons or matter, but that and concerning the swearing of the pledges bills, as I was directed by your lordshippis lettres: I utterly deny him and his actions, fre in my harte and soule, I protest before God, of any such matter! and so cleare, as when he desired my leave to have gon in and seen the courte, I utterly denied yt, and perswaded him the contrary, as I have very good testimony for me: telling him in kindnes, as I was loath to deny him any thing that mought please his traveling humour, in seing courts and contries (tied therto by the conversation and frendship wee had had), so I was exceeding loath to geive her Majestie the least occasion of jealousy in these things: alledging unto him particularly th'exemple of M<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee—which he send to me very well content withall—and for this I present not only my own corporall oath, but others also." Things being so, if her Majesty please to conceive the least thought amiss of me I desire humbly to resign my place to whose hands she shall think fit, and abide trial, for I desire not to live falsely accused on one side, and suspected on the other. "Governments have never beene so sweet to me as services, and yf I live but with her Majesties favor, it is more then I desire in respect of the thing called life, but of the joy and comfort in yt." *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1½ pp. *Addressed*: "To the right honorable my very good lord the Earle of Nottingham and the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight," &c. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: ". . . Lo. Willoughby to my lord admyrall and my master." *Wax quartered signet.*

Dec. 7. 1295. LORD ROXBURGH TO LORD SCROPE.

Before taking any other course for redress of some intolerable wrongs done by some within your charge, or suffering such indignity so near my own "yeates"—a true subject taken prisoner, and "doble" incursions upon my friends' goods,—done by the goodman of the Mote, who took a Scotsman called James Pott within a quarter of a mile of my own house at Helleden,

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and detains him prisoner: and my friends' goods taken by "Dickes Davies" sons, young Davie and his complices "at twa severall" times from Whitlaw house, yet unamended: "whilkes all" if not satisfied by your lordships doing ordinary justice, releasing Pott, restitution of my friends "geare" and entering some of the offenders to me—I being able and willing to do the same on occasion—I must seek remedy for my own discharge. Helledon. Roxburgha.

1 p. Copy by Scrope's clerk. Addressed at foot. Indorsed: "Copie," &c.

Dec. 8. 1296. SCROPE TO JOHNSTON.

"Larde": if the bills are fyled and we know aforehand, redress shall be made, and on hearing from you I shall be well pleased to meet, if it be for the benefit of this country, "who have bene so mightely oppressed sence your entrie." For the Graimes: they say they will enter to you when you call, and if they do not, let them answer for their own offences: it is unfit for me to be a "broker" for them in their ill deeds. For acquainting your King, do as you will: I doubt not to answer his Majesty as befits my place.

I know not what you mean of taking advantage of some in your charge, unless it be Hebbies Arche, who committed a horrible murder, and divers spoils since your entrie: wherein her Majesty has commanded me, with your King's approval, to do condign justice. I am sorry if it is offensive to you, but use your discretion, for I will perform my duty to my "high and mighty Princes." Scrope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Copy by his clerk. Indorsed.

Dec. 10. 1297. SCROPE TO ROXBURGH.

Replying to his complaint against the Goodman of the Mote and Dick Davies sons, &c., agrees that offenders should be punished on every hand: but considering the enormities on the West March since the Laird of Johnston took office, and by the Liddesdales "after the departure of the Lard of Buckclewghie" all done since his own return from London "about Lammas last": the late cruel murders in Alston moor, a tenant of his own made prisoner and forced to pay 40*l.* ransom: when these are redressed by Scotland, he will be ready to do the like. Assuring him it will not be offensive, if thieves are punished. Carlisle. "Your lordship lovinge though unacquainted freind lefullie." Scrope.

1 p. Copy by Scrope's clerk. Addressed at foot. Indorsed.

Dec. 12. 1298. WILLOUGHBY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

I am sorry her Majesty finds error in me: though it may happen to stronger men. But I am sure I have not failed in integrity and faith, though it is thought I have in discretion, by choosing Sir William Eure. Yet his father was lord governor and warden here, his brother lord warden of the Middle Marches, himself trained up with them, bred up religiously, and reputed valiant. These, added to his brother and the council at York's request for the pledges, made me choose him, myself sick, my deputy absent, Sir William Bowes also, and those helpers I would have had, turned against me. I was confident this choice was good, and I gave him no such directions as he describes, leaving things to his own ordinary discretion, as custom I trust, warranted me. Would I have counselled him to satisfy "his ydle humour to have sene a wonder of such a Kinge as hath his subjectes in 'albarote,' and his neighbourres in jelousie"? I am not so foolish but that I would have disguised my ends, if they had been double. I deny giving him

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opportunity, he may have assumed it: but I protest as before, that if he has dealt in any other sort, I renounce him. I am utterly ignorant how he journeyed, to what places and persons, what passed betwixt him and the King—wherein I had dissuaded him, and he seemed to yield to my advice. I humbly beseech therefore that I may be acquitted of these jealousies, and confronted with him. "Though I am verie ill able to travail, yet desyre I of God to dye, before I lyve worthelie suspected of my soveraigne mistris or her state." Berwick. "At tenn of the clok what tyme I received your lordships." *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "... Lord Willughby to the lords. His excuse for imploying Sir William Evers in Border causes." *Octagonal waz signet*: 8 quarters and 3 crests as before.

Dec. 12. 1299. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"Ther was one Johnston of Johnston, a scoller that was with my sons in France, and taught them their first rudiments of learning, preferd to me some tenn yeares since by one Newcomb apperteing to my lord of Buckhurst. I was wylling to have dealt with this man about some accounts of my sons, and arrerages due to him (and therfor at that tyme, simply ignorant of these accidents), sent to him to come over. Wher unto he sent me this answer, together with Mr Nicolsons packett: which I send heer with, not only to continew the presenting of such occurrences as are offered me (which I will shun every day more and more)—but that yt may appeare truly and directly what I ame; for God is my wittness I use no finess, neither seek I to draw fayth or beleaf so to my proceedings. I ame held perilous in Scotland, and so I had advice of a person of good qualety: it is enuff for me that my harte beares me record I am honest to England. Yf I were further from the tempestuousnes of Cheviot hills, and were once retired from this accursed cuntry, whence the sunn is so removed, I would not change my homlyest hermitage for the highest pallace ther. In the meane season geive me leave to commend and pray for your happines, that are blessed with the sunn of the South, and that one rayon of such brightnes may deliver me from the darknes heere: which I protest is no less to me then Hell!" Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet*: quartered.

Inclosed in the same:—

(R. Johnston to Willoughby.)

I received your letter on the 5<sup>th</sup> instant, perceiving your pleasure is to have me come over again: which should have prevailed with me over my own private affairs, which I will never put before your lordships—but for this consideration—"at this present it was reported credible unto me, that summe have suggested unto the King, that your lordship is the onlie moyen the Earles brether \* hath in England, and undoubtedlie sutch ewill disposed persons wold suggeste likewise that I did traffike in that negotiation, enforcing my cumming and going unto your lordship: upon which consideration I stave upon your honors second advertisement. If it shall seeme expedient unto your lordship that I cumme, nether private or publike respect shall stave me from your honors service, whill I live: wtherwayes if your honors service doe nocht require, excuse him whome your lordship may use at your pleasure. As for occurrences: the Kinges Majestie hath taken a petit progresse unto Lithgow, and thence to Stirling, from Stirling to Glaskow, from Glaskow to Hamilton, for the contentment of Monseur de Rohaines unto the christning tyme, which will bee the Tewisday before

\* i. e., Gowrie's brethren.

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"Christmas, as is appointed. Marquis Huntlie doth not accompanie the King this journey, but stayeth upon his returne at Edinburgh: he hath obteneed of the King sindrie immunitieis and priwiledges in his owne cuttrie not granted to anie of the nobilitie heeretofore; which tend almost unto a soweranetie in his seingnorie. The King affecteth earnestlie a reconciliation betwixt him and Argile: which he will hardlie effect, for Argile will in no vyse grant ane assurance, muche lesse ane agremente. The jealousieis likewyse betwixt Huntlie and Murre doe increase rather then decrease. Finallie, oure affaires werre newer more broyled then at this present, with suche contriwing, plotting, and devysing, as hath not bene usually seene heere." Edinburgh. "Your honors most affectionat serwand untill death."

*Signed: Robert Johnestoun.*

1 p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wax signet: damaged.*

[Dec. 14.] 1300. THE LORD ADMIRAL AND CECIL TO WILLOUGHBY.

We would right gladly have set down our opinions on the questions touching Berwick by this time, but have been constrained to attend to other weighty matters, as your wisdom will satisfy your mind of the delay. But after some few days we promise to send you our opinions. For the present, that the world may see her Majesty will allow no contemptuous demeanour towards you, she has committed the master of the ordnance to the Fleet: and in consequence of the general report that your weakness of body daily increases in so far as you are in danger "(for the which her Majesty is not a little sorrye)"—it has pleased her to send down with expedition Sir John Carey to assist you in the service. Having touched this point, we must let you understand, that her Majesty is so assured of your temper and judgment, conjoined with affection to her service, that no private unkindness shall hinder your concurrence with any man therein—"yea though there weare the greatest mislike or quarrell." Wherein, as Sir John Carey goes down fully resolved in this spirit, to give you all your dues without prejudice to his place, though we thought it superfluous, yet we thought fit to touch it thus: and also to let you know how much her Majesty desires to understand of your good health and recovery. From the Court at Whytchall.

1½ pp. *Fair copy. Indorsed by Cecil: "Barwick."*

Dec. 16. 1301. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Your last letter wherein was a packet to Mr Nicolson, I received on 11<sup>th</sup> hereof at 10 P.M., and sent it away by 12 that night by my own servant, who is returned to me this night at 9 o'clock the 16<sup>th</sup>, with a letter to you which I inclose.

We are very quiet, and except you have otherwise to employ me here, I would gladly have license to come "southward" after Christmas: for though her Majesty was pleased to say to me when last at Court, that I might come up when I thought good, without troubling her, "I will not offend with to much presuminge." Woodrington. *Signed: Ro. Carey.*

½ p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 17. 1302. JAMES HAMILTON TO M<sup>r</sup>. WILLIES.

"Good Mr Willies. This bearer Patrick Carmichell a Scottisheman borne, having served Mr Downall for some yeares, is now desyrous to repaire unto his owne cuntry, their to remayne as he allegeth: for which cause he craveth his passe, wherof I pray yow to move Mr Secretarie." *Signed: James Hamiltone.* I pray it may be for himself and his horse.

½ p. *Holograph; also address: "To my loving friend Mr Willies attending the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight," &c. Indorsed: ". . . Mr*

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Hamilton for a pasporte for Pa. Carmichell M<sup>r</sup> Downalles man." *Waz signet : damaged, part of shield with 2 cinquefoils in chief ; crest : on a helmet a boar's head couped.*

Dec. 22. 1303. WILLOUGHBY TO NOTTINGHAM AND CECIL.

"Your lordships' last of the xiiij<sup>th</sup> found me extraordinarilye bound to my bedd, where I have attended the good hand of God": earnestly desiring to have attended the musters now in hand, for reform of some long standing abuses—but my state is such, that I am forced to commit it to my assistants, duly instructed as I best can for the time.

Her Majesty's most royal and gracious comfort by your lordships' letters, timed in "those my manifold distresses of my goverment, my honour and my health, it hath brought me the greatest joye that this earth can give." It "hath racked" my sick heart, between a desire to die contented with this royal grace, and so leave "this wretched world to itself,"—on the other side, a desire to live and "increase my merritt towards my sacred soveraigne," and acquit myself of all imptacions. I am further distracted that I cannot express my thankfulness, but am forced to rest in this thought: "If I dye, my soule shall bless the comfort and the comforter: if I live, my actions shall make good that zealous loyaltie to her gracious Majestie, which wordes can doe no other but too weaklie express."

Craving pardon of her Majesty, and beseeching your lordships to excuse any errors in my letters, from my sickness, "wherin nightes and dayes are both alyke to me," I humbly entreat you on my behalf to present to her highness the following.—That while the place I hold, would have fitted my service to her, as agreeable to my experience and training, my hope is frustrated by my fault or feebleness, and it becomes me "to restore it untaunted to that unspotted hand which gave it first." I am most loath to be found in fault, and therefore rejoyce in the prospect of justice by your lordships' letter, but my feebleness is such, that if I did not confess myself unequal to the burden of this goverment, "I should synn against God, her Majestie and myself." But I "wholly depend upon whatsoever God and her Majestie may be pleased to determyne on me and myne." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$2\frac{1}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Waz signet : broken.*

Dec. 27. 1304. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"My sicknes still continuinge, Sir William Bowes this afternone came to me with earnest request he might follow his busines in Darbeshire, wher in at this present, he is exceedingly pressed . . . In his owne regard I could hardly say him nay: but truly Sir, such is the state of this goverment, and governour at this present, as yt can no way indure his absence"—as your judgment can apprehend, to which I leave him and myself. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllnghby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *In hand resembling Willoughby's. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Bowes); motto: "Sane varage term de vi. (?)"*

Dec. 31. 1305. WILLOUGHBY AND BOWES TO CECIL.

We have received your letters of 22<sup>d</sup> instant to us jointly, wherein it pleased your honor to give us knowledge of the disgraceful imputations, now intimated by our adversaries against us to the Council, offering you our affectionate thanks for the same.

We see in your letter that the lords have written for satisfaction by me the treasurer, against Sir John Carey's imputation of my default in the pay:



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which letter we have expected these three days—but lest by “accident or sleight,” our receipt thereof should be impeached, I the treasurer set down my answer to the points charged, and if before its delivery the lords’ letters have been dispatched, this answer to rest with yourself. Praying you, if the lords have not written, to be pleased to instruct M<sup>r</sup> John Guevara, whether still to await the lords’ letters, or exhibit this answer to them.

As the pay is yet unfinished, we cannot send the certificates mentioned in the answer for 3 or 4 days, when if the lords’ letters arrive not, they shall be sent to M<sup>r</sup> Guevara, whereby I the treasurer confidently hope to acquit myself of that disgraceful suspicion, and lay the fault where deserved. We sorrow at the disadvantage of our distance, detained by our duties here: our papers can neither ask for right, nor reply to wrong, while our adversaries can pursue both one and other—but must commit our cause, first to God, then to her Majesty, and next to your honorable self. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby. Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet (Bowes): fragment.*

Dec. 31. 1306. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

This day I stayed one passing this way, that called himself “Robert Johnson a Scottish merchant, and under that name had obtained your pass and comission: but finding by his gesture, meane apparell, and riding post without bootes,” he was not what he pretended, I examined him, when he confessed himself an Irishman employed by you in the Queen’s service. “I demanded him how he came to your knowiedg? He told mee the mayor of Sandwiche at his arrivall sent him to the lord warden of the Cinq Portes, who sent him presently to yow. Being demanded, what maner of man my lord warden was? He said a goodly fayre younge man. Beinge likewise demanded, of what stature yow were, and of what complexion? Answered, of a middle stature, with a black head and beard. He told me your servant M<sup>r</sup> Willes brought him to yow; whom he affirmeth to be of a tale stature like himself.” I acquainted Sir William Bowes, have detained the man, and send inclosed such letters as were found upon him: desiring to know your pleasure, whether he shall go on or how otherwise you will have him bestowed? *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Hand resembling Willoughby's. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 31. 1307. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

Having of late heard nothing from M<sup>r</sup> Guevara but by my servant Hodgson, now drawn home from soliciting my causes, to assist the Queen’s pay: I learn from him your especial favour in answering for me at the “Counsell board,” to the accusations of the master of the ordnance, continued in your honor’s last letter in regard of Sir John Carey’s charges, whereon I have touched in the lord governor’s and my joint letter. For these, I yield such dutifal thanks as my pen can deliver.

“I find my self narrowelie tried with these crosses, my want of health, troublasome suites in lawe, great impeachment and loss in my works (being the best part of myne estate) by my attendance here, and unquiet service in an unpleasant place; and that which toucheth me neerest, the apparant hazard of my credit in the eye of my soveraigne and the state, and yet ever blessed be that truth, which hitherto suffreth me not either to faint or faile from God, the Queen, my frind or anie honest man.”

But I find myself overburdened thereby, and must in duty give her Majesty notice, that this place of her service will be attended with my ruin. Yet I stand clear in the matter of her treasure, and will testify the same to your honor in few days. Notwithstanding the undeserved charges against me, and the hard opinion conceived therein by “some great

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persous," I conceive "that howsoever these distempers may like nettles sting, if they be softlie touched, yet if they be thoroughlie handled, a little paines tymelie taken for reformation may exceedinglie benefit her Highnes service, and make this place an habitacle for quiet and good men, which nowe is farr otherwise." The reforms may be "reduced to these fower: the men, the victuals, the treasure (wherein also the workes wilbe), and the municion." And as concerns my especial charge, I think the Queen may save more than a 1000*l.* yearly, and be better served. The rest I must leave to whom they more properly appertain: yet will be ready on command to give my opinion freely and faithfully without fear or partiality.

I desire to do this under her Majesty, to none so willingly as to yourself, if she shall so find good: "unto whome, kissing her feet, I doe humbly comend this thought: That as none but the souveraigne greatnes could drawe light out of darknes: so none but souveraigne wisdom and happines can drawe our good out of this evil." Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Bowes.

1½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 1308. FEES OF THE LORD GOVERNOR, &C., AT BERWICK.

"The severall fees and intertaynementes of the Lord Governor and counsellors."

The lord governor has 40 household servants at 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per annum,		
"whereof he keapeth not one," 266 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; and his fee by the establishment, 400 <i>l.</i> ,	total,	666 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
The wardeny of the East March per annum,		424 <i>l.</i>

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1090*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

"An house without rent, no deductions saving for the church, the phisition and the poore."

"Resident":—The marshal has 20 horsemen at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, amounting with his other fees to 260*l.*; "he is warden of the East Marches by patten, the yearly fee thereof 424*l.*," in all, 684*l.*

Deductions:—A provost marshal, "who haith the keeping of the gaole, &c.;" a deputy warden; a warden sergeant, 40*s.*; "for the church, &c.;" house rent.

"Seldome resident":—The treasurer has 20 horsemen at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; "whereof he keapeth not one": which with his other fees by establishment, makes up 260*l.*; as paymaster of the works "when they amount to 1500*l.* in one yeare," 168*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; for portage, &c., of money "20*s.* in everie 100*l.*," which for his yearly receipt of 15,000*l.* comes to 150*l.*; in all, 604*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Besides 40 marks for house rent, "and the profit of such money as resteth in his handes."

Deductions:—A clerk that pays both garrison and workmen, "a pencioner, haith good meanes to gaine in his place, therefore; his charges of portage, and accountinge; for the church, &c."

"Resident for the most part":—The gentleman porter his yearly fee, 20*l.*; 6 horsemen at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly, 40*l.*; 14 footmen at 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly, 74*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; "and for an increase given by her Majesties gift," 50*l.*; in all, 184*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Deductions:—An under porter, who takes the keys from the Governor to him, and attends all services of the gates, yearly, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; 8 yeomen porters at the gates from opening till shutting, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, "le peice," 42*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; this number increased as needed; house rent, 20*l.*; "for the church, &c.," 4*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*; "somes deducted," 80*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*

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So remains clear to the gentleman porter for himself, his table, &c., 103*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*

"Not resident":—The chamberlain has 12 soldiers, *viz.*, 4 at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and 8 at 6*l.* each yearly, 74*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; "for which he keepeth not one man," and with other fees amounts to 94*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; "everie chamberlaine seale as now used, 26*s.* 8*d.*, which may be *communibus annis*," 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; his company of 100 soldiers is worth yearly 160*l.*, in all, 263*l.*; he has the castle to dwell in without rent.

Deductions:—"For the church, &c."

"Seldome resident":—The master of ordnance, his fees and allowances, 146*l.* "His other meanes by his office are thought to be profitable, but unknowne."

Deductions:—House rent: a clerk: "for the church, &c."

"Not resident:—Sir William Reades estate by her Majestie." His company of 100 foot worth 160*l.*; "besides 10 payes, which he wrongfully holdeth *ut infra*." Keeping of Holy Island, &c., by patent for his own and his son's lives, 362*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*; the rectory of Holy Island by lease from her Majesty "for many yeares," valued at 366*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; "a warren of cunnies there by like lease, *per annum*," 20*l.*, in all, 909*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*

"Besides the said 10 payes, which he wrongfully holdeth, as being cassed in his companie by lettres from the lordes of her Majesties most honorable privie counsell, in the 4<sup>th</sup> yeare of her highnes raigne, for augmenting the intertainment of certaine captaines, leivtennants, and ensignes, discharged after the seige of Leith, and serving in that band, who are now all deade, and therefore ought to be supplied againe."

Deductions:—"For the church, &c."

"The gentleman porters request."

By the above it appears that all the other councillors, both superior and inferior to him, "have almost treble his cleare fee, and not half his charge, especially in housekeeping": his residence being much more than any, except the governor.

A "deade paye" from each company is commonly allowed to the sergeant major, which the porter is in Berwick.

At "Callis," with a less garrison and fewer gates, the charge for gates was 400*l.* yearly.

He humbly sues to be allowed "one deade paye, without check" in every band of 50 foot, and two in every band of 100. Or if this reduction of the garrison be disliked, it may be then supplied by the said pays, wrongfully possessed by Sir William Rcade by connivance of the clerk of the check. If neither of these "helpes" be thought fit, then he humbly craves the reversion by patent of the comptroller's office of the check and musters: "in the execution of which office where anie store of workes are, he will undertake to save her Majestie 300*li.* *per annum*."

2½ pp. Drawn up by William Selby (junior) and written by his clerk. Indorsed: "... The gentleman porters request."

[1600.] 1309. REGULATIONS, &c., FOR THE BORDER

"Advise conteyninge a reformation of the over generall and indefinite power of the lordes wardens of the Marches towards Scotland; beinge grevous and injurious aswell to good men as to the evill disposed: as also for reducing the lawes of the Borders betwixe the prince and sbjecte, and betwixt subject and subjecte, both in criminell and civell causes, to a certaintie, which are now uncertaine, and insufficente for all kind of trialls that doe happen in warden courtes: which is donne by settinge doune in cleare and expresse wordes, suchie lawes as are now held

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"to be in use, beinge heartofore confused and ambiguous, and addinge suche other new lawes as are necessarie, and cannot be wantinge, for the due execution of that kind of justice."

The contents are explained by the above heading. They are drawn up at great length in separate unnumbered paragraphs—with marginal notes in another hand than the body of the paper.]

53½ pp. *In a fair contemporary hand. In parchment cover. Indorsed: "Borders. Lib. 34."*

## 1310. MANNER OF HOLDING DAYS OF TRUCE.

[Under 45 heads not numbered—treats of the warden, his authority, duties, servants, &c.]

*Extracts.*

Indents are by papers, containing the manner and circumstances of bills filed.

"Foule" is "culpable": "cleane" is "innocent"; "foule condicionally" is, "where the partie was arrested and appeared not."

"Troade" is of 2 sorts: "hote troade, viz., fresh pursuit when the goodes are stollen: cold troade, viz., at any other time after."

"Wittnessing of a troade, is when the pursuer on the first person he meteth of that nation, into whose countrie he entreth in pursuite, or on the person or persons he findeth in the first village he cometh to of that nation, taketh wittnes that he is in a lawfull troade, and prayeth ther company and assistaunce in his prnsuite."

"Troublance of a troade" is when any one assaults takes or annoys the lawful pursuer of a troade.

"Taken with the read hand," i.e., in the "deede doinge or manure."

"Bawchling is a publicke reproofe, or rather aoe appeale, by holding a glove (representing the false hand of the person bawchled) on a speares pointe, at a day of truce or other assemplye of English and Scottes, wherby the partie bawchled is accused or challenged for breaking his word, faith, or bond: and some times the speare and glove are by the accuser fixed on the housetopp of the person accused: but this is very punishable by the treaties, yf it be done without the princes or the wardens licence."

"Triste or steven," is a meeting on the March by subjects of both realms.

"To file a bill" is to avow its truth. "Principall," the true single quantity of a bill. "Doubles," another single quantity. "Sawffies," a third single quantity.

Every one filed or convicted of a bill for stolen goods, is condemned to pay three for one (with exceptions), viz., "principall, double, and sawffie."

6 pp. *In another hand. Under same parchment cover as last number.*

1600-1.

Jan. 10.

## 1311. WILLOUGHBY AND BOWES TO CECIL.

The Council's letter to us both, which came to our hands about the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, we have answered according to their lordships' direction: and with a packet of other papers in the case, is directed to M<sup>r</sup> John Guevara to be presented to your lordships assembled at a full board. In case M<sup>r</sup> Guevara has to return hither before these papers reach your honor, we beseech you to vouchsafe us the favor of opening the same, and presenting our said letter and papers to the Council by some of the gentlemen clerks or otherwise. I the treasurer also humbly request that one of these papers, viz. Sir John Carey's acquittance under his own hand, may after their lordships' satisfaction, be returned to me, as without showing it, I cannot have discharge of the sum in my accounting. Berwick. *Signed: P. Wyloughby, Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.*

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1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: shield of 2 quarters; crest, pair of horns on helmet.*

Jan. 10. 1312. CERTIFICATE FOR THE MASTER OF ORDNANCE.

The undersigned sworn officers at Berwick, at the request of the master of ordnance, whose disbursements for 2 years past are disallowed by the treasurer of Berwick, signify to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, that to their knowledge, the master has always kept a sufficient team of "lymer" horses both for his own service, as also for the Queen's works of fortification about the town—and that since he entered on office, he has greatly lessened the Queen's charges and expenses therein. Berwick *Signed: John Crane, James Barrell depute surveyor; Henrye Sysson, master gonner; John Pratt, Anthey Atkynson, John Selby, William Edwardes, quartermasters.*"

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Jan. 10. 1313. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

Humbly thanking him for his letter of the 22<sup>d</sup> December. Having lately seen a copy of M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave's petition and articles, finds "the stile sharpe and unrespective," but the substance "for the most parte, true and justefable": for his lordship's claims, asserted titles, and dealings with Musgrave, were all as described, and this of his own knowledge, being present at almost all the conferences: where Musgrave conducted himself dutifully and reverently to his lordship, who was very watchful to take any advantage of any word; wherein Sir William Bowes far exceeded him, and so insulted Musgrave as to displease all honest minds. He would without offence, say a little more, and that if the Lord Governor and Bowes are supported in this course, no just man can act as a councillor. They are both cunning and conceited of their own sufficiency, and "credits above," despise others, are impatient of contradiction, and "vindicatif" against those who concur not with them.

A letter from her Majesty by Cecil is reported to have lifted the Governor "very high," after his depression on account of Sir William Evers. On the 1<sup>st</sup> instant another came from the lords, regarding the pay, whether any captains had received it on imprests? He knows the reply that it was not, is incorrect, and relates the circumstances at length. Finally he describes the manner in which his private messenger was stopped by the Governor at Alnwick, his cloak bag rifled, though the letters were otherwise bestowed and not found. Also his attempts to find out if he sent them by means of Sir Robert Carey, or received any by his help: which practices have caused him to put his principal papers out of the Governor's reach, who is by nature vindictive, and ingenious in circumventing his own plainness. Berwick. *Signed: Will'm Selby.*

1½ pp. *Very closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Fragment of wax signet.*

Jan. 11. 1314. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Since these troubles and their lordships' advice, though sick and weak in body, I have laboured as best I could in the Queen's service: and have had one Robert Gray of Newcastle brought to me, intercepted when about to pass into Scotland, at an unusual and suspicious place—with divers letters from the Laird of Pourie Ogilvy. I have caused to be perused those to common persons—the principal, to the King, I have reserved at her Majesty's pleasure to be broken up. He is found in his reports full of contrarities, and "blasphemously popish in his books." I have sent out divers,

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and shall do my utmost to apprehend his master. Berwick. Signed: P. Wyllughby.

I have sent you herein all Gray's letters. He confesses that Ogilvy has been "reccited" at M<sup>r</sup> Woodringtons, at Causby Park at one Ogel's there, and at the Lady Ogel's. I am this day informed that a packet from Ogilvy to the Earl of Angus past by the West Border.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Jan. 11 1315. WILLOUGHBY TO SIR R. CAREY.

Understanding by a messenger intercepted with letters, that the Laird of Poury Ogilvy, with an Italian and others, are in your wardenry, I request you with all carefulness to order a general speedy and "curious" search to be made for him, &c., and to further those I have sent therein. "With my hartly commendacions to your selfe and my good lady." Berwick. Signed: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Wax signet: 8 quartered shield and 3 crests, broken.

Jan. 11. 1316. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL

My lord governor having made me acquainted with Graye's apprehension, and such perusal of his letters as time afforded, I am led to believe this is the same Ogilvy known by the name of "Purie Ogilvy," a trafficker in Spain, some 4 years since—whose negotiation was imputed by her Majesty to the King of Scots, at my last employment there: his answer whereto her highness has under the King's own handwriting, besides his answers of her propositions made to him by me. The same Ogilvy, as I gather, has now with him, as you will perceive by his letter to Sir Thomas Erskine—"some important matter for the Kinges behoofe." In the King's commendatory passport he is called "Gilbert," whereas he writes "John," being possibly not the same, or else to avoid discovery. His lordship has not opened the packet directed to the King, but left it to her Majesty's pleasure. There is an Italian with him. "By Grayes report he is but poore": his letters mostly show little matter of weight, unless he use cyphers, &c., under the words. His lordship has taken great care to apprehend him, and written to the warden of the Middle March in case the three several companies miss him.

"The French lordes arre now here on ther retourn." Berwick. Signed: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1 p. Holograph (?) also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet (Bowes).

Jan. 12. 1317. SIR R. CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL

This morning about 8, I received the inclosed letter from my lord governor: the post boy that brought it said he had newly parted with my lord's company, not 2 miles from this house, but knew not whither they went. There were three captains, Carvell, Norton and Ager, with some 50 horse or more: and they stayed him long, or he might have been with me 4 or 5 hours sooner. I thought they meant to do what they came for, before I knew of it, and wrote but "for forme sake": so I got to horse, and rode where I guessed they were (for my lord's letter gave me no certainty), and at Cawsey park I found Captain Ager and half a score men, the rest searching elsewhere. Before I came, they had taken Ogilvy and his man out of the house, and were on the road to Berwick: I took Captain Ager aside, and said my lord had dealt to my discredit, to send a force so near my house, and take prisoners away without acquainting me, and if he thought me honest, he might have spared his labour, and sent me a private post to take such men

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within my March. And if I did not discharge my duty in taking them, I deserved death: but he should not carry them off, as I would keep them till your lordships' pleasure. I refused to look at my lord's warrant which Ager offered me, as I had a better: and after some discourse, he grew angry and said I might take them, for he was no party to keep them: but if he were, I should not take them so. I said if my lord and his whole March were there, he should not have them but with my liking. So we parted, and I have the prisoners in two several prisons—no living creature allowed to confer with them—and 4 men watching them night and day. And I await your lordships' further directions: as this is the truth of the proceedings from first to last. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signed.*

Jan. 12. 1318. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I have had disgrace offered me this day, and have righted myself: I know I shall be grievously complained of, but trust your honor will not see me wronged. My lord governor might have taken a better course with me: for ever since his coming I have respected him more than ordinary—"but I think it is in his natur to offer wronge to all officers neare wheare he lives, and then thinks with his feyne frasis and smothe spechis, to make alle good of his sey'd." I have written at large to the Council of my proceedings, and need not repeat it again. My lord's meaning was good, but his manner was to my disgrace: his letter came not to my hands till they had beset the house, and if Ogilvy had not been with me before at my own house, and so I knew where he was, they would have had him out of my March before I knew: which my lord would have excused it by his letter, but things fell out otherwise than he looked for. Such disgrace has never been done before by one officer to another in these parts: they have always dealt by interchange of letters—"but my lord teachis them all new dissiplyn in Barwick, and so meanes to proseed in the cuntry by teching us new fashious to his owne liking, though never so muche offensive to his neighbor officers. I will leave my lord and his busey hed, and let him aleage what he can agaynst me, I trust his false suggestious shall have no pouer to hurt me: I will be as honist in my actions to my prince and cuntry as his good lordship shall ever be, if not honister. I think your honor is acquainted with the Lard of Poure Ogleby for he tould me when he cam to my house, he had bin at our Court and that he had bin with your honor; and now sias his taking, he tels me he had writen a letter to your honor in caracters, which Captayn Ager hathe to Barwick with him.

"His servant that is taken with him is caled Jan Batista Nancy an Italion borne at Aquila." I let none speak with them, and wait your pleasure: meantime warranting their safe keeping. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 14. 1319. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Having conferred with Ogilvy, he tells me (if it is true) "of sum privat coursis to be holden between your honor and him self: and that he had tould you of those letters he sent to the King his master, which are nowe enterseptid by my lord governor, and that it was concludid between you that your enterchange of letters should be by my lord of Durham, and desirid me to give him leve to wright to your honor. Supposing with my self it to be trew that he tould me, I thought it not amis to grant his request, and therefore have sent his letter to your honor. When I asked his meaning to set another name then his owne to his letter, he tould me it was so agreed between your honor and himself, that he should wright his name as he hathe

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"dun, and that in your letters to him you should name your self 'Charles Ogle.'" For all this free dealing, I let no one confer with him but myself and my servants attending him, and will keep both him and his man safe, till your farther pleasure.

My only excuse in not writing all this time as to Sir William Eure's proceedings, was to hear from the party who first informed me: and now I find he made great show of knowing much, but in effect knows little: for on inquiry he can tell me no more than that Sir William came to a private conference with the King to Spot about the last of October, and that Sir William was lodged at a place called the Loches within a mile of Spot. This is all, and I think few in Scotland of any rank but know as much or rather more: so pardon me troubling you "thus eydly," and hereafter I will know more before I take advertisements in hand.

It concerns me greatly to be at Court soon, as I will inform you at my coming: I pray you procure my leave now when I can be best spared, the country quiet, and my deputy very sufficient. I repose my trust in this and all things, only in your honor and none else, and will ever be an honest man to you. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: *sean with crescent on breast*.

Jan. 16. 1320. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Having continued on my place this winter season, and the spring of the year drawing near, the country in good quiet, and my occasions at Court urging me, I must importune you for her Majesty's leave to come to London for dispatch thereof. *Carlisle castle*. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signet as before*.

Jan. 20. 1321. WILLOUGHBY AND BOWES TO CECIL.

This gentleman, Mr James Swenoe the bearer, being "chequed and putt from his pencion of xx<sup>s</sup> per diem," by the auditor's refusal to allow it in my the treasurer's account, and finding himself thus not only disabled in his living but disgraced in this place "where he is borne," and served so many years: has drawn a supplication to "the honorable board," whereto I the lord governor, I the treasurer, and Sir William Reed, have severally attested his merit: commending him and his petition to your honor.

For your better satisfaction of his worthiness, we think it our duty in one word to say, that when we entered the Queen's service here, both at one time, "we found not one more able to lead both horse and foote, or for knowledge of Scotland, and of the Borders. In which things (now that Sir William Reed is growne impotent by age) we fynd few in this garrison to match this gentleman in sufficiency." *Berwick*. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby, Will'm Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet (Bowes)*: *damaged*.

Jan. 20. 1322. SCROPE TO CECIL.

You may see by the examinations sent herewith in my lord of Carlisle's letter, how careful he is for the good of the country.

I must give you great thanks for the Privy Council's letter to our gentlemen, which I hope will work good effect in this poor country.

I hope by your means, my leave to come up may be easily effected: the time of year serving well. *Carlisle*. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.



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Jan. 24. 1323. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Reminding him of his suit for leave—that his poor estate depends on it—praying him to be “ernist” with her Majesty. Sends the bearer to get his answer. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Sean wafer signet.*

Jan. 24. 1324. SIR W. BOWES TO THE LAIRD OF AYTON, &amp;C.

“My most loving freindes in the Lord. Having received your severall lettres instantly, together with a copie of your comission to the presbitry, in this my thronge of many businesses, I request you to accept my answeere.

“You know that I am a mynister for the state here, and therefore am of duty bound to *arcana Imperii*, so as I may not satisfy your request directly, according to your and my owne desire, in the matter of Pury Ogleby. Yett thus muche I must say on the Churches behalfe, which is and ever shalbe deare unto me as my spirituall moother, that the gentleman seemes to me, by that I have seen, a dangerous instrument against God and his church, the perticulers whereof are suche as I may not with my duty and safety communicate, except with them under whose pouer I live, and whose counsell they are, so longe as they will have them counsell.

“You in your wisdomes are not ignorant how the matters of the church and the state are enterlaced: besides by experience I have been taught how dangerous credulitie is in th'affaires of princes, especially in matters received from professed practisers, and suche as have sold them selves over to worke deceipt: of which kind this man seemeth to be. So farr as concerneth meerly religion, I understand the man (whome hitherto I have not seen) professeth him selfe a Romane Catholique: and that I am easely drawne to beleive, by my sight of his *Agnus Dei*, hostes, and suche like Romishe trifles, *cetera Deus et dies*. And so,” &c. Berwick. Willm Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy by his clerk. Indorsed perhaps by Bowes*: “Coppie of a lettre from Sir William Bowes to the Laird of Ayton and M<sup>r</sup> William Hog,” &c.

Jan. 26. 1325. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I present this gentleman to your favor, desiring your honor to grace him with your countenance: for he truly deserves it for his labour and pains in keeping the country quiet. He can satisfy you in any point of Border matters: and has something to impart on the state of Scotland, wherein he will be ready to do your pleasure.

I hope for my letter with my leave before you receive this: “if not good sir, sent it me downe by M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington when he returns.” Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: “. . . By M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington.”

Jan. 27. 1326. R. MUSGRAVE TO CECIL.

Your honorable brother my lord Burghley, gave me notice that some of the Council were informed that I sought the office of deputy warden of Carlisle, “to some ende unbefitting that place”: wherein I desire your honor to vouchsafe to hear the following:—

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When Lord Scrope, the Bishop, and all gentlemen of worth in the country, were in consultation at Carlisle for reform of the outrages and spoils in those parts, they all set their hands to certain articles (to be confirmed by your honor) mentioning (among other things) their desire to have me deputy warden. Whereon some of the Graymes, fearing justice for their continual crimes, delivered informations to be presented to your honors, wherein if one word be true, or one honest man's hand be subscribed, "lett me receive the blame of that imputacion." For the Dacres: "if ever in their greatnes (or since) there hath not ben a mortall and unreconcilable enmety betwene our howses, for the space of theis three hundred yeares, then lett me forever want your honorable favor." Humbly craving pardon for my boldness. Signed: Rychard Musgrave.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of wax signet.

Jan. 29. 1327. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"That moste mightie hande of God, that hath moved your excellent spirit in the high place wherin you are, to doe me those exceeding offices of kindnes and favour to my dread soveraine: and stirred you up to relieve my reputation, so fowly and innocently blacked before your honorable table,— I doubt not but will also bless me with some issue of gratitude towards you for these cordialls received in the bed of my affliction: or at leaste that He himself will send you a full measure of his bounty, answerable to your vertues of goodnes and equity."

For Sir Robert Carey and his proceedings in "Pure Oglevy," I look neither "on my right hand, nor on my left of my owne interestes, so God and her Majestie be served": and Sir Robert had no cause of discontentment, my only end was the man's apprehension. My doubts were his continual resort and kindness with Sir Robert's inward friends, "I\* and to his owne table." Though never doubting his forwardness for service, I thought how easily some underhand intelligence might cause his escape. It is untrue that I sent 50 horse, the number appointed was but 30, and only 15 went, quietly divided in 3 troops. The letter to himself was not stayed as pretended: and when he came with a great part of his wardeury (showing his warning was sufficient) the prisoner was in the hands of 5 of my men only, who gave him up, grieving more at his hard speeches against me, than the delivery. I might have claimed this precedent: 12 years since M<sup>r</sup> Raphe Grey of Chillingham as a justice of peace, took this same man in my lord his father's wardeury, sent him to my lord your father, and was justified in his action. Surely when our one end is to serve her Majesty, it is hard we should fall out among ourselves! Whatever her Majesty shall think fit herein, I take well. "I have been wonderfully, God is my wittnes, in these late garboyles mistaken: yf the beginning of things were lookd unto, and the conditions of quiet that I offered, yt would then appeare how they have chased me lik a partridg in a mountaine, and forced me both contrary to my nature, and infirmity, to these troublesom appologies." Berwick. Signed: P. Willoughby.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. Hand resembling Willoughby's. Addressed. Indorsed.

Feb. 4. 1328. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

As I would rather "tell over a tale told, then over slip an opportunitie." I let you know, "from a very good hand, that th'Earle of Marr, and the Abbott of Kinloss, are upon a suddain resolution, taken but on Fryday laste, addressed ambassadors to her Majesty, and are to pass this

\* Yea ?

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"way the next week. Lickwise the Lord of Burlie hath sent unto me for pasporte through England: which though it be a thing usually granted by men of my place, for all passengers and travellers, yet I thought good, he being a man of more then ordinary note, to advertise yt, that yf ther be cause, he may either be seene unto when he comes at London: or ells his journey stayd heere in the begininge. He pretendeth tow ends—the first to kiss her Majesties hands, withall to inlardg himself to her highnes: the other for his health in the bathes of France." He seems in haste because of the season of year.

Duty, "though I ame full of infirmities," makes me thus troublesome. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Hand resembling Willoughby's. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 8. 1329. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

I am loath you should think me so "mechanicall" as to expect recompence for so small a matter: for though the party's necessity I think forced him to demand it, or he had some disposition to try whether "I were a miserable one or not," yet he had his desire "with my right good will and thanks": so let your honor think no more of this trife.

Meantime, that accident, "the more I thinke of it, makes me remember him that saide *Non amo nimium diligentes*. Howbeit my hope is, the viuscir (?) will doe well enoughe as your wisdom will use it, and some of them never the wiser by hit." But there is a gentleman "now above," M<sup>r</sup> Henry Woodrington, whom if you please to entertain, there is no man in these north parts, more fitted, by his wit, experience, allies, followers, valor and resolution, the commodity of his habitatiou and command, and willingness to serve your honor, and all good causes: to be conferred with and employed. His especial virtues are *Taciturnitas et Fides*. They hate him mortally, and he loves them as little. I entreat you to talk with him, first on the state of the Marches, the total ruin (I fear) of Bewcastle and Gilsland, and imminent danger of the Middle March by the Greames and Armstrongs, both for their "particular," and revenge of the imprisonment of the pledges at York, the principal of whom having escaped "God knoweth howe," they are like to make work enough ere long. Wherein as you sound his discretion, you may touch on Scottish affairs and the factions there growing: "which it were pittie (I speake absolutely my conscience, and my knowledge too partly) it were great pittie, but they should by all wise present and secrett good meanes, be nourished and cherished, not only to divert the humour encreasing hitherward, but to prevent the daillie practises openly attempted herabout, to engage no small fooles. Sir, as you are, and are holden verie wise and politick, so let none other occurrentes or occasions howe apparent soever, dasle your eies, but that once in 24 howres you maie looke to the backe dore: and that not only for the publick good of the realme, which I presume is deare unto you, but for the peculier safetie and securitie of that sacred roiall person, which I knowe is lefer to you then your lyfe: and yet withall for your owne sake and yours and all and everie, whome that ambitious and malicious generacion loveth as mutche, as they doe me and M<sup>r</sup> Woddrington. But nowe I have gone far in dede; yet short of that I purpose one daie to saie, if ever I see you." Bishop Auckland. "*Lege, ure, seca.*" *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Two wax signets: Matthew as before.*

Feb. 14. 1330. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

This morning I received your letter dated on Monday the 9<sup>th</sup> hereof, which by negligence of posts, as appears endorsed, was stayed 6 hours

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betwixt London and Ware—11 hours at Newcastle, "and in other places, with no great speed. By this negligence, that heynous attempt mencioned was brought hether one whole daye before, by a Scottish merchant of Edenburgh, usuallie passing this waye in th'affayres of his traffique, and by him delivered onlie at the taking of his horse to ryde homewardest, to a pryvate friend, who had not the discretion to staye the man untill I might be advertised. Soone after, and the same daye in the evening, came to this towne M<sup>r</sup> David Fowlis dispatched from the Kinge towardes her Majestie, especiallie as he pretendeth, to make waye for my lord of Marr the Kinges ambassador, of whom I advertised your honor before." Immediately on receipt of your letter, I called the council to advise on your direction to stay packets and passengers: but as we thought it only imported the stay of "misconceyved brutes" from Scottish agents, &c., into Scotland, we suffered M<sup>r</sup> Fowlis to pass, and myself to give you notice, before his arrival I hope. We all here bless the everliving God for preserving her Majesty's safety: "as being the verie thing so highelie precious in all true English hartes, as they cannot but bleed at the tender thought of her danger, and vehemently detest the persons, occasions, tymes, and all the meanes which would bereave us of that joye, seing 'without that, the world can give us to enjoye nothing." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wylloghby.

1 p. *Addressed by Willoughby. Indorsed.*

Feb. 14. 1331. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

"I resevid your last letter the 13 heareof, being at Newcastle at th'ecclesiasticall commition: the next day I returod home, and acquaynted P.O.\* with the contents of your letter, who was well pleased therwith (as I could not blame him) and is this day onward of his jorny: and meaues to make no stay till he be in Scotland. God grant he prove as honist to you, as your honors good using of him dus deserve." If you or he trusts me, I will do it to your honor's content.

I am sorry to have troubled you about my leave: now I know her Majesty's resolution, I will content myself till the time, and shall be better pleased with my stay, if I may "busey" myself in her service.

About 2 months since, the Council commanded me to assist the Bishop of Durham for recusants here, when he required me. Ten days after, he wrote to me with a "catelog" of them, requesting my aid for their appearance at Newcastle on the 12<sup>th</sup> instant. I set about it at once, but his determination was not so closely kept before his letters came, but that three of the greatest got knowledge, and left the March. These are Frances Ratclif, Thomas Swinburn and Roger Coniers, who think by lurking till the commision is past, to be no further troubled. But I will not fail to send them in as I can get them. The most of the others appeared, and many of them "yealded to cum to church, th'others not very obstinat, but good hope of reformation," as the commissioners' letter at large informs the Council.

"I desier no more to be employd in this service: it is an offis cheffly belonging to my lord of Durham, yeat when I had taken all the paynes and cam my self to the commition, I found his lordship absent! which was merveld at by many, cheffly by the comitioners then selves, thos of his owne—also that he should be away at that service which most conserned his place." Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 16. 1332. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I received your packet for Nicolson on the 14<sup>th</sup> at 12 at night, and at once sent it off. The proclamation, though it seemed privately addressed

\* Powry Ogily.

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to myself, yet as it contained "a publick notification of fowle faults," and direction to magistrates to punish "leud and bad speakers, and an admonition to the peopple to bewray such," I published it this day with solemnity, "and tomorrow to geive God generally thanks in the church for his great goodnes in this behalf." I have also laid all the passages of my March, to apprehend any escaping to Scotland. "God knoweth my harte, how willing my unperfit body is to doe the loyallest and perfittest offices I can to her Majestie." Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

I understand the Earl of Marr's journey is stayed.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Hand resembling Willoughby's. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil.*

Feb. 16. 1333. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

"Give me leave, I beseache you sir, to congratulat with you for the blessed and hapey escape of her sacred Majesty from the violens of thos unworty wretchis that had plotted th'utter ruin and overthrow of her and her kingdum : Gods spirite be ever with them that wer the discoverers therof, and praysed be his name for her blessed deliverance.

"I make no dought of Gods goodnes, that he will still defend her : and know right well that your self and suche neare aboute her as your honor is to her, will be carfull and provident to prevent fatur evils, but I know withall her Majestys corage and magnanimitie to be so great, as to show her self how little she feares thos vipers, she will be often abroad emongest her subjects, to make knowne to them the contrarye, unles she be agaynst her meind by good counsell, persuadid otherwise. Pardon me that I presume to say thus muche, for I know ther cannot be more dun for her preservation then is dun : but her publicke coming abroad I desier not to heare of as yeat, for allthoughe the cheeffe of those foulle birds are fast in cagis, yeat in hope to set them at libertye, sum desperat villaine of ther faction may make a ventur of his owne life in hasarding sum divelische practis agaynst her royall person, if oportunitye fit them (which God for his mersy forbid). To prevent suche danger, I could wishe the best of them at the least, weare hedges, before shee cam muche abroad : then when ther cheife heds shall be wanting, the rest of the corrupt body will soone decay, and her Majesty may in more safty triomphe of her victorey." I have written in singleness of heart, and pray you take it in good part.

I desire nothing more than to be at Court, were it to come post but for one day and return : to kiss her Majesty's hand and see her, after such a deliverance.

I pray the favour of one of your secretaries setting down the proceedings of the conspiracy, and what else you please : for I only hear the common report. Woodrington. *Signed* : Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil. Swan wafer signet.*

Feb. 16. 1334. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I have this morning received direction from her Majesty to make my personal repair to the Court upon Saturday next : and now take my journey with all possible haste to be there "agaiust that tyme."

Meantime I send you copy of the order I left this country in, as best I could on the short notice. Carlisle. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet : arms and Garter as before.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(Copy of Scrope's letter.)

Having received this Sunday night special direction from the Council by her Majesty's command, to be at London on the 21<sup>st</sup> instant : these are to

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command you on your allegiance, with your household servants duly arrayed, to appear at the city of Carlisle on Wednesday next at night: letting you know that I have appointed M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Curwen, M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther, M<sup>r</sup> James Bellingham, and M<sup>r</sup> John Dalston, first to lie here in charge of the country for 14 days, they four then to appoint other four gentlemen in like manner, and so four after four successively, with full authority till her Majesty's further pleasure be known who shall be my deputy. Carlisle. 15 February 1600, at night.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed: "Copie," &c.*

Feb. 18. 1335. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

"Fame, whether true or fals I know not, haith brought to my eares that my infortunate yett most beloved brother haith bene in companie with the Earle of Essex when he attempted his late rebellious enterprise. If this report be true, either he haith gone on for companie, not knowing the true cause, in regarde of his affection to M<sup>rs</sup> Roderam a widow, kinswoman to the earle, to whome he had bene a suter when shee was widow before: or of sett purpose, as one acquainted with the treasonable plott. If he be guiltye of the last, I detest him, and deeme him worthy of ignominious death: if his fault be on the soddaine, and with the multitude drawn on by fals pretence, then I trust I may with dewtye be an humble suter for favour, whereof and by no other meane, I should have good hope, if your honor, in comiseration of his unwarye youth, would be pleased to offer up on the altar of her Majesties clemencye the loyaltye and services of my late deceassed father and the rest of our poore house, heretofore untouched: the hope whereof resteth almost altogether in his loynes, myself not so happie as near 12 yeares marriage, to be a father. The matter touching me almost as neare as my lif, might draw from me a long letter: but the just consideration of your honors many and weighty affaires, especially in this tyme, counselleth me to be breif. Giving thanks to God and congratulating with all joy her Majesties happie deliverance, the confusion of her foes, and commending the safete of my poore brother, and in him of my owne fortunes, to your favour and her Majesties mercye." Berwick. *Signed: Will'm Selby.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: a shield (Selby), impaling one of 4 quarters.*

Feb. 18. 1336. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

The "welter" of the Scottish resolution made me write uncertainly in my last, which I shall be "more wary of," if you pardon the past. I hear for certain the Earl of Mar will be here tomorrow with divers other gentlemen, to go on immediately for London. I had the proclamation you sent me proclaimed in open market yesterday, and today we have given God thanks for her Majesty's "salf delivery," with great applause and rejoicing of the whole town and country. Berwick. *Signed: P. Wyllughby.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed: "February 23." The postal indorsations show its dispatch on 19th at 11 a.m. and receipt on 28th at 4 p.m.*

Feb. 22. 1337. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I have been so "exceeding ill" since the Earl of Mar was here, that I could not "write my owne name." He left this town on Friday last, accompanied with the Abbot of Kinloss and some 30 gentlemen, &c. The "taste" I got of their affairs is, a congratulation for her Majesty's deliverance from the late treason, acquittal of the King and estate from any

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imputation of willing receipt of Jesuits, priests, and such like, or negotiation with foreign princes: "an extenuation of Pureoglevys account with the King, with many circumstances of the sayd Oglevyes undntifull cariadge towards him—some expostulation of her Majesties supposed jealousies against the Kinge in the matter of Sir William Eure—complaints of the first receipt, releefe, and some continuation of th'Earle of Gowryes brothers in England—wherin I have my parte as deepe as the best." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Hand resembling W.'s. Addressed. Indorsed partly by Cecil. Wax signet: gem, Cupid's bow and quiver.*

Feb. 26. 1338. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"I ame credibly advertised from London, that Captain Selby one of this garrison, who went hence very contemptuously without my leave, was an actor in this conspiracy of th'Earles: and as I ame informed, he escaped, and fled into Scotland, wher he now remaineth. For which his offence, being of so high a nature, whatsoever his contempts have beene to me,—I have according to th'Establishment (with th'advice of Sir William Bowes) displaced him of that his captainship, and bestowed the same upon my coosen John Guevara a gentleman well knowne to you, and one that that hath served her Majestie faithfully: aswell to reward his desert in taking Ashfeild—" to maintain him till her Majesty is pleased to confer a better place on him, and encourage others to service. I mention this to avoid the importunity of other suitors for the place. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Hand resembling W.'s. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: shield of 8 quarters and 3 crests—good.*

March 9. 1339. R. MUSGRAVE TO EDWARD CONYERS.

"M<sup>r</sup> Conyers—" I hear the lord governor and Sir William Bowes are disposing at their pleasure of the master smith's place, and it is like to be turned over from Hunte to another: the Lords' letter has no such meaning nor can I answer my oath and duty as accomptant, if the governor and Sir William so act. Therefore if they importune you for any man, you may answer I have directed you to the contrary: but that if his lordship will take the office and keys from you, you cannot resist him. Edw. Conyers.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Indorsed: "Copy of the M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave lettre to Ed. Coniers."*

March 12. 1340. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

"For the man that acted this late tragedy, I must confess I loved his person and good partes, being adorned with the favor of a wise prince and high fortune, as I should have don any other that had been seasoned with the same giftes, and in the same maner. I may more freely say I loved him, because it is not unknowne when I sought the master of the Ordenanship, he crossed me, and in my journey into France was most opposita against me: so that my affections to him were not dependances, but attributes to those I conceived his vertues. This opinion I held *usque ad aras*: but God the record of all inward consciences, knowes ther I would have left him: and the same God hath in nothing more shewed himself the Lord of Hoasts and armies, and testefied the divinity of his worke, then making so glorious a *satrapus* to project so vainly, as even his owne desires, if he had attained them, must have beene his death; for how could he

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"imagin all England would have beene so besotted, that none durst have acted the like tragedy on him for the delivery of so gracious a prince, as was formerly effected on the Duke of Guise! And as he handled this, it was so far from resolution, as God is to be praised that took from him his spirit of understanding, courage and execution. I could have wished his religion had brought him to the provident humilitie of David: who sorryed to have possessed himself but of the lapp of Sauls garment, though it were the wittnes of his fidelitie. But fall it out this to all her Majesties enemies, as to this precipitate and unfortunate earle, by fate, by wicked consaill, or ells by both: and send such like lions spirits no better courage to devour innocent lambs! But I will leave him to his confused end, not wondring that he accused you, when his owne cariage hath accused himself most lamentably to the memory of all adges. And for my own parte, being the meane member of all, I cannot but joine with you to pittie some of those you have vouchsafed to name: since yf they had not been putrefied in the place they held so neere the head, they were otherwise in their persons and giftes of nature qualed for the service of the prince and state. But such is the ruine of greate oakes, as straight smaller trees that grow by are comonly overthrowne by them: but this is discourse beyond my element. I heseech you pardon me that I take this boldness to deliniate some parte of my minde concerning these matters, to your so favorable a view." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil*: "Welsh."

March 19. 1341. CHRISTOPHER PICKERING TO THOMAS KNEVET.

I have been most earnestly entreated by many of the gentlemen and sundry of my kinsfolk and friends here, to take the office of deputy warden in Lord Scrope's absence: they have written by post, and his lordship has replied establishing me. I humbly desire you will talk with his lordship, and seeing the daily and nightly outrages both by Scots and Englishmen, that I may be furnished from time to time with munition, &c., necessary for revenge. They have of late spoiled great part of Bramton and many more places, also taken at least 30 prisoners, and at this present keep them in Scotland. Carlisle. *Signed*: Chris. Pykeringe.

¾ p. *Addressed*: "To the right worshipfull his very loving cosing Master Thomas Knevet esq<sup>r</sup> one off hir Majesties prevey chamber," &c. *Indorsed by Cecil*: ". . . M<sup>r</sup> Christopher Pickering to M<sup>r</sup> Tho. Knevitt." *Fragment of wax signet.*

March 20. 1342. OUTRAGES BY THE SCOTS.

WEST MARCH: 20 March 1600.

The tenants, &c., of the townships of Newton of Irdington and Cammock—her Majesty's, leased to Lord Scrope, complain of the Johnstons, Armstrongs, Bells, Bayties, Yrvens, &c., Scotsmen, 300 in warlike manner, in a day foray, for burning houses, barns, corn, insight, &c., taking 20 horse and mares, 40 kye and oxen, 60 sheep and "gaytte," with prisoners, and mutilating others.

Same day at night: The Queen's tenants, &c., of Scotby township in the Queen's Haynes, complain of Christie Armstrong of Barnleyce, Will Armstrong of Kynmount, Davy, Will, and Geordy Kang, &c., 7 score Scotsmen, for burning, &c., as above, and taking prisoners, besides 60 kye and oxen, 50 horse and mares, &c.

The same night: The inhabitants of "Ricardgate of the suburbbs of Carlyle" complain of the above named to the number of 130 persons, with Thome Carlton and John Carlton "Inghlish disobedientes," who after the attempt at Scotby, "brack and cutt upp the postes that conteyned the yron



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"cheyns (made for the keeping and strength of Eadenbrigg by night), and cutt upp their doores, toke prisoners, &c., and some of them came to the city walls near the the castle crying, 'upon them, upon theym, a Daker, a Daker, a read bull, a read bull,' with the naming of Johnston, Armstrang, Bell and Carlyll, forcing the citizens in their defencyve arrayes, for to repayre to the walls, and the beacon to be sett in fyre, for the warning of the wardenry."

1 p. *Contemporary hand. Inlorsed.*

March 21. 1343. THE QUEEN TO WILLOUGHBY.

Although We have forborne to write since your going down, we have from time to time directed our council and our secretary to signify our pleasure, and take notice of some "prywat" good services by you and the treasurer in apprehending some you had great cause to suspect: We had also thought to have written to you on those differences in Berwick, but seeing some grow by misunderstandings between yourself and some of the council there, and for the most part are for some "petty rytes and incydetes," we will leave them to our council, and only touch points of more importance.

First: We know that you can well consider, in all governments, nothing more encourages "practyse," than dissensions in deed or opinion, of which there is so much there of late, that we rather wonder no bad effects have ensued: and dealing as plainly with you, as we have with the marshal, and assuring ourselves of your affection for our service, we have imposed on him to respect you in all things appertaining to your office, and mean after some months' respite (for which he has earnestly sued) to send him down so well informed of our resolution to have good agreement between you, that we know he will give you no cause of unkindness, or slackness in service. It is true we think it fit to admonish you, that strait command be given that no excess of resort of Scots be suffered in the garrison (except on market days and the like)—"if it be as is reported by the Scottes themselves, who doe not stycke to say that they may freely come into Barwycke, by one devyse or other, as into Edenburgh." Next we require you that bankrupts be not suffered to make a sanctuary there, or any one married with Scots allowed place. Farther concerning Musgrave and Selbie, we think fit to signify, that as we have and will plainly make appear to Musgrave our mislike of his factious and "lewde" petition here against you: so for things in question between you and our council there, we cannot allow that any council of war be made judges either of their authority or of their offences: though we are not unwilling in case of danger, or difficulties in inferior things, that you call to you under the article of our Establishment, such principal persons of discretion to consult with as time shall need. We have gone further into this particular than we meant to have troubled ourselves: not doubting but you will rather "dyspence" with the errors of private men, who forget themselves for some petty matter, than by making the dissensions so notorious, make the place a subject of scorn, which, while ruled by a person of your reputation abroad and at home, should rather serve for an example and bridle to maligners of our service.

Lastly—We pray you to believe that we are very sorry to hear of your iudisposition of body, the rather as we know how apt you are to hurt yourself by over much care and labour in our services: wherein we would have you spare yourself—"consyddering howe long it is before men of servyce be bredd in this age. And nowe by the way, wee will only touche this mucche of that, wherof wee are sure an angell of Heaven could hardly have made you a belyever; this it appeareth nowe by ones example more bound then all or any others, howe lytle fayth there was in Isræll": At Whitthall.

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2 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Draft by Cecil's clerk Willes. Indorsed: " . . . M. of her Majesties lettre to the Lord Willoughbie."*

1601.

March 28. 1344. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Of late years the Dunkirkers have so "hanted" these parts, that many of the Queen's subjects have been undone by their piracies, and these will not be stopped without speedy remedy. "Their shippes have lately shewed them selves heere with in view, especially one of fower-score tunns, carying eight cast peeces on a side, built galliwise, with thirtie tow oares, having aboarde 140<sup>th</sup> musketiers, besides gally-slaves, commanded by a Castillian. She rides now at the bay of the Maye, in the Firth, and laye further up in the river, whilst they bought wyne and other victualls of the marchants of Edenbrough. The respect of my contry, and the pittie of those so hurte by such, perswaded me to build a shipp, and moves me now to offer to serve her Majestie at as reasonable a rate as any shipp of 140<sup>th</sup> tunns, with 16 peeces of artillery, and 100 men, cann be maintained with." I rather advertise this, 'because my lord president of York motioned it to me at London. I will do my best to take some of them, "even in the Kings waters, yf I may be warranted not to be chiden above."

If this offer seem good to you and the Council, my ship shall presently be fitted: "yf not, I am purposed to dispose otherwise of her, being not able to maintaine her." My wardenry is quiet, my deputy has held two days of truce with the "opposite of Tividall," where we had entry for 13 bills, 5 more filed "(thawrt out as wee tearne it)," and 7 conditionally. Berwick. Signed: P. Wylughby.

1 p. Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of wax signet.

March 29. 1345. WILLOUGHBY TO THE QUEEN.

"Moste sacred Sovereaine:" I would that God had made me so fortunate, "as to so grations a prince (who accepteth my smale duties so favorably), I had been able to have multeplyed and increased my services as the heares of my head . . . I moste humbly prostrate my self to beseech the grace of your beleefe, which only makes me happy in my life (so rare and precious a jewell is this to me, as I would under-goe all present tortures and pnisments, nay whatsoever earth or hell could plauge me with, rather then suffer my devoires (in that behalfe) to be spotted, or blacked unto your Majestie: the power of Heaven is my wittnes of my entir protestation in this behalfe. Then moste gratiuous sovereigne, spare me only but this justice (which you have never fayled to any) that meere calumny and false accusation, draw me not like innocent Appelles, with jugling trickes, and weaved nets before so devine a Ptolomy as your self." [Here he refers to the Queen's censure of differences with his officers, and declares if but part is true, he will take the whole blame. Accounts for the marshal's complaint against him, for holding a court in his absence—by the necessity of service: that in every other way he has controlled him in nothing, but "geiven him head." For the master of ordnance and the gentleman porter, he has done all he could towards quiet. The former obtained his office, contrary to statute in Henry 8<sup>th</sup> time, "pecuniarily" and not by desert. He craves a public trial against the master's calumnious accusation, trusting that his honor will be repaired, "as one Lord Dacres was (calumniated by a Musgrave) in the like nature." Trusts "ut nulli juris beneficium denegetur, ut quisque jus suum libere prosequeratur, ut nulli calumniam fieri patiaturo." Denies the false report of the Scots free access to Derwick: for he has not only banished them hitherto from the wardenry and town, but within these few weeks thrust them out of the

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garrison "by the pole." Bankrupts have been too long connived at by "no meane persons": but the Council can testify his protests against the practice.]

"I am infinit sory to be thus tedious unto your Majestie: but I moste humbly beseech you to pardon me; my harte nipped, cannot chouse but deliver the affection and innocency ther of: no otherwise then the eiey pricked, sheadeth teares. I praise Allmightie God for your sacred Majesties deliverance: angells fell through pride, when poore humble Moyes stooede faithfull in the house of the Lord: man being in honor hath noe understandinge, but is compared to the beast that perisheth. Lett them perish, and become as the dust of the earth, that hold not their duties and loyalties. The Queene of Sion, and the sweet land of promis, is happely ridd of such. The eternall God of Heaven long preserve your Majestie, the rare ornament of the earth, and lett my soule receive joyes, as I shall faithfully pray for the same, and only desire to live and dye, your moste sacred excellent Majesties humble vassall and servante." Berwick. Signed: P. Wyllaghyby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Addressed. Indorsed. Small wax signet: gen.

March 30. 1346. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

"I understand that Pory Ogleby is by the minesters or sum other occations, banisht his cuntry," and is in the East March, intending to come and lie here where he was before. As I understood from you at his departure, her Majesty's pleasure was he should not make any stay here: I beg your instructions hereon.

As in your last you said her Majesty gave me leave to come up next term to dispatch my business, I will prepare myself accordingly, unless in the meantime countermauded by yourself. Woodrington. Signed: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{4}$  p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Scan wafer signet.

April 2. 1347. SCROPE TO R. LOWTHER.

"Cosen Lowther":—The Queen's pleasure is you shall be deputy warden of the March, and she has directed the Council warrant to be sent you, that I allow you 20 marks monthly and such use of the castle as you had in former time. I have written to Sir Thomas Shawe to pay you from time to time. The Queen is persuaded of your diligence and care and so am I. You are not unlike I think to keep that place "for all": for unless the Queen grants me it as I should have it, "I intende to comme downe noe more, but to staine in these partes." London. Tho. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Contemporary hand. Addressed: "To my loving cossin and frind Richard Lowther, esquier. The copie of my lord wardons lettre: Indorsed.

April 4. 1348. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Hearing from my brother, Sir John Carey, that the Scottish King has complained of Border wrongs: (1) the hunting, settled long since, and (2) Lord Scrope's hanging 2 Scotsmen taken in Scotland: these were proclaimed fugitives in Scotland as actors in Carmichael the warden's murder, and so by Border law rightly treated. The King, as M' Nicolson tells me, approves Lord Scrope's action, though some about him urge him otherwise.

As they complain without cause, I send you these inclosed: as the King's officers cannot do justice, he warrants us her Majesty's offices to take revenge on either side of the Border, which should stop the ambassador's mouth. But it is a maxim with the Scots both to "bite and whine," and the only way

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to "trymme" them, is to hold them under: as I will do while I am here. Now I have the King's warrant, I will complain no more, but serve my own turn at fitting time. Desiring your honor to return it by your next. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(The King of Scots' letter.)

Authorizing Sir Robert Carey to pursue with fire and sword such thieves and broken men as have committed outrages on the English borders, or any of the outlaws who murdered his late officer, and punish them at his own discretion. Has ordered his own officers to send Carey the names of such as they will not answer for, that he may proceed against them with surety and discretion. "Halyruidhous the last of Marche 1601."

1 p. *In a Scottish hand. Indorsed*: "Copie of the Kinges lettres to Sir Robert Cary and to the deputies on the West Marches." (*Apparently rubbed out*).—"To the Lard of Johnston and Goodman of Hayninge."

April 6. 1349. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

By means of one Brearly, a merchant of this town, I hear divers English Jesuits are lately arrived in Scotland. "Amongst which ther is one M<sup>r</sup> Robert Heskeith (second sonn to Sir Robert Heskeith of Lanchesier, who by the conference he hath with certein Scottish ministers, is reformed of his erroneous opinion, and is desirous to be received to her Majesties mercy: promising further to put forth the rest of his associates." Having written to this effect to his father by said merchant, I inclose a copy of his letter, and desire to be instructed by you, what comfort I may give "this poor penitent," or otherwise. I have already written to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson to deal with the King for delivery of these Jesuits, Hesketh's companions, "under the treaty *duodecimo*, offensive and defensive" between the princes. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Small wax signet: gem.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Hesketh to his father.)

"After long travellinge good loving father, this desiringe your blessinge . . . The cause of this my writunge unto yow is this: indeed I have bidden much trouble and sorowe, which is nothing to respect to have eternall comfort, but indeed I have bidden many troubles of mynd since I departed from yow, but now I am tourned and come to the Church: therefore good father, lett your penitent sonne crave so much favor of you to seeke all the meanes that may be to seeke my peace: although I have bene willfull, and now I ame sory for the same. For I have tryed many people, but in truth there is none soe deceiptfull as we be, for I have talked with many of our contrye men, they professed great good will and when it came to the poynt of doinge, it was nothing but wordes of course: therefore I think best to trust noe body, for I see there is no truth but lytle now a dayes. You know the cause good lovinge father, that I went away: it was for my conscience that was the cause that I went over to Rome, then I was proclaimed by many people that I went to be made a semynarie: it is not truth that they speake, for I am none, for I goe now unto the church I never did before, and doth obey the Queenes lawes in all causes that may be done. This is to lett you understand that I am dryven to great want at this instant, and is now in a strange place: God hath styrrred frendes for me in this country of Scotland, for I stay with the Lord of Fernehist, a honorable man. The

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"cause is that I came to this country, I was led away by M<sup>r</sup> Hunt and Richard Loye which is preestes made, and dyverse more gentlemen that you knowe very well, which I leave unnamed now untill you and I doe meeete toghether. M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Musgrave came to this country and professed great frendshipp for me at his retourne from his journey: and when it came to pass it was but wordes of course which he used. In our country my grand-father and you did use him more kynder then he did me, but I will cease of this rude doinges that he did to me. This desiringe you good loving father, to pardon my rudnes that I did to you when I was at home, I will never comytt the lyke to anger you any more, therefore I will obay all your commadementes and will yeld to any thing that you demaunde me to doe. This desiringe you to send for me home assoone as you can, for I have bene very sick in this country, the Lord he knowes, and lyke to dye, but indeed I had good looking to when I was sick: therefore good loving father pardon all that is past, that I have done in youth, for it shalbe mended all those faultes, and God willinge, this is to lett you understand that a gentleman of our country that dwells in Barwick, a merchant man, did see me very courteouslie, I have sent this letter with him. Noe more at this tyme, but God have you in his keepinge. From the Fernehist in Scotland, being the ij<sup>d</sup> day of April. Your lovinge and obedient sonne to commande at will, Rob<sup>t</sup>. Heskith, squire.

"Postscript:—I thought to wryte more of my mynd: I pray you pardon me because I know not the bearer. My mynd is troubled very sore nutil I see you, written in hast. This desiringe you to have my commendations to my sisters and bretheren in law, and to all our frendes. *Vale in Domino.*"

1 p. *Closely written, contemporary hand. Titled: "The coppie of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Heskiths lettre to his father, Sir Robert Heskith, knight in Lancy-shire."*

(2) (R. Heskith to Richard Houghe.)

"Good frend Richard Houghe, lett me entreat you to doe so much for me, as to send me some of your knowledg and mynd, for I have bene this x weekes very sick in this country and my cousin Asshun, and M<sup>r</sup> Hunter a preist, M<sup>r</sup> Loye a preist, Richard Grene a gentleman, his father is dwelling hard by Berrie, Robert Michael a priest, Richard Bradell a priest, is father is dwelling at the [        ]. M<sup>r</sup> William Tarbott is here and Raph Orrell, with diverse more which I will not name now untill further tyme will serve." Make all means to do some pleasure and comfort till I hear from home: and you shall find me and my father ready to do you the same. "Give thanks to this kynd gentleman for his kyndnes shewed to me. . . From the Fernehist in Scotland. . . . Your friend Rob<sup>t</sup>. Heskith."

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Copy in same hand. Titled: "The coppie," &c. Indorsed.*

April 10. 1350. LORD EURE TO CECIL.

Your letter of last month much comforted me, with her Majesty's gracious opinion: "she maie counte this as the begininge of her reaigne, increseinge with all happines and bless, to numbers and numbers of yeares far above the tymes past or the like of other princes." God be thanked for discovery of this late rebellion, and since the principal are executed, that she may find faithfulness in those pardoned of their late "complottes."

I pray your honor "to remember her Majestie of my loyaltye and faythefullnes: and that my sonne my secoude self, is borne and framed to her soale and absolute service, whome yt hath pleased your honor to grace farr exceedinge his deserte, and I hope is grafted in that trewe stocke as that he will not degenerate in loyaltie.

"It greveth me not a little that my third brother Sir William Eure, havinge spent parte of his youthe in militarie acctiones, to the better

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"inhablinge of himself to doe her Majestie services, should at anie tyme deserve her Majesties indignacione and displeasure." If your honor think it fit to advise her Majesty "to his libertie and release," it will bind me and his house to honour you while we live. "Submittinge my sute to your honorable wisdomes, as ignorant of his offence, ouely moved by naturall and brotherlie affectiones to pittye his evell, and sorrowe his mispended youthe, not to be able to serve her royall Majestie with that lykeinge and desert, as boathe his aged father if he had lived, did desyer, and myself as his elder brother, did indeavore to perswaide, and tooke comforth in his effectinge the same." Ingelbie. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

*I p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: destroyed.*

c. April 1351. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL  
[10.]

No tidings are more comfortable to me, "then that of her Majesties health; who hath been ever the springe, the somer, and is now the harvest of that smale content I have of my life in this wordle, being so much dearer to me, as it prospereth with her highnes gracious opinion: and as the vertue of the sun beames is redoubled in cold countries, to ripen fruits by reflection, so must I acknowledg these rayouns cast upon me, by the reverberation of the great favour and kindnes I have ever found at your hands. I humbly thank you likewise for your Scotish advises. The Earle of Mar hath an honorable presence, that promiseth well; I thinke such a one will not make a good cause with bad handlinge. I thinke the King twice happy in this: that he treateth with a lady of so rare bounty and sweetnes as her Majestie that can better discern to grante then they manerly to aske. I thinke it not likewise the leaste parte of his fortune, to have neere hand her Majestie such a minister: as though his Scotish keale \* be but homly coold (as they tearme it), can in the service therof so garnishe it, as yt may pleass both sight and sence, and procure an appetite to a queasy stomacke. The Lord be thanked for the good newes of Irland: my lord Mountjoye hath bene a very honorable accomplisher of that provident plott layd before his goinge, when Sir Henry Dockery was sent for Ulster, and Sir George Carew for Munster, and the collonies ther erected: which doubtless was not the least primary cause of the subsequent happy effects ther; neither is it to be doubted but that the conclusions wilbe like the beginings, which I shall pray for." I am infinitely bound to her Majesty and the Council for Mr Musgrave's commitment, thus discouraging calumny: but with pardon, I would have been glad of a public trial, better to clear myself—"as I wrote unto you in my laste packet of the xxix<sup>th</sup> of March, which by this of yours of the second of Aprill, I suppose had not come to your hands." Yet am I humbly thankful. For yourself, let me say "*Nescio quid retribuam Domino.*" *Signed*: P. Wyloughby.

*1½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed: "1601 . . . received the 14 of Aprill." Small wax signet: gem as before.*

April 16. 1352. RICHARD LOWTHER TO CECIL

Certifying that the bearer his "cosen" Thomas Pickering, according to the tenor of his bond, is now making his personal repair to Cecil: commending his conduct, demeanour, and towardness in her Majesty's service, and guaranteeing his loyalty under the hazard of his own bond and living. Entreating that his appearance may be acknowledged, and himself licensed to return home without long stay: and as the Bishop, notwithstanding Pickering's bond, is following the ordinary course of common law against him,

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that a "*supersedias*" may be granted him. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet*: shield of 8 quarters, dragon crest.

April 18. 1353. SCOTTISH OUTLAWS OF LIDDESDALE, &c.

The names of the outlaws under the Laird of Buccleuch's charge, which his Majesty has commanded to be given up to Lord Scrope and Sir Robert Carey and their deputies: as neither Buccleuch nor his deputies will be answerable for them—*viz.*

LIDDESDALE:—Andrew Armstrong of Whithaugh, Francis and John Armstrongs his brothers: all three, sons to the "auld laird of Whithaugh." Sym Armstrong of the Rone, Archie and Sandy Armstrongs his brothers, all three "are sons to Sym of Whithaugh." Archie Armstrong called "whitehead," John and Sym Armstrongs his brothers, Alexander's Archie and his brother, "all these are of the house of Whithaugh." Sym Armstrong of Caffield, Thom Rannik his man, Andrew Tayler, John of the Whisgills, John Hill, "the Lordis Geordie," John of the Syde, Symis Archie. Robert Scott of Haynaing.\*

WEST MARCH:—"The names of them that ys fugetyves for the slaughter of Sir John Carmichell late warden." Ninian Armstrong in Auchinbedrigg, with Thome, Hew, Lantie, Waltir, Archie, and Dand, his sons. Syme and Lantie Armstrongs of the Syde, "Robs Sandy" Armstrong, [ ] Nickson, man to Sandy English: "laug" Sandy Armstrong in Rowanburne, Rob Scott, Thome Tayler called "the Laird," Will Grame of the Yaidfauld, and Will Foster, son to Rowie of the Bakstangill—all Englishmen. Jock and Umfray Bells, sons to Christell of the Ridg. James Johnston, warden clerk.

1 p. *Copy by Lowther's clerk. Indorsed.*

April 18. 1354. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

According to her Majesty's directions and Lord Scrope's appointment, I presently came hither, took office as deputy, and have already met the Laird Johnston at Annande dyke in Scotland, where we conferred and interchanged rolls, proclaimed and denounced the outlaws whose names are inclosed, and lastly appointed a march day at Gretnoe kirk to deliver offenders. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

I am not able to bear this cost, "for I ame at ten pounde in the weak"—unless your honor consider me in time.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 19. 1355. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

That within these two days, the Dunkirkers have taken a ship of Lynn with wheat and beans for the garrison, and carried her into the Firth in Scotland. Whereon he "mand" his ship at his own cost with 100 men, and followed to surprise her if possible. But the cost is so great, his "whole estate will not mayntaine her one sommer." So he must be excused further, unless some help in expenses is given. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

\* The warden deputy.

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April 21. 1356. PROPOSALS FOR DEFENCE OF THE WEST MARCH.

*Extracts.*

Under 5 heads :—

First.—That the frontier officers, *viz.*, of Burgh barony, Holme, Gilstrand, Inglewood Forest, Queen's Haymes, Graistock barony, Wigdon, Lyncstock, Crosby, Esk, Leaven, and Bewcastle, be resident on their charges.

*Item.*—That the rest of the wardenry either raise 100 horse among themselves, or assess themselves for the pay of 50 horse (chosen by the deputy warden) at 2s. *per diem*.

*Item.*—“That all highlandes men above Peareth in Westmerland, and Darwen in Cumberland, be provyded with whyte peesses with read crosses, and furnished with horse or nagges suffycient; and for armour, jackes, stele cotes, howes, guns, or pykes.” Rycharde Lowther.

1½ *pp.* Written by Lowther's clerk. *Indorsed*: “21 April 1601. Articles to be proposed to the gentlemen by the depute warden.”

April 24. 1357. GEORGE NICOLSON TO R. LOWTHER.

I have your letters of 13<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> hereof, and am glad to hear of your good beginnings with the Laird of Johnston, who has a good mind to justice, and is glad of your correspondency as I see by his letters. For Liddisdale, I doubt not of Hayning's good mind so far as he may: and I will deal with the King and him to that end, as you shall direct me. News we have none, but expect what the King's ambassadors shall return with. “The King is looked to be this day at Dalkeith with the Queene; and my lord of Roxebrughe hopes for them bothe to be with him in Tyvidale this weke at the banquet of the mariage of Roxbroughes sister to Sir James Ballendyne who were maryed on Tuesday last: the banquet contineving still in hope of their presences to honor it with.” Edinburgh. *Signed*: George Nicolson.

1 *p.* *Holograph*; also *address*: “To the right worshipful M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther, esquire, deputy warden,” &c. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: a gem with two figures.

April 26. 1358. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

Though you are well advertised from all parts, yet I think it right to signify, “their is of late a Scottish marchant (one Henderson) come from the Canarie Ilandes, that in his way touch'd with Spayne; wher he mett with Captaine Hearne, a follower of Collonell Semples, of whom (amongst other discours) he had this for certaine: that the Spanish fleet, nowe in a readynesse, is to be thus disposed—the shippes of greatest burden are to meet our merchauntes on their waies for the Indias: the lesser shippes are to have 4000 Spanyardes imbarqued, about the later end of this month or beginning of May, under the command of Bothwell. He, with the support of others Scottes-Irish, are to be ayding to Tyroane, who from land hath resolved to attempt Lough Foile: as that Earle with his adhearentes purpose to invade by sea.

“The reporter is a man of good credence, and one of the religeon.” Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

¾ *p.* *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: 8 quartered shield and 3 crests—broken.

April 26. 1359. RICHARD LOWTHER TO SIR JOHN STANHOPE.

“Nede and necessytye forcythe me to make my moue unto yow: I am not able to indure this chardge, I have spent my state in her Majesti



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"service and upon my children: I am indebytd 300*li.*, and I have assuryd all my land to discend to my sonne and his heires males, att the tyme of the mariage of my soune Cristopher which was 20 yeares sence—so that I can sell no land. I trust your worshyp will consyder off my great yeares, beinge now 70; so that the best service I can do her Majesti must be with my purse, to gyve men meate, drinke, and mooney: which yf I had suche allowance as belongythe to this wardenry and castle, I wold not doubt to governe yt in a good state, so longe as the prynces saithe yt shall be peace: beinge now very well stayed for the present as I thinke."

Speedy meeting with the Laird Johnston opposite warden, was the best course: for the borderers always "expect" the wardens' agreement or disagreement, whereof we have many experiences both here and the Middle Marches.

I pray you speak to my lord warden for the small allowance of 20 marks a month: he was ever wont to pay me a month beforehand, and directed me to Sir Thomas Shaw his steward here, who says he has no such direction, nor any money: and here I cannot stay without money, unless I discredit my self and suffer thieves to overrrn the country.

"I will send my grandchild John Lowther, a yong gentleman off the Inner Temple, to wayte upon your worshyp for a small sute for me, yf itt please yow to be a meane to her Majesti for me."

I further beg you to impart these articles to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary: I send you a copy of them "which I commendyd to the gentlemen upon Teusday last, but they say they will give no allowance off 50 men at my choice, neither a 100 men off ther choice." I trust if his honor like them, he will commend them to the justices of peace and "worshipfull" of the wardenry: "or ells my sute to hir Majesti, alwayes by your meanes, shall be *nunc dimittis seruum tuum*: so . . . I take my leave this Munday xxvj<sup>th</sup> Aprill." *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

1 p. *In a stiff upright hand. Addressed*: "To the right worshipfull Sir John Stanhoppe, knight, one off her Majesti most honorable prevy chamber," &c. *Indorsed*: "3 May 1601, from M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther." *Was signet*: shield of 8 quarters, dragon crest—slightly broken.

Inclosed in the same:—

Copy of the Articles of 21<sup>st</sup> April, No. 1356.

1½ pp. *Written by his clerk. Indorsed.*

April 26. 1360. R. LOWTHER TO SIR J. STANHOPE.

"I have sene a letter from Richarde Musgrave to his brother Thomas Musgrave, captain off Bewcastell; the contentes was, that upon complaint ore information off Lancelot Carleton, he was to be sent for to London." Whereon I hear that the gentlemen of our country who combined before, are all joined against Lancelot Carleton. He is coming to London "for hys countrys good," and will repair to you, making good his advertisements that their dealings are dangerous to the state, and the Queen's subjects and poor tenants here. I am heartily glad he is knowu already to you, for he is a discreet, wise, and experienced gentleman, and can lay open the present state of this country and the causes whence it is sprung: "and will speake perillously to the matter to lett yow se the means to helpe itt." I have willed him to deal sincerely, truly and faithfully with you, as if to my own heart, and given him my word of your secrecy. And when you have tried him, I believe M<sup>r</sup> Secretary and yourself will think him worthy of countenance. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

¾ p. *Same hand. Addressed. Indorsed. Was signet as last—broken.*

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c. April 26. 1361. INFORMATION BY LANCELOT CARLETON.

"The daungerous proceedinge of Thomas Musgrave, captayne of Beaucastell.

"1. Doctor Barnes one of her Majesties chaplaynes, was tolde by Henrye Parkinson, at his returne forthe of Scotland, that the King of Scottes told Parkinson, that Thomas Musgrave had offred unto him the delyverye of the Queenes castell of Beawcastell, at any tyme when he shoulde demaunde : a letter is extant from Doctor Barnes under his owne hand, to prove the same.

"2. Thomas Musgrave hath bene often in Scotland, at Edingborough of late in the tyme of these apparant troubles, as about the 24<sup>th</sup> of Februarye last ; and he rode agayne to Edingborough the 9<sup>th</sup> of Marche, and did not returne tyll about the 20."

3. For his speaking with the King, if he denies it, apprehending and examining those with him, will prove it : "for myselve did heare him confesse to M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, that he was so neare the Kinge, as their was but one dore betwixte the Kinge and him."

4. When he returned from Scotland, "he rode to Penrithe, where himselfe with some other of his lewde freindes, in expressing their love to the Kinge of Scotts, did their all sit downe upon their knees, and every man druncke a health to the King of Scotts. This was publicly committed at the signe of 'The Crowne' in Penrithe."

5. His monstrouse abuses in his office cannot be denied. The Queen's castle is made a den of thieves, a harbour of murderers and felons, Scots and English. His own household servants take the Queen's subjects prisoners, and ransom them there : all to be proved particularly to his face if thought fit. *Signed* : Lancillote Carleton.

1 p. *Indorsed by Cecil* : "Concerning Tho. Musgrave."

April 26. 1362. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

As in my last I signified my meeting with the opposite warden, and our appointment to hold a March day at Greatney kirk on 14<sup>th</sup> May next : so finding such meetings of officers stay and daunt the evil-doers, I propose, God willing, to keep a like meeting with the Laird of Haynings, deputy of the Laird of Baclughe for Liddesdale. I send your honor not only the principal letter from M<sup>r</sup> George Nicolson, a gentleman who has taken much care and diligence in these border causes ; but also certain articles proposed by me to the special gentlemen of the wardenry, who after consideration answered they would be ready to serve when charged, but refused to find 100 men of their tenants, or money to maintain 50, as I demanded. *Carlisle. Signed* : Richard Lowther.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 27. 1363. WILLIAM SELBY [SENIOR] TO CECIL.

The cause between M<sup>r</sup> Graie, his friends, and us is not ended, though M<sup>r</sup> Graie and I at his being here were made friends : but at his request we left "somewhat undone," till my Lord Willoughbie returned to the country. The assurance taken expired at Easter last, and now I humbly pray your honor to write letters to the effect of the inclosed paper, which I hope will end matters. *Signed* : Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(Form of letter.)

Whereas her Majesty appointed the Lord Admiral, Lord Willoughby, and myself, to order the controversies between you and M<sup>r</sup> Selby—after-

1601.

wards referred to Lord Willoughby alone as fittest from residence there : and since then it is considered that his lordship from his long and painful sickness, &c., may not be troubled therewith—her Majesty has willed me to signify her pleasure to you, *viz.*, that yourself, friends, and followers govern yourselves peaceably till some fit persons be found to hear and compound your causes. I have written the like to M<sup>r</sup> Selby to make promise of friendship to you and yours, and require you to do the same to him and his, till your causes can be heard.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Fair copy by a clerk. Intended for Gray.*

April 28. 1364. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I beseech you to peruse George Nicolson's letter to me with his directions from the King, and also the King's letter to myself : wherein though he pretends justice, he opens no ready passage thereto. "His invention, that our shippes should lye waitinge in the mouth of his watters, till he dryve them forth . . . shoves . . . that the Kinge speaketh more lyke a Kinge of his will, then lyke an admeyrall that knowes the seas, for it is impossible for shippes to ryde all weathers in the mouth of such open roades as the Firth, much less to attend, till those people, which hitherto have neglected his commandementes, should dryve out the said offendours to us, from whom they protect them !" But this being a secret for "her Majestie his dearest sister," I have presumed to add my own conceit of it. Berwick. *Signed* : P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*  
Inclosed in the same :—

(1) (James VI. to Willoughby.)

That though he has made many acts and proclamations against the Dunkirkers' resort to his "watteris and coistis," or his subjects' resetting them or their prizes, yet there are constant complaints. In his opinion the cause of their resort is for lack of the English keeping the mouth of the Firth and their own straits, which he thinks might be helped by Willoughby setting out one or two ships to watch his own straits and the mouth of the Frith, to trap them. This is his honest and sincere meaning, which he is to conceal from every one except the Queen whom he may acquaint with it. Dalkeith 24<sup>th</sup> April 1601. *Signed* : James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed : Scotland.*

(2) (George Nicolson to Willoughby.)

Sending him the King's letter not to the effect Willoughby desired, "but as the King directed it"—referring to Nicolson's declaration (1) none of his subjects to be molested ; (2) or the English ships to chase Dunkirkers in his waters : but to advertise the King, and watch outside for them, when he forced them out ; (3) if any of his subjects resetted them he would do justice ; and (4) to be kept secret except to her Majesty. Nicolson condoles with his lordship on the cost of his ship, "your bar so unpassable," &c., but hopes it will be considered. "For the bote and thother materialls," his lordship shall have a note of their prices, &c., "sighted by M<sup>r</sup> Berty, or M<sup>r</sup> Johnston when he comes." Is "expecting every howre newes from my lord ambassador." Edinburgh. *Signed* : George Nicolson.

1 p. *Holograph ; also address. Indorsed. Wax signed : gem—classical subject—broken.*

1601.  
April 30. 1365. WILLOUGHBY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

I received your letters dated 21<sup>st</sup> April, about the 29<sup>th</sup>, concerning a matter between Captain Jackson and Cuthbert Armorer, a constable of our horse garrison—wherein it seems by certain words of your lordships' letter that you have written to me before as to bankrupts taking refuge here, &c.

Now my lords, since I came here, directed by her Majesty and you, I have received no such letters, and if any such bankrupts have been received, it has been either by a party I could not "wrestle with," also in my absence, or by some "pore creatures" with miserable pay who have "stolne" these remedies.

For Armorer: it is as well known that he did some signal service to her Majesty some 30 years ago at least "when I was but a child," and has been here ever since, as that the town stands here! So your lordships may judge, how true it is that I brought him or helped him to defraud his creditors. I hear he served the late lord chamberlain and was preferred by him: and that the money Jackson demands was taken up to the lord chamberlain's use, Armorer being surety for it. I know he has offered to pay the principal, but the debt being another man's, well able also, he stands against the charges and "usauce." Sir William Bowes and I have laboured to bring it to an issue: and Armorer having lands and goods able for a far greater debt, we thought it fitter to let Jackson seize these, than touch the privileges of the garrison. I beseech your lordships to counterpoise the light tales of light fellows, by the true insight of my deserts and endeavours, and report of honest men. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Willoughby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1601.  
April.] 1366. R. LOWTHER TO SCROPE.

On receipt of the Council's letter, and your direction, I went to Carlisle, but found only one of the 4 last appointed, *viz.*, M<sup>r</sup> Dykes.

You wrote to me you had ordered Sir Thomas Shaw to pay me 20 marks a month, and find me lodgings in the castle: he says he has no such order, or any money for me.

Give me leave to remind you that my lord your father when he went to Court, left "an honorable standing howse," with a deputy warden, and a constable and secretary and 20 horsemen to attend him. Besides this, a band of soldiers when the wardenry was in any great distress—as captain Case at Bewcastle, a whole year, captain Carvell in Gilsland, captains Wolde and Pickman at "Martyns tower"—and after that Captain Beles at his death, with 100—I wish you to make suit for at least 100. I cannot govern it without a greater allowance: "for truly my good lord, I wold not taik yt in hand for your hole fee of 100 mark," but that I am commanded by the Council: "for I am now tenne pond in the weak." I pray you show this to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary for I will send him the copy.

"I met yesterday with the lord warden opposyt besydes Annan, wher we well agreed. I sent for all the Grames and they dyned with me."

3 pp. *Holograph. Indorsed by Lowther's clerk*: "Copie of my lettre to the Lord Scrope."

[1601.  
May.] 1367. WILLOUGHBY AND THE COUNCIL AT BERWICK.

He relates the proceedings of himself and the council as to an affray in December preceding between Captain Jaxsone and Isack Waterhouse, a pensioner. That sundry affrays, combats, &c., have since taken place while he lay sick, unredressed by the council, though called upon by him—that on 26<sup>th</sup> April last at 10 P.M., one Walter Aubery and Lawrence Greene made an affray "in a taverne, hard by the Stathouse," were at once committed by

[1601.]

the officer of the watch, but soon set at liberty. Ten days after, they quarrelled again, and "a challenge of combatt" ensued, contrary to Art. 22 of the New Establishment. He called the council to punish them, and Sir John Carey, Sir William Bowes with the master of ordnance being absent—there was but one,\* who making frivolous objections, Willoughby "with much adoe" got him to agree to try them by a jury, who found a verdict, sentence was given and then remitted. On the Saturday after, at an assembly of the captains, the corporation, pensioners, constables, and gunners, for reforming "the surcharged commons in the feeldes," relief of the poor, and setting idle children to work, as he had proposed to the preachers of the town—these things being dealt with, this councillor called in question the above sentence with many "dialectike exceptions of yfes and andes," throwing contempt on him as Governor. He declined to argue, referring himself to those above him—that one of the men so countenanced was a bankrupt who had robbed his master in Wales, taken refuge in Berwick, bought 3 pavs in Willoughby's absence, played the nsurer with his illegotten money—taking 8s. for the use of 20s. for a year—some say 16s.—that the town are divided, "as the Pharises and Saduces were, who beleave noe resurrection," thinking Willoughby's authority gone.

On the Tuesday following, one Josua Dallavell, an ally of this councillor, attacked an alderman in the market place at 12 o'clock: "first astonishing him with his fyst, and after stabbing him into the belly with his dagger," so that his life is in peril. The offences in the town are so many and heinous, that he could do no less than make an example of so notorious an offender.

2½ pp. *Closely written by his clerk. Indorsed:* "A breefe narrative of what happened in counsell between the Lord Governor and the counsell here concerning on Walter Aubry."

1601.  
May 9.

1368. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

Sir William Bowes' urgent affairs have drawn him to the country, with little hope of hasty return, for his lady and family presently follow: the Lord Governor by his "imbecillitye" and weakness, unfitter for affairs—many though unimportant—and no help but myself, not best liked by him, who I see does not easily affect those of whom he has once taken an unfriendly impression. The town and country in these times, requires the presence of the greatest officers, some of them now above, and should be sent down, if not specially needed, with some dispatch.

Among other causes that weaken our Borders, selling horses to the Scots is not the least: for 3 of every 4 between the two seas on the Scottish side, are English, and the price thus so high, that our people (gentlemen excepted) are not able to buy for themselves. This is done in two ways: by the wardens' conniving at English sellers, or winking at Scots coming to Yorkshire fairs, &c. Another way is practised under her Majesty's "placquettes" granted for indefinite time: so that they will buy 60 horses with a placquett for 2, and never fill it up. I have known horses bought 20 years after the date of one. Such should be all called in, and hereafter none granted but for 40 days or 2 months only, and books to be kept, under direction of the Lord President of York, the Bishop of Durham, and justices of the several shires, showing particulars of each sale. Berwick. *Signed:* Will'm Selby.

1 p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wax signet (Selby) inpadding a shield of 4 quarters.*

\* Selby.

1601.  
May 11. 1369. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

I had a meeting lately with the Lord of Roxburgh, where we agreed to hold days of truce on 2<sup>d</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> June for redress since the last commission: and to have the bills then fyled, sworn within 6 days after. He told me it was resolved at our Court, that the pledges at York should be removed nearer the Border, and is so assured of it, that he intreated me to desire your honor "from him," that the pledges keeper who uses them very hardly, may not extort for their victuals and gaol fees, more than your honor thinks fit. It is strange these things should be agreed on, and the Queen's officers here not know it!

This March has I am sure more to demand than both the others, and therefore should be satisfied first, which I leave to your honor's consideration.

In my last I sent you the King's letter warranting any steps against his outlaws that I should attempt. I pray you send it me down at your leisure. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 13. 1370. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

This last week the Scottish outlaws, having done their utmost on the West March, have begun with me, and burnt a small town in my charge adjoining the West March, taking 4 or 5 prisoners away.

Having the King's warrant, I directed my deputy, Harry Woodrington, with 300 horse, to enter Scotland: who has burned the houses of 3 chief offenders, with great store of cattle and sheep also, and rescued the prisoners. Many of these outlaws are set on foot, for he brought off near 20 of their best horses. "The offenders themselves lyes in bogges and wooddes, so that none of them could be gotten." This is their first attempt on me, and the first revenge I have taken. They may likely provoke me further, but knowing the Queen's mind, and having the King's warrant, I will not suffer the poorest under my charge to be overrun.

I have power enough, and will weary them with their own weapons: for the King of Scots, besides his first letter, has sent me another to approve it, which I herewith send you—praying you to return both by your first occasion to send northwards. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 15. 1371. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Yesterday I met the Laird Johnston at Greatney kirk, where we chose certain assisers, both English and Scots (as appears by the inclosed), to try the bills whether foul or clean: and appointed a new meeting for delivery of foul bills, at the same place on 25<sup>th</sup> June next, with proclamation against future outrages, &c.

For the prisoners: proclamation was made for their freedom without any condition whatsoever, and some were publicly freed at this meeting, while, as I particularly gave the names of the rest "to the Laird self," I believe he will have special care to do the like. Carlisle. *Signed*: Richard Lowther.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: ". . . M<sup>r</sup> Rychard Lowther," &c.  
Inclosed in the same:—

(List of assisers.)

"At Greatney kirk 14<sup>th</sup> May 1601. The names of gentlemen appointed and sworne as assysers, to enquire upon and try the bills exhibited by England and Scotland."

FOR ENGLAND.—M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Curwen: M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Strickland; M<sup>r</sup> James

1601.

Bellingham; M<sup>r</sup> John Dalston; M<sup>r</sup> Francis Duckett; M<sup>r</sup> Edward Musgrave; M<sup>r</sup> Edmund Dudley; and M<sup>r</sup> Henry Blenckowe, esquires. Sworn.

FOR SCOTLAND.—The Master of Herries; Laird of Cockpoole the elder; Laird of Cockpoole younger; Laird of Amisfeild; Laird of Applegarth; Laird of Lagg; Laird of Newby; and Goodman of Tushellawa. Sworn.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Written by Lowther's clerk. Indorsed.*

May 15. 1372. PETITION AGAINST THE GRAMES.

Heads of a petition presented to the Privy Council on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1601.

First:—Refers to a petition dated 15 September 1600,\* signed by the Lord Warden, the Lord Bishop, and all the gentlemen of worth, which "we desire may now be considered."

Second and third:—The greater outrages since, and intolerable exaction of "blackmeale" by the Grames, &c.

Fourth:—By their alliances and confederation with the Armstrongs and "louse" Scottish borderers, as set down in a schedule to the foresaid petition, they plot with them to spoil England.

Fifth:—The intermarriages and combination of the Carletons and Graymes, and the Carletons and Scottish borderers, countenance the wicked spoilers of this country.

Sixthly:—The proud disobedience of the Graymes, contemning the government and warrants of the Lord Warden, and ill intreating his ministers, is a bad example. "And how they take upon them law dayes and undeseant orders emongst themselves, and never will appeare either at assize or sessiones."

1 p. *Indorsed by Scrope's clerk: "From the Lord Scrope."*

May 22. 1373. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

I have this instant received a letter from my Lady Hume, that a packet from George Nicolson was brought to her, inclosed in an empty paper indorsed to me, with no direction or other word in it. In it was this present packet addressed to you, which I have sent off with speed, also my Lady Hume's letter to myself. As M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson has ever given me notice of such packets, I am in some "jealousy" lest his servant has miscarried. Excuse me not writing so often as I would, since I fear my letters, carrying little news, might be "combersom." Berwick. *Signed: P. Wyllughby.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed: ". . . Lord Willoughby to my master with a packet of blancs from M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson sent by the Lady Hume."*

May 22. 1374. CERTIFICATE BY JOHN CRANE.

That on receipt of a warrant from the Lord Governor, of 12<sup>th</sup> instant, to place one William Skeile into a gunner's place of *7*l.* per diem*, in room of one Oswald Walker: Skeile being tried in shooting before the master gunner and quarter masters, in presence of some of the captains, and found "a verie sufficient scholler," was presented to M<sup>r</sup> Conyers deputy master, for his victuals: who declined the same, under his instructions from the master of ordnance, that not one be allowed in his office without his consent, and that he hopes to bring down a Privy Council order forbidding any interference with his office. *Signed: John Crane.*

1 p. *Holograph. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

1601.

May 24. 1375. ROYAL WARRANT FOR RICHARD MUSGRAVE.

Warrant to the Treasurer of Berwick to allow Richard Musgrave, master of the ordinance there, the same extraordinaries as his predecessors have always had.

1 p. *Corrected draft. Indorsed*: "To the Treasurer of Berwick," &c.

[1601.

c. May 26.] 1376. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

As he was much bound to him for his leave last year, yet must leave the marshal or other officer for whom he will answer, and there is none but the gentleman porter: thereby he has been detained near a year, is out of health, and strangely dealt with by some—he begs licence to commit his charge either to those resident, or that the marshal be sent down to attend his office—as himself greatly desires to attend Court, relate things fit for the Queen's service, and justify himself against his adversaries, who boast and encourage others to oppose him. *Signed*: P. Wyllghby.

Postscript:—As Sir John Carey has no great desire to come down, if the Queen approves he would gladly leave Sir Robert Carey his deputy, considering his blood and good friends: and has already partly got his consent "yf yt stand with others agraement."

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "Without date. Lo. Willoughby to my master . . . Received 1<sup>o</sup> Junij."

1601.

May 29. 1377. THOMAS MUSGRAVE TO CECIL.

Being called up before your honor on the accusation of Carlton, wherein I was commuanded to my lodging, and have since remained, humbly awaiting your pleasure: I beseech your honor, as my estate is much weakened by the spoils of the Scots, and my often appearance before you, that I may receive such trial as it pleases you, "for the proving of my innocency against his accusations, invented only upon mallice in him and his name, against mee and our house." *Signed*: Tho. Musgrave.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 1. 1378. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Shortly after my deputy's last road, whereof I informed you, the outlaws attacked a market town within my charge called Hartwisell to burn it, but two of them being slain and two sore hurt, they were forced to retire, only burning half a score outhouses and barns, of very small value. But the loss of these "twoe chufeteyns" has put the rest in great fury and they make bloody vows of deep revenge. So I mean about the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> hereof, to go with my officers and 7 or 8 score horse, besides "voluntaryes," and stay in the high lands within England, as near as I can "to thes lawlesse companions," till I see some end of these troubles: meaning to put the country to no charge.

The bills that the York pledges lie for, are to be sworn on 15<sup>th</sup> instant, and those that my March answers for, on the 8<sup>th</sup>. No other March of ours answers Scotland: the pledges delivered to Scotland for the East March are all dead. So if the York pledges are sent, let my March be first satisfied, and they may be transported to the East March: the West has nothing to do with them.

\* I send herewith a letter from P[onry] O[gilvy] who lies within 4 miles of my house. He assures me the King has promised not to seek him in

\* What follows is holograph.



1601.

England, so he thinks himself secure, and not without hope shortly to get his peace with the King. "The money he had of me by your honors direction, was but 20 pounds, which if you please to deliver Mr Fordam keeper of Somerset House, I shall cause him to attend your honor for it:" otherwise keep it till I come myself, as I hope to do soon. I hear my lord my brother is not likely to live, and pray your remembrance of my request when last at Court, for his place of "th' Eyll of Wight," if it fall, and my absence here be no hindrance. I hope by your good means, that her Majesty will think me as fit as any other, "and at last call me with my credit from this comfortable place, whereof in good faythe sir, I am tired, and desire to spend the rest of my tyme in sum service nearer her Majesty, and more agreing my bringing up." Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Swan tufer signet.*

June 4. 1379. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

I humbly thank you for the Scottish news—all the light I have, not trusting to their faith, though I keep on the best terms I can with our frontier neighbours, as I imagine the princes would so have it. I understand though Roxburgh has received dignity and favours, yet as the Scots say, "he hath his welters and chaoges," and has left Court discontented, as men are when brought "from sweet meates to sower sauces! The late ambassadoures have been received with great honor and acceptance, and Scotland is very constant to yt self, that never changeth changing"! I only await two things, my leave confirmed, and satisfaction of bills from Roxburgh, and then I shall be ready for the test. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

\* I hear for certain that some of my adversaries here have intercepted and brought to the King of Scots a packet of mine, addressed to you—whereat he has conceived "very bitterly of me." In her Majesty's service I regard no King, but the "King of Heaven only." But greatly desire for my own purgation, to come up to London before these triumphant adversaries come down, while I am condemned "*re inaulita*."

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet*: 8 quartered shield: 3 crests.

June 9. 1380. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

I received yours of 2<sup>d</sup> June this day; and will use all means directed to discover "so vyle a practise." I think the lady has been "abused" in this, and I simply thought, knowing Nicolson's hand and seal, that it became me not to open it. Next day, I advertised him, and he "seemed" to acknowledge it lost, thanked me for sending it to you, but that there was no great matter in it. Unless I had the spirit of divination, I cannot tell the inside of papers, and what could I do more? I hope to advertise you further "of this pott of roses (as the French proverbe ys). . . . The post brought the cover of the last paquet (but this) much rent: so as a man might see the cover of the booke." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil.*

June 11. 1381. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL

I have sent into Scotland to know more about these blank papers you sent me. But even now, I have a packet from Nicolson, which I send herewithal. Though my messenger is not returned with any answer from Nicolson, yet the post that carried those papers and lost them "in his retourne into Scotland," says they were only a false packet. So I am glad

\* Remainder closely written on margin.

1601.

the jest lighted only on myself, and no prejudice to the Queen's service. My own fortune "I comend to God in Heaven, and to yon myne honorable frind in earth, for the little tyme I have heere." Berwick. Signed: P. Wyllughby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. Addressed. Inlorsed. Small wax octagonal signet: 8 quartered shield, 3 crests.

June 8-11. 1382. INDENT OF SCOTTISH BILLS.

At Jedburgh 8<sup>th</sup> June 1601, Sir Andrew Kerre of Heaton, knight, deputy warden for the Middle Marches of Scotland, and Mr Thomas Ogle of Eslington, "deputed" for the Middle Marches of England, met for swearing the bills of said March of Scotland, fyled in Berwick before the last commissioners there in February 1596, as follows:—

*Extracts.*

Bill of Walter Adamson, burges of Edinburgh, upon George Carre in Harbottle: sworn by Oswald Purture of Beale to six score and 8 old sheep. Foule by Richard Fenwick of Stanton, 38*l.* 8*s.*\*

Bill of Dand Davyson's and George Yong of Hoislawe upon Androe Storye called "the bunche," in Trewhett, George and Tho. Story there, and the Laird of Trewhett, sworn by plaintiff to 58 old sheep. Foule and agreed by John Bilton, 17*l.* 8*s.*

Bill of Lance Kerr's, the goodman of Gatheshawe, upon Jerry Cockson *alias* "the hint." Sworn by James Currer, plaintiff's servant, to 9 "hogges and vj sowes, yeares olde." Foule for lack of answer, 39*s.*

A bill of Thomas Carre of Cavers upon William Storye of Crawley, &c., sworn by plaintiff's servant William Middlemest of Softley to 3 score and 18 old shepe. Plaintiff "deposed" for charges of "the spearing" 4 marks sterling. Foule and agreed, 26*l.* 1*s.* 4*l.*

A bill of the Laird of Mowe's upon Jock Pott of Yardopp *alias* "the bastard," sworn by his servants to 20 ewes. Foule for lack of answer, 6*l.*

A bill of the Laird of Hundeleys and his tenants of Kirkyatum, upon Edye Hall of Yearlup, &c., sworn by plaintiff's servants [15 horses, mares, &c., including a "gray stagg"† 40*s.* sterling, a "fyll foale" 13*s.* 4*l.* sterling]. Foule of the principal, &c., 24*l.* 7*s.* 8*l.*

A bill of William Hall of Middleknowes upon Tho. Forster of Throckington and John Armstrong of Chollerton, sworn by the Laird of Fernyherst's servant to 3 oxen, a dagger, "blewe bonnett" and plough bridle to 3*s.* (*sic*) sterling. Foule for lack of answer, 6*l.* 3*s.*

At Jedburgh the 9<sup>th</sup> June.

*Extracts.*

A bill of the Laird of Lawther's upon Michell Hedley *alias* "hoggs kyns," sworn by plaintiff's servant to 6 oxen, 2 kye, and 2 young neat 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  year old. Foule for lack of answer, 16*l.*

A bill of Michell Watson's of Murrycrookes upon Thomas Read of Burradon, Laird Manners of Trewhett, and Thomas Errington of Bavington, sworn by himself, to a "soard" mare, 3*l.* sterling, a gray cloak, 6*s.* sterling, a sword 6*s.* John Hallyday, sworn, that there was taken a gray mare 40*s.* stg., a new gray cloak, 6*s.*, his purse with 5*l.* sterling in it, a new sack, 2*s.* 8*l.*; iron, "tenne quarters," 6*s.* Foule for no answer, 11*l.* 10*s.* 8*l.*

\* The findings and values on the margin throughout.  
† *i.e.*, entire horse.

1601.

A bill of the Laird of Egerton's upon Edward Charlton, laird of Haslesyde, sworn by Andrew Ratherford of Black Chester where the goods were taken, to 40 old kye and 10 oxen. Foule of the principal, 80*l*.

A bill of the Laird of Crainston's upon Robert Selby of Bittleston, sworn by Hector Craynston, the laird's servant, to 18 oxen and 8 kye. Foule of the principal by his father's confession before the commissioners, 48*l*.

A bill of the Laird of Mearston's upon Michell Hedley "hoggsdynnes," &c., sworn by John Story his servant, to 2 pistols worth 40*s*. sterling, 1 sword, 10*s*., "a payer worsett stockings," 10*s*., a cloak, 13*s*. 4*d*., a "handkercheffe," 5*s*., a "stele capp," 10*s*., "a rose noble," &c., in his purse, 24*s*.. silk garters, 3*s*., and a "scarf," 2*s*.

At Jedburgh 10<sup>th</sup> June.

*Extracts.*

A bill of the Laird of Greenhead's upon John Jameson *alias* "hundye pundye," sworn by his servants Mark Browne of Softley and George Lawther, to 2 horses and a mare. Foule for lack of answer, 7*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

A bill of the Laird of Craynston's and James Hyndmers upon Lyonell Hearon and William Drydoe his man in Eshott, sworn by Adam Pace of Sproutston to 34 old sheep. Foule for lack of answer, 10*l*. 4*s*.

A bill of M<sup>r</sup> James Douglas, sheriff of Tyvidale, upon Michell Hedley in Hatherwick, sworn by himself to a gray mare 4*l*. sterling, and a black "beld" horse 4*l*. Foule for lack of answer, 8*l*.

At Jedburgh 11<sup>th</sup> June.

*Extracts.*

A bill of the goodman's of Bullerwell upon John Robson of Deggerlawe, &c., sworn by plaintiff's servant to 16 oxen and kyne, 5 score old sheep, 4 horses and mares, and insight worth 13*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. stg. Foul for lack of answer, 78*l*. 10*s*.

"Subscribed: Schir Andro Ker of Heitoune, Thomas Ogle, Robert Anderson, Raphe Kyllynghall.

"The whole sume of the Scottes bills amounte to 1598*l*. 18*s*. 10*d*."

[Several bills of the Sheriff of Teviotdale's against Henry Woodrington esq., &c. (315*l*. 8*s*. 8*d*. in all), and of Sir John Kerr, &c. (69*l*. 13*s*. 8*d*.) are put down by themselves, as neither in the Indents or English clerk's rolls, and await further proof]. *Signed*: Thomas Ogle, Raphe Kyllynghall.

17 *pp*. *Indorsed by Kyllynghall*: "Copie of the Indent of the Scotishe bylles sworne at Jedbrounge the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup> of June 1601."

June 15—1383. INDENT OF ENGLISH BILLS.

17.

At Morpeth the 15<sup>th</sup> day of June 1601, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Ogle of Eslington "deputed for the present," for the lord warden of the English Middle Marches, and John Mowe of that ilk, deputy for the Scottish, met for swearing the English bills of said March, fyled in Berwick before the last commissioners there in Feb. 1596, as follows:—

*Extracts.*

A bill of George Fennicke's of Brenkburn upon Jock Burne *elder* and *younger* of the Coate, &c., sworn by plaintiff's servant to 1 "white gray" horse, and 1 gray stonde horse each worth 20*l*. Fowle by Robert Hume, brother to the Laird of Aton, 40*l*.\*

\* Findings and values on the margin throughout.

1601.

A bill of widow Spurman of Rothbury forest upon Tho. Burne of Awton burue, &c., sworn by Robert Spurman her son to 12 oxen, 14 kye, a gray mare 5*l.*, insight 10*l.* Fowle of the principale by the lords commissioners, 70*l.*

A bill of James Raynes of South Middleton upon Sir Robert Kerr, laird of Cesford, Andrew Kerr of the New hall, &c., sworn by the plaintiff to 1 black gelding worth 100 marks. Fowle by Sir Robert's confession, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

A bill of Mr William Fenwicke's of Wallington upon Jock Robson of Creling hill, Jock Robson "the Heshier," and Andrew Robson "shortneck," sworn by Jerry Pott his servaut to 10 kye, 1 bull, and "a whie stirck of a yeare old." Fowle, 22*l.* 10*s.*

A bill of Thomas Hall of Gressumsfeild upon the old Laird of Vaughopp, sworn by the plaintiff's servants [one a part owner] to 8 oxen, 22 kye, 5 "whies" 1 year old, 3 "stotts" 1½ years old, &c. Fowle for lack of answer, 95*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

At Morpeth 16<sup>th</sup> June.

*Extracts.*

A bill of Thomas Collingwood of Eslington upon Tom and Will Hall of Heavyside, sworn by Mr Tho. Ogle of Eslington to 6 oxen. Fowle for lack of answer, 12*l.*

A bill of William Hall and Anthony Hedley of the Stobbes and John Aunderson of the Cragg, upon Mr James Douglas, sheriff of Cavers, and Tho. Trumble, and Tho. Trumble the younger layrd of Myntaw, sworn by Gawen Hedley part owner, to 50 old kyne, 30 old oxen, 4 "stotts" and 6 "whyes," 2 year old. Fowle of the principals by their written confession, 145*l.*

A bill of John Barro, laird of Barro, and George Greene of Allenton, upon Percy Trumble of the Stonyletche, &c., sworn by his son Percy Barro to 20 old oxen, 50 kyne, 10 stots 2 year old, 20 "whies" 2 year old, a white horse, 20 nobles, a "lyart" nag, 30*s.* &c. Fowle for lack of answer, 254*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

A bill of Richard Fenwick of Stanton upon Gilbert Lorreyne of Hawdon, sworn by himself to 16 old oxen and 7 stottes 3 year old. Fowl for lack of answer, 39*l.*

At Morpeth 17<sup>th</sup> June.

*Extracts.*

A bill of Mr Charles Slynngby, parson of Rothburye, and Thomas Dickson, upon William Mowe of Hownam, &c., sworn by himself to 8 oxen, 7 kyne, and a bull. Fowle for lack of answer, 28*l.* 10*s.*

A bill of William Storyes of Cranley upon Andrew Gardner, burgess of Jedburgh, sworn by James Story of Beanley to a "Portugall duckett" of 3*l.* 10*s.* "Fowle by Alex<sup>r</sup>. Mackdouells hand wrytt" 3*l.* 10*s.*

A bill of Mr Henry Woodrington esq<sup>r</sup>, upon James Douglas of Cavers, William Douglas of Whittrick, and Robert Trumble of Barnehill, sworn by his servant Richard Wilson of Haughton, to 30 oxen, 30 kine, 20 three year old stots, and 20 two year old "whyes," 145*l.*

"Subscribed: Thomas Ogle, John Mowe of that llike, Raphe Kyllinghall, Robert Aunderson."

Bills fyled in the upper house at Derwick for which the English deputy and clerk have no warrant under the Scottish clerk's hand, *viz.* :—

Three bills by Mr Gray of Morpeth esq., upon Gib, Hector, and John Lorreyne of Apputtsyde, Mark Trumble, John and William Trumble of Brodehaugh, and John Trumble of Maxsyde: by Alexander Hall of Muncridge. &c., and by Mr Thomas Caverley of Litleburne, on the Laird of Ferny-

1601.

hirst, &c., in all 14*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, which cannot be sworn without the rolls.  
 "Subscribed: Thomas Ogle, Raphe Kyllinghall."

The whole sum of the English bills, 30*4* *2* *l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

17½ *pp.* *Indorsed by Kyllinghall*: "Copie of the Incident of the Englishe bylles sworne at Morpeth the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, and 17<sup>th</sup> of June 1601."

June 18. 1384. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

That a captain Skyner has come recommended by Sir John Stauhope and Sir John Carey, who has sold to him his company of foot, and office of chamberlain: as is said "allowed of from above." Finding he has no power to place councillors, which is reserved to the Queen, he approves of the gentleman as far as he can; the rather as he hears he depends on Cecil, is well reported of, and has paid dearly for the offices. An oath should be drawn up for him, as there should be for other councillors there—as the porter, master of ordnance "&cet.," that they might learn their powers, whether to assist or command the governor: pretending the latter, as the council of York brought their Lord President "to the boordes end, to controle him." For his own part he learned to obey before he desired to command, and merely speaks for present quiet, and the future service of her Majesty. Begs a reply to his request for Sir Robert Carey as his deputy, for if long deferred, the season of the year will prevent his journey. Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wylloghby.

1 *p.* *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: broken.*

June 21. 1385. WILLOUGHBY TO CECIL.

It was never in my mind to "expostulat" by myself or friends, any answer to my letters. I merely wished "to assure you of my fayth and constancy, which might be interested in so worthy an opinion as yours by my malicious accusers,"—and to know if Sir Robert Carey was approved for my deputy? For Sir John Carey, it is not 100*l.* I care for: "he undertooke this last wynter another thing to prove yt legitimatly, which yf he had don, he had saved his oath, and I would have commended him." Selling places of authority is neither honorable nor safe: "yf yt be her Majesties pleasure to geive yt, she may dispose of that, as of my patent also. For Sir John Careys pretence: his estate was knowne, his marshalles entertainment with other advantages, with his brothers parting and his of Norham, hath cutt of vij*li.* by yeer of the Governors entertainment of this place, though things were never so deare as now, trebling the wonted rates! For Sir John Carey, yf my lord his brother dye not speedely, he wilbe ready to make a new marshall, which wilbe round somes for him to borron yt with one on the neck of another! first xv*li.* of Hardinges mony, then xj*li.* of M<sup>r</sup> Skinner, and a marshall cannot come better cheap then a poor chamberlain!" For myself, with all the profits, royalties, forfeitures, fees of courts, I have of her Majesty here, "besides that little naked pay by her Majestie left mee," I will quit him all for his love: and what these "wynd-falls" come to, the two last winters will witness! Which were other sums than the 100*l.* a year he demands. Were it to that "kind gentlemoo" Sir Robert Carey, I would willingly give it: with this reservation, that whilst governor here, "I may not have any man command the manright of placing and displacing"—wherein I am hindered by faction, as this last winter showed—men who have for 9 or 10 years gone about to fortify themselves!

I will not touch his freehold profit, so he keeps himself in his place here: old soldiers look not for such treatment in their latter days.

"I will say no more, but like an old rustical fellow, conclude: pride and ignorance of our profession wilbe the quicksilver to eate out ourselves, and

1601.

"lett other drones suck the hony, as some modern enemies of our devynes doe accuse them to have don, and they step to be parish preestes, afore they be clarkes !

" Noble sir, thinke I speake not this out of spleene, for I protest I doe not : I love M<sup>r</sup> Marshall well, but I would have him keepe his ranke, and geive me leave to go to my grave in quyet, and then lett him treade on mee and spare not." Berwick. *Signed*: P. Wyllughby.

Some cunning fellow had opened the intercepted letter, copied it and counterfeited my hand : these things I care not for, and beseech you think so.

$1\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet : fragment.*

June . 1386. SCROPE TO CECIL.

As the lords determined at the Council table, I wish (1) they would earnestly command the governor of Berwick to send the 50 soldiers under Sir Robert Yaxley to Carlisle by the 10<sup>th</sup> July, or else Lord Wylloughby will not let them leave the town : (2) that they command M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lowther by letter in the Queen's name, to cause the Grames who were before the Council, for whom he undertook, that without excuse they appear at next assises and put in good caution before the judges for future good behaviour : (3) as her Majesty found fault for my not going down : pray let her know that M<sup>r</sup> Lowther and the Scots since I came up, have kept 3 March days without justice yet : they have promised it at their next meeting "on the last of th' instant," but if I come to Carlisle in the meantime, I know he will never perform it—but break off as he has done before : (4) that M<sup>r</sup> Clopton pay the men monthly at Carlisle as before, and if (as my lord your father did), you would move her Majesty for 4*d.* more, they would pray for you. Till you "have resolved" her Majesty of my stay "I will forbear to com in her seight." *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil* : "June 1601. My L. Scroop." *Wafer signet : garter, &c.*

June . 1387. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO WILLOUGHBY.

That as the master of ordnance had been duly punished for his presumption in petitioning, and had acknowledged his grief for his offence, they have looked into the establishment for her Majesty's 18<sup>th</sup> year, and find no direction as to nominating the gunners, but the practice (since Berwick, Carlisle, &c., were united) has been that the master controls and pays them under his patent. Not doubting his dutiful behaviour to Willoughby hereafter, they think fit for the present, to move the governor to allow matters to go on as they are, notwithstanding his right to see to their skill, and to discharge them on offence—till her Majesty shall take further order in the matter.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Draft corrected by Cecil. Indorsed* : "A draught of a lettre to the Lord Willoughby," &c.

June 25. 1388. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

Signifying that the Lord Governor on Saturday the 14<sup>th</sup> instant took a great cold in his ship lying at the haven mouth awaiting a wind, has been in a "feaver" ever since, and his body so weak through want of sleep and food, that his physicians think his life in great peril. Being the only councillor now in Berwick, begs her Majesty's instructions may be taken. Berwick. *Signed* : Will<sup>m</sup> Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet (Selby) : impaling quartered shield as before.*

1601.

June 25. 1389. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

At the hour of writing my last of this date, the Lord Governor, "albeit verie sicke, yett in the judgement of us that were about him, not likly to depart this life so shortly as it haith pleased God he now at this instant haith done . . . His death, which in regarde of his christian ende, was comfortable to all the beholders, and eternally happie for him selfe." Till her Majesty send some chief person, there shall be no lack of care in me: having written to Sir William Bowes who is at his house in the Bishopric, to repair hither. Berwick. "At 3 of the clocke in the after-noone." *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 27. 1390. JOHN GUEVARA TO CECIL.

"Since the departure of my noble lord," John Bourne (one of the pledges for bills fled in last commission) who for some infirmities he had, was imprisoned at the "provosts," has this morning escaped. Though instantly pursued, "he passed the ward (unaware)" and being well mounted got away. I advertise your honor, as the gentleman porter now "interim" governor, thought it my duty, though I said my office "dyed with my lord." I have written to Lord Roxburgh intreating him to keep order, to prove the love he professed to my lord, "whilst the corps is heare." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Guevara.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet: quartered as before.*

June 28. 1391. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

Upou the escape of John Burne, which happened early the 2<sup>d</sup> day after the Governor's death, M<sup>r</sup> Guevara desired me to send the inclosed letter with speed to your honor: if you think fit, the King may be dealt with for his delivery, whose honor is engaged for the pledges till satisfaction. This man being "verie deare" to Lord Roxburgh, was kept here when the rest were sent to York. Cuthbert Armorer, a constable of horse here, and Thomas Armorer, post of Belford, eldest brother to Clement Armorer now in Scotland, and others, were bound to my lord governor, that Burne should be true prisoner: whereof at their request my lord freed them 3 months since, when divers feared his escape. A poor fellow Graye a Scot, who bought the horse whereon he fled, was taken, and I have put him in strait prison. Though under M<sup>r</sup> Guevara's direction, yet fearing Burne might be slackly guarded, "the verie daye of my lord's death" I sent for, and told the provost marshal to take good heed to him. M<sup>r</sup> Guevara seems unwilling to write to the Queen's agent in Scotland, thinking his authority is at an end. I advised him to see better to the other prisoners yet in the provost's hands, whose declaration of the escape is herewith sent.

One Anthony Holtbie, servant (he says) to Sir Henry Constable, came to my lord in his ship the day he took his sickness, and pretended (though falsely) to have been with him before and got a promise "for a busines he then declared concerning the Ladie Graye, daughter to the late Earle of Westmerland." My lord suspected him as a spy, examined and found him a recusant and "somewhat more," and his examination before us is inclosed. His lordship committed him to a burges's house, whence he escaped, and was retaken at Ancroft village, 5 miles from this, belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Graye, and is now in the provost marshal's. For want of a prison, greatly needed, many escapes are made. Berwick. *Signed*: Will'm Selby.

Burne has been here 2 $\frac{1}{4}$  years without a keeper, and 3 months with one:

1601.

whereby he knows the town and fortifications. It is dangerous that any Scot should be prisoner here, out of prison.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(1) (The provost marshal's declaration.)

William Bredeman, provost marshal of Berwick, affirms that on 3<sup>d</sup> April Raph Wallice, servant to captain John "Guwarae," deputy warden, brought one John Borne, a pledge, telling me I was to keep him, for "his bandes men" had called in their bands. I went to his lordship, asking him to ease me and put him in some stronger place as into "Haddisholle," but he could not : so I kept him 20 days, and went back to my lord, who said they would be discharged ere long. So I kept him 7 weeks and then heard of a plot with one 3 or 4 miles from Berwick, to bring a horse for him by stealth. But my lord would not believe any such thing : and so enjoined me to keep him, till on 26<sup>th</sup> June one came with a "boule" of wheat on a nag to pay part of his charges : and next day, 27<sup>th</sup>, he rising about 4 o'clock, got out the nag, leapt on his back, and rode out at the gate before my servant, who I desire to be better examined thereon. When the prisoner was first with me for 11 months, my lord said to me he had the warden's word and hand he should be true prisoner : yet I have been at great charges watching and warding him night and day. *Signed* : Will'm Bredeman.

1 p. *Indorsed by Selby's clerk.*

(2) (Holtbie's examination.)

Examination of Anthony Holtbie before Lord Willoughby governor, and William Selby gentleman porter, of Berwick.

1. Being asked when and with whom he was at church? Answers he is a recusant, bound in 50*l.* to answer before the council at York on 10 days' warning.

2. Asked where and with whom he communicated? Answers, he hath not, neither doth communicate.

3. In answer, absolutely refuses to go to church.

4. Whether his brother is a priest or Jesuite? Answers, he has been often asked, and has a brother beyond sea, suspected to be such, but whether so or not, or if living or dead, he knows not.

5. If he acknowledges the authority, &c., of the Pope in England? Answers—This capital point he leaves to divines, but cannot answer directly. Will yield to her Majesty all a subject's duty to bestowing of his life and goods, and yielding all such power and authority as any of her ancestors have had. *Signed* : Ant. Holtbie.

[Additional] :—

Whether reconciled to the Pope and Church of Rome? Is loath to answer this, lest he offend the law or his conscience : besides he does not understand what reconciliation means.

Whether or no he has spoken with any Jesuit? Answers, he stands to be accused and not to confess. *Signed* : Ant. Holtbie.

1 p. *Indorsed by Selby's clerk.*

June  
end of.

1392. DECLARATION BY SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

[Made for the satisfaction of the Lord Treasurer as to his dealings for the next pay at Berwick]. *Signed* : Will'm Bowes.

3 pp. *Closely written. Indorsed* : "A declaration of the pay to be made at Barwick this midsomer 1601."



1601.  
June 30.

1393. THE QUEEN TO THE TREASURER OF BERWICK.

Signifying, that upon the humble snit of Richard Musgrave, master of her ordnance there, she is pleased to allow him all extraordinaries in his office as his predecessors have had, though there be no comptroller at present: commanding payment till her further pleasure. "At our mannor of Greenwich."

"This copie agreith with the originall lettre signid by her Majestie, and recordid in the signet booke." *Signed*: J. Windebanke.

1 p. *Certificate holograph. Indorsed*: "Copie of her Majesties lettre in behalf of Sir Richard Musgrave."

[1601.  
June.]

1394. OUTRAGES BY ECTORS THOME ARMSTRONG, &c.

Brief of outrages, &c., done by the prisoners from the Hairelawe in Scotland.

*Extracts.*

Thomas Armstrong called "Ectors Thome the elder," is manifestly a chief councillor of his "names men," &c., of Hairelawe, in all the robberies, murders, &c., for the last 14 years, specially in last Lent in Gilsland.

He resetted at his house "with great joye," young Ector, Willes Thome, &c., his "steale fellows," with 4 Hendersons prisoners from Brampton, kept them close, and fixed their ransoms, only part whereof is paid, and "shoos" the poor men since his own taking.

Third.—To get the rest of the Hendersons to pay, he killed or caused to be killed, one Patton Henderson the eldest of them, while prisoner in his house, whereby the other three to save their lives, paid what they could, but must beg to get the greatest part yet unpaid, and are reduced from a good estate to utter beggary.

Fourth.—He stole at Midsummer last "was a twelve monthe," a white gray mare of M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Sandforths of Howgill and kept her, till "a fellowe" belonging to Sandforth, John Forster of the Oxclose in Gillesland, in July last, took her out of Ector's "lone" back to her owner: wherefor Forster is banished from his own house, Ector with the Armstrongs of the Gingles, trying to kill him, and threatening Sandforth for taking his own again!

Fifth.—All the beasts in his "byer," or most of them, were challenged as stolen from Englishmen in Lent last, and it is apparent he was one of the riders then.

"John Grame *alias* Jocke Tutye (?) Scottesman."

First.—He was also at Brampton herschip.

Second.—Also at burning, &c., the Newton of Irddington in Gilsland.

Third.—Also at the slaughter and hership of Little Corby, Great Corby, Warwick brigend, Warwick town, when the Larde Warwicke, &c., were taken prisoners and have paid great ransoms, to their overthrow for ever.

Fourth.—Also at the hership of Crosby the bishop of Carlisle's barony, where all the goods and most of the men were taken, and ransomed at 1000*l*.

"Thome Armestrang otherwise called Ectors Willes Thome Scottesman.

1-3. He was at the spoil of the townis of Teming and Westhall in Gilsland, and of Thomas Craue of the Holme there.

"*Item*."—Also at the spoil of Adam Robinson at Almerie holme near Carlisle, also took away his wife "and in unmanerly maner did abuse her."

[1601.]

"*Item.*"—Was also at the spoil of Brampton, Irthington, and elsewhere in Gilsland—and at the hership of Crosby barouy.

Lastly.—By the oaths of many true Englishmen it is plain that the goods taken from these "ildoers' lones" were robbed from Englishmen, and it is "most probable" that they are all notorious thieves, insolent malefactors, stealers, and resetters, contrary to their own King's commandment.

2 pp. *Written by the warden's clerk. Indorsed.*

1601.  
July 1.

1395. RALPH GRAY TO CECIL.

I received the inclosed from the Master of Graye this day: on Friday last he had conference with the King, returned to his house, and intends to meet me on the Borders within 10 days. Some change in Court is expected: the Border is quiet, though some stir is looked for since Lord Willoughby's death on Thursday last, and the escape of John Burn, a principal pledge, who "is with the Laird of Leystaryck in his howse at Fawscastell."

I have done all in my power with the opposite wardens to stay incursions on this East March for the present, till further order is taken: the rather, as Lord Willoughby at his "last retorn sothwardes," sent me a warrant to this effect, and to his dying day confirmed the same. If it pleased her highness and Council by your means, to thiak me worthy to supply the place for the present, I doubt not to perform the duty. Chillingham. *Signed: Ra. Graye.*

1 p. *Holograph: also address. Indorsed. Three small war sigets: shield with lion rampant within engrailed bordure.*

July 3.

1396. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

I find myself suddenly surprised with two great discomforts: one the loss of my worthy friend, the other my Lord Treasurer withholding his warrant for the 1000*l.* needed for the pay. In this strait I can resort to no better friend than yourself to defend my credit at the Board.

"Being comme hither to putt somme staie to the rare practises of my Darbie-shire adversaries, as being solemnie charged wyth making waste to the valew of 40,000*l.*, where indeed wittinglie I cannott be charged with 40*l.*! I am encountered with thos difficulties, and my old affliction of tormenting with the stone further. Nowe therfor, that I maie be found as litle wanting as maie be to the Queenes service committed to my trust, I have chosen this for my shute-ancre, to commend the thing unto your honors help to the Lord Treasurer in writing by my kinde freind and neyghbour, M<sup>r</sup> Francis Gower your honors servant": beseeching such favour as my past faithfulness warrants. M<sup>r</sup> W. Vernon the victualler is here with me for his money, but I answer I dare not intermeddle with the "masse" of the Queeu's treasure, till I see how to go through with the pay. Walton. *Signed: Will'm Bowes.*

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 3.

1397. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

That his packet of 29<sup>th</sup> June "at night" addressed to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson, came early this morning, and had been sent on by a special ruan: at 8 this same morning these inclosed came from Nicolson. Berwick. *Signed: Will'm Selby.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. War siget: fragment.*

1601.

July 5. 1398. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

The haste of this bearer will not permit me to write of affairs here : only that I have finished a hot and tedious journey by coming hither on Saturday last at 6 P.M. and am ready for instructions. The Scottish bills are already sworn : ours remain unsworn, for my lord died before it could be done, and there is no authority here to do it. Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal : shield with 3 bars, 3 escallops in chief, and a mullet in base.*

July 5. 1399. R. LOWTHER TO CECIL.

Having by lord Scrope's direction (as the copy of his letter shows) written to M<sup>r</sup> George Nicolson, and received the King's answer from him, he incloses both. Carlisle. *Signed* : Richard Lowther.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(1) (Scrope to Lowther.)

With the Queen's commands to urge the Laird of Johnston for complete delivery—instructions how to file bills with him, and if he delays, to apply to the King by George Nicolson. Tho. Scroope.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Copy by Lowther's clerk. Indorsed.*

(2) (The King's answer to Scrope.)

A note to George Nicolson in answer to Lord Scrope's letter to M. Lowther warden depute.

Admitting that the latest bills should be settled first as of old—insisting however that “bill for bill” must be delivered for—and that the date from which redress begins, must be the last meeting of commissioners not the entry of the warden—for in the latter case, a warden's death would be a “jubile” to all the thieves, as on the murder of the late warden. But the King thinks—as he has already directed his ambassador to show the Queen and Council, that it were more expedient for keeping good order and justice —“That hir officiar and warden sould cum doun in person and minister justice within his office, punisheing the proude and insolent resettaris of these rascall thevis that murtherit the Kingis late warden, then to wrett doun lybellis accordinge to everie new inventioun hached in his brayne, and he himself staying still at Court, be imaginatioun thus to reule the disorderit people within his charge” : or that a new officer be appointed.

1 p. *In a Scottish hand.*

July 8. 1400. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

To apprehend some of these Liddesdale outlaws, on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant I sent my deputy and officers with 1000 horse and foot, who that night passed above 20 miles within Scotland, and so divided their force that they beset and environed the bogs, moors, and woods, hitherto thought impregnable, and by good hap took 3 of the chiefest men of that “unruly rout,” and brought them to me without blood or hurt. Next day their friends came in on safe conduct, and stood on no terms, but wholly submitted themselves to any conditions I should impose and give security : intreating to be spared till Monday 14<sup>th</sup> instant to confer, when they will come in and put in bonds to my liking. So I think these troubles are brought to an end.

1601.

As my brother is back at Berwick and Lord Scrope expected presently, I humbly beseech you to move her Majesty for my leave. I have been much beholden to the gentlemen of this country who, to the number of 60 and their followers, came to the Wastes with me 5 weeks since, and still remain with me. They deserve thanks, unless greater affairs cause this place not to be thought of? Pardon me if I offend, but I think myself too slightly regarded. But if thanks come yet, it is not too late. "From the Forte in the Heynyng." *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 11. 1401. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

The slackness of the posts has made me run into the error I have done, for the letter of your honor and the Council, dated the last of June, I received yesterday: thus by their default I committed a greater, which I pray your honor forgive and forget. I read the Council's letter to the gentlemen assembled, who were greatly comforted, and protested their lives and goods should ever be at her Majesty's service.

I inclose a letter from P[oury] O[gilvy] received this day. "From the Haining." *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 11. 1402. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

That since the Lord Governor's death the borderers of both sides have committed many outrages without redress, for want of an officer—the English complain that their bills are yet unsworn, to the advantage of the Scots. Her Majesty must presently appoint a warden with as full power as the opposite. If the Queen thinks him as unfit as he himself does, let her appoint another without delay. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

He hears that M<sup>r</sup> Clopton receiver of Northumberland, has no warrant yet to pay Sir Robert Yexley's company at Carlisle monthly, or for an imprest to convey him thither.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: scan with annulet.*

July 13. 1403. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

"I reserved my pattent for the wardendrey upon Satterdaye lat, beinge the xj<sup>th</sup>, havinge sent away my letter to your honer not past an hower before the reseyet of it." I have since written to the Lord of Roxburgh for a meeting for justice—also to appoint some of his people for swearing our bills. For Scottish news, the inclosed letters even now received, will satisfy you more at large. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "... Received 18 July."

July 15. 1404. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

The Armstrongs of Liddesdale have been with me, and for their friends' liberty, agreed to these conditions:—(1) To quit claim all deadly feed for the death of their friends lately lost: (2) they have freed all prisouers and ransoms: (3) and satisfied all in my charge who have lost by them: (4) and 14 of the best of them are bound to enter to me at 15 days' warniug. So these troubles, thank God, are ended without charge to her Majesty—and this March freed from the hurt of Liddesdale: and therefore good sir, procure me my leave to come up. "From the Heynyng." *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil.*

1601.

July [15.] 1405. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I received your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> July by Master Robert Vernon on the 14<sup>th</sup>, desiring to know if certain men there named were employed here from the 10<sup>th</sup> June 41 Eliz. till last day of July 42 Eliz. ? Whereon the clerk of the check and muster searched in all his books and rolls, and found none of them. On asking all the captains and my other officers here, they all agree there was never any such ever in this town to their remembrance—save that a tipstaff of mine about 4 years since saw one Lewes Waterhowes, a Yorkshire man, here “guest wayes,” not a soldier, and neither George Sheppard, Harrey Bromley nor John Harley were ever here. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: “July 1601. Sir John Carey to my master—without date.” *Wax signet*: *scan and annulet*.

July 20. 1406. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I received this packet from M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson even now, wherein you shall understand all Scottish affairs: “as of the rewmor of Bodweles comminge into the northen partes of Scotland,” and the welter like to be among some of the Council. Even as I received it, “I was comminge from the deliverie of my lord governers bodey into his shipe, wiche was dune withe as muche solemnetey and honer as ower small compeny and meanes cold aney waye afford.” To-morrow being Tuesday, the Lord of Roxburgh sends to Berwick his clerk and some other gentlemen with him, to swear our English bills. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

As your honor and others of the Council commanded, I have sworn Master Herrey Gwevara in his brother's place of captainship.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet*: *scan and annulet*.

July 25. 1407. R. MUSGRAVE TO CECIL.

Complaining that on his return after his long absence, he finds his office in disorder. The gunner has gone to Newcastle not meaning to return to Berwick, but to sell his place. Hunte, the master smith also, whom the late Lord Governor took upon him to place, has sold his interest to one Forster a smith brought down by Sir William Bowes, on promise of preferment from himself, but thrust on Musgrave. All which he has amended, and will be ready to answer his acts before the Council with all respect, praying that no “clamorous” person's charge be given ear to, till his answer is heard. Berwick. *Signed*: Rychard Musgrave.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: “. . . M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave,” &c. *Wax signet*: *Musgrave shield and crest*.

July 27. 1408. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Since my last, my lord of Roxburgh and I have met and conferred on justice: whereto he seems very ready and forward. On Saturday last we ended the swearing of our English bills, 118 in all, and now only wait your pleasure as to delivery and satisfaction, and what is to be done with the pledges, having gone as far as can be. I know not what my Lord Willoughby did, having got none of his instructions, yet the opposites say I must begin where he left off. In Scotland they are like to agree and conclude friendship on all hands. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: “. . . Received the 2 of August.” *Wax signet*: *scan and annulet*.

1601.  
July 28. 1409. SIR R. CARRY TO CECIL.

I have received your with the inclosed to P[oury] O[gilvy] which I have sent him. "In my simple judgment, your honor hath taken a good course with him, for it is thought he is scant worthy th'entertayning, and a fellow of more promis then performans; so as he is better lost then found! which your honor with good regard has well forseene."

Since my last, I have been at the "Fels," where the officers of Liddesdale did me all justice with assurance of quiet hereafter. The chief riders of the West March, as "Jok of Kinmontes," and the principal "Gingles," came there and gave bonds for themselves, friends, &c., not to offend, and that each of them would enter on 10 days' warning unconditionally: so I have brought the west part of my charge to such quiet as not often seen. Tomorrow I ride to Tividale to meet my Lord of "Roxborow," and hope to have an even "recunning" with him, for there is "no great ods" betwixt us: so as this charge is in such quiet, I may without offence have leave "to play me a while."

From the end of your letter, her Majesty is still unwilling I come up: wherat I greatly marvel and cannot imagine the cause, this charge so quiet, "and bothe my brothers returned to ther chardgis, as they are," so that my absence cannot be hurtful. Your honor persuades me to try some other of my friends and kin at Court, "that are passionat for others no nearer to them then my self." I desire and will deserve your honor's favour and friendship: "but for ther passions, they ar so violent for others as I have ever found scant an answerable correspondensy to my love, from them, and therefore doubt my good will not grow by ther meanes!" Yet as you advise, I have written to some of them "for fassion sake," but trust only to yourself, and if not otherwise advised by you, will take the benefit of her Majesty's former grants, that after my brethren were returned to their places, I should come up. It concerns me much to be at London by the end of August. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

1 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Inversed*: "... Received the 2 of July" (*sic.*)

Aug. 1. 1410. SCROPE TO CECIL.

As it would have been tedious for you to peruse all the bills of outrages since the Laird Johnston's entry, I caused a brief estimate to be made and send it herein—whereby you will see the inequality: and yet there are many for England yet "unbild." I cannot consent to answer "bill for bill" without the Queen's direction: though ready to do justice to Scotland, after redress first for "these great spoiles." As for the delay being caused by my not meeting Johnston; no good came of his meetings with M<sup>r</sup> Lowther, but delays and charges to the country. They threaten me much, but we will be doing: and I hope to make the King change his opinion. I pray you as the Council ordered, to send the land sergeant's warrant for the house of Askerton, when he will be answerable for the Queen's rents there: the Lord Treasurer promised it should be. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Postscript.—A little revenge has been taken since my home coming, and Brakenhill told me he would make the King of Scots make me repent it. I answered him, I had to account to the Queen, and hoped ere long to bring him and the rest of the Grames to it.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Inversed.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

1601.

## (1) (Scots bills on England.)

Brief of the attempts by England against Scotland, since the Laird of Johnston's entry to the wardenry.

Horses and mares, 22, 40*l.*; kye and oxen, 123, 260*l.*; "yowes," 60, 12*l.* Insight, *nil.* Total, 312*l.* These bills were committed by the Grames and their dependers.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *By Scrope's clerk. Indorsed.*

## (2) (English bills against Scotland.)

Brief of outrages by the Scots, from the time of Lord Scrope's journey to London, till his return to Carlisle.

Slaughters; mutilations; burnings, 400*l.*; prisoners, 60; ransoms, 400*l.*; "gold, money, plaits, spoyle, and inseighte," 2300*l.*; horses, mares, nags, 300, 740*l.*; kye, oxen, and nolt, 700, 1200*l.*

"*Somma in toto,*" 5040*l.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Same writing. Indorsed.*

## Aug. 3. 1411. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Last night after the gates shutting, I received this packet and letter from Mr Nicolson "severally," and could not send them away till this morning. I send also a warrant for such things as I gave warrant for to the master of ordnance when my lord governor's ship went first up. Most of it was for fireworks and "sheut," but when she comes to London I intreat you to order return of the 20 muskets and bandeliers to store here, or I must pay for replacing them. Also if the pledges for the bills sworn are sent down, the commissioners should send the indents to the wardens, to show the conditions they were delivered on. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: scan and annulet.*

## Aug. 10. 1412. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Sir Robert Yexley left on Wednesday last for Carlisle, with his 50 men: and must by this time be there. The delay was want of his imprest money, paid to him only on Lord Scrope's letter, who had left the warrant at London with one of his men. I must continue "my oweld songe," want of news. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: scan and annulet.*

## Aug. 17. 1413. WILLIAM SELBY [JUNIOR] TO CECIL.

I hear that my "negratious" brother is come from London without their lordships' leave, and is thought to have retired to Scotland, to her Majesty's and their great offence. I do not extenuate his fault, only intreat that I, who am and will be a stranger to his follies, may not be prejudiced in her Majesty's gracious "concept" nor your honor's. I do not understand that he is or has been in Scotland: he was at Newcastle, but where now I know not, as I laboured not to know, after hearing the manner of his coming away. I know and acknowledge the favour he had of your honor, and think that his impenitence, appearing by his lewd behaviour, and keeping profane and loose company, "haith not onely stirred upp Godes wrath against him," but alienated your honor and his best friends. His fault may with some, "blemish" my credit, but your honor knows "I am not the first true man that have had a dishonest brother." Berwick. *Signed: Will'm Selby.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1601.

Aug. 18. 1414. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Since the 13<sup>th</sup> instant I have received 4 several packets from you to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson—all sent off presently—the “ij last” were dated, one at London the 9<sup>th</sup> in the forenoon, the other, London the 10<sup>th</sup> in the forenoon—yet I received them together. The inclosed letter from M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson arrived when I was on horseback to meet the gentlemen of the country by my lord your brother's appointment—also to signify the Queen's pleasure for the pledges, and to confer with them as to bringing up recusants' children.

The King is reported to have summoned a great convention to be held at S<sup>t</sup> Johnston's on the 7<sup>th</sup> September. Berwick. *Signet*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Indorsed. War signet: fragment.*

Aug. 18. 1415. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Some gentlemen of my wardenry who were spoiled, made a rode in revenge, took the offenders, and brought off their goods, mostly stolen here, which have been given to those spoiled. I keep the prisoners here, notorious offenders, as the inclosed schedule shows. The King being ill-informed, is offended: I send copies of his letter and my answer, formerly sent to George Nicolson. One John Grame *alias* “Wills Jocke” has of late left his ancient dwelling-place for a place called “Agnes well,” within the lordship of Scaleby near the in-country: the most common road both for border thieves and her Majesty's forces. Thereby his kindred, mostly consins german, as Mangerton and Whithaugh, and Kiamonth (whose sister Jocke married) haunt that neighbourhood for bad purposes, and have banished the Queen's true subjects and oppress them by blackmail. On my coming down (his conscience accusing him) he has withdrawn into Scotland: and I have stationed the soldiers at his house, so that if he presumes to complain, pray commit him, till you learn his doings from the gentlemen here: as he has said that he will enter himself to the Queen not to me! a bad example to the evil disposed, if such an infamous person should prevail by outcry.

$2\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed*: “Aug. 18, 1601. The Lord Scroop's reason for his last rode into Scotland,” &c.

Inclosed in the same:—

## (1) (Nicolson to Scrope.)

That on Friday last complaint had been made to the King of a great roade on his honest subjects, whereat he was highly offended. On Saturday, showing the King Scrope's advertisement, he answered that if it had been done on the murderers of his late warden or notorious outlaws, as Sir Robert Carey had well and discreetly done under his warrant, he would have overlooked it—but being on honest and innocent men, he cannot in honor bear with it, and will send up a special envoy to complain, unless Scrope redress it without delay. That at Nicolson's earnest suit, the King had consented to stay for 8 days—when if Scrope does not mend it he will assuredly complain. He earnestly advises Scrope to endeavour to satisfy the King in the matter, to prevent mischievous results. “At Fawkland the x<sup>th</sup> of August 1601.” George Nicholson.

2 pp. *Copy by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed.*

## (2) (Scrope to Nicolson.)

[In very sharp terms]. The men taken were notorious thieves, not such as the King supposes. For Sir Robert Carey's government: he envies it not, but his own manner is not to suffer notorious murderers to go unpunished. As for Nicolson saying the King does not seek Scrope's remove: he has a princess of his own, and is bound to her service, and no subject of the King's.



1601.

He thought to have had thanks for taking these reseters of his warden's murderers: which might have encouraged him to take the murderers also, and wonders the King's officers have yet done nothing therein. Hopes the King will be better advised than "to send up a man of worth to be a broker for a companie of theves"! Rebukes Nicolson for being "so sillie" as to think the Queen will not see her people righted. Wonders he can think Scrope would speak ill of any man behind his back: it is not the manner of England, or of men in his place.

*2½ pp. Holograph of Scrope. Indorsed by his clerk: "August the 15<sup>th</sup> 1601. The coppie of the Lorde Scroopes lettre to M<sup>r</sup> George Nicolson."*

Aug. [18.] 1416. LORD BURGHLEY TO CECIL.

Having occasion to send the bearer to London upon my private business, I hope for news of your health. On receipt of your last, I stayed the 2 Scottish pledges I purposed to have returned, and was glad they had not gone—meaning henceforth rather to be thought too slow than too hasty: but though it would have done no harm, and the keeper was willing to hazard his own debt on the security they offered, I will keep them till you write again. I have asked the 3 wardens to give their opinions what security the gentlemen whom the pledges have indemnified, will give to keep them when sent to make satisfaction: but fear slender resolution from them as to delivery—and the opposite wardens find them too costly to receive, and rather think to weary us with keeping them, and that many of them may die in prison, or escape by corruption. So it is a "paradoxe" what to do with them: the keeper is unable, and must soon petition her Majesty for help in his past and future charges—to deliver them on weak security would be dishonorable—so I see no better course than the same they took with ours, *viz.*, putting in Scottish pledges, if they put in English, as I think these men will do, as they once offered. I would to God they had been so delivered at first, which would have been more honorable than to do it at the last.

"I am very sorry to heare of the evyll disposytion of your eyes: which by that offyce yow hold, yow must allwayes venture, as the soldyar venturyth his lyffe; wherof I desyre greatly by this bearer to heare of thamentment."

Before closing up this, I received yours by "young Chomley, that was one of the late tumulte:" signifying, that the Queen had granted the 200*l.* fine "purposyd" on him, to Captain Loovell, in reward of his last service, and that I should arbitrate between them. I am the most unfit of all for this matter: for what I shall abate to the one, shall lessen the recompence of the other, who served under me: while Chomley is a poor gentleman under my government, who looked half by my promise and my credit, to have been freed as well as others that were of more ability than he was. So I beseech you he may be freed, and Captain Loovell satisfied otherwise. I think he means to be a suitor to her Majesty. "Your trew affectionate brother." *Signed:* Tho. Burghley.

*2 pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed: ". . . received the 23 of August 1601." Wax seal: shield with 6 quarters, garter and motto (damaged.)*

Aug. 20. 1417. SIR W. BOWES TO CECIL.

"By M<sup>r</sup> Francis Gower your servant, a gentleman brought upp wyth my wyfes late husband, and one who must beholden to mee for defending his possibilitie to inherit all the Foljambes landes against the heire generall," I sought your furtherance in the Berwick pay. His lordship (it seemed on your motion) wrote to me, that he would pay M<sup>r</sup> Vernon for me at London 500*l.*, and later, I found M<sup>r</sup> Cloptou was to pay me the other 500*l.*, as he did: so without awaiting M<sup>r</sup> Gower's return, I made full pay to M<sup>r</sup> Vernon

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and all others, except 50*l.* to the master of ordnance, which exceeded my receipt, and was deferred till next pay. So albeit "had I nether that 500*l.*, nether c*ii.*" which the Lord Treasurer appointed me to receive of the "now Governor," yet I thank his lordship and especially your honor most humbly. I have now these 3½ years disbursed the whole of the Queen's treasure come to my hands, *viz.*, 52,500*l.*: and to the objection that I have not gone through with my accounts, I answer, that they have been tendered yearly to my lord and M<sup>r</sup> Auditor, which last "checked" 500*l.* to certain pensioners, which her Majesty has now allowed. I hope to find no more "checkes," but one of 50*l.* yearly, ordered by the late Lord Governor to the "cor-de-guarde" for coals and candles in their nightly winter watches, warranted by the present governor: "a noble and soldier-like change from a few old wretched watchers hired to the Queenes waged soldioures, capteynes, and pensioners, agreable to the best modern discipline." It may please you for the service sake, "and the memorie of your noble and deare freind, as occasion shalbe, to have this point mentioned to hir Majestie." Bradley.  
*Signed*: Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes.

1½ pp. *Holograph*; also address. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signed* (Bowes.)

Aug. 26. 1418. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I lately received 2 packets from you—one a letter from my lords of the Council, touching a debt in controversy between Captain Jackson and Cuthbert Armorer: which has been fully settled, Jackson acknowledging payment before me, and acquitting Armorer—the other packet dated 21<sup>st</sup>, I sent to Mr Nicolson, specially by my own servant, and have even now received this packet, sent to you with speed.

I look daily for great justice from my opposite, but have as yet nothing save a mass of good words and fair promises: "I attendinge the good hower at his good leysyer, whoe hathe hetherto byn hindered bey a great marreyge of his sister, wiche feast hathe continewed this x dayes." Berwick.  
*Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.

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1419. SCROPE ON THE KING OF SCOTS' CHARGES.

First:—That I left my march for Court without a deputy.

My allegiance (though upon one day's warning) compelled my repair to Court. Before I left, I depnted 4 gentlemen, who I daresay denied no justice to Scotland. They wrote often for it, and doubtless the King commanded it, but Johnston's many "blondie" stratagemes prevented it.

Secondly:—For my deferring days of meeting. I have held many, got many "naked" promises, but never "one ragge of redresse." Our assemblies consist of honest gentlemen, some from long distances, the opposite warden brings only broken borderers, so there is no equality. The often changing of the Scottish wardens, and their refusal to deal with matters before their own time, works great hindrances to justice.

Thirdly:—For the suppressing and executing of "Ebbies Arche."

He was a known chief actor in taking Kinmont out of Carlisle; and committed many murders, &c. here lately: justice for which being deferred, there was good reason to take him. Our good people are murdered and taken, and in spite of the King's commands and Johnston's promises, kept in chains, and fed like dogs most inhumanly: so this complaint seems but to hinder justice!

Lastly:—Touching Scottish fugitives who murdered Carmichael, reset by William of the Mote, and "Geordies Sandie."

Sandie is fugitive, and if the other be not responsible, it were fit, if your lordships direct, that he be severely prosecuted.

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3½ pp. *Holograph of Scrope. Indorsed* (by Cecil): "The answer to the Erl of Marr. P. Vaus: Cambridg."

Sept. 4. 1420. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

As he was taking horse with his brother Sir Robert Carey, to meet the Lord of Roxboroughe, he received the inclosed letters. There is no news. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 12. 1421. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

The inclosed packet was received this morning from Mr Nicolson. We are quiet here and no news, except William Hall one of the pledges, is escaped from York. I think our Northumberland men mean to let them lie there till they all escape! It were better they were let home on good bonds for quietness, and ending deadly fends, than let them escape thus by ones and twos, till all gone. I much fear any justice at Lord Roxborough's hands, but we are to meet on the 24<sup>th</sup> instant. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

¾ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Swan wafer signet.*

Sept. 17. 1422. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Notwithstanding the King's threats and discontents for my taking these thieves in Scotland, and the complaint of Newby—"what manner of man (I wold to God) you knew he is"—I had them indicted before the judges of assize, and had hanged them, if the Laird Johnston had not sent, requesting to meet me at Roclief, where he offered caution for their entry; which I refused, but was content to free them if he "pawned his honor" to redeliver them on 10 days' notice, since I took them in Scotland.

We have laid waste the Laird of Mangerton's house in Liddesdale, which has stricken fear in the rest, who wish to enter. I have answered, if they are not offenders, I will show favor, but if otherwise, I must take amends as I can. Johnston has taken one of Carmichael's chief murderers, and gone with him in great triumph to the King: where doubtless he shall be executed.

Henry Leigh lies at Newbie's house very poor, for it was told the King he hath "the French poxe": wherefore he will not suffer him to come near him. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet* (Scrope): *garter as before.*

Sept. 25. 1423. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I see by George Nicolson, the King intends a heavy complaint against me for a little revenge I have taken on those thieves who never rest spoiling us. If he makes such, I pray the favor of your letting me see it, and doubt not to satisfy the Queen. As yet, "we have but a leetle tickled him aboute the edges," but if they will not be quiet, I mean not to be in their debt. The Laird of Newby has brought me a letter from the Laird Johnston on behalf of a gentleman banished from Scotland, and says he has written to you for your favor: but I have stayed him at Bowleter hill, and he comes no nearer, till I know your pleasure. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

The soldiers have been used to have 6 barrels of gunpowder: and as the winter is at hand, when they need to watch, I pray your warrant to the master of ordinance to deliver it at Newcastle.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1601.

Sept. 27. 1424. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I received this letter with intreaty for such haste in respect of the "Lerd of Beltreses" coming, that I can write nothing of worth, though not for want of leisure. "Ouer greatest newes is, I hear all the Scottishe pretchers ar presentley to be caled home agayen: Master Robert Breuse and the rest." On Thursday last the lord of "Roxborowghe" and I kept a day of truce with good agreement and fair promises for continual proceeding.

Signed: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Oct. 12. 1425. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Having the opportunity of conveying this packet, newly received from M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson, and after great debate with myself whether men of my degree should meddle with things already in the hands of so grave and high wisdoms: I think it due to my allegiance "to showte my fooles bowelt," and understanding by your last letter of the Spaniards' landing in Ireland, now confirmed from Scotland, I could not be quiet without giving my opinion. I think they should have no leisure, for if they be once entrenched, or get a town to fortify themselves in, it will be hard to get them out again. Her Majesty should call home all her men and levy supplies: and for pay, let her not stay for a Parliament, but in the meantime, "taske" her best able subjects, who will contribute as willingly as she shall ask: for there is no time to lose, and it concerns all England if they got any "fottinge" there. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.

Oct. 14. 1426. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Since my last of the 9<sup>th</sup> of this month, wherein I certified you of 2 English gentlemen "fallen" into Scotland, and then at Lord Roxburgh's house called "the Freyers," and of his taking to the King at Edinburgh the Scots gentleman "by name then Master Bruse": within these 2 days, "Brewese beinge left ther, whoe the saye hathe confest maney things yet unknown"—my Lord Roxburgh is come back to his house, and these 2 Englishmen have sent me a letter by one of his men—unknown to my lord as they would make me believe. This I send up to you to examine whether there be such men, "ye or no"? For though it has a fair show and perhaps may be of no moment, I thought it best to do so. When they first went into Scotland, they called themselves "Cortney" and "Daves," and he that carried them "Bruse": now in this letter, they take other names, and "ther plase of whens they ar," whereby you may soon be satisfied of them. "I have also kept the seall of ther letter hole unbroken," which may somewhat discover them, and send the copy of my answer to them, for your directions. I have "a verey bad conseyet" of them and their dealings, and doubt they only wanted my letter to cloak their knavery. Sundry here think they are "Jesnettes." Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Fragment of wax signet. Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (The Englishmen to Carey.)

We intended to have come and intreated your lordship for licence to travel into Scotland, "to see the countrye, but wee weare lend out of the waye and abused by one Bruce,\* who undertook to bee a director unto us in our

\* Note on margin. "His righte name is Nerne. as hee hath now confessed."

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journey." It is since found by his confession to the King (to whom Lord Roxburgh carried him for some misdemeanors in his house) that he purposed to murder us, and other things are proved against him unknown to us. He has brought us into much trouble, for we are kept prisoners here by Lord Roxburgh, at the King's command, till he pleases to call us before him. We humbly ask your lordship to excuse our "fatal and involuntary error" in not coming to you: and that you would vouchsafe to move M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson, the Queen's agent here, to procure us speedy hearing by the King. We were not permitted to write before, either to you or M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson. "Hoping for such favour as honest men may expect from soe honorable a personage." 11th October. *Signed*: Peter Salstouhall. Ben. Rudyerd. "Of the M. Temple" written opposite both signatures.

Beseeching pardon for the messenger as we could get no better.

*1 p. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Wax seal; a shield with 2 eagles displayed, and a bend dexter charged with a mullet. Crest: on a helmet with mantlings, a slender-necked animal maned, issuing from a coronet, seemingly biting its breast. In good preservation.*

(2) (Carey's reply.)

In answer to their request for a letter to Nicolson, they must pardon him, both themselves and their business being unknown to him, and the manner of their being in Scotland suspicious. Meantime he can only comfort them that they are in the hands of a very honorable gentleman, whose friendship with the King will stand them in great stead: that M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson is very ready to do good offices for all her Majesty's well-affected subjects: and as for the King, he has not heard he is any way given to do wrong or injustice, especially to men in distress, as they seem to be. So they need not fear so competent a judge, and he wishes they may deserve well. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*1 p. Holograph: also indorsation. "1601, October 14. The coppey of a letter wryghten bey me unto the ij Englishe gentyllmen in Scotland."*

Oct. 17. 1427. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I received your letter, and am truly comforted with her Majesty's approval: heartily thanking you for your good furtherance. "This day Newby came to mee from the King (as he saide) and protested highly that his King would bee most glad of my favor": adding that he wonders at my obstinacy. I answered, that her Majesty's orders to me were to do him all lawful service, and I was ever ready thereto. He asked if I went to Parliament? I said her Majesty had occasion for me some time here. He added, "that the Queene had promised the King that in this Parlement the case of succession should be handled: and that then, ther is none to succede but his King. My repplie was: that we live under so happie an estate, as we hope never shalbe altered: and that I trusted in God, that her Majesties prosperous reigne should continev long after his Kings and his successors were extint. To this he replied, that it was the wishe of a good subject, but yet contrarie to the course of nature: addinge, that if I would pawne my honor to keepe counsell, he had 5 books com from London, touching the succession; of wich, 4 he delyvered to the King, the last he kept in his custodie, wich he wolde lend me to reade. Upon hearing heerof, I rose up and went from him, as I had been called in hast."

As he will surely come again from the King or long, I pray you for her Majesty's pleasure, whether I shall deal "so roundlie" as to stop such motions, or "hold him up with faire wether? . . . He tolde me, Davi Fowles (a man the Queene hates above all Scotsmen, for that he wrote to that King at his last being heere, that she was deade; whom I pray to God to

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"preserve many yeeres after he is rotten, and to make her estate answerably florishing, as her vertnes be admirables) is presently to com to her Majestie and that he is appointed to moove for the succession, if he dare! yet he feares that King wiibe forced to send a man of better qualittie to that end."

When you write to see me shortly, I take comfort, and have written to M<sup>r</sup> Vice-Chamberlain for my leave: yet as I am needed here, and think Parliament will be adjourned till after Christmas, I will go or stay, as her Majesty appoints: requesting to know by your next.

On Michaelmas next, I must pay M<sup>r</sup> Brakenbury 2000*l.*: "and where nothing is, so greate a som must have a great tyme of gatheringe." Also I am shown how I may pay it without endangering my estate, as you shall hear on my coming up. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Postscript.—My writ reached me on Sunday at 4 P.M.: and the Bishop's on Monday after, "who being noue of the richest" and requiring time to provide for the journey, "he being so greate a blessing of God to this country," I hope your honor will excuse his not coming at the beginning, as he makes all the haste he can.

2½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil.*

Oct. 19. 1428. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I have been "sumwhat inquisitive of" these two Englishmen with the Lord of Roxburgh: and it is now thought in Scotland and by the examination of "Nerne," the Scotsman with them; that their coming was but a matter of love with them and deceit in him. Saltonstall was in love with Rudyerd's sister: "Rudyerd faveringe his swt, kept a nother gentyleman whoe likewayes faverd her, from suche excese as he required: wheruppon this second lover practised withe the forsayed Scot that he should summe waye conveye them from hinderinge his interpreyes. Wheruppon the Scot practised withe them that they shold make a jhorney withe him into Scotland and ther to bestowe the latter part of the sommer in sportinge, and that he wold be a mean they shold be well entertayened and much mad on: and that bey his faver and frendshipe, he wold procner them to be mad knightes, that therbey the sayed Saltonstall myghte the better accomplishe his misteres, in tha he myghte make her a ladye." On which "folishe sormis" they came away with him, and he confessed he meant to cut their throats, when he could find the chance. This is all that can be found out.

The Scots are very "jheleyus and trubeled withe the Dwke of Perones embasage" fearing it pscages little good to them. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

Nov. 21. 1429. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

While sending this packet received from Master Nicolson this morning, I thought good to certify you that lately Sir William Read took such a sudder fit, as he was in a "sowend, and longe ear they cold recover life in him, they wear fayen to sende to Berwike for a pleysition": he was all night like to die, but recovered. Still he is but a "pufe," and cannot live long. He has the keeping of "the Holley and Fearnle Ilandes" and all the rest of the litle islands thereabout: things of great moment for the country and Berwick, for if an enemy hold Holy Island, Northumberland and Berwick would be in great distress—so in case he dies, it were good some order were taken for a successor. The Dunkerkeres are constantly there, watching for a ship bringing victuals here. It is thought that Sir William's base sou is joined in his patent: but he is not a man fit for such a charge. It is under the Governor of Berwick, and gets all things from hence, as

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powder, shot, pikes, muskets, bills, victual, &c., and if need be, men to furnish it: wherefore the Governor should have the charge of the islands, both for defence and other respects. For since my brother Sir Robert got the captainship of Norham, the Governor of Berwick is "teyd" there, and can go no where for health, profit, or repose, except a night or two in the country, to "recreat himselfe." The islands never needed a good captain more, for Sir William is old and blind: and to tell you the truth, it is very slenderly guarded from danger, seeing the Spaniards will trouble us in Ireland even in the winter season—and if they should get "Osteand," we should have more guests than we like: for as Holy Island is kept now, I would undertake with 1 or 2 of the Dunkirk ships, to land a few men at night and take it, keeping it till more came—for once gotten, it would be easier kept than "Kinsall"\* in Ireland.

I would recommend another thing to your honor. "Ther is a leard of Scotland, named the Leard of Gethe,† wiche for sume perticulers amongst themselves, hathe byn thought fit bey the Kinge to be banysshed for a tyme his owen conterey: whoe hathe maad choyse to com hether tyll his remission be granted, and tyll the Earle of Arrell can be gred withe him. This Lerd of Gethe is the onley prinsepall man of the Earle Hunteleys howes, and on that hathe ever parted him in all his actyones, and is on that maye doe most and knoes most of the earles mynd of aney man livinge."

Liking his treatment here, he has made great offers that if her Majesty will please to show favor to the Earl of Huntly, as she has done to others of these Scottish lords, he will undertake to do her such service in Ireland, and Scotland also, as all Scotland cannot do! He is of great power in his own country, and offers much by means of the "Scottishe Irishe," if but to keep the rebels from helping the Spaniards—and this "bey resun that on Donnell Gorme whoe is the chefe of all thoes Scotcs in Ierland, and countes himself Kinge of the Ilandes, is Hunteleys follower, and as it wear his household man"—also he doubts not but that Huntly, if well dealt with by the Queen, would send 3000 or 4000 "Hilandes meu" over to Ireland to trouble "Terone."

But the matter must be so secretly handled that the King may not hear of it till Huntly and Gethe think fit: and if nothing is to be done in it, let it be like "an idell drem." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

It will be 14 or 20 days yet ere Gethe will get his chief: therefore if it please you think the offer over and let me know.

3 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Sean wax signet: damaged.*

Nov. 23. 1430. PASSPORT FOR PATRICK ADGEOR, &c.

Licence by Sir John Carey, knight, marshal and governor of the town and castle of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and lord warden of the East Marches, for "Patrick Adgeor ‡ and John Smell," Scotsmen and merchants of Edinburgh, to travel southwards and take shipping for France: the first riding a bay ambling nag 16 hands high, the other a white ambling nag of 15 hands. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: "To all justices of peace," &c. *Sean waxer signet (smaller.)*

Similar for James Greame Scottish gentleman also bound for France: riding a grey ambling nag of 16 hands. Berwick, 24<sup>th</sup> November. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Signet as before.*

\* Kinsale.

† Gicht.

‡ Edgar!

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Dec. 6. 1431. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I have even now received this packet, but durst not stay it to let you know of the Duke of Lennox's arrival, which I am expecting, and have sent out horsemen to meet him. There are many Scottish noblemen and gentlemen here awaiting him, but I believe he will "desave them all," for none of his servants are yet come. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: damaged.*

Dec. 7. 1432. JOHN MUSGRAVE TO SCROPE.

Sending him copy of letter from the Laird Johnston touching Geordies Sandie, Davie Grame of the Milleis, and Fergus Wille for resetting Sandies Rynyon and his "bayrus," who burned Johnston's mill of Corrie, and were at the hership of Bengall: for his directions. He hears credibly that Sandies Rynyon, &c., were reset at Geordies Sandie's house last Wednesday night.

The Scotts and Ellottes have again been spoiling the Grames, and the latter the former, like to cause more "combe." Notwithstanding Scrope's assurance (at M<sup>r</sup> Pickering's suit) to Andrew Grayme of the Myll, including one Geordie Heatherton of West Linton: yet "Thome of Tholscheils" and some of the soldiers by the captain's order have taken 2 horses and Heatherton's insight, and refuse to redeliver them. Carlisle. *Signed*: John Musgrave.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Wax signet (Musgrave.)*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Johnston to Musgrave.)

Complaining that while he was at Court, his mill of Corrie was burnt by Sandies Rynyon, &c., who are reset by Geordies Sandie and two others. As he cannot believe Musgrave will oversee them within his bounds, craves early redress, as also for the "heirschipp of Bengall whilk they folkes commytted" since Lord Scrope departed. Lochmaben Castle 29 November 1601. Johnston.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Copy by Musgrave's clerk. Addressed*: "To the right worschipfull and his assured frend, M<sup>r</sup> John Musgrave of Caterlen, warden depute," &c. *Indorsed*: "Copie," &c.

Dec. 17. 1433. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I received your letter of 2<sup>d</sup> on the 6<sup>th</sup> hereof, and sent the inclosed packet to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson, which was with him 2 or 3 days before the Duke: who came not to this town till the 8<sup>th</sup>, and stayed a whole day.

Touching that part of your letter as to Holy Island, &c., it is true that Sir William Read has a "pattent" for the keeping it during his own life and his son William Read's life: "but howe good that will prove to yonge Williame I knoe not—for that when the yonge man was borne his motheres husband was alive, and Ser Williame Reades owen wife was alive, so as bey lawe I thinke his pattent will not prove good." Besides he is very unfit for such a charge, being a "boun companyon" and loving good company better than to be tied to necessary attendance. It is very unfit that any man but the Governor of Berwick have it: for without the one the other can not be kept, they are so necessary to each other to serve the turn, for if the enemy took the island, we could neither get victuals nor shipping here, and they might starve us in Northumberland. So I refer the matter to your wisdom.

For the Earl of Huntly's offer by Gethe, I shall as you direct, let it fall. Yet I would have been glad that it might have been accepted at the least



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with thanks, if but to have kept them from doing ill, for no man living in Scotland has more power to harm her Majesty, and therefore is worth keeping in good terms. But I have only done my duty in signifying it to your honor. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*1 p. Holograph; closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Sealed and signed.*

Dec. 18. 1434. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I must recommend an information delivered to me yesterday, to your consideration. I am in some doubt whether it proceeds "of some newe fear and malles to gether," conceived by the party against his master; but having got it from him, who would needs deliver it, protesting that he would at once come and justify it before your honor whenever called on, I first took his oath on a book that he had set down nothing but the truth, and made him set his hand to it with 2 witnesses, as you may see. He says much more which he either dare not or will not tell me: but will declare all when in presence of the lords of the Council.

This was what passed between them: this Roger Muschampe was the said Thomas Kar's man and much trusted by him: but lately Master Kar brought him to me and charged him with stealing his corn—whereon I sent him with a "*mittemus*" to gaol, but on the way Sir William Read, as a justice of peace, bailed him. Whereon Muschampe, being bailed to answer law, went home to his house: which Master Kar bearing, sent for him and ordered him, his wife, and family to leave it, and as the man says, drew his sword on him in his own house and followed him out of doors to have done him some mischief, if he had not been warned. So Muschampe having lost his living and being in fear of his life, I sent for Master Kar to take order between them. But before my letter came, he had gone to Sleyford, "to thoes Kares of Lingcolnesher to kepe his Crismas," where he will be found now.

If you prosecute him, I shall have the deadly feud of all his great friends (who are many) in this country, if his trouble is known to come from me: therefore his man should come up and justify his own doings. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

Your honor will please conceal from his great friends at Court or London, it proceeds from me: wherein they will be very inquisitive. Yet use it as pleases yourself.

*1 p. Holograph; very closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Sealed and signed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Muschampe's information.)

First:—When Lord Willoughby, then Governor, was at Court about March (42 Eliz.), Mr John Gnevara his deputy, hearing the King was expected near this March, forbade by open proclamation, any English gentleman or others to enter Scotland, or "file the Marches" without the lord warden's or his special licence. While the King was at Lord Roxburgh's house "the Friars," 3 miles from the March, Thomas Carr rode from his house of Foord, with James Nicholson a Scotsman, both in blue caps and grey cloaks, between 9 and 10 o'clock at night to the Friars, and were taken privately by Lord Roxburgh to the King's chamber, conferring with him 2 hours, when Carr offered his service to the King: who accepted it, and drank to him in wine, offering to pleasure him with any "adoes" he had in Scotland.

At Whitsunday after, the said Carr, as he promised Lord Roxburgh, rode to Edinburgh, with his brother Mr William Carr, Captain John Selby (his

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brother-in-law), William Reade the younger, Francis Broade, pensioner, Valentyne Weast, soldier, and David Armorer, his only counsellor. Also in her Majesty's 42<sup>d</sup> and 43<sup>d</sup> years he had many trysts, &c., with Lord Roxburgh, every month or 20 days in summer, so secretly, that he took horse at midnight, accompanied with Nicolson or Armorer only.

The said Carr for a contempt he made on a "poast" with a packet of letters from Newcastle, was sent for by the Queen's pursuivant, but by Lord Willoughby's favor, was discharged on only paying his fees: whereon he spoke thus in Berwick in Roger Muschamp's hearing: "'I would rather be damned body and soule, then I wrought not those base roges some villanye,' that should send any villayne pursevant for him; and that they were not worthy to be counsailors that should send for ani gentillman in that sorte—farther wishinge that he had Secretori Cecill, that deformed body, that he might teare him in peeces! And not so surceasing his malicious speeches against Secretori Cecill, but ofte, in his owne house, after the rebellion of the Erle of Essex, he wold often wishe, that he had Secretori Cecill in his power, to teare in peeces, that he might save the Erle of Essex lyfe, whose overthrowe he was."

Farther the said Thomas Carr in his chamber in Lady Selby's house (his mother-in-law) at Berwick, spoke thus of our sovereign lady: "Were she gon, then men might be sett by, but as long as she lived, men wold not be cared for." And other speeches, which I dare not set down, but will declare before the Council (with pardon). Roger Muschampe his marke. Witnesses: John Houdspeth, Tho. Tomkins. Taken on his oath before me this 17<sup>th</sup> December 1601.

2 pp. A broad sheet, in one writing. Indorsed: "Articles against Mr Thomas Carr of Foord, in the countie of Northumberland, esquier."

(1) Copy in another hand.

2 pp. Broad sheet. Indorsed by Cecil?

[1601.]  
Dec.

#### 1435. SCROPE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Touching the miserable estate and plight of the West March.

I crave pardon to speak again, though I have often declared and foretold the desolation now "consummat, and heerafter past recure," without immediate aid.

1. The outer border backward to service, the towns disabled, and the "ynelands" men weak and distracted.

2. The waters of Esk and Leven, inhabited by the Grames and Armstrangs, broken men, married and in near kindred and kindness with the Scots opposite, all mingled and "cohabiting" together: whereby the Scots make incursions as far as Peareth, by aid of their English friends, without shout or cry! The lamentable forays since my departure at Brampton, Stannix, Corbie, and about Carlisle, by some of these, and the Carletons, fugitives for murders, &c., chief leaders, show their dealings.

3. Bewcastle, Gilsland, &c., late the Lord Dacres, where there were "wount to bee ( ) able horsmen" now not "( )" are now beggared and "depeopled" by these inroads, and partly by the "ill carriage" of the officers; as Rowkley, late under Henry Leighe, and more so in Bewcastle under Thomas Musgrave—allowing the Scots free access by day or by night.

4. As for the towns, *viz.*, this city, Brampton, Peareth, and the rest,—their service was usually by foot, but by sickness, dearth, &c., they are so wasted, that a very small number might surprise the city itself, as appeared lately.

5. For the body and inner part of this March: the mortal contentions and feuds of the chief gentlemen (partly known to your honours), make their

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service of small importance—well known to our incorrigible opposites, and our own evil doers. "As noe warden can serve without them, no more can he serve by them, where ther is no union nor kindness."

6. For Westmerland: their distance, &c., deprives the border of their aid—they cannot be levied suddenly, they are not expert in the fells, nor in border stratagems; the enemy are forewarned and ready for them, and except in an open invasion, they are no help to the warden.

7. This March is opposed to the best horsemen and worst offenders in the Scottish borders, strong and many in number: and their masters being their wardens, and using them in their own contentions, avoid or protract justice for their inroads here. The warden can neither pursue them, nor his English outlaws with them, except by a garrison always in readiness.

8. The old deadly feuds of some of these chief surnames of Scotland, are lately revived against the chief gentlemen and "leale" men of this March: so the latter must either be put to the sword, or quit their dwellings, or make dishonourable compositions, to the hurt of their own neighbours.

9. "It is in vulgar tradition (which your honors do knowe)" that in the time of former wardens this March was always fortified with a competent garrison of horse and foot—and assuredly in its present state it needs them now, in this fit season when food for horse and man is most abundant, and I their warden had rather lose life and estate than live helpless to them in their "dwyninge subvertion."

Lastly. If help was needful in my lord my father's time when he had the unbroken strength of Gilsland, Burgh, Bewcastle, and the Grames of Esk and Leven? much more now.

5½ pp. *Holograph: a'so Indorsement*: "The Lord Scroopes intimation of the decayes and estate of the West Marches, with his requisition of ayde."

[1601.

Dec. .] 1436. ABSTRACT OF HARDING'S DEET.

State of Harding's debts, how far they have hitherto come to the Queen as yet known at Berwick.

[A recapitulation of the dispute between the late Lord Governor and the marshal formerly detailed, and how the money was appropriated since in whole or part]. "The making good whereof hath much troubled the lords with untrue suggestions, that not the paye but an imprest was made by the Treasurer to hir Majesties gurryson. So as this gould of Hardings may well be tearmed *Tolosanum aurum*, so well knowne in the Romane proverbe!"

1 p. *Contemporary official hand. Indorsed.*

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Jan. 8. 1437. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Your packet for Scotland, dated last of December, I received yesterday morning and presently sent away to Master Nicolson—the other dated 1<sup>st</sup> instant I received this morning, and as in your letter to myself you desired there should be at least 2 days between their delivery, I keep this last in my own hands till to-morrow before sending it off.

The reason of this bearer's coming up, is I cannot well keep him, for he says he is afraid of his life by Master Care's threats: who has cast him, his wife and family out of the town. Though they have "heyerd another howes in the towen, noen of Master Care, he sayes that neither the partye that owes the howes, dares receive his wife for displesinge Master Care, neither can they gett aney staye or forberans ether in that towen nor near ther aboutes": so he is forced to come up for fear, and also to get maintenance. It seems to me he has something more to say, that he keeps till he come before your honor. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

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1 p. *Holograph*; also *address*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: *swan and annulet*.

Jan. 13. 1438. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I have this day received your packet, and a letter to myself with the happy and blessed news of the overthrow of the Irish rebels, for which God be praised and make us thankful. The packet is sent off to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson. I understand the King of Scots is with great care and diligence, providing to have able and sufficient men for Ireland. "Even as I was at supper" this night, this inclosed letter to my Lord of Bedford was brought, and one to myself, that Sir John Foster died this afternoon. I could think of no better way than to inclose it; and your honor may please cause it to be presently sent to "Bedford howes," with order that it be sent to the Earl, for it concerns him much. Sir William Read will not live long after, for he begins to fail much: wherefore it may please your honor to remember my former informations, and also that I bear the full burden as governor here and live at more charge than the last did, without any allowance but my own marshal's fee of 260*l*.: though her Majesty has often promised I should no more use the place, but have allowance for it. The Queen has never been served here "so good chepe" as I have done for very near 10 years, without troubling her: the marshals have had "the art of beggiuge and of gettinge," so I refer myself to your honourable consideration. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: *swan, &c*.

Jan. 28. 1439. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I have received your packet of 22<sup>d</sup> instant, inclosing one from the King's agent there to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson, and another to the Lord Treasurer of Scotland: both which as you directed, I have stayed for a day or two, as your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> had gone to Scotland but the day before. I have received from M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson a packet with certain papers and have sent them. I am highly bound for the good news from Ireland.

I fear shortly to have too much occasion to complain of my neighbour officer for want of justice, but shall take all good means, having "maney stringes to my bowe," to avoid inconvenience. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: *swan, &c*.

Jan. 29. 1440. PASSPORT FOR SIR JAMES SCOTT, &c.

Licencing the bearer, "Sir James Scott knight, a gentillman of Scotland," to pass to London on his lawful affairs, with his servants and followers, *viz.*, James Colvill, Patrick Shawe, and Robert Boswell, with a black ambling nag, with a white hind foot, 15 hands high, another black ambling nag, of 14 hands, a grey ambling nag, 14 hands, and a brown "sower" nag ambling and trotting, a little white in the forehead; of 14 hands. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed as before*. *Indorsed*. *No seal*.

Feb. 1. 1441. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Signifying that he has been informed that one Master Loptone of Kewbicke, an English gentleman, has had many secret meetings with the King and been kindly entertained by him—the better to cloak which and avoid suspicion, he has insinuated himself and goes about M<sup>r</sup> George Nicolson. His man "Gregore Cottes" often passes by stealth through Tyvedale,

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keeping much on the Borders by unlawful courses. He has thought of intercepting him, but has forborne, in case he might be appointed by Cecil for the Queen's service, and begs his instructions, as Cottes is shortly to take one of his secret journeys. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk* ". . . concerning M<sup>r</sup> Lepton's man."

Feb. 8. 1442. SIR JOHN CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

As directed by your letter of 22<sup>d</sup> January, I yesterday, Saturday, sent M<sup>r</sup> Richard Musgrave, my deputy warden, and 100 horse to Alnwick, to receive from M<sup>r</sup> Henry Woodrington, deputy warden of the Middle March, 4 of the Scottish pledges sent by the Council at York, who were this day, Sunday, delivered to my officer and brought hither, where they shall remain in "Haddokes Hole" as you command. Desiring your pleasure, whether if they can procure sufficient gentlemen of Northumberland bound for them as true prisoners here, I may release them out of this "lothsome prison of Haddokes Hole (yea or no)?" the rather as neither they nor their friends have in any way offended any person in this March. Unless we keep them for other men's faults, I know not why we should keep them, having no manner of complaint. For those who have done murders, &c. (the Bornes, Yonges, and Pringles) are still at York, which, in my simple opinion, had been fitter to send here, than these men. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: sean, &c.*

Feb. 8. 1443. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

[In similar terms to the preceding. The prisoners were delivered by Mark Errington on behalf of the deputy warden]. I am a humble suitor in behalf of "a great boye that I have hear, my sune Herrey Carey whoe loses his tyme to manche hear": that you would move her Majesty for a licence for him to travel into France, to fit himself better for her service, and for a man of mine attending him. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: sean, &c.*

Feb. 12. 1444. PASSPORT FOR JAMES COLVILLE, &c.

Licensing the bearers "James Collvill, lord of Easter Wemys, accompanied with Captaine James Collvill, William Collvill, Peir la Villaine, Thomas Beige, and Allester Royle," to pass through London to France, travelling on their own horses, *viz.*, 2 grey ambling nags, of 15 hands; 2 bay ambling nags, of 15 hands; 1 little grey ambling nag, of 10 hands; 1 grey ambling mare, of 15 hands; and 1 grey ambling nag, of 16 hands. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed as before. Indorsed*: "Lord Wemos his pasport," &c. *No seal.*

Feb. 19. 1445. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

M<sup>r</sup> David Fowles and M<sup>r</sup> Roger Ashton, passing through this way to Scotland, conferred with the 4 pledges in "Haddoxe Hole," and found two of them very sick and like to die. They also thought it a very lothsome prison, and desired I would show the prisoners some favour, which I said I could not do against my instructions: whereon they entreated me to send the enclosed letter without delay. In my last I moved for a licence for my son Henry to travel, which if not done, I humbly beg you to remember, for he loses much time here. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

¾ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: sean, &c.*

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Feb. 24. 1446. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

The opposite warden and I appointed two days of truce—the first on the Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> instant, where my deputy warden met them at Carham the first town on our Border, where they fyled 23 bills and got satisfaction for most of them: my deputy staying “a pretty while” and proclaiming that any Scottish man unsatisfied, should come in for justice. Next day Thursday 18<sup>th</sup>, my deputy and people went to Readinge in Scotland, where we had 37 bills fyled, and had justice for most of them: the rest to be satisfied next truce day. If your honor ask Lord Scrope and my brother Sir Robert, I believe they will say they never heard of the like.

As Lord Roxburgh wrote to me, I met him with my deputy and 4 other gentlemen, at “Readinge boorne” (he with the like) on Saturday following the 26<sup>th</sup>, more willingly as 3 or 4 great and private bills were unsatisfied, and from their nature, scarcely to be looked for: when he of his own accord said he was most willing to do it if in his power. But he feared it, for most part of his wardenry were about revolting from him, they were so disquieted and discontented at those 4 pledges being brought here, and the rest left at York without hope of relief, all being put in “for on self same cause.” I know this much, that the unruly begin to be much busyer than they were wont, and that Lord Roxburgh who was to have gone with the King to the west, is stayed at home to keep his country quiet. Himself is much grieved at the ill-requital for his late forwardness in keeping peace, and told me that rather than suffer these disgraces, he would give up his office. The disgrace is that he being warden, gave himself up, then these men, and now 4 of them are sent down, without his being thought worthy of being acquainted therewith. I would gladly know what I shall do with these 4—being at present bound to keep them in Haddockes Hole? For their friends have made great offers to satisfy the indents in the commissioners’ books, to the uttermost, and meantime entreat me for your pleasure that they may be released from “that lothsome pryson” into the town, on sufficient security. I think 3 of them will quickly satisfy bills to relieve themselves. I would not have been thus tedious, but fear, if the unruly “rabble have their head”—very likely if Lord Roxburgh resigns—that great danger will follow. Though he has been a very ill man to this border, it is very needful to keep him in good terms, for assuredly he can do much good and harm. Berwick.  
*Signed*: Jhon Carey.

I have sent inclosed his letter to me since we last met.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Lord Roxburgh to Carey.)

Representing his own great exertions in executing the conditions as to pledges under the treaty, as his letters of late since Sir Robert Carey's going to London, his conferences with George Nicolson, and his dealings in the late Lord Willoughby's time, will show—all ending in nothing, “bot ane great heip of lyklike heasartis\* of the peax, gif this cours now haldin with the pledgis be followit furthe, and not ordourit ia tyme”! He cannot cease wondering on what grounds the pledges are so treated—one part brought down, and the other lying at York “in monstrous extremeteis,” as reported! for it was intended all should be dealt with alike, and Sir Robert Carey has written to him several times from London, that a general course for them all was to be expected. Ends with a very earnest desire that Sir John will at once intercede that the same course may be taken with all: those at York brought down, and those at Berwick, when the others come, may all taste of

\* Hazards.

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the Queen's clemency, and the wardens have power to end that "langsum work." The King has dealt with George Nicolson to mediate in the matter. "At Halydene the xxij of Februar 1602." *Signed*: Roxburgh.

1½ pp. *Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Feb. 24. 1447. JAMES VI TO JOHN MUSGRAVE.

Having come in person to put down the broken men of the border, as he signified before leaving Edinburgh to the English Council, requires Musgrave to meet him at Dumfries on Saturday 27<sup>th</sup> instant to confer on the best means, bringing with him a note of any complaints against Scotland, the Scottish officer doing the like on the other part. Has ordered his warden the Laird of Johnstoun to "convoy" him. Intreats him to have his forces ready to concur in putting down these "lymeris."

"From Drumfries this xxiiij of Febrer 1602." *Signed*: James R.

¾ p. *Addressed*: "To . . . Mr Johnne Musgrave, warden deputie owir the West Marche of England," &c. *Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: ". . . to the deputy warden of the Middle March." *Wafer signet* (Scotland.)

Feb. 24. 1448. GEORGE NICOLSON TO JOHN MUSGRAVE.

That the King had come hither this day to punish his rebellious subjects, and is desirous to meet Musgrave next Saturday. Hopes he has received full directions, as the King's letters and his own "went up" the 6<sup>th</sup>. Meant to have gone to see him, but will now await his coming.

"At Dumfries the 24 of Febr. 1602." *Signed*: George Nicolson.

¾ p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "14 Februar 1601. Mr Nicholson to the deputy warden of the Middle Marches." *Fragment of wax signet.*

Feb. 28. 1449. PASSPORT FOR CAPTAIN ANDREW GREY, &amp;c.

Licence for the bearer "Captaine Andro Grey, a gentillman of Scotland," to travel to France through London, with 3 men and 5 horses, *viz.*, 2 grey ambling nags, and 3 brown bay ambling, each of 15 hands high. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

¾ p. *Addressed as before.*

(At foot). "It mae pleas your honor to grant your pasport for Captayn Grae and for his cossinge Jhon Grae": each with a nag and a servant. *Signed*: Ja. Hudson.

March 10. 1450. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Though my officer the warden sergeant, assured me when these pledges first came down, that none of them were offenders here, yet having occasion to search, I find in the rolls, &c., that they are liable under certain bills for any of their surname therein: therefore they have conferred with their friends and set down under their hands, what they will be content to do, which I send you. The gentlemen of the country are also willing to tryst with them and their friends in any good sort: wherein I can do nothing myself, or further it without your direction.

I had "a rar pese of justes" from Lord Roxburgh on the day we fyled the 37 bills with his deputy warden at Relinge. Amongst those delivered was one George Yonge, "whoe ferst stroke hime that filed him, beinge his fellowe thefe, in the mouthe, and after used veray ill wordes to the depey warden, offering to laye his hand on his dager, and used him selfe in a veray contemtebell and proud maner of behavior." The deputy warden, however,

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delivered him to the plaintiff, but when Lord Roxburgh heard of it, he was very angry that his deputy had not delivered another man and brought Yonge home to be hanged. However, he asked me, with my deputy and 6 more, to meet him, his deputy, and 6 more next day: which we did, when he desired to have Yonge delivered and he would give another "fauler worthe the bill": also that on Thursday the 25<sup>th</sup> February I would meet him, bringing with me 40 of the gentlemen to decide certain bills. We kept our meeting, appointing assisers on both sides to debate on our bills: meantime he caused George Yonge to be hanged "uppon a fayer payer of gallows he had caused to be mad for the nones, and afterwarles caused him to be striped and hanged in cheynes, wher he remaynes styll hanginge in cheynes at the metinge plase for an exampell." It was more worthy, for he much affected the man and loves his surname best in Scotland: yet never a one of them dare take him down or so much as speak of it. Such a piece of justice has never been before done. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey. Will Tat of the Cherretres, a pledge, has been very sick of "an agewe and the dropsey" ever since he came, and is like to die: another one Rotherford has likewise been very sick.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

March 17. 1451. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

The East Teydale men dare not steal openly since Lord Roxburgh's justice, but they have stirred up the Liddesdale fugitive Armstrangs, &c., who being under bonds to the West and Middle Marches, make "pray of this poore litell March," and have been in three times—at Newton, taking some nags from the herd at noon day—another time some oxen and sheep from the Hage house, where on the fray rising, they stayed and killed one of the followers, hurting others: lastly, they took from Houghtell some nags of M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Karres' men, hurting one, and a gentleman called Duke Durrell. Whereon I conferred with M<sup>r</sup> Karre who said he would trap them either here or in Scotland: and hearing they were fugitives, I was content any way. So hearing they would on the 14<sup>th</sup> hereof, be at the town of Gradon in Tyvydale, to steal somewhere—he got a strong party of his friends, and took in a house there 5 of the most notable outlaws whose names are enclosed, and brought them here yesterday "being the xv<sup>th</sup>," where they are in safe keeping, and before they and I part, I will take a reasonable safe course with them and their friends, to free this wardeny of such men. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk: "xv<sup>th</sup> Mar. Sir John Carey," &c. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

March 20. 1452. PASSPORT FOR M. M. DE HALLIER, &c.

Licensing the bearers, "Mounsier de Hallier and Mounsier de Prine, gentlemen of France, Alexander Borthwick and John Weshart, gentlemen of Scotland, being of the France Kinges guard," to pass to London, with 4 horses, viz., 2 grey ambling nags of 15 hands, 1 grey ambling nag of 12 hands, and 1 brown bay ambling nag of 13 hands. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed as before.*

May 8. 1453. JOHN MUSGRAVE TO CECIL.

That (as Lord Scrope directed) he yesterday met with the Scottish warden for justice, delivering sundry "faulthers" and filing bills for non-



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appearance : and they are to meet again on 10<sup>th</sup> June for redress. Carlisle.  
*Signed* : John Musgrave.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet* (Musgrave).

May 8. 1454. JOHN MUSGRAVE TO SCROPE.

[To same effect, somewhat fuller.] One principal man, Christy of the Barnleische, was delivered for M<sup>r</sup> Sympson. The next meeting on 10<sup>th</sup> June to be at Gretno kirk. Carlisle. *Signed* : John Musgrave.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Wafer signet* (Musgrave).

May 14. 1455. PASSPORT FOR CAPTAIN TYRRE, &C.

Licensing the bearers "Captaine Thomas Tyrre, captaine of the Scottes Guard to the King of France, and Master Robert Dugglesse, gentleman of Scotland," to pass through Lodon to France, with 4 horses, *viz.*, 3 grey ambling nags, of 14 hands high, and a brown bay ambling gelding, with white star in the forehead, of 15 hands. Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed as before.*

May 18. 1456. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Your letter of 1<sup>st</sup> April, and packet inclosed, wherein it seems there were letters from the French ambassador,—I received at 9 A.M. on the 7<sup>th</sup> and sent them off before 10—so they were not long in my hands. On the 14<sup>th</sup>, I received another packet, which I sent at once to Master Nicolson.

The reason why I have not ere this written of the pledges in prison here, is they have been working through their friends to Lord Roxburgh for some relief from others more "faulterers then they wer" : but they find him so cold in furtherance, as he is displeas'd at the course taken with them, that there is little hope of their freedom while they live—he who should be their greatest help being their greatest hinderer. One only has found relief through his own friends, *viz.*, Richard Rotherford, who has satisfied all the bills on himself or his surname, by this East March—and on Saturday last the 15<sup>th</sup> I delivered him at Alnwick to those sent by M<sup>r</sup> Woodrington deputy-warden, to receive him. It is thought Lord Roxburgh will try to stay him there, not being relieved by his means. I can only excuse myself for not writing sooner to you, but no man was ever so left without assistance as I am : my lord governor was seldom without 2 assistants, and yet he would call for more, and I must be content with none ; for they take what liberty they will to follow their own business, "and so her Majesty unserved" ! Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

\* I have had 3 meetings with Lord Roxburgh, and one with Lord Hume, and we have agreed very well. I am "overlayed" with business, and cannot do all alone. As my deputy warden is sick in the country, I must entreat you to send either the treasurer, the porter, or the chamberlain, that as I am daily called to the country, one may be in the town.

1 p. *Holograph ; closely written. Addressed. Indorsed* : ". . . received 23 May 1602." *Was signet* : swan, &c.

[May . ] 1457. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Your last packet to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson was conveyed safe with all speed, as I usually do : but the posts are so slack, that they deserve some check, for they use all alike, not knowing what they carry.

\* On margin.

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Lord Roxburgh it is thought means to hold on his "pretended" journey through England to France: and to see the Queen's Majesty with great offers of service.

The Dunkirkers still plague us: lately 4 small ships, "or rather botes," came here with corn, &c., for the palace. The Dunkirkers went to a neighbour of ours in Scotland, within 8 miles of us, there taking in fresh water and victuals, waiting to rifle these 4 poor men, when they came out. The latter hearing this, staid as long as they could for the charges, but being "overlaid" with these, stole out of our haven, were at once chased by the Dunkirkers and driven into Holy Island, whence they dare not stir. It is thought others call themselves "Dunkirkers": but be what they will, we are much troubled with them. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

*1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk. Wax signet: scan, &c.*

May . 1458. CECIL TO SIR JOHN CAREY.

I send you a packet for M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson, wherein is a despatch from the lords of the Council to the King, as to the "cloathes" confiscated at Durham. I would the King were prepared before his subjects reported it: for if it be considered what acts are passed against the English, the course of confiscation on breach of the statute need not be thought unreasonable: for it seems there is a late law in Scotland confiscating all foreign cloth, wherein I doubt not the King will see some course of mitigation, after the Queen's moderation to him.

Our only news is that Spain prepares a great fleet to fight our ships at sea, fearing we take his treasure: and her Majesty sends a reinforcement to her ships. Sir F. Vere is upon his departure for the Low Countries with 3000 men, besides "voluntaryes." I hope ere long a blow will be struck between the Archduke and Count Mawrice, "in such sort as shall give him little courage to dwell before Ostend."

*2½ pp. Draft. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk: "To Sir John Carey."*

May 24. 1459. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL

I have no occasion but to send this packet, presently arrived. "The Kinge of Scotland hathe byn latley ill disposed of his helthe, but is at Dumfermlinge withe his Queen, bey resun his yongest duke hath byn in sune danger bey siknes, havinge byn fayen to change his norse." Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

*¼ p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

May 26. 1460. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL

By your letter of 19<sup>th</sup> May I find the Queen has been informed that I ordinarily sell the companies here, and every private soldier's "rome," and my wife is a party in these contracts: which, if true, then I am a very unworthy officer, and she is mightily abused by others who receive great fees of her, that should be here to look into my doings. But as my faults cannot be excused by accusing others, I will answer for myself—first, since my coming to absolute authority here, no companies have been sold, unless my own is meant, which was in my lord governor's time with his full allowance: wherein I thought myself rather deserving of praise than blame, for thus sparing her Majesty trouble. Since then all that I know of "first and last," is this of Sir William Reade, who having served her Majesty's father, her sister, and her brother, and now herself, this 50 years and more, and now grown old, blind, and very "impodent," and his company very disorderly by his weakness and absence, he has often solicited me to suffer

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him to put his son in his place, which after my long denial, he still importuned me to consent to, saying her Majesty would be pleased to do him that favour for his long services. I, considering the riotousness of his soldiers, was content to let him surrender it to his son, who is a sufficient and worthy man. It is true for this favor, that the young man has promised that one day "he wilbe thankefull to me in some sort: but to saye ther is aney on peney yet taken or reseved, ther is no suche thinge, ncther when ther shalbe God knoes; for I kno not." I think this information is made against me by some that I have prevented selling their own companies: and are glad of the chance. For the charge against my wife: I can say no more, "but it maybe she hathe the fault that commonley most wemen have, wiche is covetushnes: and if aney capteyn will of his owen fre disposityon, geve her a plase, wherof she hathe not maney, and that she have no frend to bestowe it on, it maybe she had asleve take sumwhat as not to hav thanks: but shewer I ame, she hathe never extorted of aney bodey nor taken to the prejndise or hort of aney bodey: and I knoe that maney ladeyes near the Cort wold not consume ther lives in this vild conterey with the so small takiuges"! The captains are mostly risen from "mean sogers," have only their pay of 2s. a day to live on, and must either make some profit when places fall in their hands, or be troublesome with suits to her Majesty, and remain in very "pooer and begerley" estate. For the poor soldiers' buying and selling places, which breeds the chief report, it has been done both these 20 years before my time, and now, though much against my will: yet I must sometimes tolerate it from necessity—for there are here many old soldiers that have served the Queen's ancestors at Calles, Bullen, and Gines, &c., and are impotent through hurts and loss of blood, and "bedred," whom her Majesty will not for pity discharge—thus her garrison here would be "franghte" with these old men, if they were not allowed to take 15*l.* or 16*l.* for their place from some young lusty able fellow! and who is the worse for it? the Queen is rid of an old man, and has an able young one in his room: and the old man is satisfied with somewhat to keep him from starving or begging from her Majesty.

Now to justify myself: I will say, and say truly, that there was never governor or deputy governor, or marshal, "or what you will call me, for I knoe not what to call myself"—that ever served here with less profit or commodity than I have done, or with greater care to do honest service: and if I fail in her Majesty's good opinion by these slanderous reports, I shall think myself a very nnhappy man, and curse the time of my unfortunate birth, which gave me no better fortune. Referring to the Queen's sacred memory, whether ever any one enjoyed this place so long as I, and have given her so little trouble. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

2½ pp. *Holograph; closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 26. 1461. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of May gave me more comfort than ever I had before, finding your favour towards me in my good cause: "and, secondley, to see that pale Envey, havinge convind all her malissius, leane, and maney collered sprites, to searche out sumc mischefe agayenst me, cane feynd no worse matter to worke ther poysoned venam uppon." [Defends himself against the charges of selling companies, &c., as in preceding letter, somewhat more fully]. Sir William Reade's son has only one fault "insedent to maney men of better worth then he is." As for Lady Carey, "if her Majesty wold searche into takers so narrowley" he believes "she myghte feynd takers of another kynd nearrer hand, suche as take moer in on daye then she hathe dun in all her life: and she myght awenser for herself, it is not the use in aney plase wher she hath byn, to doe good tornes *gratis*": adding, that she has not benefited herself

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so much as was worth a complaint! Offers to come up in 4 days only, and answer before the Queen: when it may be, he will make his accusers "pull ther hates as lowe over ther eyes" as he will do over his. Finally enlarges on the liberty his accusers enjoy while drawing the Queen's pay, to follow their own business and practise against others, while he is "teyed here at a stake" serving the Queen as chargeably as any former governor without any fee, though often promised, and abiding any scandal that wild or base persons may prefer: his estate neglected and his suits at law mismanaged, his tenants refusing to pay their rents, regarding him not "upe hear in a moddey phase wher no good is." Prays him to bear with his tediousness as necessity has drawn him to it, and could say much more if they were "fase to fase." Has written another letter "muche after the form of this," and refers both to his consideration. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*3 pp. Holograph. Large sheets very closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

May 26. 1462. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Reminding him "now that the holie dayes be paste," of John Musgrave's suit, which he left with M<sup>r</sup> Winibanck, who may forget it. Cannot satisfy him in "the other matter" unless he betrayed trust, which he knows Cecil would not wish him to do. Langer. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

*3/4 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

June 4. 1463. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Master Nicolson having come here with Master Roger Aston who is here on his way to Court from the King of Scots, asked me to send this packet. With much ado, I have sent Robert Frissald laird of Everton, on Tuesday last the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, to Alawick, where M<sup>r</sup> Henry Woodrington's men received him: so am well quit of two of the pledges. I look daily to hear that Easleye's friends of Clittoughe have agreed for his relief, but I fear that Will Tate of the Cherreytres will stick long on my hands: for I see none of his friends doing anything. Lord Roxburgh, it is thought, means shortly to travel to France, and if he can, to come to our Court to offer service for his own purposes.

"The Kinge and Queen are yet muche trubeled withe the deathe of ther yonge sun, not havinge ben sen muche abrod sines his deathe." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

*1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

June 11. 1464. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I received your letter of the 4<sup>th</sup>, on Thursday the 10<sup>th</sup>, as I sat at dinner, and sent away the packet for M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson to Scotland. As your honor notes, the negligence of the posts is very great: my letters are 6 or 7 days "a comminge," and sometimes more, "scares a jhorneye manes pase," a great hindrance to service. Lord Roxburgh meanes to hold his journey. "As for Dethicke, of whome you ar deseyerus to hear of, he is styll in the castell of Edenborowghe, senserred bey menes dispositiouns, good or bad: but his facte and him selfe favored bey the Kinge—for that he feyndes that in trewthe his fact proseded ether out of a drunken frensey, or out of a sertayen fear of some hort to be dun to himselfe: for that the compeny wiche came into his chamber wear in a consultatyon to a taken awaye his wepones from him, seinge him ley slepinge uppon his bed, and his wepones drawn bey him—for that presentley uppon ther speches he waked and lef of his bed, beinge as it semes ether drunk or desperatley in fear, and ded that blodey

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"ded, wherbey maney men doe talk accordinge to ther fanseyes. No man cane knoe the sertentye of his confession but the Counsell that examind him : but it is unlikeley he hathe confest aney harme to himselfe : for that the Kinge favers himselfe and his cause, so muche as well he cane for the clamor of his pepell, whoes willes and consayetes ar to them a lawe." The man that brought me the packet here inclosed, tells me he was laid for in Scotland to be intercepted : and M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson is in some fear of Northumberland, so I will make more speed "uppon the backe of them," as they are letters you are very "carfull of." Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet : swan, &c.*

June 27. 1465. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Your last packet to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson dated 20<sup>th</sup> Junne, only came on Saturday 26<sup>th</sup>, almost 7 days on the way. I sent them at once to him, "now over the water" with the King. I must ask your and the Council's help in this matter, before it gets worse.—The King of Scots every year changes and alters his "quoyne" from better to worse, calling in his ancient good money to be "new mynted," as, for example, he lately coined these which I here send you, *viz.*, "the one of gould goes for xij s. which a good suffrant \* will waye downe; the peece of silver goes for sixtene pence, which waies litle above xij *d.*" There is not a penny "steringe or to be gotten," but of that kind, also "half peeces and quarters, and half quarters," but I thought it enough to send these two. This money is brought in since our last pay, for it is no older—in this way : our merchants having great debts in Scotland, and traffic for their wares besides, took it "from ill debtors," also for their wares, knowing how to be rid of it, even had it been worse. So great s<sup>ums</sup> of it entered the town, and "went reasonable currant" till they passed it to the company victuallers, from whom the community and the soldier must receive it : so it is now all over the town and country, and neither merchant nor victualler will take it back above 10s. the gold peece and 13*d.* the silver. This, if not looked to, will draw much money out of England, if the King can get our gold, and of 10s. make 12s.; and of our 12*d.* make 16*d.* or very near that rate. I know that not a penny of English money comes, but it is straight converted into Scots : and in 3 weeks after our pay in English money, it is a great chance to find a penny of it here : or if a gentleman or passenger come with 10*l.* or 20*l.* in his purse, more or less, in 3 days it will be changed into Scots money, "such brokers and dealers there is for English money. . . . The statesmen and magistrates" of this town would have me to proclaim and call down the money to its true value, showing me precedents by former governors ; but I refuse, as I take so dealing with money belongs to princes, and the King being at amity with the Queen's majesty I dare not call down his coin without your warrant, praying your consideration before next pay, to avoid much mischief and inconvenience. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

† It is reported there is 100,000*l.* of this money lately coined in Scotland : that the merchants have bought up all the gold and silver, and silver plate, to be got. So the only way to stop it is to proclaim it at its true value.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet : swan, &c.*

June 30. 1466. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

This packet is from Master Nicolson, who is now "over the water" with the King at St Johnstons. Things are quiet here, save that in the end, I fear I shall be forced both to complain and seek some assistance from her Majesty in upholding "the oilis of wardendrey, wiche is likeley to goe to

\* Sovereign.

† Holograph.

1602.

"wracke and deekaye," if not assisted from above—but being loath to be troublesome, I forbear so doing till I must. The Scottish nobleman that you wrote to me of—"the Lord of Kintail bey name Kenneye, is come to this towen of Berwike yester night beinge the 29<sup>th</sup> of Jun": and shall have, as you request, the best entertainment I can give him. But he desires to remain close in his lodging, himself or his name unknown, till he hears from his friends how he stands with the King!

The Dunkirkers still lie off the coast, so that nobody dares stir: many think some of our neighbours take the name, for most of their crews are Scots, and when they get anything, "streke" to the Scottish ports near adjoining us, getting men and fresh victuals, and then lying in wait for their prey. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: "Without date," &c. *Was signed*: swan, &c.

July . 1467. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Since I came to Carlisle, I find that M<sup>r</sup> John Musgrave has done his duty, as the inclosed will show you: though some would report otherwise. Therefore I pray you remember my suit for him to her Majesty, left by me as you desired to M<sup>r</sup> Wynybanck: the effecting which shall bind me, and as I gave him some hope of it, it might be sent presently, it would make me happy.

The thieves threaten, but have done little: and I have apprehended 3 of the "notablest" while stealing, "and meane (God willinge) to hange them in part of payment," for example to others. If M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie Herbert have not sent the letter to Captain Boyer, I pray you send it: for without the soldiers, no service can be done. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Indorsed*: "1602. L. Scroope to my master, without date," &c.

July 6. 1468. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

While delivering his letters to the post boy who was starting, he heard a post horn blow, and stayed him: but received only a packet for M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson which he sent off to Scotland. Also the inclosed directed to Cecil and dated at Berwick, but by the schedule appears to come from London. It is directed on the back at Berwick 1<sup>st</sup> July, and received at "Walton crose" same day. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.

July 6. 1469. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Having received this packet from M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson "even nowe presentley," I let you know that on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant I received yours of 29<sup>th</sup> of last with a packet for him sent off then. By your letter to my self "I feynd it is imputed sum faulte in you for the yonge Gowreyes beinge in England: wherof I can best acquit youer honer, for I knoe best what you sayed to me of that matter, when thoes things wear in questyon: and for my owen part, as I will ever prove honest to you, so I delt honestley and faythefulley in that cause: for so sowen as I hard her Majestyes resolution bey you and your owen oppinion, I sent them presentley word bey ther frendes and adversed them to goe into sume other conterey and to leave England. Sines wiche tyme I have never had any thinge to doe wiche them but discharged myselfe cleane from any delioge withe them what so ever shold become of them: never the lese I thinke they ar inded styll in England, but whear or in what sort I knoe not, nether have I, sins knowlege

1602.

"of her Majestes pleser, enqueyered after them : wher so ever they be they ar at ther oven perrell, for I gave them warninge enofe." Here is nothing of worth or "great stat" matters in Scotland, the King imploying himself in agreeing feuds and quarrels among themselves. I have this day received a letter from my lords of Council by one Master Muscham : which I will answer in my next. It seems he and his friends care not to wrong others so as it serves their own turn.

M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson has written for Lord Roxburgh's licence to pass through England, and asked me to intreat it might be sent here to me, as we must have conference before he goes. Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet : swan, &c.*

July 12. 1470. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I have not only obeyed my lords of the Council in sending the 3 garrison men to Newcastle assizes, but in answering their honors' letter, in case I be thought negligent or uncivil : inclosing the copy to your honor, to deliver it or not, as you see best.

As for George Muschamp's complaint, that a recognizance taken in Berwick is void in law : it is strange he questions it, whereof, till his "brother" William Selby came hither, the like was never heard of ! It may be that a private justice cannot take one out of his own country, but if it is to be so here, we shall soon have "a wyeld country," for they are already by the ears, and every gentleman like to cut his neighbour's throat, on the little encouragement by the "yonge gentillman porters wordes" when here, that "bandes" taken in Berwick were worthless ! giving me more to do keeping our gentlemen quiet, than in defending them from the Scots. For it is sure than in the time of Lords Wharton, Evers, Graye, Bedford, and of my lord my father, none was forced to go 7 or 8 miles out of this town to take such for private persons. And now by M<sup>r</sup> Selby's and M<sup>r</sup> Muschamp's making question, there have been more affrays and blood shed this twelvemonth than before.

The need that such power should be vested in myself as in the above great officers is shown, *viz.*, there is not between Alwrick and Berwick or in the East March, one resident justice of peace "that can steere" but myself, commonly left alone in the town : the only justices are Sir William Reade, blind and impotent, "his sences fayleth him," M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Bradford "lyen long of a ded paulsey" ; another M<sup>r</sup> Muschampe, I know not if one or not, for since he was sheriff he has not been at assizes : so if they decline my authority, I must go 7 or 8 miles out to take bonds and hear causes, leaving everything in peril ! "Some quicke wittes there be," that cannot subject themselves to rule, and yet would be "absolute inoughe yf them selves had awthoritie." If this will not serve, I am on the commission of *Oyer and Terminer* for York, Durham, Newcastle, and Berwick—wherein I desire your opinion. Lord Hume has already sent many of his horses, and is expected here this day bound for London. His servants tell me he is ambassador to France. Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

1  $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet : swan, &c.*

July 15. 1471. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Lord Roxburgh has written to me earnestly begging his licence may be sent down to him with speed : it is his only stay. Lord Hume was sent for by the King, but has taken leave, and is to be here "as to-morrow" on his journey to France. There is no news but that some of those in her Majesty's pay seem to lie here only to trouble the country. Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet : swan, &c.*

1602.

July 17. 1472. SCROPE TO CECIL.

My Lord Johnston was with me here : and the inclosed will show you what passed between us.

I entreat you most earnestly to write to Sir John Carey that when Sir Robert Yaxsley is gone (whereof I know not) Captain Boyer may come hither : for, though M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Herbert told me the letters were sent, he takes no notice. Therefore, "for the love of God," put him in mind of it : as nothing can be done without them. Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*

Inclosed in the same :—

(Indent between Scrope and Johnston.)

At Carlisle, 16th July 1602. Indented between the Lord Scrope,  
K.G., &c., and Sir James Johnston, knight, &c.

*Extracts.*

*Under six heads.*

(1) For restitution of all horses, &c., taken of the English prisoners of Graistock barony for which Rob Grame of the Lanriggs was delivered.

(2) All outrages since Lord Scrope's coming home, *viz.*, "the last day of June," to be respectively dealt with in 10 days, &c.

(4) As to following trodes in either realm without hindrance.

(5) Names of outlaws and irresponsible men on both marches to be interchanged and proclaimed fugitives.

(6) And these to be apprehended in either realm by the warden of the other, or his deputy, without hindrance. Johnston.

"Since this indent passed between the Lard Johnston and mee, Robert Grame now prisoner, not only tooke one of my servants prisoner into Scotland, and his horse and geare, contrary the last acte, as I shall proove upon him, but further uttered such bloudy words against his magistrat as are intollerable because they aproch neare to if they be not, petti-treason."

2½ pp. *In two clerks' hands. Indorsed.*

(1) Another copy, without the last paragraph.

1½ pp. *In another clerk's hand. Indorsed.*

July 17. 1473. LANCELOT CARLETON TO LORD THOMAS HOWARD.

Some years by past "it was my happ," by means of a gentleman "that dwellith in the Yle of Arron," to procure the offer of a service to her Majesty to have been done by "Ser James Maklayo of the Yles": who then offered, for such a sum of mouey "as in reasson he woulde demande, to delever the Earle of Tyrone in persson, or ells his heade, into Inglande within one half yeare after the conclusion: ande for performansse of the samme, to delever his eldest sune in pawn secretly to hir Majestie within the Tower of London, and thayr, for want of performance, to tayke his sunes liif." Nothing was done before Maklayn was killed, "and so thayr was an eande of that"! And, hearing Tyrone's traitorous attempts continue ever since, I feared a like opportunity would be hard to get, for "Malklayns enterprys was groundede furth (?) of a desyer of reavendge for his own perticuler, together with hop of profit, for that he was marsanarye."

Now, I have just learned of an accident fallen out in Ireland, that in my simple opinion offers a good hope to give Tyrone his due desert, if the Queen greatly desires it : choosing to lay the same open to your lordship, whom I am bound to serve on my knees, if I had no feet to stand on. There is a deadly hate taken against Tyrone by "Angus Makonell, lorde of Kentyre, and his sune Sir James," for a matter depending "betwixt Sir James Makonell and Mak-



1602.

surrell buye," for certain lands in Ireland and the "castell of Dunlyps"\*: where in Tyrone, by a cunning composition, has got the castle from Sir James who had possession of it, to "Maksurle buye." Sir James, within this 6 weeks, has returned out of Ireland to Kentyre with deep desire of revenge, and yet at departing passed it over without any great show till time gives him opportunity. Sir James is of wonderful resolution, but both "perillous and marsenary," and so likelier for the service, if he will take it in hand: for a number of Tyrone's followers are kinsmen and servants to Sir James and his father, and would serve them against Tyrone on commandment.

Seeing all these "comes together so fitly," I would that your lordship impart them to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, and if it pleased her Majesty, I doubt not to find means to sound Sir James's disposition, and proceed further, "as it shall pleas Gode to permit": for I think if he takes it up, he is the man to carry it out. I hear, further that "O'Donnell is in Spayne practising matters for Yerlande": he and Sir James is "full cossinge germayns," and Sir James can do much with him—if not to join in this action, yet to get intelligence from him for her Majesty at his return. Considering the "corrupt nature of the people, I thinke profit might drawe goode intelligence from abowt Tyrone to passe thorowe Kentyer to Arron and so to Carlell . . . I have sutche frindes dwelling in the Ylle of Arron" as I know will do her Majesty any service they can in this. Brampton in Gilsland. *Signed*: Lancilote Carleton.

2 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Holograph*; also address: "To the right ho. the Lo. Thomas Howorde, at his lordships lodginge in the Charter howsse," &c. *Indorsed by Cecil*.

July 22. 1474. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I put your honor in remembrance (while sending up this packet of M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson's) of the Scottish coin, that some immediate order be taken. We have only had our last pay a week, and scarce a penny of English money about, unless in some man's hand that does not need to use it; and there are such controversies, some taking the Scottish at one value, some at another, that it were best I think, to proclaim it, which, in the end, would banish it—for, so long as they can gain 3d. or 4d. in a shilling, and above 2s. in an angel, I cannot blame them. Praying also answer of Master Muschamp's petition touching bonds taken here. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: *sean*, &c.

July 25. 1475. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

We may shortly expect more news: for yesterday, at night, the 24<sup>th</sup>, as I was going to supper, a French ambassador came here, the "Baron du Toor"; he landed at Scarborough, and came on through Yorkshire, &c. He is accompanied only with his lady, 2 gentlewomen, and 6 men. This afternoon he goes on by Dunbar towards Edinburgh; where when well settled, I doubt not he will breed matter for more resolution than hitherto. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

I would remind your honor to take order about the Scottish money: it breeds great controversy.

1 p. *Postscript holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*. *Wax signet*: *sean*, &c.

[1602.

Aug.  
early in.]

1476. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

This French amobassador hath yet bred no great matter worth advertising, save only he hath lately had private audience with the King at Faucke-

\* Dunluce.

[1602.]

land, where he delivered 3 letters—one in his own favour—a private letter from the French King to the King of Scotland, and the third his commission. He was honorably received, and is come back to Leith till his provisions are laid in, and his house, which he has taken at Edinburgh, be made ready. He is to have open audience there shortly, before the King and his whole Council. We have no news yet but that all is very quiet. "Marey! it is muche feared bey most of the Scotemen that this embassetur will shortly sett maney handes and hedes a worke; his ill is muche feared in Scotland, in so muche as they muche deseuer an English embassetur to be sent hether that myghte sumwhat crosse his practeyses. I ame nowe this weke to hold iij dayes of trewes—ij for Tevedale withe my lord of Roxboroughe, and on for the Mershe with my lord Hewmes ofeser—wherin we expecte great justes to be dun." *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: "Without date. Sir John Carey to my master from Barwick."

1602.  
Aug. 5.

## 1477. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

The reason why I have not written to you "of long tyme" is I received M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson's last packet at Newcastle, where I was attending the judges' pleasure, with three garrison horsemen, *viz.*, the 2 Armorers, and young Henry Collingwood, who were there the three assise days, and M<sup>r</sup> Muschamp could at last charge them with nothing! So the justices of assise, seeing it was "playne mallice," discharged them. Since returning I have taken muster of the East Marches, and find it worse than I could wish, but they promise it shall be better: I am even now taking horse to view the last part of it. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

Your last packet received at Newcastle. I sent to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson at once. The posts are somewhat amended but not much.

1 p. *Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: scan, &c.*

[Aug.  
early in.]

## 1478. CECIL TO SIR JOHN CAREY.

The removal and dispersing at this time of most of the Council is the reason why you have no answer as to Muschamp or the "new coyne." The first, touching your authority, shall be considered and answered. For the money: the more we consider, "the further we are to seeke," for her Majesty cannot "barr" her neighbour prince making his own coin: and for "utteringe" it, I wonder more at the simplicity of our people than any thing—that they take it at more than "inward vallue"! for if the Queen abased her coin, and proclaimed it "at the heyght," there would soon be searchings by the "merchants" and prices made accordingly. We know no other remedy but to make this known to the "common sort," and caution them: for if they take it as "bullion," it is no harm to the Queen; but if they take it for English wares, and Scottish wares "fetch away" English money, that is against law, and the penalty forfeiture.

We hear the Deputy prospers against the rebels in Ireland: "but such are the allarums" of Spanish forces expected there that her Majesty is sending 3000 or 4000 men to enforce her army.

From France we hear "the Marshall Byron is beheded."\* Let this packet go to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson, and say in your next if my letters come any faster.

3½ pp. *Corrected draft. Indorsed*: "Mynute to Sir Jhon Cary."

\* 31st July 1602.

1602.  
Aug. 29. 1479. SCROPE TO CECIL.

The Laird of Johnston being now at Langholm to revenge Carmichael's cruel murder by Sandie Rinion and his sons, I have as he requested, burned their resetters' houses in Bewcastle: but will surcease till he has burned those on his side who have spoiled our March. I see by Mr Vice-Chamberlain that the warrant for Captain Boyer is now sent to Sir John Carey, and am much beholden: for Sir Robert Yaxley's absence was a great hindrance. I entreat you for a warrant to the master of the ordnance for 6 barrels of powder to be here with expedition—as has been usually granted, to encourage them at first coming. The country is quiet, and I hope by your means, when the frost and snow hinder service here, I may come up: "but of that I will not speake yet." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 29. 1480. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

That Lord Roxburgh, after being long absent at Court with the King, had returned to his charge, and had met Carey and Sir Robert his brother on one day on the March, declaring publicly the King's great desire to keep the peace: in proof of which, he had taken 4 of the best of every surname bound to answer for the harms done by their names. He has also entreated that the rest of the pledges be brought from York to this March that order may be taken as to their bills, &c.

George Nicolson has both written, and when at Berwick (as he is sometimes) begged Carey to move Mr Secretary for Clement Armorer, who attended Sir William Eure to Scotland by Lord Willoughby's command, that he may be recalled from exile and banishment, as he might do her Majesty better service in his own country. As Nicolson is very desirous of this, he hopes it may be granted. There is little yet known about the French ambassador, or why he is come: those of the religion fear for little good, except causing faction between the nobility and the King, or confirming the papist lords in obstinacy. Lord Roxburgh intends to journey to England on Tuesday next, staying that night at Woodrington. He desires to offer service to her Majesty, and "to kisse her fayer handes." This cannot be hurtful, so as he is not believed or accepted farther than he may be useful, for he says much more than he will perform, but, if used in his own kind, may be a good instrument. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

Prays the favor of his causing the inclosed letter to be delivered to Carey's sister.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

Aug. 29. 1481. SIR ROBERT CAREY TO CECIL.

Since my return I had a day of truce with Johnston, the Scots west warden, with good justice: and have liberty to deal with fugitives in his office as I can get them here or there.

My brother Sir John and myself also met with my lord of Roxburgh, who means to be in London shortly to go to France. He desires to see your honor, and kiss her Majesty's hands. He has kept his charge for long in very good order, and done us much justice, and has left great charge with the gentleman in his place to like effect: so, if her Majesty or yourself take knowledge that you hear of this by me, it will let him think I have done him right, and encourage him in well-doing. Berwick. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

"Sir, you shall find Roxborow wise and a well spoken man, and one that knowes his owne worthe: his studys has bin ever to mayntayn his owne greatnes and ambition. It is greatly wondrid at heare his undertaking to

1602.

"travill at this time, and thought sum great matters lyes hid and not discouvid of his intentions. I reffer him to your self, who knowes best how to use him."

1½ pp. *Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1602.  
Aug.-  
Sept.]

1482. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Having received his letter, thanks him warmly for accomplishing his desire to the Queen for John Musgrave.

"For the other matter: if his continence be longe there," Cecil shall be advertised. The country is quiet: but prays his remembrance of gun powder for the soldiers. *Not signed.*

¾ p. *Holograph. Indorsed: "Lord Scroope to my master."*

1602.  
Sept. 1.

1483. PASSPORT FOR NINIAN AND JOHN SETON.

Licensing the bearers "Nynyon Ceaton and John Ceaton, gentillmen of Scotland," to pass to London with 4 horses, viz., 1 "sowred" colour ambling nag of 15 hands, 1 black ambling nag, with star on forehead, of 16 hands, and 1 brown bay, and 1 grey ambling nag of 15 hands. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

1 p. *Addressed as before. Indorsed. Wafer signet: small scan.*

Sept. 1.

1484. THE MAYOR, &amp;C., OF BERWICK TO CECIL.

The following cause is in dependance before the wardens of the East Marches: the fishing "cobles" of both sides of Tweed have, by ancient custom, always forborne fishing in close time, viz., from Michaelmas till St Andrew tide, the English offenders suffering punishment, and the cobles of Scots offending being taken and brought to Berwick "shoare," and yet given back at the end of close time. About 5 years ago, some were so taken of Sir George and Sir Alexander Humes, and of "one Mistris Hume of Hutonhall": the 2 knights took their's back without offence, but M<sup>r</sup> Hume refused though with less reason, for her farmers were English and part owners of the cobles and nets offending—and prosecutes by March law the supposed takers, under an old law, made in the time of the wars, giving leave to fish in Tweed "so long as Barwick and Roxbrough ar in the hands of the English," seconding it by an article in the treaty made by Sir Thomas Cornwallys and other commissioners, that any unlawful disturbers should pay 20s. for every tide—under which she claims 400l. for a half year, the rent of her fishing being but 5l. yearly, and her coble and net not above 3l! In the "trysting" between the parties to settle the dispute, mention has been made of an ancient law (22 Edward 4<sup>th</sup>) prohibiting trade between the realms, save at Berwick and Carlisle, on pain of forfeiture: whereby the Bishop of Durbam seized certain Scotsmen's goods to near 1000l., which her Majesty, on the King's letter, was pleased to remit and cause redelivery, and it was represented to the Scots that their law was made in the "heate of wrathe" and to destroy the fish in unseasonable time: their answer was, the Queen had done graciously, but they would stand on their own law, though the King might also do his pleasure. We, being unwilling to have such a precedent, moved Sir John Carey, lord warden, in the matter, doubting not he will do his uttermost to end it, or pass it to commissioners. But, as in the meantime it is a great hindrance to March justice, we humbly move your honor for her Majesty's pleasure to the King of Scots in this behalf, not regarding the value of the thing so much, as the preservation of the river and good neighbourhood hereafter. Berwick. *Signed: Mark Saltonstall, maier, Thomas Parkinson, John Ourde, Geordj Morton.*

If your honor for satisfaction herein, please to use M<sup>r</sup> William Selby the

1602.

younger, we think and hope he can and will advise you, being "singularly experimented" in Border affairs.

*2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed: " . . . Mayor and aldermen of Berwick," &c.*

Sept. 10. 1485. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

With this packet from Mr Nicolson, I must send some account of our late justice showing Lord Roxburgh's care before his going. Wednesday and Thursday last, the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> instant, were truce days. On the first I went into Scotland and received delivery for 22 bills against the East March, a thing never before seen in one day, 6 or 7 being "a great matter"! and had it not been for the Laird of Newton and his sons coming to us with an outcry that 100 Scots were running a foray on his town and had taken 9 or 10 score head of cattle, when we broke up and followed the fray, the warden and his friends willingly going with us to raise the country if needed: but there was no such matter, they had lost nothing, nor seen anybody—we would have got all our justice. Next day they came to me in England, and got all they demanded—9 foul bills, with delivery of our faulters—and fyled 2 more of their own, whereon we parted. Besides all this, my lord of Roxburgh since going has sent word that his wardenry and all his friends shall not suffer any other warden to come through them to do us any hurt. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

*1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil.*

Sept. 12. 1486. GEORGE ELL TO ROBIN OF PICHELL.

"Ro. heare is my very good frende, and a gentleman of very good place, very desirous to se Scotland, and I, perceyvinge he purposinge to come into that part where now you live, coulde not let suche oportunitie pase without comending my selfe unto yow. And withall I hartelie intreat yow to use him in easie sort as my owne selfe wear with yow. And I muche desire that yow and he may be thorowlie acquainted, for he haythe bene a great traveler, and a brave soulder. I wishe I had but a good occasion to have comed with him. All your frendes and myne are in health. Ro. of Pichell and all the rest. So . . . I betake you to God." *Signed: Geo. Ell.*

"The good English man supp about. Comend me to Watt Greime."

*½ p. Holograph; also address: "To his very lovinge frende Robin of Pichell," &c. Indorsed: "Geo. Ell. to Robin Pichell. Small wafer signet: indistinct.*

Sept. 12. 1487. HENRY DENTON TO WALTER GRAYME.

"Wattre Grayme: I pray ye of all kyndness repayre presently unto this gentleman to Caryell in your best attyre, and saufe conduct him to the Scotishe Cort, wher he is desyrrouse to be: and yf ye carry him to the Goodman of the Roastres, and desyre him for my sayke to afford him his best furtherance in his jorney to the Kyng, I shall think myselfe ever more behading him. In any cayse, have a cayre of his weldoing in his passage: for he is my ladyes nere kynsman and my very good frende. Even so assuring myselfe of your best assystance to wardes him in his jorney thether, with my veray hartly commendacions to the Goodman of the Roastres and all my good frendes ther." From Clyffe. *Signed: Henry Denton.*

*½ p. Addressed: "To his loving frende Walter Grayme *alio* Whintons Watt, or, in his absence, to the Goodman of the Roastres," &c. Indorsed.*

1602.

Sept. 24. 1488. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Sending him a packet from Nicolson, and that the King is expected shortly in the West Borders for justice.

Complains of the rest of the council being so little at Berwick, as they should be for their own credit. Though he holds all the offices of the town, he gets not a penny for one of them except his poor marshalship! Begs Cecil, when he finds her Majesty "in some pleasant umor," to remind her of her frequent promises in Lord Willoughby's time, that Carey should not remain without some allowance, and that she has the governor's fee in her own lands now. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

Sept. 27. 1489. SIR R. CAREY TO CECIL.

Having great need to be at London next term, besides his desire once a year to see her Majesty, and be among his friends, humbly entreats for his leave, as his March is very quiet, and he undertakes it shall so remain. Has sent his servant to follow his honour till his leave is granted: will trouble her Majesty with no "shuts," as he only desires to see his friends, and dispatch his own business. Woodrington. *Signed*: Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Michaelmas. 1490. WEST MARCH OUTLAWRIES, &amp;c.

"*Sessio pacis post Festum Sancti Michaelis, 1602.*"

Robert Grame *alias* "Robs Robbe" and Richard Grame *alias* "Hutcheons Arthur Richie," indicted with others [of 5 several robberies and burglaries, Feb. to September in 44 Eliz.], also "Richard Grame of the Moshande, in the countie of Cumberland yoeman ys indicted and owlawed. Exigent out of the Crowne office.

\* "Richie Grame *alias* Arthurs Richie, standinge indicted and owlawed of tow several murtheres of the surnouns of the Blacklockes of Beaumont."

1 p. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed.*

Sept. 30. 1491. SCROPE TO NICOLSON.

I have your letter, wondering what induced you to look for me at Dumfries without her Majesty's special command: "consideringe her displeasur with Jhon Musgrave and other gentlemen for thire last voyage there, howsoever they shewed your warrant for thire so dooinge. I thincke, if som man had not excused it better, you had gotten no thankes for your labor."

Where the King taxes me with rashness, "il counsell," and absence from my March, I marvel what "spleane" he has to me more than my brethren, who are oftener absent and none doing such justice as I! and if I cannot answer my proudest accusers, let my sovereign correct me severely. I charge you on your allegiance, that as I now send you the "breviat of all thinges, soe you deale exactlie with the King . . . And for those marmousets that incense that King with those falce reports against mee (for I am perswaded Jhonston hath more honor in him then to utter suche untruth; and, if it be you, I am the more beholdinge).—I hope that in tyme the King will dresse them as Severus did his smook-sellar, *lequel il fit attacher a un postean et etouffer de la fumée montant d'un tas de charoqne antassée.*" Where you write that the King would consult with me for quiet of the

\* What follows partly in Scrope's hand (?)

1602.

Marches, I wish he "would but imitat King James, \* who called all his broken men before him, hanged 20 of the worse, took pledges of the residue, taking them home with him, whom he put in prison to answer for thir frinds behaviour, &c.": which can be done without me, and is better than conferences! Impunity has multiplied his outlaws, and he might execute more of them. If he makes any charge against me, do you send it in writing, that I may lay it and my answer before the Council.

If he needs help to put down offenders, I will send him the soldiers, but myself will not come without her Majesty's special leave: and, unless he acts severely, his now coming will bring forth no more fruit than his last.  
*Not signed.*

1½ pp. *Holograph. Indorsed*: ". . . Coppie to George Nicolson."

Sept. 30. 1492. SCROPE TO CECIL.

My lord of Carlisle and Mr Lowther have entreated me to send you these writings by post. With which I send the King's last letter, my answer, and the indictments of the 2 men last taken, heard at our quarter sessions. You shall hear any offers for their release. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed as before.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (The King to Scrope.)

"Understanding that ye have taiken and apprehendit ane Robert Grahame our subject, ane honest man quha hes bene evir answerable to our warden and lawes, we mon think verray strange of your sa untymous melling with ony our subjectis sen we our self have cummit in persoun within the cuntrey to repres the insolencies of the broken men of our bordour, and to gif redres of all thiftis or wrongis committit be any our subjectis upoun England: And thairwith hearing that ye intend to put him to executionn, quhilk onlie appertenis to our officiar and warden: we have thairfor thought guid heirby effectnusly to request you to continew the executionn of our said subject, quhill ye may have occasioun to let ws understand the forme of his offence, be ane of your servandis: For your rasche proceeding aganis him sall na wayes content our dearest sister and cousin your soverane. Thus persuading our self that ye will regard our request heirin, as ye will kyth your dewtifull affection toward the happie amitie. . . . From Drumlangrig this last of September 1602." *Signed*: James R.

† "I hairtelly praye you milorde, to be waire with suche fashions quhiche can breede no bettir effectis then a peece of trouble with small contentement to youre self"

¾ p. *Addressed*: "To oure richt trusty and weilbelovit the Lord Scroope, warden," &c. *Indorsed by Scrope's clerk. Fragment of wafer signed.*

(2) (Scrope's Reply.)

"Right high and mightie prince": for your charge that my rash proceeding and absence has occasioned the many enormities; I wonder much who has so abused "your princelie eares" with such untruths, for my then deputy John Musgrave, when your highness was last at Dumfries, corresponded with all good offices, as George Nicolson can witness, "and your Majesties lettres imports." And since my return, your officer, the Laird Johnston, and I have done justice and put down enormities as our indents bear witness, so he can find no fault with me. If your officers had done the like,

\* James V.

† Holograph of James.

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then your broken men of Liddesdale had not done so many outrages, or your highness taxed me on so slender report.

Your Majesty writes you doubt not my sovereign would authorise me to assist in putting down offences: there is no offender here, but I will make him answer "or burne him"—but your princely power is sufficient to put down your own thieves, whose impunity when your Majesty was last at Dumfries, has stirred them up. Praying therefore a more severe course with them and (with her Majesty's pleasure) I shall be ready to aid. Carlisle. *Not signed.*

<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> pp. *Holograph. Indorsed:* ". . . The coppie of the Lo. Scroope's answer," &c.

Oct. 2. 1493. SECRETARY CECIL TO SIR JOHN CAREY.

*Imperfect at beginning.*—Some person of whom Cecil is writing \* is said to have "not only tould one Daniell Archdeacon that he hated the Kinge of Scottes, his soverain, for some hard usadge, but that he practised his death and sett 6 persons about it that had failed, but hath also accused me that I have employed him to betray the Queen and kingdome to the Spaniardes: booth which as it is trew that he denieth and forsweareth, soe for that which conserneth me, I can have but the one his yea, and the other his nay, and therefore care not for such a Jeseuistes ly! But for the other—because Daniell Archdeacon hath soe confidently assured it—towching the K., and had revealed it to divers Scotts, her Majesty was pleased my Lord Hume should heare them face to face, for as much as concerned the Kinge: which I was not sorry, because he had been used by me for other purposes, which might have been wrested maliciously to some other cause of my employing him—who I know am and ever shalbe unacceptable unto Scotland: though I hope Godes providence shall defend me and his grace restrayne me from any vile or base action against any. Now sir, Daniell Archdeacon, as it seemes having accused him of this concerninge the Kinge,† and kept noe secrett of it at his cominge out of Flanders to me lately, Moubrey tooke knowledge of the accusation, and desyred to be cleared, for which I knew noe better way then to bringe them to the Lord Hume, who heard them booth, as I thinke he will tell you, most monstrously contest it one agains another. Whereuppon the Lord Hume concluded there was noe other remedy left for satisfaccion then to lett them booth trye it. Wherein, because this kingdome admittes noe combattes, nor the liberty of this State permittes not the delivery of accused persons to another state against ther wills, her Majesty beinge content to be ridd of a couple whereof nether barrell is better herringe, it was agreed they should booth goe into Scotland of their owne accordes, and soe have they promised, for tryall of the truth by combate. The Lord Hume first saying he would take Mowbray downe with him, but after hath changyd his mynde, whereuppon I writt him this letter inclosed." Thus have you the whole matter from beginning to end: and for Moubray's stay in Berwick when he comes down, and of Daniell Archdeacon afterward, limit each to some certain place on the border or in the town, as you think best.

<sup>4</sup> pp. *Draft carefully corrected by Cecil. Indorsed:* "1602. Mynute from my master to Sir John Carey. October 2." *A page (or more) has been lost.*

\* Francis Mowbray, as appears afterwards.

† "Lord Hamilton and Hudson," scored out here.



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Oct. 4. 1494. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

The bearer Captain Read, having particular occasion to come to London, has entreated me to recommend him to your good opinion: having heard how much Captain Jackson has slandered him as incapable of his father's charge, and also done his best to bring her Majesty to hard conceit of me for appointing so insufficient a man. I assure you the gentleman is very honest, valiant, and well qualified, but want of experience and lack of employment obscures his forwardness and hinders his good fortune. His appointment was not rashly done: but at the lough suit and free resignation of his aged and well-deserving father, and the full consent of all the other captains and the officers of his own company. Desire of rule and commoditie has made Captain Jackson so impudently bold, rather than knowledge of any insufficiency in him: so I doubt not your honor will approve my choice. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

I have Lord Hume's letter that he has the King's warrant to receive the two "combatters," and take them to Edinburgh to fight: and I am to deliver them to him this afternoon at the Bound road.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Intorsed*: "1602, October 14. Sir Jhon Cary to my master. By M<sup>r</sup> Reed." *Was signed*: *swan*, &c.

Oct. 7. 1495. SCROPE TO JOHNSTON.

The Lord Scrope's answer to the Lord Johnston's offers.

First:—It is not impossible that Johnston will prove Rob the Grame to be a Scotsman baptised in Scotland, by witnesses of like quality—but I will prove him an Englishman by substantial persons, and before myself and others, the night he was taken he confessed himself such, craving I would be good to him. Whatever his nation, the King cannot be displeased such an offender suffers March law.

Second: — Discusses hindrances of the two wardens' meetings by weather, &c.

Third and fourth:—The capture is legal under their indents: challenges Johnston to deliver Rob of Laugriggs, &c., to abide the law unconditionally.

1½ pp. *Written by Scrope's clerk*. *Intorsed* (as title): "Sent to the Kinge by M<sup>r</sup> Roger Ashton."

Oct. 7. 1496. HENRY BUTLER TO HENRY HAGGERSTON.

"I truste in God youe bee all merie and in good health." I and Thome Haggerston expected your coming home before last assises, or at least to have heard from you: for at Newcastle assises I was told my son was there and you were with him, and so expected word or letter from you by some of "M<sup>r</sup> Earon Savell his men." Thome Haggerston has had "the childer pokes, and oftymes called of youe, but God bee prayed is verie merie now; and Jacke Atherton hayth bayd them lykwyse. Yone have myste this grese tyme a greate deal of huntinge for that I have beene muche abroad. I have whyste your master that yf hee hayd anye occasion of busines to London, that hee wold eyther wrytt or sende unto mee; yt maye bee that hee will sende youe or at the furthestee wee shall meete at Christmas when your master comes. For newes: what I have, I have sertified unto your master; yf youe demaunde of him, I knoe hee will shoe youe. The bearer herof, M<sup>r</sup> Henrie Bntler, whom youe doe knowe, whome was with mee at Lyskcoe in Lente was twelmon: bestoe of him in Barwicke a quarte of wyne or a potle and sager, and I will acquyte yt youe at your cominge into Lancashire. His meaninge is to travell into Skotlande to the Kyng of the Skottes, and hee rydeth of the litle blacke nage which was my brothere Banesteres, wich hee hade of mee in exchange for another. Thus

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"trustinge in Gode youe bee all in good health as I [and] all myne is at the makinge herofe, I end." Rawclyffe. *Signed*: Henry Butler.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: "To Henrie Haggerston, servante unto William Haggerston esquire, at Haggerston or Hessel rygge," &c. *Indorsed*.

Oct. 7. 1497. HENRY BUTLER TO WILLIAM HAGGERSTON.

"Sonn Hagkgerston, my comendacons rememembred unto my brother, my syster, your selfe, and litle Lucke, and to my cosin Henrie and your sistentes and the rest of my frendes and youres. Youre sonn Thomas hayth hayd the smale pockes, but thankes bee to God now is gotten paste them, and is verie well: and Jacke Athertou lykwyse hayth hayd them. I and Tome Haggerston did expekte of Henrie Haggerstons return at the laste asysses, but I could here nothinge from youe nor him, but I truste in God youe bee all well. I have hayd my health verie well this grestyme, and hath gone more abroade a huntinge then I have doone any tyme this sixe yere. For newes in these partes, wee have none: my sonn Robert his wyffe is gotten downe, and God hath bleste her with a daughter. My sonn Atherton doth goe from mee aboute a moneth or sixe weeckes hence to bee married unto one M<sup>r</sup> Cavelley his daughter and soe to contynue with M<sup>r</sup> Coveley. I doe expekte, accordinge to your promyse, that youe will com and make merie with mee this Christmas. Yf youe have anie occacon of busines to London this tearme, yf youe eyther sende your letter or Henrie to lett mee understande what yt ys, betwyxte this and some daie come forthnight, yt shall bee foelowed as yf yt were my owne. Thus trustinge in Gode youe are in good health as I and all my howsehoule was at this instaute, I byl youe hartely farewell." Rawclyffe: "Your asewred father in lawe."  
*Signed*: Henry Butler.

"Postscript.—I have sente this my letter by this bearer, whom his of my owne name and neere a kyne unto Sir Phylippe Butler. Henrie Haggerston doth knowe the gentilman verie well for that hee was with mee at Lyskcoe in Lente was twelmon, and knoweth the cause of this his travell."

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed*: "To my lovinge sonn-in-lawe William Haggerston of Haggerston, esquire," &c. *Indorsed*. *Wafer signet*: a cup (?) "N." at one side, "E." at the other.

c. Oct. 8. 1498. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Here were recently with me, "the Kinges principall minister, divers of that countrey gentlemen, Roger Ashton, with George Nicolson directed to me from that King." I gave them such reasons and the best entertainment I could, that they were well satisfied: and prayed them to get the King to send me the heads of his desires in writing, and if I leave anything for the good of both realms undone, let me be blamed. If he merely calls his broken men before him, doing no execution, he will make them more "mallapert," and they, being sharp-witted, will take his coming as a "mock holiday." I see he will write earnestly in Robert Grame's behalf, "not to save his life, but to have the execution": but if it please her Majesty, I wish no further liberty granted to him, till she call me before her to hear my excuse. For greater offers will be made to her for these 2 Grames, than any here can remember: and she should reap the fruit of her mercy, shown to either of these. For if they are returned to Johnston, it will bind all their broken friends, not few in both countries, and strengthen them against us. And as Roger Ashton is promised 200*l*. to save Robert, he will sue earnestly. George Nicolson prayed me to send you these letters inclosed. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: "Without date. Lord Scroope to my master . . . Received 13 October."

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Oct. 12. 1499. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SCROPE.

Sending him a packet to be forwarded to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, containing the King's letter for redelivery of Rob Grame, and signifying, at the King's request, that as he will be gone before the Queen's reply can come, Scrope will deliver Grame to Sir Robert Carey, Sir Robert to Sir John Carey, and the last to such as the King appoints to bring him for justice, "as a notable villanous thefe"—a good riddance to Scrope—though, if he dislikes it, he may make other arrangements before the directions come back. The King begs him to be ready to keep out his outlaws, when he ranges his borders, whereof he will give Scrope due notice. Encloses a letter to Sir Robert Carey, and a note to Scrope, of the men in prison at Dumfries. Johnston is "this day" bringing in his men to arrange with the King. Dumfries.

*Signed*: George Nicolson.

The Laird of Greatney is Scrope's good friend with the King and Scrope is much beholden to him.

1 p. *Holograph*. No address. *Indorsed*.

c. Oct. 13. 1500. SCROPE TO CECIL.

George Nicolson asked me to convey the inclosed to you, wherein is the King's letter for delivery of one of these thieves to him for execution. It were good first to see what justice he will do on the thieves he has got already, and then he might be trusted with this man. As he has given his word to hang him, her Majesty may either deliver him, or take caution of his friends for the quiet of this country.

I entreat your answer—as my occasions are great—whether I may come up soon after Martinmas or not? that I may provide my house to stay here all winter, or else choose a sufficient honest man as my deputy while absent. Butler has sent me the reasons of his travel, and is fearful to come up lest my lord of Bedford prosecute him. If no matter of state is found against him, I pray you favor him what you may "in the other cause": for I see many good parts in the man, and he may do the Queen good service, if he will be true. As he is "very timorous" of the Earl, this induced him to request me to write to you for him, whom I pray you use the better, as it was his fortune to fall into my hands.

John Musgrave my deputy, was lately conveyed to Scotland by the Laird of Newbye, where Carmichael his sou-in-law brought him to the King "a huntinge," who conferred with him apart about 2 hours, as a Scottish gentleman saw and told me. Let me not be seen in this. Some say the Captain of Bewcastle was privy to it. John is coming up, and will not deny it, if you examine him strictly. *Signed*: Th. Scroope. I send you herewith "Butler his travel ditated under his owne hand."

2 pp. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: "Lord Scroope to my master without date. Received 19 Octobr."

Oct. 13. 1501. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

In answer to the first (dated 28<sup>th</sup> September) of your two letters, desiring to know what letters I have received from you to Master Nicolson in a month? Many are not dated, but I have since 30<sup>th</sup> August, received these—one that day, on 6<sup>th</sup> September another, on 24<sup>th</sup> another, on 26<sup>th</sup> another, and on 4<sup>th</sup> October another: all which were delivered to him in Scotland. On 8<sup>th</sup> October, I received your second letter to me without date, or any letter for him, but with a copy of your letter to Lord Hume touching Master "Franses Mowberrey." Having certified me by your letter, of his manner of proceeding with you—like himself in my opinion—for never better fruit will come of trusting a Scot! I find by your letter he is to stay

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here, till his leave is got to enter his country: but neither he nor my Lord,<sup>f</sup> Hume are yet come this way. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

Oct. 16. 1502. CECIL AND ANOTHER TO SCROPE.

"We have booth of us acquaynted her Majesty with your proceedings": and she so noteth your care and diligence that "we must have written this lettre, though we had had noe other subject . . . But sir, you must first understand, that where the Kinge hath written unto you to meet him at Dumfreys, her Majesty alloweth youe discretion in avoydinge, as a matter which noe warden dare doe without her Majesties expresse order": which should satisfy the King, as you have offered all correspondence by your deputy warden. For the other point as to the Grames: we can say no more than if you can prove the things in your letter you have done well to seize them: for though the Scots move for the worst offenders, not sticking "to informe blaekes to be whyte," to serve the turn and get men spared, yet the King, though he may at first write as a prince having many to please and cannot correct broken men as he would, will afterwards take reason for payment, and be satisfied, if nothing be done contrary to the treaty. For your coming up: something has been done, but not "soe wrought" that we can send you assurance, wherein we shall do our best.

3 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Corrected draft. Indorsed*: "October 16. Mynute from my master to my Lord Scroope."

Oct. 19. 1503. CECIL TO SCROPE.

"Your letter of the 13 before this last, which I received yesterday, advertised the takinge of M<sup>r</sup> Butteler: and this which came last contayneth a declaration as if he had willingly rendered himself and those letters—the contraryetye of which two circumstances your lordship next must reconyle, and therefore for the present only, I thinke good to lett you understand that, although those letters bee in the Queenes mynde arguments that his hart is fallen from his duty to God and his countrey, yet beeinge tould that his miserye might force him further then otherwise he would, and that in some sort his adrese to the Duke of Feria may be excused by his fathers beeinge brought upp with the Dutches: I doe fynde that it weare easier to gett a dispensation for those thinges, then that her Majesty can forgive soe desperate an attempt as he committed in the howse of his lord, for which they say here he is already outlawed; and I assure you I doe perceave that his life is like to be shrewdly prosecuted by the Erle and his frendes." So that howsoever the Queen's mind may be moved by time and his friends to take compassion of him, you shall do well to take care he escapes not. So much for that matter. It now remains for you to consider wisely the true state of Greame's apprehension: for as the King so earnestly solicits him, and by Nicholson's letter means to execute him, her Majesty would know from you what might be the prejudice that he should have him? and your lordship must presently send us up word in what sort justly she may deny him? For my lord, if she be tied by treaty to deliver him, then nothing can warrant his detention: but if only by courtesy, then let us know of what use it will be: whereon she will then use her own judgment. You may be assured, unless you approve, her Majesty will forbear it: and for my part while you shall be "my oracle" in all such matters touching her honor or the safety of the border, yet, when things stand well between princes, "reasonable requests should be granted" where the amity is so necessary, and so many ready to interrupt it, "lovinge to fishe in troubled waters."

For your leave: I have moved the Queen, and will do, but where you ask this matter to be stayed till you come up, her Majesty likes much better to

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hear from you, and not make the thing of such importance, as that she cannot decide without seeing you. So doubt not my good will, if I cannot procure your leave when I would—you know her Majesty is unwilling to resolve these things at first—but hope in my next to speak more certainly, as we would all be glad of your company.

If ever you hear of the “party agayn, that rydd upp and downe with the vizard, doe your best” [*ends abruptly here*].

6 pp. *Corrected draft. Indorsed*: “Mynnte from my master to the Lo. Scroope, October 19.”

Oct. 22. 1504. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I send these from George Nicolson, and also the King's direction to Johnston, showing his satisfaction with me. He is departed well pleased: has hanged 11 “poore theves, but had they bene of the great ones it had done more good.”

Our prisoners thought to break the gaol, and were ready to come out, but I hearing of it, entreated them to kepe thir old lodgings: I hope this geole deliverie will ridd us of that trouble.”

The two Grames, so earnestly desired by the King, rest till we know her Majesty's pleasure. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Yesterday Jo. Musgrave, late my deputy, and the Laird of Newbie, went to Scotland to the King: “I hope for no hurte.”

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*  
Inclosed in the same:—

(Orders to Johnston.)

“*Apud Drumfresse xvij die Octobris 1602.*”

Directions to Johnston as to giving and receiving justice from Scrope for complaints since their mutual indent of 16 July last, till the taking of Rob Gramme: requiring George Nicolson, agent to the Queen of England, and Richard Bell, Lord Scrope's clerk, to inform him thereof.

¾ p. *Scottish official hand. Indorsed.*

Oct. 22. 1505. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

The King's long absence in the West Country, and Nicolson there with him, gives us no news. Master Francis Monbray, whom you formerly wrote of, came here on Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> October. My lord Hume lay that night at Chillingham, Master Rafe Graye's house, and next day, Friday, went over the water nearest to his own house, being desirous to go the speediest way to the King in the West. I would have written sooner of Mowbray's coming, but have daily expected Master Daniel Archdeacon, considering their causes are both one to try their honesty. So have thought good to certify you, that you may either cause “the partey” come hither, or make him give over his “ples,” and leave this gentleman here to take his best course for his own business.

Now on my own affairs: I hear by “fleyings” report that my lord my brother is very weak and in some peril, though I hardly believe it, thinking, if it were so, some friend would have sent me word. But howsoever, I would be glad of the same favour that others have, *viz.*, to follow my own business, and, were it not so displeasing to you, would sue for leave to come up: having many more reasons than those who not only come up but are suffered to remain there. Surely, if my brother do otherwise than well, or is in danger, it were fit I should be there “to doe for myselfe,” knowing that her Majesty, being troubled with importunate snitors, will have little means to remember me so far off. Desiring your friendship for me in my

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greatest necessity : for, in good faith, I am almost undone and clean out of heart. Berwick. *Signed* : Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet : scan, &c.*

Oct. 24. 1506. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I see by your letter, received this day, what indignation the Earl of Bedford has conceived against Butler : and other charges against him. I earnestly beg you will either let me send him to Berwick, where "my sister Carey," being of kindred to him, will see him safely kept, my charges being heavy with 5 men guarding him here, and specially I would rather the earl's severity fall on him when out of my custody : or take some other course to rid me of him as soon as you can. For the Grame the King wrote for : George Nicolson has been here this week, and the country gentlemen and the Grames are to be before me on Wednesday next : protesting much service, though God knows what performance. I have satisfied the King by letter, that, in taking that prisoner, I was justified by Johnston's last indent : but desire to have leave to come up, before he be redelivered to the King, as I would not be here when such a thief and murderer is so disposed of. For all the King's pretence, I doubt if he means to hang him, for at Dumfries he only executed the poor, and let the rich go. Mr Nicolson is an earnest suitor for the Grames : but if they fail in their promised service it will make him more "warie" hereafter. John Musgrave of Edenhall was with him, who confessed being twice in Scotland : whereof "George" tells me he has advertised you at large. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 27. 1507. SCROPE TO CECIL.

This day the gentleman of this country, the Grames, and Mr Nicolson, were before me, and by his and my advice the Grames drew a petition, a copy of which and my answer I enclose, whereby you will see they have made such offers as never before, on the taking of these two Grames. "Mr Sherife" and others feared I would set them at liberty, and were ready to come up and complain of 14 burglaries done on him since Christmas last : till I assured them her Majesty would see the names and the offences of those the Grames are undertaking for, before these two are freed. I enclose my answer to Johnston's propositions. *Signed* : Th. Scroope.

"Postscript.—For the love of God, now that the Grames have all things as they wishe, let me here of my leave gotten : for nowe is the fittest tyme of all."

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* : ". . . Without date" (and by Cecil), "concerning the Greames."

Inclosed in the same :—

Carlisle, 27<sup>th</sup> October 1602. Lord Scrope's answer to the Grames' petition and offers.

*Extracts.*

Promising to commend their submission to her Majesty, and receive it himself, they first giving in a list of the names for whom they will undertake, that he may learn from the Sheriff how many are indicted or outlawed. Also to accept their offers of service, &c., provisionally, till the Queen's pleasure known.

In answer to their petition for the freeing of Rob Grame, Richey Grame, and Christofer Grame, these men stand indicted for murders, burglaries, &c.,

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and Rob Grame is demanded by the King of Scots: but he grants respite to all three till her Majesty's pleasure known.

2 pp. Large broad sheet. Clerk's hand. Indorsed.

Oct. 29. 1508. CECIL TO SCROPE.

Her Majesty sees the King so earnest to have Grame delivered, both on direct affirmation that he is his subject, "next uppon promise that he hath noe meaning to spare 'the villayne,' for soe he termes him: as she is in dispute what to doe in the case," and for the present I cannot satisfy you therein. For though she would not quit any good opportunity to keep the country in awe, yet if you mean to do justice on him, it were not amiss the King had him—for he will either execute him, or if not, the Queen will be justified to refuse such a request again. I think "it would make a great deale better bloode in all the Greames" if he were executed in Scotland rather than England: wherefore I desire you "ouce for all" to send me your final resolution, after you consult with those you expected the week after you last wrote, and I will move the Queen accordingly. As to Butteler: "I am verie sorry for his misfortune, for he is sone to an honest gentleman my neighbour and my countreyman, whose as I conceive, meaneth to sue that he may be brought upp hether, and then they hope by some meanes to procure his pardon." If they cannot in a few days, I will move he be sent to Berwick: and to save time you shall do well to let him ask the governor's wife (if his kinswoman) if the governor will take his removal there ill or not? So be assured you shall be rid of him with all speed. "Though his cryme was foull to dedicate himself to the Duke of Ferias service, yet not beeing there, and beeing inforced unto it by miserie, I fynde not her Majesty to stand uppon extremitye." I cannot obtain her leave for your coming up: "rather she is bent to the contrary." No good will on my part has been wanting or shall be. I know not how "poore Nicholson" may be overreached among them: but I think and find the man very honest, and know that her Majesty's eyes have seen twice or thrice this half year, that he exceedingly commended your government. He wrote that the Laird Johnston desired good friendship with you: were I you, he should come, for "noyce" of the wardens' agreement strengthens justice, and I dare trust that he shall never "goe beyonde you." Of Musgrave being in Scotland, I am not yet certainly advertised: and would therefore know what he can say about it. Howsoever it be, assure yourself I will keep his pension till you write to me for it.

7 pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed: "1602, October 29. Mynute from my master to the L. Scroope."

Oct. 31. 1509. SIR J. CAREY TO CECIL

Both "ouer champeyones" are together in this town. M<sup>r</sup> Daneyell came on Wednesday last the 27<sup>th</sup>, and they are lodged severally so that they come not in sight of each other. I hear from M<sup>r</sup> Moubray that the King moved by Lord Hume, has allowed the combat, and granted Monbray's own request, that before they fight he will appoint 2 noble men and 2 lawyers to be on the stage, to hear both their allegations and protestations, that they may show which is most innocent, whatever the fortune of the combat. I think the time and place will soon be fixed, as they are both importuning the King for expedition.

"Now touching my own affairs, wherein you deal so frankly in your letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, with honorable advice and leave to answer: first as to my desire for amended allowance, I know how difficult it is to get anythink "mearley" out of her Majesty's purse, yet I can forbear no longer: but think I would rather have it out of Sir William Bowes' purse,—for she is little bettered for the governor's fee. As to future hopes by my lord my

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brother's death, I fear I shall hardly gain so much as I shall lose, unless by your honorable friendship. I have served here in "a strange maner" for very little fee: so much that the preparation for some one man's coming, has sometimes cost me very near my half year's fee to entertain him! "But its no matter," so long as I can I will serve her Majesty: "it is in her power to make me serve her as a beger, and so to deys"! But I would be glad to be nearer her, and end my days with comfort and peace, for it is true if my lord my brother die—as all are in God's hand—then I neither could nor would tarry any longer to consume my time and days with a "wereysum" life: and when that unhappy day shall come, if she can think of no place fit for me nearer about her, I will just leave the world—for I would not live here for such another time as I have done for twice the governor's fee. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

*1½ pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax seal: damaged.*

Nov. 5. 1510. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

Though I formerly wrote by Master William Read that I was to deliver the 2 combatters to Lord Hume, yet M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson being here, and desiring this inclosed packet sent: I certify your honor that on Tuesday, 2<sup>d</sup> instant, my Lord Hume wrote to me to meet him at the Bound road to speak of Border causes, and, if Moubray and Daniel would then come with me and offer themselves, he had the King's warrant to receive and see them safe to Edinburgh. We met on Thursday where (by good chance) M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson was, and a witness of what passed. After cautioning them both that they need not go unless of their own free will, and finding that Lord Hume had no commission to ask or demand them—but if they freely entered, to see them safe to the King's presence at Edinburgh, they freely entered themselves in face of all the company, both English and Scots, as I caused to be publicly declared both by Lord Hume and myself, to prevent all questions. Berwick. *Signed: Jhon Carey.*

*1½ pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: sean, &c.*

Nov. 6. 1511. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I see by your letter the King's desire to have and hang Grame: which I think is reasonable. Only if delivered, that the Queen will urge him "to performe his worde." And that he be sent by Derwick, and notice by letter to the Sheriff of this county on whose tenants he has committed many burglaries, &c., and stands indicted before "M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie of York" at our last "Sises," where we hanged 8 notorious thieves taken by me when no other would have done it, who confessed all and more than was laid to their charge. The 9<sup>th</sup> is respited, promising to bring in an outlaw in a month—if not, "he is like to walk the same waye."

Free me from M<sup>r</sup> Butler as soon as you can. I keep him in the "Citadelle" and 4 men guarding him at my great cost. I am very glad to hear from you of his good hope. And my brother John Carey will take it for a great favor if he is sent to Berwick, as he wrote lately on his behalf.

For coming up: on Tuesday next "comes forteneight" I will set towards Langer, if all quiet here: where if I hear by you her Majesty is willing, I will go on, else I will come back. I will seek by no other, but my occasions are very great. Johnston and I agree, and I keep him to the King's order, doubting if he can perform it. John Musgrave was here with Nicolson who told me he had written. You will hear or long of a great weter in Scotland. The Earl of Gowrie's sister is gone to London, which I think you heard long ago.

I send copy of the King's letter: keeping the original for my discharge.

*2 pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*



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Nov. 10. 1512. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> I received your letter of 3<sup>d</sup>, but, having to ride next day to the country, could answer no sooner, but sent off the packet to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson. For my brother: I pray God he may continue long, hoping you will from henceforth "patronies thoes things that ar left unbestowed alredey of his, and for thoes that ar alredey gon and bestoed, God be withe them, I have enofe!" desiring no more than the assurance of your favor and the hope of her Majesty's gracious goodnes towards me. For my coming up: I now find it requisite to remain here, for the Scots are very busy riding in this wardenry almost every night, and after first seeking my redress by justice, if not given "I shall snobe" them othorwise. The worst of them come from Liddesdale, not the opposite march.

By the end of your letter I see you are willing Master Herrey Butler should find favor, and that Lord Scrope would be rid of him. Make no question, but send him here and he shall be welcome. Let me know in what sort to receive and use him, and I pray you speak to his father to give him reasonable maintenance here, or it will be a greater "herbtorstinge" for him to live in misery than death itself.

I hear that so soon as Master Daniell came to Elinburgh he was sent to the castle and not suffered to speak with anybody, and, at Master Moubray's coming the day after, he was suffered to alight at his brother-in-law's house, but afterwards likewise committed: the King having gone over the water to fetch the Queen to Elinburgh, where it is thought the combat shall be performed, but no certainty as yet. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

Nov. 14. 1513. SECRETARY CECIL TO SIR JOHN CAREY.

That hearing from Lord Scrope he has "no mislyke to be combered with yong Butler," son to old M<sup>r</sup> Butler, Cecil's neighbour in Hartfordshire, "and, finding by the gentleman himself here at London," that he presumes on your receiving him for surety out of his adversaries' sight, till they be pacified, whereof there is some appearance, and he may be better kept in a garrison town—Lord Scrope is ordered to deliver and Carey to receive him, to be made forthcoming if not remitted.

1 p. *Draft by his clerk. Indorsed.*

Nov. 14. 1514. SECRETARY CECIL TO SCROPE.

Whereas he has stayed at Carlisle a yong gentleman, a son of M<sup>r</sup> Henry Butler, who killed a gentleman and fled beyond seas, and his friends hope to procure his pardon: authorises him to send Butler and this letter to Sir John Carey at Berwick, to keep him during her Majesty's pleasure, whose grace is hoped, as he is not yet indicted.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Draft by his clerk. Indorsed.*

Nov. 15. 1515. SIR J. CAREY TO CECIL.

With this inclosed packet of M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson's, I have nothing to say, but once again to solicit, that seeing the treasurer Sir William Bowes "and the ii Selbeyes (porters)," are so necessary there that they may not once in a year and a half be spared to come here their place of service: yet that it would please her Majesty to cause Captain Skynner to come down, if but to see how his charge doth? in which, "come Maye daye next," he has been entered 2 years, and has never showed himself to his company, but once to receive them! They do not amiss to take liberty that may have it, but they have all such leave of absence as I think never before was! Some of them

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staying there for little purpose but to plague this country and the gentlemen, by finding quarrels in law, &c. to call them up—a great hindrance to the Queen's service and defence of the country: encouraging the thieves opposite, who know none will resist them, impoverished with troublesome processes calling them up to London, be they never so small, as if there were no law or discipline here! Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: scan, &c.*

Nov. [16.] 1516. CECIL TO SIR J. CAREY. —

As her Majesty is assured that Mr Skynner is gone to Berwick, it is suggested to meet one More a Scottish man, long a dweller in the Low Countries, and they are to go thence to the Archduke: though for myself I hardly credit it, while "in truth I hold him a light hedded companion"—her pleasure is you shall speedily send him up with some one of the garrison, except he put in sufficient security of 1000*l.* to appear on 8 days' warning: if not able to do so, let him give his own recognisance of 1000*l.* and be sent up as above. To tell truth, as there is some malice between him and his accuser one Burleigh, I think he will discharge himself, myself and some others being acquainted with his employments beyond sea with privity of the State, whereof some of this accusation proceeds in ignorance.

3 pp. *Corrected draft. Indorsed*; "1602. Mynute from my master to Sir John Carey."

Nov. 23. 1517. SIR J. CAREY TO CECIL.

Your honor's packet of 16<sup>th</sup> instant I sent presently to Master Nicolson: with it I received several letters to myself—one for "sending up" Captain Skiner who has not been here since I came down: so soon as he comes I will do as you order—with your favour I will say my mind in this. If he do come here, it might be well to suffer him, in case he offer any fresh matter. I shall take care against his escape, and as there "uses" here one Thomas Moer, a Scottish merchant that has trafficked long to the Low Countries, and taken for a very honest man: if ther be any such practice between them, they may be better discovered, being in such a net that he cannot escape, and things may be better prepared for his trial, than by his accuser, who may be moved by the malice of Captain Jackson, his mortal enemy, as he got the place from me, and would be glad to bring him into trouble to get the place again—which he never shall while I remain here. "Nowe that Borley beinge cast of bey Skiner—whoe perhapes is abell to mayentayen him no longer: and for that Skiner bayeled him for a morder he committed, and fearinge least he maye come in danger for him, hathe mad some searche for him, and ded wryghte to me intretinge me, if he came this waye, to aprehend him for the sayed morder, fearinge he shold a gone into Scotland, wherof Borley, hearinge that he leyed suche wayeghte for him, is as I hear fled to Captayen Jacksun, they bothe as it is sayed, beinge to goe into Swethland—but I dar say the lese in this matter, for that Captayen Linley, on that is fled from thens into Scotland for a morder likewise, at his first comming into Scotland, beinge in compeny of sertayen Englishe gentyllmen, hearinge that Captayen Skiner and Borley had soughte to aprehend him for that morder, he sayed he wold be even withe them, for he wold ackeuse them bothe of treson—so, as it shold sem, they ar a packe of honest pepell"! In your letter there was one from "Master Skiner" that he would be here presently, and if he come before I hear again from you, I will send him up according to the Queen's pleasure. Now touching the other letter "of yoner owen hand," telling me not to rely altogether on you, but address some of my other friends: you are the friend I have in my heart

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desired an "entrest into," since your father's death, whom I loved best of all men living: and seeing I have your promise under your own hand, I will not release it, knowing where you once take in friendship, you do not easily cast off: which gave me such comfort in your letter of 20<sup>th</sup> October, confirmed in yours of 3<sup>d</sup> instant, and content enough even if I receive nothing more. I will not be more troublesome than you like, but if my brother's death unhappily fall out, when all will be busy for themselves, you will at least remind her Majesty for me, too far off to speak for myself, not doubting after the "first brunt," when things are stayed, many of my friends will put to their helping hands for me.

While finishing up this, a poor fellow of this town brought me from Newcastle the enclosed letters from the Mayor and brethren there, which I thought best to send with the mayor's own letter, for your honor's pleasure as to sending them to the King.

I entreat you to give one Master William Buggines, a "counselor-at-lawe," favourable hearing on the abuses done to me by a trusted servant, who in my absence here, has almost undone me—too tedious to set down here—but of which the gentleman, who does all things for me, will inform your honor, with request for some help from my lords of the Council, to send for and lay him up safe till my estate may be secured.

Though Skinner has written to me he will be here soon, I doubt it, for he has often done so before: but if her Majesty will have him, he may be found either at Campes at his own house, or else in Nottinghamshire "at his father Markames." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

I had almost forgotten Master Herrey Butler, but, if you send him, he shall be very welcome for his father's sake and yours: and unless the Queen and Council send for him, all the enemies he has shall not get him.

2½ pp. *Holograph: closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

Nov. 26. 1518. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I have your letter, with her Majesty's pleasure I come up against next term, and not to stir hence till then: which I am very ready to obey. When I come up, I will prove the mischievous practices plotted against me and my government by some recently gone up. I sent M<sup>r</sup> Butler to Berwick, by M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick and Sir Robert Carey's houses, who are to see him taken there: heartily thanking you for his dispatch. Lancelot Carleton told me there is a great man of Ireland, near allied to Tiron, has offered her Majesty to procure her Tiron's head. If you think it fit to deal in, I will make Carleton set down in writing his desire, and what "Lancelot" will have for procuring it: and then her Majesty may use it as pleases her.

I inclose G. Nicolson's letter on these Border matters, showing what I have done. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*

Nov. 29. 1519. SCROPE TO CECIL.

Lest the Scottish King should write otherwise, I think good to signify, not long since 8 score of Scots and outlaws came to burn our town called Stenton, half a mile from Carlisle, but were "well bett," and some horses killed and hurt: they spoiled some houses at Drumbewgh, and then some of the Bishop's tenants of Linstock. Hearing they were in a tower of the Scottish Armstrongs, I sent and burned up the door, killed Petti Armstrong, a notorious thief, outlaw, and murderer of Sir John Carmichael the warden, and took Johnston, who stole 1000 marks sterling from the King's merchants of Edinburgh, "whom bringing thorough Easke, the Grames tooke upon thire surtie, and some cattel also that were taken in Scotland, which man they

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"have sent home, doutinge they will not restore him to us againe—wherat the King wilbe displeased as I feare." Carlisle. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: "November 9. L. Scroope to my master."

Nov. 29. 1520. SIR J. CAREY TO CECIL.

I meant not to write till I sent up Master Skinner, who came here on Friday 26<sup>th</sup> late at night: "whod God willing" I will send up next Wednesday, with all I find: but this packet from Master Nicolson came late this 29<sup>th</sup> after the gates locking, and I durst not keep "them" longer than this morning. Mr Herry Butler also came hither on Friday from Woodrington. If it pleased you to show him favour, we may find a mean to do him good, and his enemies not know how to help themselves. This is, he might be committed to the Mayor and corporation here on a charge of murder, and if apprehended on any man's suit, may be tried for his life, as the charters of the town give them power to try for life and death, "ye in sume kynd of tresunes"—whereby he may receive grace without troubling her Majesty for a pardon. If you will but encourage me, I hope to work it: for he fears much if his enemies procure the Queen's or Council's letters to remove him, "then he wear but ded," and I should be very loath to send him to death, and had rather he had never come here.

I must tell you there are many great "intellegensers" hereabouts: amongst the rest I hear that immediately after the Earl of Mar came from London, Sir Thomas Erskine, "a man verey offityus in thoes affayers," has frequented these borders from Midsummer to Michaelmas, and is still keeping tryst with Englishmen, sometimes at "Gatherig pee," other times at "Hettonthorin," both places within 2 miles of "Barmor"—till on notice that I had discovered his courses and laid wait for him, he discontinued coming, but used more secret means, by Sir Alexander Hume his brother-in-law bringing Englishmen secretly to his house at Manderston: among others Master Thomas Persey, who conferred long with him there in a garden or orchard; and next day these two, with a servant of Sir Alexander's, rode to the King at Dunfermline, spoke with him and returned as secretly, going south, where he is still for what I know. If you desire to know more, I shall try. Berwick, "this 29 of November at 10 a cloke in the night." *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil's clerk*: ". . . Mr Skinner sent up." *Fragment of wax signet.*

Dec. 1. 1521. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I have sent up Captain Skinner, taking his own bond in 1000*l.* for his appearance, and one of the garrison horsemen accompanies him. I sent him no sooner, for when he came he told me it was only to show his duty, and hoped having done so, I would let him go up again in 3 or 4 days. Whereof I was glad to find his own occasions called him up, and kept reasonable care over him. Since he came, I see nothing in him but to be merry in good company, the best he can get, and nothing suspicious. He has been somewhat ill with a "defues and a giddeynes in his hed." If he frees himself of the accusation, it may please you to return him again, for his places here have great want of him. He says he is up on an agreement between Sir Greffen Markeham and him for all their suits. He would be very glad to see his accuser Borley. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

I received your packet of 25<sup>th</sup> this day, and sent it presently to Master Nicolson.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: sean, &c.*

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## Dec. 1. 1522. SCROPE TO CECIL.

I send you copy of my last letter to George Nicolson, to show thoroughly our proceedings—we crave redress often, but get none: and though as loth to take, as to give, injury, if forced to revenge, it shall be on offenders only, not the King's true subjects, of whom we are very careful. Lately we took 6 notorious Scottish thieves "with read hand," and executed them last gaol delivery. They threaten much, and we say little. Carlisle. Signed: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: shield and garter.*

Inclosed in the same:—

## (1) (Scrope to Nicolson.)

Sending him a breviat of offences done since the King left Dumfries—complaining that the Laird of Johnston does little or no redress—and that the Grames, in spite of their offers, are chief actors in bringing in the Scots and in all their outrages. Carlisle. 25 November 1602. Signed: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Indorsed partly by Cecil.*

## (2) (Note of spoils.)

Note of robberies, &c., committed since the indent between Lord Scrope and the Laird of Johnston his opposite.  
[Seventeen in all between August and December 1602. Robberies only, no murders.]

3 pp. *By Scrope's clerk. Indorsed.*

## Dec. 11. 1523. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

This packet comes with such speed, and M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson who is here, desires it to be sent with such secrecy as I can hardly write, but to let you know that he importunes me to write on behalf of Clement Armorer, from whom he has either received, or is to receive, some good service to her Majesty, or he would not be so urgent. His friends "runes" daily on me, on information from Lord Roxburgh of your promise to send warrant for the remission of his fault committed with Sir William Evers: which they will not believe but I have received. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

## Dec. 11. 1524. PASSPORT FOR JOHAN DE LA ROAEKE, &amp;c.

Licensing the bearers, "Johan de la Roaeke and Ewsteis Blaynchett, servants unto the French embassatour, now resident in Scotland," to travel by London to France "upon some speciall affaires from their said lord and master": travelling with a "browne bay curtoll" ambling gelding of 15 hands, and a little bay ambling nag of 13 hands, without let or molestation, &c. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Addressed as before. Fine wafer seal, of 9 quarters: 1 a bend charged with 3 roses (?), a crescent in chief; crest: a unicorn's head: in fragile condition.*

## Dec. 13. 1525. SCROPE TO JAMES VI.

Knowing his princely regard towards peace, shown by his letter as to proclamation: signifies by the inclosed, how little his own subjects obey him,

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and thus violate their own laws. Assuring himself that his Majesty will order due punishment: otherwise in the meantime, Scrope will endeavour to repair the wrongs done to those under him, hoping it will be good service to his sovereign and contentment to the King. Praying his Majesty not to censure him as rash but bound by necessity to let him know the truth. Carlisle. *Not signed.*

1 $\frac{1}{4}$  pp. *Holograph. Indorsed by Scrope*: "copy of L. Scropes letter," &c.

Dec. 17. 1526. SCROPE TO CECIL.

To-morrow "Robsey" was to have been delivered to Sir Robert Carey for his convoy to Berwick: but on your letter, I have stayed him here till the Queen's further pleasure.

Johnston makes great shows of justice, to which I give way all I can, hoping thereby for my leave through you, whereof pray let me hear, as I mean to start presently after Christmas. Mr John Dalston desires to supply my place—the worst time of year is past—and the Graimes have combined to serve him, and as he is honest himself, her Majesty may see what these men will do for a short time. I enclose copy of my last letter to the King. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed*: "... Rob. Greame stayed from delivery."

Dec. 21. 1527. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I have sent your packet of 14<sup>th</sup> instant to Mr Nicolson. I am sorry to see, by your letter of same date to myself, that Mr Skynner has so far forgot his allegiance as to lose her Majesty's favour: but, since his wit would guide him no better, let him receive his desert. I comfort myself that he was not preferred by me: but was far entered into my offices by my Lord Governor's acceptance before I ever knew or had seen him. Seeing that her Majesty has disposed of his offices, both the chamberlainship and his company, I crave pardon to say somewhat therein. First, I hope, though her Majesty has not thought me worthy, after 10 years' service here, of recompence—not even allowance for my daily expenses—she will never take my right, *viz.*, her gracious gift of the chamberlainship for my life, the patent remaining only in me, for Mr Skynner had only a "deputationship" from me, as the assurance between us shows. So his fault cannot forfeit my patent further than his estate in it: and I hope she will not bestow the place on my body else than where the right should be. For his company: it is in her power to bestow the governorship and all other places, for there is no absolute governor by patent: but the use has been, and by the establishment fortified, that captains were appointed by the governor. So, if it please her to continue the same trust till a fitter governor be appointed, I shall think myself a very happy man: yet submitting myself to her grace, only desiring she may be rightly informed therein. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Addressed. Indorsed. Was signed: seen, &c.*

Dec. 26. 1528. SIR J. CAREY TO CECIL.

Saying that he understood from Sir John Stanhope that Captain Jackson was to have Mr Skynner's company: but trusted that her Majesty would not so disgrace him by appointing a man who was his mortal enemy, and had done all he could to overthrow him; begging, if she would resume these appointments, she would be pleased to bestow it on "ani creature living"

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but Jackson, whose doings to him were well known both to Cecil and Stanhope. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet; swan, &c.*

[1602.  
Dec.]

## 1529. PETITION OF JOHN SKYNNER.

Begins "most dread, most mighty, and most gratiose soverayne." Apologizes for presuming to offer his "detested" name to her remembrance, or his handwriting to her view. Confesses his presumption in not walking in her laws, and prays for her compassion. He would not have dared to implore it, had he by "lewd offending" displeased her. But as it sprang out of too ambitious a desire to do her Majesty good service, and not by treacherous or undutiful thoughts, but he must confess out of too great arrogance, that he a subject of her highness unauthorized, took confidence to counterwork with the subject of a foreign prince, out of an eager desire to do her service, and vain hope to win reputation with her. Having had a little time while in danger of death, to bethink himself of his true misguider therein, and being a close prisoner in the Gatehouse, sick in body and having lost all hope, the above desire was his chief leader in his presumption. Before any further trial, he humbly offers at her feet the places he holds under her Majesty in Berwick to be resigned as her learned counsel shall devise: and had he any other means, he would throw it down at her royal feet. Prays her grace to his distress, or "many innocents" will suffer.

"Your Majestyes prostrate, and penitent subject, who is nothing, nor hath nothing, but his odious name." *Signed*: John Skyenner.

2 pp. *Broad sheet. Holograph; also address. Indorsed*: "Sir (?) John Skinner's submission to the Quene of his falt."

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[Dec.]

## 1530. SCROPE TO CECIL.

A special friend of mine met Henry Leighe in Lancashire "with a falce beards on his face," and, asking him why he went so disguised? He answered that the Queen had appointed him a spy in State matters, and to report to you, and he had a quarterly pension for the same. The gentleman, "suspecting that he lyed, learned covertly" that he mostly abode in a pretty little house in a forest "destitut of all companie": and was promised for 200*l.*, to get him betrayed. "But I hope for lesse." So let me know how I shall proceed therein? *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph. No address. Indorsed by Cecil*: "1602. L. Scroope."

1602-3.  
[Jan. 2.]

## 1531. SCROPE TO CECIL, &amp;c.

I have your letters, and thank you for your never failing friendship and good advice. But where you write, that if due care were taken, these open roads are not needed, and displease her Majesty: I assure you that, while 40 of our men were watching 3 miles from Carlisle, 200 Scots came in, "and had taken them all, if by God's will they had not gone about another purpose." The towns hereabout still pay black mail to the Grames, and are bound neither to stir nor shout whatever they see or hear, and dare not ride except in great number. The King means well, but can effect nothing. George Nicolson and others think I might deal with the Grames to do the Queen service, and that they have some cause to complain of me: "so God judge mee," since their last offers to him, they have murdered some of M<sup>r</sup> Cliburnes tenants! and you say, if they were faithful, we should not need the soldiers: in my father's time we had 100, for the Grames "will never warr upon thire brethren, newewes, and cosens"—and now we have but 50, without which thire men cannot live here. My letter

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to the King was not "unfittinge," I only prayed him not to tax me of rashness without cause. The country being quiet, and the Grames well pleased with my favor to their 2 friends—as their inclosed petition will show you, and have promised M<sup>r</sup> Dalton to do good service in my absence, I mean to set forward upon Monday next, towards London, and to stay a week at Bolton, where if you write to stay me, "you shall kill my harte."

*Signed*: Th. Scroope.

Pray let me hear against that time.

2 pp. *Holograph*; also *address*. *Indorsed*: "Without date, L. Scroope to M<sup>r</sup> Vice-chamberlayne and my master, received the 8 of Janyarye 1602."

Jan. 4. 1532. SCROPE TO CECIL, &c.

Seeing these complaints are exhibited to her Majesty by Rogier Aston "in greate bitterness," *viz.*, (1) for taking "Robsay," (2) forcing Kinmond's house, and (3) another roade upon Kiumonde: I reply, that "Robsay" (as they say), a Scotsman and servant to Johnston, confessed to myself he was an Englishman, guilty of nightly burglaries &c., in my office, as appears by the inclosed, and for these had been demanded by me without effect, so I took him by March law. (2) Kinmonde, being then in the King's prison, I was desired by the King and George Nicolson to assist in apprehending some of his men, *viz.*, one Johnston, who had robbed the King's merchants of Edinburgh of 1000*l.* sterling, and, with "Sandies Renion," were then in Kinmond's house. Being the murderers of Sir John Carmichael the late wardein, I thought to do a favour rather than deserve complaint. This Kinmonde since his release, has spoiled the 2 towns of Heskettes. (3) The other roade on his house was in truth on the Urwens and 2 of Kinmond's servants, nightly spoilers, as the inclosed shows, and were among the men that Johnston and I agreed to ride upon as outlaws.

When the King was last at Dumfries, Johnston made greater complaints, and the King wrote for me, but being unwell, I sent my man, who showed the King all the fault was with Johnston: whereon the King seemed to be in a rage, and made show to displace Johnston, if the Earl of Mar had not befriended him—but said he would believe him no more. Roger Ashton was there, and knows this to be true. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

2 pp. *Holograph*; also *address*: "To . . . M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie and to M<sup>r</sup> Vice-Chamberlaine." *Indorsed*: ". . . In answeare of their letter of the 29 of December to his lordship."

Jan. 6. 1532. SCROPE TO M<sup>r</sup> VICE-CHAMBERLAIN.

If George Nicolson had not kept my man of purpose, he had been here these 10 days: when he comes you shall hear. This country these 6 weeks, since we took a revenge, was never quieter. The Grames are so pleased at M<sup>r</sup> Dalton getting the 2 Grames to be kept at Rocklief castle as prisners till the Queen's pleasure be known for their liberty, have promised great service: which assures him of their vigilance—and, if not done, no man will credit them again. M<sup>r</sup> Secretary writes with her Majesty's pleasure, so I mean to come up on Monday next and stay a week at Bolton, where I pray to hear from you, and one word of his to the Queen will despatch it: and "put the gallowes" on the letter, for I shall not be quiet till I hear. But if you write to stay me, "you might as well kill mee"! *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed by Cecil*.



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Jan. 10. 1534 SCROPE TO 'CECIL.

I enclose the copy of the "bound" I took of John Dalston esquire, and Lancelot Carleton, for the translation of the 2 Grames prisoners here to Rocklief Castle—and withal, the examination and accusation taken before the Bishop of Carlisle and me and others, betwixt M<sup>r</sup> John Musgrave of Edenhall and one [ ] Skelton, to show "what manner of men this countrey affordes." To-morrow I set forward for London, and will stay at Bolton till I hear from you "aunt" my leave. *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

The Grames were before me and M<sup>r</sup> Dalston this day, and have promised such good service as never to be forgotten. Which I pray God they do.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

## (1) (Recognizance by Dalston, &amp;c.)

9<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1602. Recognizance by John Dalston of Dalston esquire, Lancelot Carleton of Brampton, gentleman, and Robert Briskoe of Harrington howses, in 1000*l.*—

That Robert Grame, called "Robsey," and Richie Grame, called "Arthers Richie," now prisoners with Lord Scrope at Carlisle, shall remain at Rocklief castle true prisoners, without escape or rescue, until her Majesty's pleasure be further known. John Dalston. *Small wafer signet: a shield with chevron engrailed between 3 lions rampant (f).*

1 p. *Written by Scrope's clerk. Indorsed "The coppie," &c.*

## (2) (John Musgrave's examination.)

Carlisle, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1602. Examination of M<sup>r</sup> John Musgrave of Catterlen, gent., taken before Lord Scrope, Henry hishop of Carlisle, John Dalston, esq., deputy warden, and Henry Gent, esq.

John Musgrave saith that John Skelton *alias* "Symons John" and John Skelton of Apletrethwait, in 1601 brought to his house a letter from the Lord Dacres, in Scotland, with no name subscribed, to the effect he stood in need of money, requesting help from them and others to take one Allan Prickett, thought to be worth 10,000*l.*, prisoner to Scotland till he paid a ransom. They came 4 times to him; he first desired time to consider, and at next meeting refused to join, or to send 2 Musgraves to help them, and that if they did not surcease, he would reveal it to their shame. When M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson was at Carlisle, he told him, and was advised to give notice to Prickett, or M<sup>r</sup> Stirkland, his landlord, and did so, as well as to divers others. John Musgrave. Thomas Scroop, Henrie Carloliolen. John Dalston, Henry Gent. *Memorandum.*—M<sup>r</sup> Musgrave voluntarily revealed this matter in our presence.

Examination of John Skelton *alias* "Symons John" of High house, place and day aforesaid.

He confesses that at Michaelmas last 1601, one Henry Bell brought a letter as he said from Lord Dacres unsealed, directed to John Musgrave *alias* "Sir Symons John," entreating him to help in taking Allan Prickett prisoner, for some relief: which letter he and John Skelton of Apletrethwait delivered to John Musgrave: who answered, that what lay in his power he would do for Lord Dacres, but stayed it till Thomas Musgrave of Cumcatch came from London, without whom he could do nothing. And he did no more herein till John Musgrave was deputy warden, when he met him; who said that, as Thomas Cumcatch was yet "uncomed" from London, and the only man he could best trust of his own name, he had none to join, saving Symon Far-

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banke, who would be drunk, so willed Skelton to take it in hand, and he would oversee him, being now in office. John Skelton.

Thomas Scroope, Henry Carliolen. John Dalston, Henry Gent.

2 pp. *Written by Scroope's clerk. Indorsed*: "Sir Symonds John complainet against Skeltons, with their answers thereunto."

Jan. 13. 1535. SIR JOHN CAREY TO CECIL.

I hope the "retorne" of this packet will satisfy you of the safe delivery of your last to M<sup>r</sup> Nicolson dated the 6<sup>th</sup> instant, "wherof you wear so carfull": wherewith I also received your letter touching the chamberlainship—"sayinge, that her Majestey will plase sum honest wise conditioned gentyllman therin, not beinge plesed with suche an example, that I shold have power to bestowe it agayen, havinge allreley received satisfayon for it: wiche wear no rare exampel for on man to reseave benefit or commodetay bey a nother manes lose or harmes, although it be the ferst chause in suche a case that ever lighted to me! Beinge shewer that if Master Skiuer had in this mean tyme deyed bey Godes hand, ther had bin no question to have bin made for the retorninge of it to me agayen! Only it might a byn loked for that I shold in sume measure a satisfieid the gentyllwomau; but nowe what his offenses will indamage me, I knoe not, but shewer I ame no waye giltey of his fault! Wherfor I hope her Majestey will not take from me that wiche good fortun and her grases pattent dothe laye upon me, witheout suche satisfayon as the world shall not condemne me to have lost it for aney offenses bey myselve committed"! Yet I will not "contest" with her Majesty, who has given me all I have, and may take it away: only desiring to be thought as deserving as he, whosoever he be, that shall have it. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Carey.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Cecil. Wax signet: swan, &c.*

Jan. 17. 1536. SCROOPE TO CECIL, &c.

Acknowledging their letter with the Queen's leave for his coming up: and that he never meant "to have stirred" till they got it. Inclosing M<sup>r</sup> John Dalston's letter, "with a desire of the Grames," for their "considerations." *Signed*: Th. Scroope.

$\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Holograph. Addressed*: To . . . my very loveinge frends, M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie and M<sup>r</sup> Vice-Chamberlaine." *Indorsed*.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Dalston to Scrope.)

My nephew Skelton and this bearer Ro. Grame, have brought me word that last Thursday night 30 and more Scots harried most of the town of Coathill, and being "setton" by Corbye and other adjoining townships to the number of 60 men, the Scots "fought themselves away with all the goodes": then "my brother Gent" and 17 of the principal Graimes being on a "plumpe watch," the Scots came suddenly on them and encountered both parties—when it pleased God that Gent and the Graimes took 7 prisoners, "Francie Whittow" among them, and 20 horses, with their furniture. The rest got "verie hardlie away on foote in the mosse, where hardly either horse or man cold passe, els had they bine all taken." They have taken the prisoners to Rowliffe Castle, till your farther pleasure. I have sent the bearer to report more fully. Your lordship will please take good consideration what shall be done. "From . . . this xv<sup>th</sup> Januarie 1602." *Signed*: John Dalston.

I humbly request you to acquaint M<sup>r</sup> Vice-Chamberlain, to whom I owe duty and service.

1 p. *Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1602-3.

(On slip attached.)

Report of Robert Gram, the bearer.

The "certain" number of the Scots was 31; number of horses taken "and wonne," 22.

The Grames who were especial men in this service, humbly beg the "liberty" of those prisoners: in hope, as they verily think, the safety of their lives will bind them and their friends so strongly to the lord warden and deputy, that it will keep peace on this border.

Jan. 26. 1537. SIR JOHN CAREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

On the receipt of your honors' letter of 18<sup>th</sup> instant, touching "the two yonge Reeves brothers to the late Erle of Gowrie," I duly warned all the gentlemen, and proclaimed in every town of my wardeny that none reset, assist, or countenance them in any way. Albeit I think the information laid is wrong, for I am fully assured they have not been here of a long time: yet this special proclamation will be of more effect than many I have formerly made: and it is true, as her Majesty has been informed, that there is too great familiarity and intercourse between our English and Scottish borders: the gentlemen of both countries crossing into either at their pleasure, feasting and making merry with their friends, overthrowing the wardens' authority and all Border law, "but what the common law will allow in Westminster hall." And in like manner, the common thieves and outlaws, English and Scots, devising murders and robberies with their fellows. I thought good to say thus much, being encouraged by your honors' letters: as I intended to have made a complaint often before this—and, if it is your pleasure I be called up, shall inform you of my knowledges therein. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: scan, &c.

Feb. 23. 1538. SIR J. CAREY TO CECIL.

Reminding him that Master Henry Butler has been at Berwick ever since a month before Christmas, and "teyers as it semes of iedelnis," wishing employment in his country's service: desiring some of his adversaries would come down and apprehend him, putting him on trial. Carey has hitherto restrained him, awaiting Cecil's pleasure: but recommends such a trial, when if acquitted, he might repair to London and offer his service. Fears if his friends sue for a pardon, "the sewet wilbe longe and difficell, and verey hard to be obtayened at her Majesteyes handes," and the other way will be justifiable by law, without touch to any body. As it only awaits Cecil's pleasure, prays his further consideration and reply. Berwick. Signed: Jhon Carey.

1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet: scan, &c.

## UNDATED DOCUMENTS temp. ELIZABETH.

[1560-74.] 1539. PUNISHMENT OF NORTHUMBERLAND WRECKERS.

The doings of Sir John Forster and Sir Thomas Dacres, knights, and Valentine Browne, esq., in aid of Archibald Graham and other Scottish merchants for their ship and goods lost at Sotterborne mouth, Northumberland.

(1) Under a special commission from the High Court of Admiralty, directed to them, at the complaint of Graham, &c., for loss of their goods,

[1560-74.]

spoiled to the value of 2400*l.*—they called before them Thomas Clavering of Norham and his accomplices, and the best inhabitants of Norham, Island, and Bambrough shires, impannelled divers juries, inquired and found that the ship was, by force of weather, broken on the rocks—divers of her crew drowned—the goods driven partly to sea, and partly on shore, where the people of the country took some. That Clavering, the day after, seized all the goods that could be found either there or in other's hands as wreck under the jurisdiction of Norham Castle—but said the whole did not amount to more than 4*l.* This being no answer, the commissioners put Clavering and 20 others of the best of the country in prison; where they remained without paying anything. On a further complaint by the merchants, a new commission was directed to said Sir John, Sir Thomas, and Valentine, with letters from the Queen and Council to levy on Clavering, &c., 1200*l.*, which the Queen had asked the merchants to take “in lewe” of their demands: and, on lack of ability of Thomas and his associates, to cess the whole county. The commissioners, on sending for these parties, and the chief inhabitants, finding they would admit receiving no more than the 4*l.*, put 60 of them in prison same day, and seised and prysed their goods. Finding, however, that many of the people of the towns adjoining had not taken goods, they chose out those only who had, and assessed them as follows:—First, the said Clavering at 106*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*: and these townships:—Norham, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Skrymerston, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Goswycke, 40*l.*; Horkley, 50*l.*; Thorneton, 4*l.* 10*s.*; Cheswycke, 40*l.*; George Ourde of Longridge, 10*l.*; Beale, 20*l.*; Midleton, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Ancrofte, 20*l.*; Bar Moor, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Pawston, 12*l.*; Dichante, 8*l.*; George Shaftoe, 10*l.* “*Summa*,” 414*l.* 13*s.*, which it is thought is fully paid to the said Archibald Graham.

The commissioners, finding this “seasement” was more than could be approved, and the levying it would have hurt the country, and that the like, if charged on the rest of the country, which had no dealing therein, would have weakened the borderers in horse and armour for its defence, after due advertisement, proceeded no farther than as above specified.

2½ *pp.* *Clear official hand. Indorsed in later one.*

(1) Another copy of same.

5½ *pp.* *In a later hand. Indorsed.*

[1574-80.] 1540. A DEVICE AS TO VICTUALLING BERWICK.

Robert Ardern of Berwick, who has been trained in this business in these parts for 17 years, describes how he would undertake to provide for a garrison not exceeding 1500 men, at the rates, &c. “compounded” by her Majesty with Sir Valentine Browne, knight.

3 *pp.* *In a good official hand. Indorsed.*

[1574-80.] 1541. ED[WARD] BAESHE ON ARDERN'S OFFER.

“The newe bargaine desired by Robert Ardren.”—

[Pointing out that Ardern offers to deliver victuals according to the articles of Sir Valentine Browne: but by these Sir Valentine was to bear all charges and losses, both cheap and dear, as by sea and by land; while, by Ardern's offer, the Queen is to take any gain and bear any loss.] Therefore this and other things require to be considered.

1 *p.* *Official hand. Indorsed: “The oppynion of Ed. Baeshe. Barwicke.”*

[1574-96.]

## 1542. TOWNS BETWEEN THE EAST AND MIDDLE MARCHES.

"The townes that partes the Este [and M]ydle Marches of Englande."

Yerdell, about a mile from Woller, more than 12 miles by south Wark: one-half is in the Middle March, the other in the East.

From Yerdell, between Caldmartyn and West Lylborne; West Lylborne in the Middle March, Caldmartyn in the East.

From those two betwixt Fowberry and East Lilborne, whereof Fowberry is in the East, and East Lylborne in the Middle Marches.

From thence to Chillingham and Lyam, whereof Chillingham is in the Middle and Lyam in the East March.

"From thence a great waste till yow come to Hull Parke, and so to Alnwick bridge, and so to Aylmouth.

From Yerdell to Scotland is by North Chyviatt all in the Est, by South Chyviatt in the Mydle Marches."

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *A good clear hand. Invoised by the 1st Lord Hunsdon.*

## [1559-96.] 1543. BORDER TREATIES, LAWS, WARDEN COURTS, &amp;c.

A collection containing (1) treaties of peace with Scotland (Henry 6 to Elizabeth), laws of Marches, agreements, &c. concerning Border causes, collected by Thomas, lord Wharton, Lord Warden, with some subsequent entries; (2) manner of keeping a warden court, duties of officers, &c., partition of the Debateable land, offices, fees, &c. of the Lord Warden.

*Extracts.*

"Anno Domini 1553. The partitione of the laite Debatale lande—

Beginninge at the foote of Dounsdall sike, where yt fallethe into Eske, and so nothwarde as the commissioners maide groves and holes, unto the water of Sarke at a croke of the saide water, against a place called Kirkrigges, a litle above Categill, and so as the water of Eske and Sarke takethe their courses: the west parte of the saide grounde so devided to be of the realme of Englande, and the East parte to be of the realme of Scotland.

Anno regni Regis Eduwardi Sexti sexto.—The laite debatable grounde nowe belongioge to the Kinges Majestie metted and mesured by John Toppen, and Percevell Simson, gentlemen, with eight others of the Kinges Majesties tenants in Sowerby, amountethe to fower thousand six hundrethe acres, and more: done by the comandment of the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Dacre knight, deputie warden of the West Marches of Englande.

WEST MARCHES 1590. August 1590. A breviat of the bounder and marches of the West wardenrie betwixt England and Scotland.

At the heade of the water of Cressoppe begins the West Marche, whereas the West Marche and Midle Marches of Englande doe parte and devide, and discendethe downe that water called Cressopp as the same dothe runne to the foote of the same where Cressopp dothe goe and discend downe Liddle, unto Liddle dothe falle and runne into the water called Eske, and so downe Eske as yt dothe runne unto a place called Dinsdale, where the Marche dyke dothe begin, that devideth the Debaitable grounde: and so that Marche dike doth goe overthwarte to the moore as the same is marched and marked unto the water of Sarke, about a quarter of a mile beneath the towre of Morton; and soe dothe discend downe the water of Sarke until the foote thereof which runneth into the sea at Sulway sandes."

Offices yearly fees and fermes which Lord Wharton had, with the wardenry and captainship of the City and Castle of Carlisle.

The wardenry, 600 marks; 2 deputies, 10*l.* each; 2 warden sergeants, 40*s.* each; the captainship, 100 marks; 20 horsemen at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each, 200

[1559-96.]

marks; 3 porters, 26s. 8d. each; 1 trumpeter 16d. *per diem*, 24l. 5s. 4d.; 1 surgeon, 18l. 5s.

The receipt of the Queen's lands called Queen's Hames, and forest of Inglewood, the stewardship thereof, and "namminge" of the Queen's tenants, out of which he pays certain ordinary fees.

The domains of Carlisle, office of custom, paying a rent of 20 marks in Exchequer.

His stewardships, *viz.*, (1) of Holme, fee 18l. "and ode moneye"; (2) of the Bishop's lands, fee 40s.; (3) of the Colledge lands, 26s. 8d.; (4) of the cell of Wetherall, annexed to the Colledge, fee 26s. 8d.

The tithes corn of Pearethe, Lang Walbie, Scothie, Ricardbye, Stainton, Mickle Crosbie, Lytle Crosbie; paying their "odde rent" to the bishop and Colledge. The half-fishing of Cocker, of the Colledge, without rent. The casualties of these offices "uncertaine."

31 pp. *In one hand, probably Scrop's clerk.*

[1559-96.] 1544. NOTE AS TO A WARDEN COURT.

Matters inquirable in a Warden Court. Treason, &c.

3½ pp. *A later hand. Indorsed: " . . . Sent by Sir John Foster."*

[1590-1602.] 1545. ORDERS TO THE WARDENS.

Prohibiting, under statute, any wares or merchandise to pass the Marches either to or from Scotland without paying custom either at Berwick or Carlisle.

1 p. *Contemporary official hand. Headed: Letters for the three wardens.*

(Statute referred to.)

22 Edw. 4., Cap. 8, A.D. 1482. For the safety of Berwick and the Marches there: prohibits all merchandise to pass either from Scotland and the Isles into England, Ireland, or Wales, or *vice versa*, without being duly customed at Berwick, or at the City of Carlisle.

¾ p. *In same writing.*

[1590-1602.] 1546. NOTES ON POWERS OF WARDENS AND JUSTICES.

*In two divisions:—*

1. The authority of a justice of peace, and its effects.
2. That of the warden, its limits, &c.

1 p. *Official hand. Indorsed by Cecil: "Borders, warden courts." Imperfect at end.*

[1598-1602.] 1547. SECRETARY CECIL TO MR ATKINSON.

Preemptorily ordering him a second time in the Queen's name, to deliver certain "peeces" with their furniture that belonged to Scotsmen, to the Mayor of Hall, to whom he has written to consign them to her Majesty's agent for restoration to the true owners: and, failing his obedience, to take his bond to appear and answer in 20 days.

1 p. *Draft. Not indorsed.*

[1601-2.] 1548. JAMES VI. TO AN ENGLISHMAN.

"Right trusty friend. Having heard by this bearers report of your honest affection towards me, although I never had the occasion to be acquainted with you, and how you have for the better inabling of your to my

[1601-2.]

"service placed your self upon your great charge in the nearest adjacent part to my country, I thought it the duty of a thankfull King to make it known, as by these few lines of mine own hand I do, my thankfull acceptance of your loving affection. And, as I am surely perswaded the only respect to *conscience and vertue* \* hath moved you to undertake this course, so may you assure yourself that neither you nor any other of your countrey men shall ever be employed by me without the bounds of the same, as on the other part, you shall, with Gods grace, find with me a thankfull requitall *in the own time*,\* as the bearer of these few lines, witnesses of my goodwill, more at large will informe you. And thus bids you heartely farewell. Your loving friend, J. R.

$\frac{1}{2}$  p. *In a good, somewhat later hand.* *Indorsed* : "A copy of K. J. letter to an Englishman of his interests."†

\* Underlined in original.

† The person addressed was clearly a high officer—a warden probably. Mr Lemon of the State Paper Office, conjectured he was Sir Robert Carey, but with deference to such an authority, this is unlikely, for he was already personally known to the King in May 1588 (vol. L, No. 607), while the person addressed was not. His elder brother Sir John Carey, however, does not appear from these papers to have been acquainted with the King, and as he succeeded Lord Willoughby as warden of the East March in July 1601, the letter may be to him. It is not known that he made any overtures to James, but such were made by many Englishmen at this period, and of course Sir John would keep his dealings secret.

ADDENDA.

1596.

June 4. 1549. EURE TO BURGHLEY.

In your letter of 26<sup>th</sup> May you took notice of divers letters of mine, and reminded me of the doubt her Majesty may justly have of the truth of my charges against Sir John Forster for his misgovernment, which must be "respected before his restitutione." If you impose the negligence of suffering the country in 37 years to be reduced to this weakness, compared with its strength when he took office, I fear me you shall burden him with more than he can discharge—and having truly certified its present state, I submit myself to your censure and his fault to your good pleasure.

M<sup>r</sup> Felton with M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Forster viewed Harbottle and showed me a "draughte" which he said he would present you, "of the rewine of the house, and gaole of Hexham." I had not then seen the castle of Harbottle and left it to his report—what is spared in strengthening it will weaken the keeper who lies there—for it is a fit place if well "mended."

The gaol is as weak as I reported, and unless helped I cannot keep the prisoners—among them at present some "Scottes, shrewed theifes." I want no surplus charge and am sure the surveyor will show your lordship each particular decay, and could oversee under your directions.

If you "casseire" these horsemen allowed me, I am left weak at the most dangerous time—for with grass for the horses, thieves will ride more than after, when the moors are foul and cattle weak.

The jury impannelled for the decay of the Borders, have not yet returned their certificate, for they are slow and "hardly drawn on." I pray you excuse me, who feel my misery; but their subtlety exceeds my honest mind. Hexham. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

1597.  
Oct. 13.

1550. SIR W. BOWES TO LORD HUME.

Right noble lord—By my former letters I presented to you out of my private respect, a testimony of my faithful well wishing to your honor and well doing: "so as my vowes beinge alreadye in heaven, yf I hope to come there myselfe, can leave no scruple or doubt of my good intention towards you." Further, I hereby give your lordship to understand, that I have deeply engaged my credit to my most gracious sovereign, in high commendation of your lordship's good affection to her Majesty "in taruinge your parte in the late disgracefull tumnit into the fairest tearmes of honour and true performauce, and in attributing to your whole name that deipe interest in religion, zeale to the peace betwene the realmes, and true worthines, as may well both testifiye my judgement, and justify my good affection towards you and yours."

The case now stands that we must lay open to the world our worth, viz., our religion, allegiance, and honorable performance of promise.

Religion challenges a direct plain and sincere truth—admitting neither speech nor act to impeach it for worldly affection—"for everlasting recordes whereof our owne hartes are worldes full of witnesses, and God himself the



1597.

“judge, whose reverence I doe most instantly commend both to your lordship and myself in this action.”

The next is allegiance—wherein I have pledged myself to her Majesty by your desire in a matter within your power—which being yet udone, duty and reason force me to travaill earnestly to disburden myself. It resteth with you to content her Majesty by the expected delivery, which I request you to do without delay. Wherein your own allegiance may appear—that your most excellent King commanded you to deliver Sir Robert Kerr, in case he did not deliver his pledges—and as he failed to do this at last meeting, I must challenge the King's command.

In the third point—honourable performance of promise—I have discharged myself (1) by keeping all appointments—and interpreting favourably Sir Robert Kerr's disappointment of 3 several meetings, chiefly relying on your honor and promise of satisfaction. As I promised, I have commended your lordship's good offices to her Majesty, and the King himself can witness that I requested him to charge your lordship with this delivery as the man fittest in all respects.

As your private friend I may thus privately entreat your pardon in reminding you of your “absolute promise” given to me at our last meeting, that I should have Sir Robert Kerr delivered, failing his pledges—which as you know he did not deliver, let me entreat you in all honorable terms to perform your promise, returning me answer by the bearer as to time and place for the same.

Lastly—I have chosen to commend thus much to your lordship's favour privately as a loving friend, rather than as her Majesty's commissioner, and persuade myself you will judge it favourably and answer accordingly. Berwick.

2 pp. Copy by his clerk. Indorsed: “Copie of a lettre from Sir William Bowes to the Lord Home . . .”

Dec. 24. 1551. WILLIAM SELBY TO CECIL.

Sending him a letter received “yesternight” from Roger Ashton by the hands of George Nicolson—who said it was for the Queen's business. Sir William Bowes came here this night. Berwick. Signed: Will'm Selby.

¼ p. Addressed. Indorsed.

[APPENDIX.

1596.  
May

"A breefe relation of the begininge and discent of the Grames nowe inhabitinge the  
inge; where the Stories in former tyme were cheef inhabitants, and nowe expelled by  
William Grame,\* *alias* Lounge Will, bannished out of Scotland about 80 yeares since, came  
Eske as followeth:—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. RICHARD OF NETHERBY.                              | Richard, who m. a daughter of Edward Eglyonbye of Carlisle. By this marriage the Aglionbyes and the Musgraves of Crookdake are "cousin-jermans" to Walter Grame and the Armstrongs of Hollas in Scotland: and the Salklds of Corkby near allied unto them, whereby the Grames receive great favour and secret oversight, and by their means the Armstrongs, which are principall spoilers of the Queen's subjects. For good service done by him, the King Henry VIII. gave him "good lands," and the Duke of "North[folk]" gave him arms. |
|  | William, who m. an Elwood, a Scotswoman, . . . . .  |
|  | George, who dwells at the Red-Kirk in Scotland, and m. a Maxwell, . . . . .   |
|  | Thomas of Galawaye, m. a Scotswoman, . . . . .  |
|  | Another base, . . . . .   |
| 2. ARTHUR OF CANONBY IN SCOTLAND.<br>"no here male." | One daughter, m. to Christofer Armstrong of Laugham in Scotland, . . . . .  |
|  | William, who died a p., . . . . .   |
|  | Arthur, m. with the Johnstons of Newby in Scotland, . . . . .   |
| 3. FERGUS OF THE MOTE.                               | Richard of Breconhill, who m. with Batison in Scotland, . . . . .   |
|  | George and Francis, m. and dwelling in Scotland. One daughter m. to Armstrong of Cafell in Scotland, another to Hector Armstrong of the Harelaw in Scotland.  |
| 4. JOHN OF MEDOPPE.                                  | Richard, William, Robert, and John, all m. with Scotland, . . . . .   |
| 5. THOMAS OF KIRKANDERS.                             | George, m. with Armstrong of Maugerton,<br>Christofer, and Davie, both m. with Scotland, . . . . .  |
| 6. GEORGE OF THE FAULD.                              | Robert, m. with "Caruddoses" in Scotland, . . . . .   |
|  | William, who m. with Armstrongs of Whithaugh, . . . . .   |
|  | Arthur, dwelling at Blotewood in Scotland, . . . . .  |
|  | Fergus, m. to "Barro," . . . . .  |
|  | Richard, dwelling at Longriggs in Scotland, . . . . .   |
| 7. WILLIAM OF CARLIELL.                              | William of the Rosetree, . . . . .  |
|  | George and Walter, and one daughter, m. to Bell in Scotland, and another unknown.   |
|  | William, slain, without issue, . . . . .  |
|  | Andrew, new chief of that branch, . . . . .   |
|  | Robert, slain. Davie, slain, left issue, . . . . .  |
|  | Richard, m. with Urwins of Holham in Scotland, . . . . .  |
| 8. HUTCHEN, BASE.                                    | Arthur, m. a daughter of Richard Grame <i>alias</i> Gares,<br>A daughter m. to William Armstrong, <i>alias</i> Kynnmoat late prisoner in Carlisle, and taken away by the Lord of Buckclaghe. <i>Note.</i> —In the wars with Scotland, Alexander Armstrong, father to this Will of Kynnmoat, with eight others of his sons, were pensioners to King Henry VIII., who, for good service done, gave them lands in Cumberland called Guilercrookes, which his grandchild yet possesseth.  |

\* "By this William doe the earles of Mounteth and Montrosse in Scotland claime interest of the service of all the Grames, as descended out of their howses, as the Lord Grame which of late lay amongst them for the same purpose, did manifest."

† Written above by Burghley.  
‡ "It is to be collected out of this that John Armstronge of the Hollas, sisters sonn to Walter Grame, Christopher Armstronge of Barngiесе, sisters son to Robert Grame of the Fald, John Armstronge *alias* Jock of Kinmont, sisters sons to Andrew Grame *alias* Hutchins Andrew, John Armstronge of the Cafell, sisters sons to Richard Grame of Breckanhill, William Bell *alias* Redd Cloake, sisters sonn to William Grame of the Rose Tree, Alexander Armstronge, sisters sonn to William Grame *alias* Riches Will, Sym Armstronge, lard of Whithaugh, father-in-lawe to William Grame of the Fald, were all principall actors with Buckclaghe at the losinge of Kinmont;

## GRAMES OF ESK.

Debateable grounds neare the River of Eske in England, accordinge to my presente understand-  
the nombrre of the said Grames increased.  
into England and brought with him eight sonnes, whome he planted neare the said River of

<p>{ Walter of Netherby, now chief, who m. with Robert of the Fald. Davie { m. with Scotland. William { John, with others unknown. Marie, m. to Jo. Armstrong of the Hollas in Scotland.</p>	<p>{ Richard, who m. a daughter of Richard Grame of Breckenhill, with other sons and daughters, young.  John, a principal actor with Buccleuch. "Richard." † William, who m. a daughter of Richard Grame of Breckanhill.</p>
<p>{ John, "vel Wills Jock," m. with Scotland. Fargus, m. a daughter of Kinmonts. Richard, George, Arthur, and James, with others un- known, mostly m. with Scotland.</p>	
<p>{ Seven or eight sons besides daughters, mostly m. with Scotland.</p>	

John Armstrong now of Langham.

{ John, who m. with Kinmont, a principal actor with Buccleuch.

{ William, now of the Mote, m. a daughter of Thomas Carlton by Richard Lowther's sister.  
This William has 20*l.* yearly pension of her Majesty, because his father "Arthur" was slain by Thomas Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle, but if his service hereafter be no better than as yet, the pension might be better bestowed, for he is a daily abettor of evil.  
Arthur with others.

{ "Note.—That these marriages were made by the policy and wit of Mr Richard Lowther and Tho. Carlton, to unite friendship between the houses of Netherbye and Mote, who had been long at civil dissension and much bloodshed. The agreement of whom hath disturbed the peace of her Majesty's better subjects, and according to their purpose, disquieted the government of the Lord Scrope." †

{ Richard, who m. a daughter of Wills Jock. Divers daughters, whereof one m. Wills Jock's son.

Jock of the Cawfell, &c., now common spoilers of the Queen's subjects.

Their issue a great number.

{ Alexander, principal guide to Buckclughe. A daughter m. to Thomas Carlton, and another to Christofer Armstrong of Barnlea in Scotland, which was with Buckclughe, a common spoiler of the Queen's subjects.  
William, m. a daughter of Armstrong of Whithaogh. A daughter m. to Walter Grame of Netherby, with other sons (?).

William and Robert, "dwelling inward in England—very good subjects."

{ Several young, by a daughter of Hutchin Richards. This man hath lands in Scotland given him by Lord Maxwell for service done and to be done.

William Bell *alias* "Redde Cloke," a principal with Bockleugh.

{ This Andrew hath lands given him from Lord Maxwell for service. It is thought "divers of the rest have pensions from noblemen in Scotland, for service to be done as occasion shall requier."

{ Hutchin, who m. a daughter of John Armstrong of Hollis in Scotland.

George, Richard, and William, with divers daughters.  
Four sons, young.

besydes William Urwin *alias* Kange and his bretheren, which were brothers to Hutchins Andrew by the mothers syde. Therefore, it is convenient that the Grames above said be sent for, being all privie to Buckclaghe proceedings, together with young Hutchin Grame and Alexander Grame, whoe are thought both to be in person at the assault of her Majesties castle.

There are also another sort of Grames which inhabit upon the rivers of Levyn and Sarke, which are not of this race, but by course of tyme, have married together, and are become of one partie to the number of foure or five hundred, almost all evel disposed, besydes Stories, Taylers, Fosters, and Hetheringtons, and Bells, which are matched with them, and like disposed."

4 pp. On a large broad sheet in tabular form, in a hand resembling that of No. 257. Copiously annotated by Burghley and his secretary. Indorsed as title, and also by Burghley "The Catalog of the Greames," &c.



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## CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I.—*Additional*.

Page 418, No. 787, for Lammerston read Sammerston, *i.e.*, Hamilton of Samnelston, not the Laird of Lamington, as in index.  
 ,, 544, No. 974, for [1594] read [1595].  
 ,, 546, No. 980, evidently belongs to Michaelmas 1602, and concerns the two Grames then indicted. See vol. ii. No. 1490.  
 ,, 578, index, head-line, *dele* Marshal of.  
 ,, 728, index, Serope, lady: for her daughter, read Lady Hunsdon's daughter.

## Vol. II.

,, 100, line 22, *dele* semi-colon after Northumberland.  
 ,, 132, lines 14, 38, for Berwick read Bewick.  
 ,, 186, line 6, *add, signed*: Jhon Carey.  
 ,, 234, No. 470, for Dec. 10, read Jan. 10.  
 ,, 318, line 1, on margin, *add* May 7.  
 ,, 394, No. 749, evidently belongs to Autumn of 1602.  
 ,, 470, line 17, for Riddin read Ridd in.  
 ,, 648, No. 1169, should precede No. 1157, p. 643.  
 ,, 671, head-line, for 1598 read 1600.  
 ,, 683, line 3 from foot, for "the Kinges servantes," read "the Earles servantes."  
 ,, 685, No. 1239, title, for CAREY read CECIL.  
 ,, 704, line 13 from foot, for Bower [an error of the clerk] read Gower.  
 ,, 798, line 2 from foot, for *charogue antasee* read *charogne entasee*.



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