CALENDAR

OF THE

STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

SCOTLAND

AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

1547-1603

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

It will be remembered that by the death of the Regent Mar, on the 28th of October 1572, the "great matter" entrusted to Henry Killigrew in the secret document, dated 10th September 1572, could not be proceeded with until the appointment of a new Regent, and that shortly after the Convention of the 15th of November 1572 James, Earl of Morton, was chosen to fill the Earl of Mar's place in the Regency. 1574.

On the 18th of July 1574[1] Walsingham wrote to Killigrew that he did not think it convenient to move her Majesty for his return till he informed her how he found the Regent affected touching the "great matter" he had commission to deal in, and therefore thought it fit that he accompany the Regent—who was about to start on his journey northwards—until he be revoked. Morton started for Aberdeen on the 3rd of August.[2] Walsingham had been informed by Killigrew, in a letter dated 21st of June 1574, that "for the great matter" he could write nothing yet. On the 26th of July[3] Walsingham writes to Burghley that a man of his, whom he lent Mr. Killigrew, has arrived from Scotland with the Regent's answer touching the "great matter," but what it is, he knows not, for the packet is directed to his fellow (Leicester), who has not yet returned from Oxford. What this document contained, in all probability, will never be known for certain, as no evidence of the contents of the "packet" has been found.

Four days after the receipt of this packet, in a letter addressed to Killigrew from Walsingham,[4] the latter was instructed to deal thoroughly with the Regent touching the matter he wrote of to the two Lords (Leicester and Burghley), and that if he will take upon him the safe keeping of the Queen of Scots, with such

[1] P. 28. [2] P. 35. [3] P. 32. [4] P. 33.

1574. conditions as were propounded by him, she will be content to send the Queen of Scots, and will not demand hostages for the performance of the said conditions till such time as the Queen is delivered, on condition that he will promise to send hostages then.

Morton's letter of the 16th of August[1] to Elizabeth contains no reference to this matter, and those to Leicester and Burghley[2] of the same date show nothing more than that he had committed the matter verbally to Killigrew. Two memoranda, dated the 16th of August,[3] were brought with the three letters of the same date by Killigrew on his return to London shortly after; in the first of which there is no mention of the matter whatever, and in the latter he merely requested him to ask Elizabeth what further is to be looked for in that which passed between them at Aberdeen touching "the matter of greatest moment."

No further documents with regard to the "great matter" have been found. Thus for a time the negotiations for getting rid of Mary by the hands of her own subjects were postponed, and thus the English were obliged to retain as a prisoner the Queen whom they alleged to be guilty of the foul deed at Kirk-o'-Field, and whose blood had been sought since a few days after the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day reached England.

There are various letters of interest with reference to Mary's imprisonment in this Calendar. Shrewsbury, writing to Walsingham on the 12th of July 1574, mentions that he has delivered certain open letters to her, and requested her answer, which was given to the effect that she never heard of Leslie's marriage; and the next day she sent him a packet for Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester.[4] In another letter to him on the 19th of July, after repudiating some personal charges as to his loyalty, he thanks him for having got, at her Majesty's hand, a warrant for the Scottish Queen's diet, and sends him a packet from her.[5]

The next letter we have from Shrewsbury was written to Walsingham on the 13th of September, in which he says "this

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[1] P. 39. [2] *Ib.* [3] P. 40. [4] P. 23. [5] P. 29.

Lady shall be forthcoming at her Majesty's devotion," and that "this Lady" shows herself very willing and desirous to please her Majesty.[1] 1574.

Mary misliked Shrewsbury's method of obtaining information by getting her letters from her secretary, Raulet, and complained to Walsingham.[2]

Shrewsbury, according to Elizabeth's commandment, wrote to her on the 4th of December 1574 mentioning that Mary was safe, and at her commandment.[3]

On the 29th of February 1574-5 Walsingham wrote to Shrewsbury informing him that confession had been made that Alexander Hamilton, Nevill Sandes, Watkyn Davyes, and one Jackson, servants of his, were conveyers of letters and messages to the Queen of Scots, and requesting him to send them up guarded.[4] This confession was made by Henry Cockin after denial first.[5]

Raulet, Mary's secretary, having died, Elizabeth allowed Mons. De Nau to supply his place, and by her letter to Shrewsbury, dated the 29th of March 1575, she commanded him to receive him into her company, and to suffer him to serve her. At the same time he was to remind De Nau of the caution which the King of France had given her for him, and also of his own promise.[6]

In consequence of the discovery of so much correspondence between Mary and her friends, Walsingham wrote to Elizabeth on the 14th of April 1575 pointing out that there could be no long-continued union in England or Scotland unless she took order in time for restraining Mary from practice.[7]

Alexander Hamilton, Nevill Sands, and Watkyn Davyes, according to Walsingham's request, were sent up to London by Shrewsbury on the 4th of May following.[8] In a postscript to Shrewsbury's letter to Walsingham informing him that he was sending him these three men, he mentions that the Queen of Scots' tailor has arrived at Sheffield with his letter, and regrets

[1] P. 55. [2] P. 63. [3] P. 68. [4] P. 95.
[5] Pp. 86-93. [6] P. 113. [7] P. 118. [8] P. 134.

1575. that Elizabeth had not directed him more particularly in the using of him. He had searched him, but could only find two or three closed letters directed to Mary and her folks for their affairs. Some apparel is being made by the Queen of Scots' device for Elizabeth, and therefore he has thought fit, and less danger for practices, to permit him to remain within the house, rather than to suffer him to lie abroad.

On the 27th of May 1575[1] Henry Killigrew received instructions from Elizabeth to proceed to Scotland to declare to the Regent the reason for her having so long delayed in sending him an answer with regard to the mutual league against foreign or inward attempts, and other things. In those instructions she most thankfully accepts Morton's advice with regard to the safe custody of the Scottish Queen, and purposes to be more watchful over her, and to restrain her from some part of that liberty which heretofore she has granted to her, and on her part has not been a little abused.[2]

John Chisholm, who had been in France for some years trying to obtain money for Mary's supporters, appears by his letter to her, from Paris, dated the 7th of July 1575,[3] to have fallen into a miserable state, as he begs her "to bestow some little piece of silver" on him besides his pension of 200 francs yearly, granted to him amongst other her faithful servants. He also reminds her that he proposed, and she liked well, that he should have returned to remain beside her with his wife, who would be found "right proper" to serve her. She is a young gentlewoman having no bairns yet, and he dares answer for her affectionate mind.

The Laird of Farnyhurst, having been supplied with money by the Archbishop of Glasgow, and having borrowed 500*l.* from Englishmen, writes to Mary on the 8th of July[4]: "But seeing I have no other refuge except to your Highness, I will most humbly crave that I may be considered and acknowledged by your liberality with the means to acquit myself at the hands of

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[1] P. 152. [2] P. 153. [3] P. 158. [4] P. 160.

these Englishmen only, and as for the rest of my debts in Scotland, I will leave off to burden your Majesty anywise therewith till God sends a better time, and your Grace further commodity." Shortly after this letter the Archbishop of Glasgow writes to Mary[1] that he caused 500 crowns to be delivered to the Laird of Farnyhurst, and without her favour he will be 500 livres in arrear. 1575.

On the 12th of October 1575 Mary wrote to Gregory XIII. in favour of the Bishop of Ross.[2]

Margaret, Countess of Lennox, who began to fear that Mary might return to power in Scotland—and, perhaps, in England, too—had, about the beginning of 1573, become reconciled to Mary, and had contrived to bring about the marriage between her son, Lord Charles Stewart, and Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury. There is a letter,[3] dated the 10th of November 1575, from Margaret, Countess of Lennox, with a postscript by her daughter, showing that tokens and letters had passed from Mary to them. In the former, Lady Arbella Stewart, the only offspring of this ill-fated marriage, is referred to as their "sweet and peerless jewel." Mary is besought to trust in God that all shall be well. The younger Countess calls herself "your poor servant," and beseeches her to accept the good heart of the writer, "who loves and honours your Majesty unfeignedly."

In December 1575 Mary made requests through the King of France to Elizabeth to allow her to go to Buxton, for her doctor, an apothecary, and another to assist her, and to grant a passport for Mdlle. de Rallay and an embroiderer to go to her.[4] These requests were all granted. On the 30th of June 1576 she writes to Elizabeth[5] that she has received benefit by her sojourn at Buxton, and thanks her for the apothecary's boy, who is with her at Sheffield. Her first physician had also visited her, and given her great hope. On this occasion she sends Elizabeth a present of a casket and a light coiffure, and mentions a former

[1] P. 183. [2] P. 198. [3] P. 202. [4] P. 204. [5] P. 218.

1576. present, all made by one of her people. She also requests a passport for her Chamberlain to come to her about her affairs, which are in a bad state since the death of the Cardinal of Lorraine.

The dowry which had been granted to Mary in France had been to a great extent withdrawn, and her revenues were now scarcely sufficient to meet the enormous demands made on her by her pensioned servants and those who were exiled for her cause. In 1576 the Duchy of Touraine, which had been granted to her by Francis II., was taken from her and assigned to the King's brother, in recompense for which other lands were assigned to her, which turned out not to amount to the value of the Duchy; and instead of granting her compensation for this encroachment, she was dispossessed of two Duchies in order to satisfy the Duchess of Montpensier, of whom the King had borrowed money.[1]

Her Chancellor, Mons. Du Vergier, appears to have arrived at Sheffield in April 1577. Shrewsbury writes to Walsingham on the 26th of April: "This Queen and her chancellor are daily occupied about her reckonings. When this will end, I know not."[2] Du Vergier was still at Sheffield on the 9th of May,[3] as Shrewsbury had orders that day not to remove to Chatsworth till he was gone.

Mons. De Nau mentions in a letter to his brother, on the 31st of August 1577,[4] that the Queen of Scots is discontented with regard to her dowry and her chamberlain Dolu's service.

With a view to alleviating Elizabeth's anxiety with regard to the rumours which had reached her towards the close of August 1577 with reference to an attempt to be made to assist Mary to escape, Shrewsbury informed Walsingham on the 2nd September that he had thought good to advertise her Majesty that his "vigilant care for her safety shall never diminish, but always increase."[5]

The next day Elizabeth wrote to Shrewsbury[6] informing him that she had been advertised from abroad of rumours that Mary's

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[1] P. 224. [2] P. 227. [3] P. 228. [4] P. 241. [5] P. 242 [6] *Ib.*

escape would be attempted, and warning him to "carry a more heedful eye towards her." In greater apprehension than at any time before, she also authorised him thenceforth to use his own discretion as well in restraining her as he shall think expedient, as also in removing altogether or restraining for a time from her all such persons as he shall find or suspect to be practisers and instruments for her to do evil offices. Shrewsbury had told Leicester and Burghley that he might a great deal better warrant her safe keeping if such discretion was committed to him.[1] 1577 —

In consequence of Mary's financial troubles, a letter was drawn up by her on the 6th of November 1577[2] to the Archbishop of Glasgow setting forth her discontentment at the Pope's apathy with regard to her appeal to him for assistance. He is asked to inform the Pope that what remains of her dower is not sufficient for the maintenance of her domestic servants and the necessity of the banished English and Scotch, whom she is obliged to assist. Money was also required to assist in carrying James VI. out of Scotland. Information had reached Mary that it had been suggested to remove her from Shrewsbury's custody and place her in the hands of the Earl of Huntingdon or the Earl of Bedford. In the same letter she sends peremptory command to Dolu to deliver up certain money, and indignantly remarks that she does not find him the same at Paris as at Sheffield. The Archbishop is urged to obtain for her some man of substance who may advance her by raising some considerable sum.

In the beginning of February 1577-8 instructions were drawn up for the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Henry Nevill to remove Mary farther from the north,[3] but although this document is couched in most careful terms, and the Sheriffs of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire were commanded to aid Shrewsbury and Nevill in case of need, the matter never seems to have proceeded further than the drafting of the necessary letters. The explanation of these instructions appears in a letter from Shrewsbury to Elizabeth, dated the 17th of March

[1] *Ib.* [2] P. 245. [3] P. 271.

1578. following.[1] He is advertised that bruits have been given out that there is want of due respect to his charge, and that he is too much at the devotion of the Queen of Scots, and thereupon some consideration was thought meet to be had for disposing of her elsewhere out of his custody. The wisest and noblest Queen on earth, and in all excellent gifts and virtues of body and mind without comparison, is the only judge of his service. For ten years he has served her truly and faithfully in this charge. No person can touch him with the least spot of infidelity. Before he parts with her otherwise than may stand with her Majesty's pleasure, he will lay her life to gage if she puts it to some proof, and if he keeps her not safe, let her Majesty give him the reward of a traitor.

Simultaneously with these rumours with regard to Shrewsbury a very important event was taking place in Scotland which necessitated immediate attention, and most probably owing to this event—the acceptance of the Government upon himself by James VI.—it was found impossible to remove Mary to the custody of the Earl of Huntingdon, whose presence could not be spared from the Council of the North.

On the 30th of May 1578 Elizabeth sent an order to Shrewsbury not to permit the embroiderer's wife, who had gone to Sheffield with her child, to have any speech with Mary.[2]

A request was made to Elizabeth by Mary on the 22nd of July 1578[3] for permission for Mons. Dolu or Du Vergier to bring her 2000 crowns they agreed to send her every year for her expenses and the wages of her officers who served her in her captivity; that she may be allowed to replace her old servants; that another physician be allowed her in place of her present one, who is 80 years of age; in place of Mdlle. de Rallay, aged 70 years, she wishes to have the Laird of Farnyhurst's daughter, aged only thirteen or fourteen years, about whom they could have no suspicion; that she may be allowed an officer of the kitchen;

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[1] P. 278. [2] P. 294. [3] P. 303.

and that Alexander Scott, groom of the pantry, may return to her. The passport for Dolu or Du Vergier was refused.[1] 1579.

On the 2nd of January 1578-9 Mary sent a long explanation to Elizabeth with regard to charges made against her for carrying on intrigues.[2]

On the 18th of January she wrote to the Bishop of Ross telling him that the suspicions and machinations of her enemies never were sharper, and never were less occasions given by her.[3]

Du Vergier sent certain things to Mary in a box, an inventory of which was made on the 21st of July 1579.[4] Amongst the articles are watches and a gilt alarm-clock.

On the 5th of September she wrote to Walsingham complaining of delay in conveying her letters to Elizabeth, and on the same day to Elizabeth warning her of the strait captivity in which her son was being kept.[5]

Mary's physician writes to the French ambassador in England on the 1st of May 1580, from Sheffield, that her Majesty's health is in as bad a state as can be. Everything possible has been done by her physicians for her recovery from the infirmity that afflicts her. He has done what his art can devise for her whole body and the pain in her side. The baths of Buxton gave her comfort before. Cannot permission be obtained for her to return there?[6]

The next day Mary herself wrote to Elizabeth begging her to deliver her out of prison, or to allow her to go to Buxton, as she is extremely tormented with the complaint in her side.[7] She also sent a letter to the Privy Council at the same time to tell them that the blame would rest on them if she died in this prison.[8] No answer having been received, Mary again wrote to Elizabeth on the 21st of June 1580 pointing out to her how ill-deserved her severe treatment of her was, and how very necessary it was for her to proceed to the baths for her health.[9]

In sending this last letter to the French ambassador to be presented to Elizabeth, she protests that she has no practice or

[1] P. 323. [2] P. 329. [3] P. 333. [4] P. 341. [5] P. 347.
[6] P. 405. [7] P. 406. [8] P. 408. [9] P. 453.

1580. secret negotiation with the English rebels or any other to the prejudice of the Queen of England. She is only allowed 2000 crowns by the year, by Elizabeth's permission, and is indebted in more than 40,000*l.* As far as the expense Elizabeth is put to for her in this prison, it not being at her request or for her good, but at the price of her liberty, she cannot incur any obligation to her. If she pretends any obligation, she is ready to free herself by payment in ready money of all that has been provided up to the present for her expense. She begs him anew to demand some reply to what she has written, to entreat her to take some better order for her state here, and to allow her to go to Buxton, where she has always had less liberty than any other place in England.[1]

Permission was given for Mary to go to Buxton, and by a letter from Shrewsbury to Burghley, dated the 16th of August 1580, from that place, some idea may be formed of the extreme straitness of the incarceration she underwent there. It has pleased her Majesty to give him in charge to look circumspectly to his great charge. For her safe keeping he has been at this point with her—never to keep any common order with her or her people whereby they might ascertain any certainty at his hands, but has been as careful of her and her people as though the enemy were present to assail him. As for her now being at Buxton, there is not so much as a beggar in the town. Her people have not stirred forth of the doors but when they have asked him leave, and then they have gone no farther than the close of the wall, and guarded by his soldiers. Neither has he suffered the simplest of them at any time these seven years to walk abroad, no, not to stir out of his doors without being guarded by his soldiers, nor will he. Since she came hither she has applied the well, and only came forth one evening to take the air in the close about the house, where none were but his people. On Wednesday next he returns to Sheffield.[2]

The next letter we have from Shrewsbury is one to the Earl of

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[1] P. 456. [2] P. 484.

Leicester, which is dated at Sheffield the 21st of August.[1] This only refers to money due to him for the Queen of Scots' diet. 1580–1.

One Marten, an attendant of Shrewsbury's, was removed at Elizabeth's instance for suspicious dealing. This man had been well watched by Shrewsbury owing to his being discovered making love to Jane Kenyte, Mary's woman.[2] The letter to Burghley which gives the accouut of this matter is dated 28th of November 1580.

A translation is given of the well-known "Religious Reflections by Mary."[3] The document is much defaced by alterations and decay. It is entirely in Mary's handwriting, and appears to be only part of an address to some potentate.

There is a letter from James VI. to Mary, the probable date of which is the 29th of January 1580-1, in which he tells her that it is not with his goodwill that her secretary has returned without having given him her letter and made known what she commanded him to tell him. He has received a ring sent to him by her, which he will keep well from honour to her.[4]

Certain declarations were made towards the end of January 1580-1 by Mary touching her right in succession to the crown of England, to be presented to Elizabeth and the English Parliament.[5]

That pensions by the English Queen were much coveted by some of the Scottish nobility there can be no doubt, and possibly some of the demands of those made towards the end of June 1574[6] could not be refused. Amongst those commended for pensions by the Regent Morton is Adam Gordon,[7] the Earl of Huntly's brother, concerning whom, about six months before, he wrote to Burghley: "I hear from France that the Earl of Huntly's brother, Adam Gordon, under pretence of seeking his own promotion, offers and takes in hand, being supported with men and money, to alter the State here; wherein, I doubt not, if he proceed, it shall turn to his own confusion, and little to the

[1] P. 491. [2] P. 541. [3] P. 549. [4] P. 595.
[5] P. 601. [6] P. 1. [7] P. 2.

1574. contentment of such as give ear to him, although the Earl, his brother, by her Majesty's means, has received great favour and ease, and is bound in that respect to her Majesty. . . . Herewithal, I pray your Lordship that her Majesty's ambassador now 'liand' in France may be admonished to take good heed to the dealing and usage of the said Adam Gordon and others of this nation now remaining in that country, known enemies to the present state of both these kingdoms."[1] On the 23rd of June 1574 Henry Killigrew, writing to Walsingham from Edinburgh, amongst the "Observations and Occurrents," mentions that he hears that Adam Gordon did less to Scotland in France than if he were at home, "and it is thought it were fitter for him to be in Italy than there or here."[2]

It would undoubtedly have been a great relief to Morton had he been able to secure the friendship and aid of this powerful man, yet he hesitated to accept the only offer of reconciliation that was made to him. Killigrew tells Walsingham in a letter of the 12th of July 1574 that the Regent does not yet resolve what advice to give touching Adam Gordon's desire to come to England to be reconciled to him by her Majesty's means.

After the surrender of Edinburgh Castle Scotland was at peace. The period 1573 to May 1575 was marked by no incident of an unpleasant nature. The people of Scotland were in a state of tranquillity. There was nothing to disturb the industry required for the cultivation of the soil. Morton was, no doubt, anxious to make this state of tranquillity as lasting as possible, and for this purpose he drew together an army of about 4000 men, being sufficient to deal with the Borders, which required looking after.

On the 30th of August 1573[3] Morton wrote to Burghley that he had "so travailed these days past with our disordered people inhabiting the frontiers, that I hope good fruits shall follow thereon to the comfort of the good people of both the countries." The Scottish Border inhabitants received a severe chastisement

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[1] Vol. IV., p. 640. [2] *Ib.*, p. 682. [3] Vol. IV., p. 610.

for the pillaging they had been carrying on during the time of the civil war. 1574.

Henry Killigrew's mission to Scotland to carry out the instructions of the 22nd of May 1574 continued up till the 16th of August of that year. His duties during that period were to search out what alteration had happened since his last being in Scotland, and particularly whether the Regent continued constant in his affection to the Queen of England, how his manner of proceeding in his Government was liked, what party Mary had there, touching the ordnance in Hume Castle, the proposed contract for the maintenance of religion, the league for mutual defence, and the Regent's request for money for himself and pensions for some of the nobility.[1]

Killigrew arrived at Berwick on the 5th of June.[2] There he heard of the death of Charles IX. Some Englishmen informed him that the Regent had great complaints made to him of Scotchmen being spoiled by English pirates about Scarborough, Flamborough Head, and Ferne Island. On the 17th of June[3] he wrote to Walsingham that, what by sickness and the Regent's urgent affairs, he had not been able to do anything to purpose. He has again heard of spoils committed by English pirates. The Regent is grieved with the escape from Berwick of a man who coined false money in Scotland. On the 21st of June[4] Walsingham is informed by Killigrew, amongst other things: "For the great matter, I can yet write nothing, for I shall not till to-morrow have occasion to deal in it, and I must alter my course in that matter. For all this, if we would do soundly, they would be brought in tune again, although the luck-strings be waxen loose and slack. Very shortly you shall have a full and resolute despatch."

The first minute report with regard to Scottish affairs was despatched by Killigrew to Walsingham on the 23rd of June 1574.[5] It is a lengthy document covering the whole of his instructions of the 22nd of May. He has a suspicion that there

[1] *Ib.*, p. 663. [2] *Ib.*, p. 669. [3] *Ib.*, p. 673. [4] *Ib.*, 675. [5] *Ib.*, p. 679.

1574. is some less affection than he left behind him in 1572. This is accounted for by the want of the league and the piracies. French practices are begun by Mons. Molins and George Douglas, and are nourished by the archers of the Scottish Guard and others. Letters had been sent to Scotland by the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop of Ross. Morton's government he sees, in outward show, well liked and obeyed. There has been some little grudging towards the Regent by the clergy and those zealous in religion, especially those of Edinburgh. Who should be Regent if Morton were gone, he knows not. Some would have Atholl; but the Protestants mislike him altogether. Some would have Glencairn; but he is too old, weak, and poor. Others would have Angus; but he is too young. The Bishop of Caithness is of small credit. Killigrew thinks "the Hamiltons' blood and their friends would rule, or else give strokes for it." He is going to search for those to whom pensions should be given, and for this men must be chosen out who may be likeliest to serve to purpose. The Regent is at great charges; for he keeps in pay 100 footmen and 24 horsemen, who attend on his person. He incloses a document to show what order the Regent took for reforming the abuses in the Colleges, and also how far the Commissioners who sat about the framing of a Christian policy for the Church have proceeded. Grange's wife has been put to the horn. English minstrels had sung a vehement ditty against Catherine de Medicis and the House of Guise for the massacre at Paris. Lords Maxwell and Herries, the Abbot of Newbottle, and the Laird of Lochinvar had visited him from the Regent about Border matters.

The success of Killigrew's mission depended very much upon his manner of dealing with all the parties he came in contact with, and that he was a most popular ambassador there can be no doubt. Morton writes to Burghley of him on the 24th of June 1574[1] that he is "a man unchanged in love and affection towards this State, and myself in particular, and so shall he find

[1] Vol. V., p. 5.

himself friendly and familiarly dealt with here in such things as he has in charge from her Highness." 1574.

The next day Killigrew wrote to Walsingham begging for his revocation in case he perceives that Elizabeth will give ear to no league or pension, for he shall do her Majesty no service in Scotland, but undo himself.[1] He also mentions that Sir William Livingston, Laird of Kilsyth, was re-examined upon letters that were taken, "sent to him from some love of his out of England, wherein there was a toy to wear about his neck to preserve love."

With the same letter there is an inclosure containing the examination of certain English pirates, whose chief was Robert Istead, of Hastings. It appears that these pirates arrived at Montrose on the 15th of June 1574 with two prizes, which they affirmed to have taken from Papists of the Low Country, but they brought none of the owners prisoners. It happened, however, that a ship of Leith, coming from Dantzic, overtook a Norwegian ship which had on board the owners and mariners of the two prizes. Three of these were taken on board the Scottish ship, which was, by chance, driven into the port of Montrose. Some of the pirates were stayed by the officers of the town, but those on board made sail and went to sea, leaving thirteen or fourteen of the pirates together with their captain behind. One of these pirates, Peter Fisher by name, was executed at Leith on the 22nd of July, "and is to hang in chaynes to the example of others."[2] A list of the others, who were sent to Leith to be executed, is enclosed with a letter from Killigrew to Walsingham of the 18th of July. But it appears that they were all executed at Leith on the 1st of July, except the two boys, who were sent back to England. In the last-mentioned letter Killigrew mentions that the two boys had been sent to him, and that he means to send them home as soon as he can.

Information had been given to Walsingham that one Alexander Hamilton had been in communication with Mary. As the most effectual means of securing Hamilton, an order was sent to

[1] *Ib.* [2] P. 25.

1574. Shrewsbury to send him up to London, and accordingly this was done. Shrewsbury writes to Walsingham on the 6th of June 1574, "I have forthwith sent up Alexander Hamilton by this bearer, a servant of mine, as you willed, whom I retained schoolmaster to two of my youngest children a year and a half since, or thereabouts, for these respects, his religion and honesty, being recommended to me by you and some other my friends when you were ambassadors in France, from whence he was newly come."[1] Alexander Hamilton's apprehension was followed by that of Henry Cockyn, Thomas Morgan, Doctor Atslow, and others, whose examinations and confessions will be found amongst the Papers calendared in the present volume.

Killigrew paid the King of Scots a visit, in her Majesty's name, about the 27th of June. The King seemed very glad to hear from her Majesty, and could use pretty speeches, as, how much he was bound to her, yea, more than to his own mother. He found him well grown in body and spirit since he was last in Scotland. He speaks the French tongue marvellously well. He was able to translate a chapter of the Bible from Latin into French, and from French into English, so well that few men could have added anything to his translation. His schoolmasters made him dance before him, which he did with a very good grace.[2]

In the same letter, addressed to Walsingham, he mentions that he cannot learn of any practice to transport the King to France, but there is a sister of Lord Livingston's about him much suspected to be French, and his schoolmasters are desirous to have him from the handling of women, by whom he is yet guided and kept, saving when he goes to his book.

On his return from Stirling he met Robert Melville, who desired him to yield his most humble thanks to her Majesty for saving his life.[3]

Another case of piracy is mentioned by Killigrew in his letter to Walsingham, dated the 18th of July 1574. One Higgins

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[1] Vol. IV., p. 668. [2] Vol. V., p. 13. [3] *Ib.*

brought a prize into Caithness without any men in her, and was apprehended together with his ship and thirty-eight men. 1574–5.

A letter from Killigrew to Burghley, dated the 3rd of August 1574, mentions that a letter of Grange's to Mary, written not two days before his death, had come to the Regent, making mention of his devotion to her, and of his service, and declaring where all her jewels were, and how many Sir William Drury had in gage for 600*l.*, which the Regent proposes to demand again.[1] As has been mentioned before, Killigrew's mission to Scotland ended on the 16th of August 1574.

Meanwhile a dispute had arisen between the Regent Morton and the Earl and Countess of Argyll as to certain jewels which belonged to the Crown of Scotland. The Countess of Argyll retained possession of these jewels after the Regent Murray, her first husband, had been murdered, alleging that she had a lawful right to do so until certain money was paid to her which the Earl of Murray had disbursed in the King's service. Morton caused the Earl and Countess of Argyll to be put to the horn for detaining the jewels, and only offered to release them from that punishment on condition that they should produce the jewels to be valued, at the same time showing any manner of cause, tending to reason, why they should detain them, and giving all caution to be answerable for them to the King's use.[2] The matter was eventually settled.

On the 1st of April 1575 Morton writes to Walsingham that the occasion of controversy with the Earl and Countess of Argyll is removed.[3]

On the 22nd of September 1574 Morton informs Huntingdon that servants had arrived in Scotland from the Bishops of Glasgow and Ross, and Adam Gordon, whose mission, he understands, is to enquire of the noblemen of the Queen of Scots' faction if their yielding to the King of Scots' obedience is voluntary or through compulsion, and they are to assure them that the King of France and his mother will seek the Queen of

[1] P. 35. [2] P. 50. [3] P. 114.

1575. Scots' liberty and restoration, and that upon knowledge of those noblemen's minds a person of credit shall be expressly sent to Scotland.[1]

During the latter part of the year 1574 and the first few months of 1575 very little correspondence appears to have passed between Morton and the English statesmen, and such letters as are extant refer chiefly to Border matters, of little historical value.

On the 1st of April 1575 Morton, in a letter to Walsingham, says, "our country here, praised be God, is in good quiet, and has not been in better state for a long time by gone," and that there was a reconciliation of all differences at the late Convention, and chiefly with the Duke of Chastelherault's sons, who are accepted, and as obedient as any others in the realm.

Towards the beginning of the year 1574-5 a cloud had begun to arise which threatened an abrupt termination to the peace between Scotland and England. Walsingham had observed it for some time, and on the 15th of January he laid the whole case before Elizabeth in a memorable letter.[2]

It was not till the 27th of May 1575 that instructions were drawn up for Henry Killigrew, who was about to be sent into Scotland. The purport of this document has already been given. Mr. William Davison, who went with him to Scotland in 1566 as his secretary, was again to accompany him, and was to remain there as Elizabeth's "agent" after Killigrew had done all things according to the purport of these instructions. Davison, who claimed to be of Scottish descent, was, perhaps, the most suitable person for such a matter. His connection with the closing scene of Mary's life will be mentioned in a later volume.

On the 14th of June 1575 Elizabeth wrote to Morton reminding him of the despatch delivered to Killigrew on the occasion of his last being in Scotland. She adds, "and whereas, perhaps, you may find our long stay in sending somewhat strange, we doubt not but when you shall understand by him

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[1] P. 62. [2] P. 83.

whereupon the same has proceeded, you will rest content with that which we have given him in charge to impart to you." 1575.

News, however, reached Killigrew just as he was about to cross the Border of the affray which broke out on the 7th of July, known as the "Redswire Raid." A dispute arose at a Border Warden Court between Sir John Foster, Warden of the Middle Marches, and Sir John Carmichael, Keeper of Liddesdale, which led to bloodshed. Sir John Foster, Sir Francis Russell, some other gentlemen, and about 300 men were taken prisoners by the Scots and brought to the Regent at Dalkeith. Morton detained Sir John Foster and the gentlemen, but sent all the others home. The Regent treated the Lord Warden with great hospitality, and wrote to Elizabeth offering apologies and redress for the accident.

Elizabeth, in the beginning of September, sent a letter to Henry Killigrew commanding him to charge the Regent with certain points. The detention of her Warden is a thing that wounds her honour to the eye of the whole world. Killigrew himself is censured: he shows himself not so careful of her service as in duty he is bound.[1]

By the 13th of September this "accident" was settled, at Foulden, by articles concluded and accorded upon between the Regent and Lord Lindsay of Byres, commissioners for Scotland, and the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hunsdon, commissioners for the Queen of England.[2]

Hereupon Morton took the first opportunity of entering into friendly communication with Elizabeth's Secretary.[3] The late accident had not only interrupted such other things as they had to deal in, but hindered their correspondence. Sir John Carmichael, the principal on the ground when the trouble happened, was the bearer of the letter, dated the 20th of September.

Walsingham's answer was sent to Morton on the 14th of October.[4] His Grace's doings have manifoldly shown to the world how free he was from evil meaning or any intention to

[1] P. 184. [2] P. 188. [3] P. 196. [4] P. 198.

1577. have done what might offend her Majesty. Elizabeth herself has already given him such assurance of her satisfaction that he needs not to give any further testimony thereof.

Robert Bowes, Treasurer of Berwick, was despatched by Elizabeth to the Regent in December 1577 in consequence of a quarrel between the latter and the Earl of Atholl. Her desire was that all occasions of misliking between Atholl and the Regent might be removed, and that an accord might be maintained amongst the nobility and principal members of Scotland.[1] Bowes had kept Leicester informed of any news he could obtain with regard to the internal affairs of Scotland. In a letter to him, dated the 9th of October 1577, he says: "Your Lordship, I trust, understands by my letters, and Captain Case, whom I moved especially to inform your Lordship, all my doings and success in Scotland. Whereas, albeit those matters are for a season wrapped up, yet it is not unlikely that without wise handling, and with sore charge to her Majesty, the fire will be readily kindled again. For although the Regent and the best affected in religion and to the welfare of the King and realm presently embrace the amity with her Majesty as a thing most profitable to them, yet many malcontents lie in wait to alter this course, casting in such practices as offer great peril in the same." Bowes' opinion was that the readiest way to preserve Scotland in quietness was "to appease and quench all the griefs betwixt the Regent and others of the realm, and by friendly reconcilement and union, to make him gracious amongst them." With becoming modesty he suggests the employment of some "very sufficient person" in these delicate negotiations.[2]

Notwithstanding the plea of insufficiency which he put in in order to be relieved from this matter, we have already seen that he was the man selected to proceed to Scotland.

On the 25th of February 1577-8 Thomas Randolph joined Bowes in his embassage to Scotland.[3] The instructions to Thomas Randolph are to ascertain the state of the King's health, to express Elizabeth's comfort at his great towardliness, to per-

[1] P. 252. [2] P. 244. [3] P. 274.

suade those who have best credit with the King to nourish a good opinion in him to her, to let the Regent know such matters as she delivered to him by speech, to persuade the Regent to grow to speedy composition with the Earls of Argyll and Atholl, to beg the Regent to prevent persons from having intelligence with the rebels in Ireland, to exhort the Regent to have regard to the government, and to recommend the Countess of Lennox's causes to the Regent.[1] 1577-8.

2000*l.* was sent the next day to Robert Bowes to be given in pensions in Scotland.[2] Further instructions were given to Thomas Randolph on the 7th of February with regard to a mutual contract of amity for the common defence of the two realms against foreign attempts, according to a memorial given by the Regent to Henry Killigrew in 1573.[3] No evidence has come to light amongst the Papers the Editor has dealt with to show why such a long period elapsed between the date of the first instructions and Randolph's arrival at Edinburgh; but from the heading of those instructions it is evident that it was intended he should leave that day.

The case was extremely urgent. Matters were assuming a gloomier aspect every day. On the 10th of March 1577-8 the King accepted the administration on himself.[4] The swiftness of such a stroke had never been anticipated by Randolph and Bowes, and all they could do was to inform Elizabeth of the exact state of affairs. In her letter to the two Ambassadors, dated the 18th of March,[5] she says the advertisement has not a little astonished her, and blames the Earls of Atholl and Angus as the two principal workers of the change.

The chief historical events which succeeded this revolution were the appointment of a Council of twelve, with Argyll at the head, and the ejection of Sir Alexander Erskine from Stirling Castle.[6]

Elizabeth at this juncture was unwilling to lose the services of Morton altogether, so she wrote to him on the 20th of May 1578 reminding him how great a wrong he would offer

[1] P. 268. [2] P. 270. [3] P. 271. [4] P. 275. [5] P. 279. [6] P. 287.

1578–9. to the King if he should retire into private life, and telling him that she had written to the King in his favour.[1]

On the same day she wrote to the Earls of Argyll and Mar[2]; to the former, asking him to be a mean to the King and the rest of the nobility for calling Morton as a Councillor, an office to which he was afterwards appointed; to the latter, admonishing him to have an especial respect for the King's safety, since the custody of his person is now committed to him.

To Sir Alexander Erskine was allotted the captaincy of Edinburgh Castle. On the 17th of June 1578 the Commendator of Dunfermline, the Scottish Secretary, was sent as Ambassador to Elizabeth, chiefly to continue the negotiations with regard to the league for mutual defence.[3]

The apprehensions of Lords John and Claud Hamilton expressed to Elizabeth in a joint letter of the 7th of July 1578[4] with regard to their own surety were not without foundation. Although open hostility against them did not break out till the 4th of May 1579,[5] there can be no doubt that they were being watched carefully. Lord John Hamilton escaped to France immediately after the fall of Hamilton Castle, and Lord Claud eventually went to England, where he was hospitably received by Elizabeth. Space will not permit of the long correspondence with reference to these two noblemen being mentioned in detail here.

In concluding the summary of the events in connection with Morton, it will be sufficient to add that he was arrested at Holyrood House on the 31st of December 1580 on various charges of treason, the chief charge being his alleged part in the murder of Darnley.[6] From Holyrood House he was removed to Edinburgh Castle, and eventually to Dumbarton. The rest of the history of this nobleman and his ultimate fate must be reserved for the next volume.

Before closing this Introduction the Editor feels that it is necessary for him to make a few brief observations on some of the documents calendared in this volume which bear upon the history of, perhaps, the most remarkable man of the period, Esmé

[1] P. 292. [2] Pp. 293-4. [3] P. 297. [4] P. 302. [5] P. 336. [6] Pp. 569, 576.

Stewart, sixth Seigneur of Aubigny, who was the chief instru- 1579–80.
ment in bringing about the downfall of Morton.

Shrewsbury, in a letter to Leicester, dated the 2nd of August 1578, mentions that D'Aubigny was seeking to prevent Lady Arbella Stewart from obtaining the earldom of Lennox.

On the 5th of March 1579-80 he was created Earl of Lennox, Lord Darnley, D'Aubigny, and Dalkeith, and on the 5th of August 1581 Duke of Lennox. After the flight of Lord John Hamilton the abbacy of Arbroath was bestowed on him by the King.

It is almost certain that D'Aubigny arrived in Scotland on the 8th of September 1579, and that he at once became a great favourite with the young King of Scots owing to his personal accomplishments and graceful appearance, and it is quite evident that he was nothing less than idolized by him. It required but few days for all kinds of rumours to be spread throughout Scotland and England with regard to the purport of his visit. He was accompanied to Scotland by his wife's kinsmen, Mons. Montbirneau and Mr. Henry Keir, the presence of the latter adding much to the suspicion already attached to the visit.

Elizabeth had received information that D'Aubigny intended to pay the King of Scots a visit, and in a letter to Captain Errington, dated the 14th of September 1579, she commands him to inform himself whether D'Aubigny be looked for there, and what accidents and alterations are thought may grow upon his coming.[1]

On the 10th of October Errington writes to Walsingham that the King is much delighted with Mons. D'Aubigny's company, that he is likely to be Earl of Lennox and to have some part of the Hamiltons' lands, and that he meant to abide in Scotland that winter.[2] About the same time evidence is at hand that he had brought letters from Henry III. to the Scottish Lords. The Earl of Argyll gives to him the best countenance and entertainment, and the King has great liking of him. It is thought, verily, that he shall be the second person there, by

[1] P. 348. [2] P. 355.

1580–1. consent, if he will become religious.[1] On the 31st of December news arrives that he means to "set down his staff in Scotland."[2]

Amongst some of the important offices bestowed on D'Aubigny was the custody of Dumbarton Castle.[3]

Apprehension of the result of the power which D'Aubigny was rapidly obtaining excited Elizabeth's jealousy, and many were the impatient messages sent to her ambassador and friends there to supply her with every detail of his actions.

Nicholas Errington's letters in the beginning of 1580, and Robert Bowes' at the same period, and on to 1581, are full of information with regard to him and the state of affairs in Scotland generally. Various attempts were made to reconcile D'Aubigny and Morton, who had never been on friendly terms, but without avail.

The documents which remain to be calendared in the next volume will contain the closing scene of Mons. D'Aubigny's history; but it must not be supposed that because mention has not been made in this Introduction of other papers there are not other materials in the text requiring careful examination.

The following is an addition to Letter No. 182 [page 174] of sufficient interest to be more fully stated than in the text:—

He [Killigrew] is very desirous to come home, because he thinks his coming away would hasten the Regent the sooner to end this matter, and that his wife is sick, his house visited with the plague, and he has now no deputy in his office. Therefore, for the surety of her majesty's money, he had need to be at home in the term. As he [Smith] can perceive, her majesty is inclined also that he should come home.

His lordship has reason, seeing he hears no word either of Vernon or of Sir Valentine Browne, that there should be sought out and named to her majesty some other fit man to take the charge at Michaelmas, and him also to be forewarned thereof, and his consent known. But if Vernon should go forward with his bargain and find good sureties, it is no reason he should be disappointed. This matter shall be moved to my Lords now at Worcester, and to her majesty also.

Here is talk that the Count remains here till Saturday, and then some talk that her majesty goes again to Shrewsbury. Trusts that will not be true, but rather, straight to Woodstock. Men are weary, the way and the weather foul, the country sore vexed with carriage.

Sends such packets of letters as are directed to his lordship, and things in an hose sent by his men.

[1] P. 356. [2] P. 371. [3] P. 384.

CORRIGENDA, ETC.

VOL. V.

Page 11, No. 9. Sixth line : *for* departnre, *read* departure.
,, 17, No. 11. Last line : *for* wholely, *read* wholly.
,, 83, No. 76. Date : *for* 16, *read* 15.
,, 134, No. 137. First line : *insert a comma after* Tyndale.
,, 227, No. 249. Heading : *for* Walsingaam, *read* Walsingham.
,, 283, No. 326. Ninth line : *for* Thomas o, *read* Thomaso.
,, *ib.*, No. 327. *Add:* Printed at Edinburgh, 1815. The date is March 26th.
,, 292, No. 343. Sixth line from the end : *for* se, *read* so.
,, 334, No. 404. Delete the whole. *See* No. 458.
,, 375, No. 449. Probably of a date about two years later.
,, 393, No. 467. Eighteenth line from the end : *for* perceive, *read* perceives.
,, 491, No. 577. Last line : *for* repayee, *read* repayre.
,, 553, No. 663. *Add:* In Mary's hand.
,, 589, No. 589. Last line but one : *for* Shepey, *read* Sheppey.
,, 595, No. 679. The date is Jan. 29.

TABLE EXPLAINING NUMBERS, ETC.

The Documents without Marginal Reference are "State Papers, Scotland (Elizabeth)," Public Record Office.
C.P. Refer to . . "State Papers, Scotland (Mary, Queen of Scots)," Public Record Office.
S.P. Dom. Eliz. Refer to the "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," Public Record Office.
All other Documents are preserved in the British Museum.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

ELIZABETH.

1574. [June.] **1.** PENSIONS FOR SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN, ETC.

"The names of persons thought fit to be interteyned in Scotland. The Lord Regent 500*l.* The Earl of Angus 100*l.* The Earl of Atholl 200*l.* The Earl of Argyll 200*l.* The Earl of Montrose 100*l.*, The Earl of Rothes 100*l.* The Earl of Glencairn 100*l.* The Master of Mar 150*l.* Lord Glammis 100*l.* Lord Ruthven 100*l.* Lord Lindsay 100*l.* Lord Boyd 100 marks. Lord Herries 100 marks. Lord Maxwell 100 marks. The Laird of Lochleven 50*l.* The Laird of "Domwesell" 150*l.* The Laird of Ormiston 50*l.* James Macgill 50 marks. Buchanan 100 marks. Nicholas Elphinston 50*l.* Peter Young 30*l.* Alexander Hay 40*l.* Carmichael 50*l.*

1¼ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Persons to be enterteyned in Scotland with pensions."

[June.] **2.** PENSIONS FOR SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN, ETC.

[*A list similar to No. 1, to which are added the following notes of marriages.*]—The Earl of Angus,—Rothes' daughter. The Earl of Atholl,—Fleming, Grand Prior's sister. The Earl of Argyll, —the Earl Marshal's daughter. The Earl of Montrose,—Drummond's daughter. The Earl of Rothes,—Ruthven's sister; Methven's wife. The "County" of Mar,—Tullibardine's sister. The Master of Erskine,—Hume's sister. Lord Ruthven,—Methven's sister. Lord Lindsay,—the Laird of Lochleven's sister. Lord Maxwell,—the Earl of Angus' sister. The Laird of Ormiston,—the Laird of Calder's [Cawder] sister.

1 *p.* *Indorsed:* "The names of such as are to bee intertayned in Scotland."

[June.] **3.** PENSIONS FOR SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN, ETC.

"Persons commended by the Regent as most meete to be interteyned with pencions."

The Earl of Angus; chief of the house of Douglas, great in power, and strong on the frontiers.

The Earl of Argyll; a favourite of the King, well friended, strong, and a neighbour to Ireland.

Elizabeth.
1574. [June.] The house of Mar; viz., Mr. Alexander Erskine, in the minority of the Earl, being now towards 16 years, and having charge of the King's person, well friended, constant, of good credit and power.

The Earl of Rothes; he rules chiefly in Fife, is wise, well friended, but old; a friend to the Scottish Queen, etc.

Lord Glammis, Lord Chancellor of Scotland; wise, wealthy, and of good credit, leading much the Council with the favour of the Regent.

Lord Ruthven, Treasurer; of blood to the King, especially friended, and of credit and valiant.

Lord Lindsay; well affected to the King, constant, plain, well loved, and of good power, especially in Fife with Rothes.

Lord Boyd; a wise man and great in Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham: he has the most part of the friends and tenants of the Earl of Glencairn and other barons there, and bears great sway by his favour with the Regent, "and opinyon had of his devotion towardes 27," etc.

Lord Herries; his counsel and credit in great estimation, and a borderer of good power: his estate, person, and disposition are sufficiently known.

Lord Maxwell; a borderer, and of power.

Adam of Gordon; he commands all Huntly's friends, servants, and tenants during the minority of the Earl; he is wise, and ready to attempt great things; he was in France, and had good countenance, etc.

The Commendator of Dunfermline; Secretary by his office, and thereby of credit, and privy to the policy and government of the State.

"Persons not commended by the Regent, and yett by other thought meete to be interteyned."

The Earl of Atholl; nigh in blood to the King; good to be kept from contrary causes, for he is "suspect" in religion, and friended with the King's friends.

Drumwhesele; able to persuade by credit and counsel, especially about the King and Argyll, and apt to do good by the commodity of his office of Dumbarton, which he commands.

George Buchanan; the King's tutor—a singular man.

Peter Young; another tutor to the King, especially well affected, and ready to persuade the King to the favour of her majesty.

Nicholas Elphinstone; a true servant to James late Regent, wise, well affected, a good executioner, and in great favour with the Regent.

Alexander Hay; honest, constant, singularly well affected, and privy, as Clerk of the Council, to the policy.

Carmichael; a favourer of the amity, a good executioner, and in favour with the Regent.

1½ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Persons commended for pensions."

June 23. C.P., vol. IX.

4. GUARRAS TO PHILIP II.

"Extract of a cipher."

"In a letter of the 14th of June 1574."

(*a*) From Killigrew I have since learned that they sent to him to procure with the Regent of Scotland that, for [their] having taken

Elizabeth.
1574. arms against those of Hamilton, he would procure, since he found himself armed, to take the Prince of Scotland in order to send him hither, because this was the thing which those here most desired, to the end that they may do what they desire with the mother and son, offering him therefor 300,000 crowns.

To another, his brother, they have sent to Germany to hinder as far as they can the coming of the King of France, to whom the Queen bears the greatest ill will, and whom she fears; and [her] best word is to say that he is worse than a devil. This I know from a person who heard it.

[*In the margin.*] Practice against Ireland.

He who offered his son in pledge tells me he wonders that no answer is made to him to such an affectionate offer.

If it were advantageous for the service of her majesty, this service would render great services to Ireland [*sic*].

One Charles Brown (Brun) likewise declares, whom I have written to and treated with, and [it is] of importance in case any day should be necessary. I believe this gentleman is in Spain.

From the Scottish friend I have not since heard anything.

In regard to the principal affair, I hope shortly to despatch an express, over* which the friend will go to put it in effect at his own venture and cost, and by the best means he can, unless the [Prince] of Orange within ten days asks for [his] service, so as not to lose this good venture, which he hopes for in one way or another, believing that he will send to Flushing† the men necessary, a few at a time, to his brother, and that although they may be lodged outside he will have means to execute it, although he hopes they will ask for [his] service to resist our fleet; and if within ten or twelve days no order comes to him on the part of the [Prince] of Orange to serve, he says that he will send his soldiers and that he will depart, but that he cannot do so unless he is accommodated with 400 livres; and although he asked me for at least 300, I offered him half, as I have written to him to reckon that they are lost, but on adventuring them in such an affair to hope‡ with the first. By him whom I will send to you on taking the last resolution, I will inform you of it. In the mean-[time] I think it very necessary that provision be made that this man in Newhaven [may have] the rest. I hope well of the affair, because this man is resolved to perform it, and when he is settled in Guelders he considers it will be easy. God give him strength and prosperous success!

(*b*) "In letters of the 22nd of June, 1574."

It is to be hoped that in the journey§ God may cause the coming hither of the said Buisot, he being a great friend of Captain Bingham; and so he goes accompanying him, and asking him to give him letters‖ for his friends in Holland, to the end that they may favour him, and so he offers him to take some [ ] thither; and he has offered him that if he will exchange it at Flushing¶ or Middleburgh, he will be welcome, and he will give him favour by writing

* Sobre. † Flegelingas. ‡ Engage. § La camina.
‖ Cartas. ¶ Flegelingas.

Elizabeth.
1574. throughout Guelders,* which is his government. He has offered him that he will act with the Prince, that he shall be content that of the captures he may apply to himself the part which the said [Prince] of Orange is wont to receive from them, which is the third, as I have written; and he accompanies his wife through this town;† and he is expecting, for the good success of the affair arranged,‡ the coming of this man here. I will advise of what shall happen; and of [these] things I have since had no news, which is to be wondered at.

(*c*) "In letters of the 23rd of June 1574."

The friend Bingham persevering. ("The rest is deciphered in the end of the original.")

(*d*) "Out of a pamphlet of another letter, unperfect."

About the affair of the undertaking of the friend, I have since treated of it with him twice, both to keep the affair warm and on foot, and also at other times to declare to him and convince him of his great profit, honour, and notable service; and he has a most ready mind to perform it, but until now he has not received [any] answer from the [Prince] of Orange which requires [his] service; and seeing this, the said friend proceeds cautiously, offering to him [that] he is here with a great desire to put it into effect, and will perform it easily if offer be made to employ him; and if the [Prince] of Orange will do so, he shall be the first; because until now he does not ask for soldiers from hence; and he keeps his man with the said [Prince] of Orange, who asks payment for his service, and offering [it] to him anew, he being paid all for the most part, and as to credit there is no promptness.

The Scotsman who was in Holland has not since returned, and I expect him momentarily; from whom shall I learn the service which he will offer, and I will advise.

When the Italian shall come who offers service to her majesty, I will follow the order which is given me to advise of that which he shall agree.§

(*e*) An Englishman named Blacwell, a servant of the Duchess of Feria, is departing for the Court; he has had many audiences, and secret ones, with the Councillors. There is certainly much to suspect from Spain, and evil designs.

[*In the margin.*] Practice for Scott[ish] Que[en].]

The Queen of Scotland has caused me to be informed that (as God is her witness) after Him she expects no consolation save from the hand of her majesty, and that she will receive service by which her majesty may understand this [to be] her principal and last refuge; and [desires] that she will advise her of her good health and of news for her comfort, as there is sure preparation.

The Italian has been since with me; to whom I will do all the pleasure I can.

3 *pp. Spanish. Copy. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "23 June 1574. Thextract of certein Spanish Cifres concerning the Scottishe Q. of Guerras to ye K. of Spayne."

* Gela. † Pueblo. ‡ Aseido § Converna.

Elizabeth.
1574.
June 24.

5. THE REGENT MORTON TO BURGHLEY.

"Richt honorable and my verie gude Lord, efter my maist heartlie commendationes"; I received your letter of the 27th of May from Mr. Killegrew, the Queen's majesty's ambassador, "taking" him, as your honour writes, a man unchanged in love and affection towards this State, and myself in particular, and so shall he find himself friendly and familiarly dealt with here in such things as he has in charge from her highness. His own sufficiency makes me short, leaving that which has passed betwixt us since his coming to his own report, and wishing of God some greater forwardness in your deliberations there for matters tending to the common repose of the whole isle, than yet appears.

What I have written to all your lordships of the Council in general as touching the pirates, I will not trouble your lordship in repetition. This good amity has always heretofore been preserved by your special care and wisdom, and it is no less convenient to be entertained now than before. Of a truth our people are heavily and unfriendly used, and I will most earnestly pray your lordship to be a good mean that further inconvenience may be "tymouslie" removed. The matter of controversy concerning Walter Dull, of Bristol, shall by advice of her majesty's ambassador, who has the power and mind of the party, I trust, be reasonably ordered to the satisfaction of your lordship. "Halyrudehous." *Signed:* James Regent.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* Indorsed (by Burghley's clerk).

June 25.

6. HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

I send you here inclosed some letters for my friends and other lords that I had not written to before; among others, one to Mr. Hatton, a copy whereof you will find among the papers. I pray you cause them to be delivered.

Besides the Regent's going to Douglasdale to survey the Earl of Angus' house, he is gone to set miners a work on Crawford Moor, and to make profit of it. I learn since my last from a man of good credit that not long before the siege of the castle Grange was become a mortal enemy to England, and therefore no harm that he is gone.

I think to send you here inclosed the examination of the pirates taken at Montrose, for I am promised to have it before my going to horseback. Concerning that you wrote of Adam of Gordon's desire, I can say nothing, but wish he were entertained with fair words. But, touching Farnyhurst, the Regent can in nowise hear of him. A baron of this realm, called the Laird of St. John's has the Regent's letters in his favour to her majesty that he may remain under her protection in that realm, whither he goes to use the baths for recovering of his health: the man is not best affectionate to the Regent, although civil and wise. Mr. Randolph can inform you of him better than I. The Regent holds the reconciled factions under, as Hamiltons, Huntlies, and such others, yet without offence, wherein I praise his wisdom, although others like not best of his so doing.

I would gladly hear somewhat of my brother William's voyage. This morning Captain Colbron tells me that there is a ship new come in from Dieppe that brings news that the Duke of Alençon rules all

Elizabeth.
1574. and Montmorency together, and that the Count Montmorency is at liberty in Caen—too good news to be true, unless God has showed his miraculous power in time of despair; that 16 of King Philip's navy are stolen out of Spain and come to the Prince of Orange, and that 1600 Spaniards lately "apparelled" in Antwerp have lost their lives in Holland. This agrees with your news; God be praised.

If you perceive that her majesty will give ear to no league or pension, I pray you solicit my revocation, for I shall do her majesty no service here, but undo myself. What cause I have to be at home you know, and therefore I recommend me to you.

Kilsyth was re-examined upon letters that were taken, sent to him from some love of his out of England, wherein there was a toy to wear about his neck to preserve love—I think to his sweetheart. I will deal for your 20*l.* as soon as I may think to do any good. I send you here inclosed such instructions as my Lord Scrope sent me for Border affairs. I pray you remember the band of Berwick, that the Scottish be not found now in our time more ready or able to answer justice than we. His grace has assured me that both Carmichael and Lord Maxwell shall answer all those old attempts mentioned in my Lord Scorpe's instructions, and as I have signified to his lordship by my letters upon conference with my Lord Maxwell and Lord Herries. I hear my Lord Governor of Berwick* will be there shortly—a good preparative to my return, if it be well followed. Touching the matter yet unspoken of, I shall advertise you at length in cipher after my return from Stirling, and send it by a man of my own. Howbeit, I think you there will never agree to the sure way of remedy, and here they will be daunted to accept the conditions of the others, which cannot be performed without many many a council of the matter; which thing I know would mislike your delicate ears there, and, indeed, I think [it] not convenient to be done unless I saw an assured sequel to follow.

"God kepe and Madame Urse the Papists," and commendations where they be looked for. Because the time draws near that the Regent will take his journey northward—about the 10th of July—which journey I see no cause that the Queen of England's servant should countenance, seeing it is to get money and so to discontent the subjects, and to remain here till his return (which will be, I know not when) were to less purpose, I beseech you, therefore, to confer with my Lord Treasurer upon this matter, and procure that, when his grace goes into the north, I may go south with a full answer to that which I have deferred to open till his grace's return from Douglasdale, and so shall her majesty be surely and secretly advertised of a truth, and I be relieved of a great burden.

I have, as you may see, received the examination above mentioned. You may perceive by them what honest men and honest dealing are worth; *e converso* you may also judge what the contrary engenders. God inspire good choice in great and small officers. I end here, and am going to another journey. God send us all to our home where we shall have perfect rest. Edinburgh. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

4 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham. Marginal notes in Walsingham's hand.*

* Hunsdon.

Elizabeth.
1574.
Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 268.

Copy of the same.

First inclosure with the same:—

(Henry Killigrew to Christopher Hatton.)

Remembers at his coming to Canterbury from the Spa he made him acquainted what state he left this country in, and what their desires were for confirmation of that love so well deserved by her majesty of this nation, to wit, a mutual league, and some relief for their necessities; to neither whereof had he any charge at this time to answer, which makes him fear, by that he has observed and found since his last coming, that her majesty may lose the fruit of the great liberality bestowed upon them in reducing the whole subjects and strengths of this realm to the King's obedience, a thing sure to be lamented in consideration of the many incommodities that may ensue thereof. Was willed by some of the Privy Council, after her majesty had rendered the Castle of Edinburgh to them, to sound their minds, etc., to feel what they would do for acknowledging of this her majesty's great goodness, whose answer was, "to enter into league with her majesty against all her enemies"—a thing much desired of their predecessors, who were wont to say, "who so wold Ingland wynn, at Scotland he must first begynn." Their Council were of mind that it was convenient to bind them more straitly with a yearly remembrance. Which purpose of theirs being so signified to him, he did his best to sound the minds of the worthiest for that purpose, and found that less yearly cost than 2000*l.* would have served the turn. But neither of these are granted,—by whose default he knows not. If he asks a counsellor he will say it is a thing very necessary to be done for many respects, as well foreign as domestic. Want thereof, by appearance, will endanger the loss of their good affections, and drive them back again in time to their old enemies. Where shall the fault lie? What answer can be made to the people and States of a realm if any danger, war or hurt ensue for neglecting this matter? Cannot see any reason of weight for them that be of contrary mind, the league being so necessary for both and the money so little to England in comparison with the profit, but he knows there be wiser than he that think of the matter. This year of his absence, whilst these things have hung in suspense, and they here in hope of good answer on his return, and finding nothing to their satisfaction, has confirmed in them opinions and conceits, gathered meanwhile, that they in the first aiding of them did not seek so much their weal as England's surety, calling to mind how they were contented to see them strive in civil wars, until the danger, appearing upon the massacre of the Admiral, at Paris; which, being since quenched by other changes, they are content to leave them without league or sure friendship of any Prince: and this doubt drives them to think where they may look themselves best for their own surety. Some will continue thankful to her majesty. If any man thinks they be in that state that of necessity they must depend on England, having offended France so much, he protests, to his knowledge, he is deceived, for he knows that France woos the Regent and the King's faction. Finds them lusty and gallant, having almost forgotten their late dangerous state. Beseeches him in case he thinks no good will be

Elizabeth.
1574. done concerning the league and pensions to procure his revocation. Edinburgh, 24th June. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

4 *pp. Partly in Killigrew's hand. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "From Mr Killigrue, dated in Edenburgh the 24 of June, rec. the 29. Copie of his lettre to Mr Hatton." *Marginal notes in Walsingham's hand.*

Second Inclosure:—

(Examination of English Pirates).

"The summe of the examinationis of the Englismen."

Robert Isteid, gentleman, of the town of Hastings, in the county of Sussex, captain of a ship of war of 40 or 50 tons, says he has partly exercised merchandise heretofore, and partly was a retainer on Sir John [Pelham] Pellem knight. The ship was a prize taken by one of the Queen's majesty's ships, called *the Bark of Bulleyn.* He "coft"* her about Mid-Lent past from one Mr. Barons, one of the four masters under the Admiral, for 65*l.* sterling. He had a licence of the Prince of Orange to take of all victuallers and others furnishers of the Duke of Alva, and for the same licence paid to a Fleming called George Downyng, dwelling at Ratclyf 5*l.* Of his said ship Robert Steid was captain, and John Hillis, of Hastings, his brother-in-law, master. He was first "conducit" by the Admiral's clerk, named Parker, to convoy the wool fleet to Sluys, and he had promised him therefor 30*l.*, whereof he received 23*l.* He had in his ship 42 men, whose names he says Parker has in his book. Departing from the Sluys they passed to the seas and took two ships, one with corn, the other with 5 tons "brasill," 2 cwt. of galls, and sum other stuff for painters or apothecaries. Brought the same ships to Holy Island the Queen's storehouse at Holy Island, kept the prisoners with them and Farny Island, sold the corn and galls, and put the "brasill" in during their going there, and "caiged" them aud their ships also with them, and after three days suffered them to depart with their ships to Holland. He said these two ships were of Utrecht.

Thereafter they foregathered with another ship of war belonging to Mr. Harry . . . , whereof Mr. Felding was captain. He had not only the Queen's power u[nder] the broad seal of England to search pirates, but authority of the Prince of Orange to take of his enemies. After they had made merry they agreed that Felding should be Admiral and Isteid his consort. They interchanged two men of every ship to be witnesses what they gained, that the commodity might be common to both, and so departed, promising to meet at London. Feilding had a prize, which was a great ship. The names of them that passed out of Isteid's to Felding's ship were Robert Thomlyn and Harry Broun; and of them that came out of Feilding's, Robert Luttoun a carpenter, and one other.

Thereafter they took two ships belonging, as he says, to Utrecht; wherewith they were driven to Montrose. He grants the ships to pertain to the Flemings who now claim them.

"The names of samony of his company as he is rememberit of, quhilk are departit in the weirship, and quhilk on land in Scotland."

* Bought.

Elizabeth. 1574.

John Hillis, master, in the ship of Hastings; Thomas Benkis, of Lasto [Lowestoft] on land; Lowll, of Hastings, in the ship; Johnes of London, on land; John Golyth, at Lambeth, in the ship; Noreis, gunner, at Lambeth, on land; Scolisman, his boatman, on land; Thomas Cogane, of Gowdurst, in Kent, "in ship"; Adam Sawier, surgeon, of Southwark, on land; Peter Fischer, Scotsman, on land, escaped; Robert Luttoun, of Fyldey [Filey], in Yorkshire, gentleman.

On the 15th of June 1574 there arrived at Montrose an English ship of war with two prizes ladened with corn and other wares, which the English affirmed to have taken from Papists of the Low Country, enemies to the Prince of Orange. In their prizes they brought none of the owners prisoners to land, which made the matter the more suspicious and doubtful. "Bot sa it happynned be God's pleasyre that a Scottishe ship of Leith cuming hir dew course from Danskin [Dantzic] to Scotland forgaderit with a ship of Norroway ladin with tymmer upoun the streame, in quhilk schip wer the pure men awneris and marners of the twa prizes, quhilkis lamenting thair miserie and that Scottismen had taken thair schippis and guidis from thame, the maister of the said Scottis schip named George Pantoun, of Leith, moved of pitie ressavit within his schip thre of thame, that thay mycht sute for thair schippis and guidis incais they wer arrived in Scotland; and althogh Leith wes his port quhairunto his course teindit, yit as God wald, be occasioun of the wynd sa serving, he wes drivin to the same port of Montrois, quhair the Englishe schip and the prises lay."

The poor men, being of Holland, knew their own ships and goods, whereupon the officers of the town began to stay the Englishmen and their ship till trial of the matter. But such as were aboard of the war ship, fearing the sequel, made sail and went to the seas, leaving not only the prizes, but their captain and 13 or 14 of their company on land, who were appreheuded by the bailies of Montrose, and three of the principals, with the poor men who claimed the ships and goods, were sent to Edinburgh and examined by some of the Council.

The sum of their declarations.

Herman Johnnesoun of the town of Tweisk beside Maneblik, in north Holland, under thc obedience ef the Prince of Orange, "ladin" at Ré (Ree) with 32 lasts of rye, 41 lasts of "asse," 6 packs of lint and "thretty lowis boundis of lynt," which "asse" and 6 packs of lint pertain to Joachim Wittyn, [who] has his sister's son and factor, named Joachim Lademaker, "liand" in Encusen, to receive the goods. The remaining goods pertained to this Herman and his partners. The whole should have been delivered at Encusen. The ship is of the berth* of 44 last.

Cornelius Johnnesoun, now having his dwelling in the town of Dordrecht, sailed to Dantzic [Danskin] in his own ship called *the Falcon* which perished there. Being at Dantzic [Danskin] he "frauchtit" a ship called *the Feir borne sone*, whereof the one half pertains to Heere Godscalc, timberman, one of the council of Dantzic [Danskin], and the other half to the skipper of the ship, being of the town of Emden, called Lucas Zeleson, They had within 20 lasts of rye, 9½ lasts of beer, 100 dry cowhides, 8 barrels of "grottis," twelve small hundred of "Knappald," and six "kynkems of spruis beir."

* Burden.

Elizabeth.
1574. The whole goods pertain to himself and his seven partners, whose names are Zibert Johnneson, Henry Johnneson, his brother, Adrian Cornelius' son, Ogrer Philpsone, Ayrt Aritsone, and Simon Cornelius' son, all of the town of Dordrecht.

He had no further authority of the Admiral of England but to convoy the "wolflett."

Declares that he knows of none others of his countrymen rigged in warfare but one Higgeins, a gentleman who has a house at London, whom he saw at Holy Island.

There is no covenant in "write" between him and M^r^ Felding.

Robert Luttoun, gentleman, of Seytoun [Seaton] in Yorkshire, married the wife of Robert Weill, of Weill [Well] in Holderness. Says he is customer at Filey [Fyldey], and has Mr. Fairlaw deputy for him, dwelling at Fyldey. In the "oulk" before Whit Sunday one Mr. Feilding, captain of Mr. Harry Knollys' ship, was "letand" her at Scarborough, with whom he fell into acquaintance at his uncle's house, and furnished to Feilding 24*l.* sterling. This money Feilding said he had to receive from one Story, captain of another ship of war lying about Berlyngtoun, and desired Luttoun to go aboard with him to his meeting with Story; but Story having departed, and the wind falling contrarious, they were driven from the land to their meeting with Ysteid, and there Felding promised to make this deponent speedy payment of his money, because he was to pass to the Isle of Wight, as he affirmed, and Ysteid's ship to come northward, though in case he should pass with him, to be set on land "sa ewest as mycht be" to Scarborough.

Adam Sawier, married, born at Penzance, now dwelling at London in S^t^ George's parish, Southwark, a surgeon by occupation, who was soldier at Berwick under the charge of Captain Brickwell, and has now 20 marks of standing fee of the Queen's majesty paid out of the Exchequer by Mr. Stanley,—declares he was not at sea before these 26 years; was hired to this voyage by Captain Isteid in Southwark; their company was 50 men and 2 boys; knows not to what town the ships taken pertained; at their being in Holy Island there was another ship of war lying there, the master whereof was called Cales. At their departing with Feilding they interchanged the men, and it was said that Robert Luttoun had the chief credit of Feilding, and was put in ship with them as a witness to report what they gained, and was entertained like a gentleman by the captain.

Item;—declares that after their departure from Feilding they "forgaderit" with the self same ship of war that was lying at Holy Island when they came there. The captain was a "gude like man full faceit and reid beardit."

3 *pp. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "Of y^e^ English pirats apprehended in Scotland—referred to lettres from M^r^ Killigree of the 23 of June."

June 26. **7.** INTERROGATORIES MINISTERED TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

C.P., vol. IX. (1) Whether he knew one John Steward, being about eighteen years of age.

Elizabeth.
1574.

(2) Whether the said John did not remain with him one year at Boser [Bosworth] Castle in Derbyshire, four miles from Sheffield.

(3) Whether the said John did not depart from him because he could not be permitted to keep him any longer.

(4) Whether he knew one "Arche" Betoun about the Earl of Shrewsbury or the Scottish Queen.

(5) Whether he knew one Thomas Glover in Sheffield, and that the said Thomas receives many letters and messages, and conveys them to and from the Scottish Queen, concealing the messengers.

(6) Whether he knows one John, a musician, servant to the Earl of Shrewsbury, who plays sometimes on a base violin; and that the said musician was and is a conveyor of the Scottish Queen's letters and messages to the said Glover's house.

(7) Whether he knows one Morgan that is or was of late years secretary to the said earl, and that he haunts the said Glover's house.

(8) Whether he knows or has heard that Glover's house was once suspected and taken with a fault touching the Scottish Queen, and that yet, notwithstanding, he uses that trade.

(9) Whether he knows one Dick Bayes, an English boy born at Cattesmore beside Sheffield, and that the said Dick went from the Scottish Queen with letters to Scotland.

(10) Whether he knows one John Graye, a Scotsman dwelling in London.

(11) Whether he knows one Cuthbert Read, servant to the bishop of Rosse.

(12) Whether he knows or has heard of one Jervis Lasils dwelling in Nottinghamshire.

(13) Whether he knows or has heard that the said John Steward, after he went from him, dwelt with the same Jervis Lasills at Fledborough and sometime at Gatford in Nottinghamshire.

(14) Whether the said John Steward sent him, the said Alexander, word by one "Market" Folckes where he abode, and thereupon he the said Alexander sent Steward word by James Loder's bastard son that he should like his leave of his master Jervis Lasills and come to him, alleging it should be for the wealth of the same Steward.

(15) Whether John Steward came to him thereupon.

(16) Whether he knows one Ellis Markham and one Ralph Fletchwood, brother-in-law to the said Ellis.

(17) Whether, by appointment, he and the said John Steward ever met at a place called Hansworth,* not many miles from Sheffield.

(18) Whether he does not know one Ramesdale dwelling at Hansworth.

(19) What apparel he has commonly used to wear since his first coming to the Earl of Shrewsbury—as cap, hat, coat, cloak, breeches, and of what stuff and colour.

(20) Whether he and the said John Steward went together from Hansworth to Doncaster, he the said Hamilton riding, and of what colour and kind was the nag he rode.

(21) Whether they did not go to "the Bull," the Mayor of Doncaster's house, and there dined together in a chamber on the south side of the house, where the said Alexander gave the said John Steward

* Handsworth.

Elizabeth.
1574. such directions as in his last examination were put down by way of interrogatories.

(22) Whether he willed John Steward at the same time and place to ask an answer of the Lady Livingston to the letters the Scottish Queen sent her by Dick Bayes.

(23) Whether he gave any money to John Steward to bear his charges: what sum, and what kind of money.

(24) Whether he be subject to any infirmities of body; what the infirmities be; to what physicians or others he has resorted for counsel and help thereof.

(25) Whether he knows one Henry Smithe, and him to be the Earl of Shrewsbury's bailiff in Bosworth Castle.

(26) Whether he knows John Bolyng and "Little" Dennis, men servants; and maid servants to the said John Bolyng—Johan Jaxson, Elizabeth Wise, and Jane Mason, chief guider of the house.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "June 26, 1574. Interrogatories ministered to Alexander Hamilton."

Copy of the same.

June 26. **8.** EXAMINATION OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

C.P., vol. IX. "The examynatyon of Alexander Hambleton the xxvjth of June 1574."

Touching the first;—the said examinant confesses that he knew Stewarde.

(2) He confesses that he knew him a turnbroach in Bosworth Castle.

(3) He says that he never attended upon him, but one time he waited on him to S^{t} Anne of Bockestonis [Buxton], where he remained but two days. And therefore it is untrue that ever he served him. He was put away for fighting with the maids.

(4) He confesses that he knew Archibald Beton, but not in England.

(5 to 9) He knows nothing.

(10) He confesses that he knew one Graye a Scotsman in France, but none of that name dwelling in London.

11 to 18) He knows nothing.

(19) He confesses that he wore a pair of leather breeches, but no taffeta hat.

(20 to 23) He knows nothing.

(24) Has been and is much subject to the colic and stone.

(25 and 26) He knows the persons named in them, but never [had] any great doings or familiarity with them.

1 *p.* *Indorsed:* "June 26th 1574. The examination and answears of Alexander Hamilton."

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p.* *Indorsed:* "Hamilton's examinations,—accused by Stuart."

Contemporary copy of the same.

Another copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1574.
June 30.

9. Henry Killigrew to Walsingham.

Since his last to him he has been at Stirling to visit the King in her majesty's name, and met the Countess of Mar by the way coming to Edinburgh, to whom he "did" her majesty's commendations. The King seemed very glad to hear from her majesty, and could use pretty speeches, as how much he was bound to her majesty, yea, more than to his own mother. At his [Killigrew's] departnre he prayed him to thank her majesty for the good remembrance she had of him, and further desired him to make his hearty commendations to her. He is well grown in body and spirit since he was last here. He speaks the French tongue marvellously well, and it seemed strange to him he was able extempore—which he did before him—to read a chapter of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French into English, so well that few men could have added anything to his translation. His schoolmasters, Mr. George Buchanan and Mr. Peter Young (rare men) caused him to appoint the King what chapter he would, whereby he perceived it was not studied for. They also made the King dance before him, which he likewise did with a very good grace. He is a Prince sure of great hope if God send him life. Used as good compliments as he could devise with the Master of Erskine, his wife, the schoolmasters, and others, declaring what care her majesty had of the King's well doing, and how thankful their diligent service and care of his safe keeping should be to her. Found by then that their own lives "were no dearer unto them then his highness' prosperity," and they prayed God to lend him life that he might show himself thankful for her majesty's great benefits. This was all he did at Stirling.

On returning to this town he found the Regent not looked for these two or three days. Cannot learn of any practice to transport the King to France, but there is a sister of Lord Livingston's about him much suspected to be French, and his schoolmasters are desirous to have him from the handling of women, by whom he is yet guided and kept, saving when he goes to his book. Whilst he was there news came that the Earl of Glencairn's daughter, the Countess of Argyll, was brought to bed of a dead son, and is in great danger of her life. On his return from Stirling he met with Robert Melvin [Melville], who desired him to yield his most humble thanks to her majesty for saving his life. Sees him so grateful and willing to do her majesty service that he thinks favour well bestowed on him, and therefore prays him to move her majesty to command him in his next letter to deal with the Regent in her name for his full pardon, who is yet prisoner in his house, and under caution of 10,000 marks of this country, and has no pardon, but may be executed as a condemned man to-morrow. Presses him to remember him to her majesty. Has also written to the Earl of Leicester to this effect. Prays him, if need so require, to communicate this to the Lord Treasurer. Has also written to the Earl of Leicester touching the Countess of Argyll's suit, which she desired might be delivered to her majesty by his lordship's means. In his poor judgment her majesty shall do well to write to the Regent in her favour, and her husband's, who is a godly nobleman, and one that will be thankful to her.

Elizabeth.
1574. This with the first occasion should be remembered, and he withal commanded to follow the matter to an end.

Has learnt no occurrents since his last, but that the rest of the pirates taken at Montrose were brought this day to this town, and are shortly to be brought to trial of law. The Duke's sons, Lord John and Claud, have written to welcome him into this country, and sent him a kinsman of theirs to solicit some of their causes depending upon the pacifications at St. Johnstone's, which he will accomplish.

Understands by a Scotsman lately come from Poland that the King was very sickly, and so straitly watched that he could not possibly steal away. This man was with the King himself to make offer of the Scotsmen's service, who since were slain in Sweden. The King would fain have retained them, but the Poles would none of them.

The Earl of Huntly is looked for here on Saturday next, with whom he will then confer. Will likewise write to the Duke and his sons of her majesty's good favour towards them in all their just causes, whereof they have already tasted. Edinburgh. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

2 *pp.* *Addressed:* "To the right honourable M^r^ Francys Walsingham, esquier, one of her ma^ties^ principall Secretaries." *Indorsed by Walsingham.* *Numerous marginal notes in Walsingham's hand.*

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 267. Copy of the same.

[June.] **10.** EXAMINATIONS OF PIRATES.

"The remanent examinationis of the personis pyrattis apprehendit at Montrois and executed at Leith primo Julii 1574."

"The examinationis of Robert Ysteid, Robert Luttoun and Adam Sawier wer deliverit of before."

James Johnnestoun, Scotsman, son to Robert Johnnestoun of Leith, declares he passed out of Leith 40 "oulkis" since in the ship called *the Grewhound* of Leith, whereof Walter Bartane was master, and discord falling betwixt him and the master, he passed on land at Sandwich, and from thence to London, whence he was to sail with one John Gulecht to Barbary, who promised him 30*s.* sterling of hire by the month.

From their departure out of the Thames till their coming to Montrose they took five ships; first, two brought to Holy Island, one "flie boitt," and lastly the two ships brought to Montrose. There were 50 men in their ship—of which 9 or 10 entered into the "fle boitt"—John Hillis being master or skipper.

John Sinclair, Scotsman, born beside Dumfries, now dwelling at St. Katherin's where he has married a Scotswoman called Hamilton, says that he being desirous to come to Scotland to visit his friends and his wife's friends, John Gulecht, drinking in his house, took in hand to set him on land in Scotland. Being in the ship he was commanded to attend to the victuals.

Thomas Tailor, otherwise Benkis, born at London, now dwelling in Lasto [Lowestoft], declares that he passed on this voyage by

Elizabeth.
1574. advice and direction of my Lord Admiral's servants named Pope, Fox, and Jasper Swyft. *(Declares as the others.)*

Philip Fontane, Frenchman, born in the Rochelle, was brought up four or five years at Dublin, and at Christmas last came from Spain in a ship of Dublin with an Irishman. Declares there was a "fiie boitt" at Holy Island when they arrived there, which had 6 pieces of ordnance and 60 men. They "forgaderit" with the "fle boitt" on the coast of Flanders, which tarried with them a day and a night. Their captain went aboard the fly boat and drank in her. Says the master of the fly boat is a Scotsman, whose name he knows not.

Thomas Cox, Englishman, born in Worcestershire, and married at the Limehouse beside London, says he was desired by Fox to watch the wool fleet over. Departing from Sluys the captain showed them two seals. 12 men passed from their ship to the fly boat. Denies that any went out of their ship to their Admiral, nor did any come from the Admiral's to them.

John Noreis dwelling at Lambeth, a blacksmith and a gunner, says he was drawn to the company by John Gulecht; that they "schippit" beside the Tower, Parker the Admiral's clerk being present. They had no "hyris" promised. Departing from Sluys they went to sea, took two hoys, and convoyed them to Holy Island, where they found a fly boat belonging to one Calice, but saw not the same fly boat since.

John Crichelaw, born at Pemberton within two miles of Wigan in Lancashire, now named Brocas after his master Richard Brocas, of London, is one of the four quarter-masters of the ship. They took a fly boat ladened with fish. The occasion why they and their admiral changed men was because they were "consorts," and that the men entering into either ship might witness what others gained.

John Cornishe, born in Lancashire, now dwelling in Winterton in Norfolk, declares that a dozen or thereby passed into the fly boat with Hillis.

Andrew Reed, Scotsman, born at the "Halymannis coif" beside Aberdeen, boatsman of the ship, grants that they took the fly boat with fish. He heard of one Story of Portsmouth and one Loveley.

Nicholas Lowng, cook, born near Salisbury plain, in Wiltshire, came to London and went to sea with this captain.

Robert Ysteid, captain, re-examined declares that he took the fly boat, "bot sais he rememberit not of it befoir."

Robert Luttoun likewise re-examined declares that they took the fly boat and set the Flemings that were in the said fly boat in an empty hoy that was passing northward.

2¼ *pp. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "The examination of the remanent pyrattis taken at Montrois and executed at Leyth 1 July 1574"; *and by Walsingham*; "Referred to lettres of the 25 of July from Mr Killigree."

July 2. **11.** JOHN HAMILTON TO MARY.*

C.P., vol. IX. At the writing of this present I was not only in doubt whether I should have written or "stayit my self" for the answer your high-

* There are many vague terms in this letter, which is a decipher, but the editor has considered it advisable to retain the text as nearly as possible. It is evident that great difficulty was found in deciphering it.

Elizabeth.
1574. ness promised toward Whit Sunday by a little letter conveyed to London by Lydell to Mr. Thomas Lesly, "bot oncertane quhither I suld abandone your hienes affaires at all or give attendance."

"To me I never resavit ane scrib of pen sen my last being in Scheifeild, and gif yat be a reasonable tyme—of 4 zeiris—judge ze, madame; and wes injonit to a charge (zour majestie knaweth) sa wechtie as I wald be sory throw me it had bene owersene. Gif I for my part hes delt so tre . . . thairinto, God knawis." How the copy of that I declared from the Duke to your majesty came into other men's hands, which I know it did, I ought not to be inquisitive, nor yet of my ciphers, which were only delivered to Gilbert Curll. I think, if it has passed through no other hands, the "conteneu" of my last writing after my departing from Sheffield last, and consequently of others since, is in no man's mercy, but only in your majesty's mind and Gilbert's. O, madam, who should have a better proof of the virtue of secrecy and scaith of the contrary, than your highness? But all this is to no purpose without your highness have confidence in me. All my secret doings and painful service are in vain, and if to the furtherance thereof this manner of dealing is to be any more suffered, and if I do good offices or not, judge you, madam, but by that I have lately, since my last writing, done upon coming hither forth of England; who assured me, if I would do an office above all others acceptable to your majesty, and most for your safety—"quhair-into lyeth all—wes to se gif it wer possible to mak ye Kyng conceyve the wrak was in wirking upoun zour hienes' persoun, in that the Queen of Ingland wes alreddy resolvit to remove your persoun from Scrousbery" into the hands of your mortal enemies and competitors. But I remembered to beware of Shrewsbury for suspicious cause. Moreover [he] was practising the delivery of the Prince into England to the effect they might cut you both off at once. And what I did herein, God knows, and Keir can testify. "Zea, the Kingis self be yis." What I shall do for the effect of that is in hand, I look for your majesty's direction, "bot heir gif attendence in cace I continew, that I may knaw zour will as concerning libertie or remaning in Ingland"; for some think best [that] you remain in England; others consider with me the present danger through the despair of your competitors being in extremity, having your person under their mercy, "quha can not rax and your hienes prosper jugeis extreme remeid is requisite for extreme dainger." Notwithstanding the Queen of England's danger some "inferris" with yours. But sure it is, if she gets the Prince, your highness' best friends fear extreme danger. France's part is here strangely suspected "in cace the Ile cum till one, perchance sa may utheris, thairfoir lat ws hav ane huik on our awin hand. Mak freindis kyndly to the Ile; oppin not our pak in aventure our wair may be misusit, at leist ministeris may do it." For example—since the north and Norfolk. I am not so simple as you had me. Experience has made me. Without "voust" the painful life that I have led "may say it ower sicker." Others seeming to have this sight "salbe fund grit heir." I am "ryp," yet others "transportit and ignorantis hes vote, bot simelie and I have not myne," I shall leave them and your majesty the whole, and this I protest to have declared. Madam, either give direct answer or be assured I will depart from hence. Such things are over delicate to

Elizabeth.
1574. me to travail in without your highness' advice, and upon this all depends. God send I were an hour with your majesty. Give heed for God's sake to this point. In like manner, in case your majesty be removed and so straitly kept (I say presupposing the worst), look what your highness would have wished to have done with all your ministers "to yat now quhen tyme sall serve in that condems my part, zour majestie may speir quhat ze suld do." I think your majesty's wit passes mine there, and directions come from you, and not from me. And, to be short, "other traist me at all or discharge me at all. Indeed, I know your majesty has obliged me, and so won my heart, not only with the confidence it has pleased you to honour me with, but as my Lord of Ross has written to me "so rejoyiseis it my afflictit in putting me in the nomber of one of the fadfullest ministeris yet ever Princess had," that if I were not true and "feirit" my life in such an honour, and "trust" I were the most unworthy man. Good faith I believe, wherein I have some comfort, that all your majesty has done is not for mistrusting of me, who is no ways changed, as God knows only; but sure it is, considering the extremities, I cannot, without I deceive your majesty, continue more without the heads of my last writing, as concerning the authorizing of me and satisfaction with my doings, my doings to the King, my help to pay my debts, my yearly stipend for entertainment of me, my servants, [and] charges of my offices, which are not small. But I refer all to the foresaid writings that are requisite in these things. Moreover, I desire to know how [I] shall use myself "towards seante" your highness' friends and ministers [and] their ambassadors here, if I shall follow the "auld use." It is hard for a minister of yours resident in one place to play two parts; "howbeit zoure majestie mon and suld sua do." Truth it is that he cannot have a true heart "that hes particularis by zow"; and if my heart be so with your highness, pardon, the devil will put it out of my belly. There was nothing more contraay to your weal. Prove me with anything [that] may try this one thing. I promise never to receive benefit of the King out of my charge. Provide for me otherwise as it shall please your highness, "and will not in tyme to cum asweill as for it is bigane have ony obligatioun in that I resaee." You shall hand it to the King, and thereof I know he will be content. I am weary of my life in such misusing of me in this charge. Yet your highness shall command me to the death. But remember my last determination and last writings —my reasonable demands. If you cannot then let me know where I shall go [or] what I shall do, I shall not be in more danger, being a private person after so delicate matters, "being suir to zou wat is in Spanzeartis mannis handis." Moreover, I will say that my only intent was to serve you. Howbeit others slandered me wrongfully I would never have thought there had been such factions and particulars. "Gif ye King be not spokin be me, I protest to have declarit the wrak of zour hienes affaires heir." This government seems to excuse his first proud and "disdaignous" answer "baith as tuicheing the King, th'erll Bothvill, David, the kingis hurt in helping your majestie with counsall money." I press the Duke; others rail on him. I find it now the best, for, perchance, this man does it to "reif" me, and is holden of the Duke's faction; and now the Duke governs the King wholely. Whether it be better or worse for your majesty, I shall

Elizabeth.
1574. know. There we must dissemble, allege friendship, serve our turn with all men. There is and has been abuse of the King's goodwill—what in giving up more than is received of money, as in gratifying in their own particulars whom they please with pensions under the colour of your majesty. Overseeing them may do you most service. In the meantime your majesty has the obligation, and may be "cravit." The remedy of these things must be had from the King. There have been some Englishmen here, yet [they] never did any office for you, and, as Francis Mure has declared to me, favour you not. Yet [they] have gone into Spain, and "reckanning zour majestie returnit heir hes not luikit toward me geving the obligatioun to otheris." Howbeit you be "oblissit" to the King, but I shall be meet for that. Your highness must consider how your friends must be drawn forth of England and "maid heir as mon* plesit." If I see no better "mak money yer and send few heir" till I have tried these things. Remedy must be had from the King discreetly. [ ]† are the greatest "will contend quha sall do maist plesour." Here ye shall linger under one subjects discretion, which shall be, as it shall seem, "mak for his commoditie."

I have occasion, indeed, to pass those ways, which shall be a colour that no man can suspect, being in effect reasonable, as I shall declare in the end of this writing. The King only shall know the secret, who of his honour will commit it to such as will be secret, as I shall protest.

The same manner of proceedings at my first comming here under colour of entertainment was greatly praised, and caused opinion of inward trust. Writings are dumb; messengers are "not able to replie to sinister offices," which will not be left nor discredited by such means. "Sure it is the King to be perswadit that in effect you have left him."

"I have in my handis the Duc hes of‡ fere as wryting lamenting the same," and as your highness' writings are thought to be words of office, "sa may I judge serve no thing," for that touches my credit, "for not ever§ it be me, quhat can I crave, or quhat have I yerby but plane mokkery, being so disdaignit? I say in case your majeste hes writtin be uther meanes nor myne." I wot not what to write here, but one thing I will say, "that gif so be, God sen I had gone to the warldis end quher I come in Flanderis to be so misusit." I have suffered as much stress, scaith of spirit, body and gear as, perchance, those that your highness looks better on have done. I am daily on my life's ancer, and not long since discovered a conspiracy to have had my life, your ciphers and papers of as secret things as can or may concern you. Their intent was to gratify the Queen of England with the said papers in the meantime that they were practising with her for their pardon. Those same men persuaded the Earl of Westmorland, and, indeed, had [it] not been I was ready to accept the offers "hes confessit him self all to me," and gives God and me thanks that he is so "lernit" to have no other trust but in God and your majesty. Therefore I advertise your majesty to beware of their writings. Give them no such credit, for in many respects it may undo you. Their servants are presently taken with writings in

* "Mon" is marked with a cross underneath. † Symbol.
‡ Marked with a cross. § "Ver" and a cross written over.

Elizabeth.
1574. London, and perchance the poor men are offered up for the "fasson." These "traffiquaris" are by name Francis Nortoun, Marcanfeld, [and] one called Bowmer—all cousins german. This Marcanfeld was he that forced my coffers, but he got nothing; and thinking to kill a page, whom he had forced to deliver the keys, having the host and "hostage" and sundry men in these parts, the Queen of England's secret pensioners, at his devotion, miraculously, in executing of the fact the boy "evadit" and revealed me all.

This same traitor "buddit" another of my servants to undo a purpose [that] was in my hands betwixt the Duke and me "in recovering ane tollerante" to go to Scotland to do some offices under that colour concerning the castle [which] was then besieged, "Alexander Erskin tuicheing the Prince, ane uther practise was laid furth toward Dumbarton, and uther offices toward suddarte's cummit sente to the Prince's service, with uther offices towart sundrie of the nobilitie, and that wes practisit betuix the Duk and me." In like manner "to win zour majeste in" under the colour of letters of favour, and to lament my case publicly, and secretly to have spoken to your majesty by your "freindis tollerante" there. But the Queen of England had so recommended me to the Regent Morton, as indeed appeared when all my friends were refused in that they sought my pardon, saying England would not be content I should come into Scotland. To be short, it was refused without I renounced the faith and your majesty.

I promised to write in the end of this letter of the colour both to depart from this country and to go to Spain without suspicion. This is it. Mr. James Hamilton of Neillisland has the signature only of Kilwynning, but wants the "principall bow" left in Rome by Kilwynning lait deceased for lack of money. The sum is 400 ducats. The gentleman, my kinsman, has sent to me as to him whom it had pleased your highness [to] honour with some credit, offering me either the title of the benefice, having a reasonable pension, or else to give 400 marks of pension, so that I obtain the said "bow" for him. Wanting it he is in danger to be troubled, "and at Rome, being mariit and of the new religioun, he can not travell in it." Therefore I most humbly require your majesty to write to his holiness either to grant it to myself or any other [who] shall present your highness' writings in my name and command your highness' agent, called Menoti, to further the same. In like manner, please your highness [to] write to the governor to further me herein and the obtaining of the bishopric of St Andrews, in case it pleases your majesty, at the Duke's advice and your accustomed graciousness toward me, unworthy thereof, [to] present and prefer me thereto. In the meantime I shall either in going or returning "mi back me" at Genoa, "as I had on the way had occasioun upon sum occurrentis ether be zour hienes command or utherwayes to pas to Spayne." But I think it were best to go to Rome first; and so need "ye cullour" inform his holiness of the present danger prepared for your highness and the Prince, lament the case and others to be lamented, and do offices which it were over tedious to write, and "conforme" to your majesty's instructions and requests towards his holiness' writings to the King, "quhilks with zour hienes awin,* the experience I have of

* A cross placed over "awin."

Eliazbeth.
1574. that is to be done toward his majestie Catholik and faithfull proceidingis in comoning baith zour majesties affairs concurring heirwith, the negotiatioun I have had, and the witnes he must beir in his awin conscience of my part, and consequentlie of zour majeste ratifeing the same with the favouris I may have of utheris." I say, if your majesty will not, I "manifest" myself all these things shall either procure and establish your highness' desire and affairs toward her majesty and "heir," or else it shall pass any other man's wit to find a more sufficient, "substancious," and solid way; the which if your majesty "pretermit" after I have opened my pack, "sall tak my wair and experience with advyce and imploy other therinto," I cannot, indeed, nor should stand "in the contrair." Yet I leave it to your majesty's own discretion what wrong I receive, being at least as qualified as another, and having this negotiation these six years, and the whole weight thereof on my shoulders, if it shall please your majesty to bear with me in this one word I say of myself.

Last of all, to the effect your majesty may know the resolution that I have taken either to be discharged or else to have furtherance in the same "heades" contained in my last writings touching my going to Spain, your majesty to be satisfied with me "adin* da de" [*sic*] costing 2000 "gudlingis," or 1200 crowns for my entertainment, and servants and offices in my charge to proceed of reason and equity, and that no particular profit but your highness' service moves me thereto—"offeris as concerning the tua last heidis sa yat it will pleis zour majestie help me ony uyer wayis, to mak no mention thereof, and to do it is requisite and can not be pretermittit without the wrak of zour hienes affairis conforme to the furtherance I trust in God I shall have and depart quhair and in manner as it plesis zour majeste to command me." But without I be there and have the relief one way or other, I assure your majesty "I can not, bot it is impossible to me to continew ony more," and so I either look for your highness' answer or my honourable discharge, being assured that your highness' noble and generous heart would not, in exchange for my goodwill in service which I confess unworthy of your highness, reward me with disgrace, poverty, dishonour, and perchance death, knowing so well what is your highness' duty toward God and the world. "Be zour hieness' faithfull and obedient subject and servitour H.H." Brussels.

"Gilbert to translait the Quenis chiffre or zouris quhen ze pleis, for I feir yame. Ze sall bot take ony letter ze pleis. As for exemple tak 3(i) and call it x(a) and—†salbe x(be), and so count on quhill ze cum to 'w,' quhilk will fall to be hindmaist. Ze sall knaw the lettre ze tak to be x(a) be one of ze four markis, of the quhilk one salbe put evin first of all with ye letter ze tak to be x(a) this way to write, my lord taking 3(i) to be x(a)."

[*Some words in cipher follow.*]

This sixth [*sic*] day of July. How shall I of myself authorize or negotiate in so weighty affairs. Neither your highness entertains me, releives my debts nor causes others to do it; neither will you allow me as your agent nor discharge me, "nor hes writtin this thre zeir ane scryb of pen to me, employit me, knowin me, and semys to mistrust me." It is thought you will neither discharge me nor avow

* A cross over "adin." † Symbol for "k."

Elizabeth.
1574. me, and that purposely you force me to this extremity to the effect that, departing undischarged, the fault for the "fasson" be laid on me, and that no appointment in other place be given to me, because you would be quit of me. If so be, your majesty may command me. If, as I think, it is not, your highness will be content [that] the discredit of your affairs and myself be repaired, first in Spain, and "sync" here, as I have written. For otherwise it cannot be, considering craft, factions, [and] sinister offices done and to be done.

In conclusion, if no better be, I depart, for my honour, discharged sufficiently, but recompensed with disgrace, loss of time [and] estimation, and poverty, an example to all posterity "never na man to serve treuly," which, ere I did, I had rather chosen death, and rejoice with misery in my integrity. So, if this be the end of all my pains and fidelity, which in your highness' conscience you know, God give I had never come into Flanders or seen your majesty. Praying your highness be ever inspired to that may procure your felicity. Brussels.

6 *pp. Closely written. Indorsed:* "2 and 6 of July 1574. A byt of John Hamilton's lettre to the Scottish Q. from Flanders."

July 5. **12.** FALSE HARDHEADS BROUGHT TO SCOTLAND.

"A note of all soche artickelles as I was examined of the 5 daye of Julye before the Regentes grase and the yearlle of Cattnes and Sawndorse Haye for all soche hardettes as I brought in to Scottlande."

The ship's name was *the Falcon*, and the master, John Wolrege. There were 28 men in the ship. The owners were John Claye, Richard Barett, Andrew Cottrell, John Clarcke, John Sachefeald, John Draper, Thomas Smithe, and Richard Lancfort. Their lading was eight ton of bastard, 7 ton of white wine, 2 ton of claret wine, "carses," broadcloth, beer, and salt. They demanded how he came by the hardheads, and he answered that at his departure from Bristol, Thomas Smithe, merchant of Bristol, and half-quarter owner of the ship, sent him a bag of hardheads saying that they were 8 pounds weight, as appeared by the remembrance which Thomas Smithe gave him, that they were good and lawful monies of Scotland, and desired him to employ them to their most profit in wares or fish, or anything else he thought most for their profit. Being in Loch Reane, and coming to the town of Ayr to seek their boats of the Laird of Farlle they disbursed by the way 30*s.* or thereabouts, the rest being in the ship. *Signed:* Roger Fremon.

1 *p. Indorsed by Killigrew:* "Fremon of Bristow for falsce Scotysh hardheades stayed in Scotland"; *and in another hand;* "and his examination before the Regent and others the vth daye of July."

July 10. **13.** LADY HUME TO ELIZABETH.

May it please your most excellent majesty that the comfortable favour by your highness' letters directed in my favour to my Lord Regent of Scotland produced the beginning of so good effect ("for the quhilk I remane your majesteis obliged for evir") that I have taken the hardiness, under hope not to offend your highness' good "naturall,"

Elizabeth.
1574. to let your majesty understand that albeit the request contained in your said letters was not fully obeyed, the fault thereof was not in my Lord Regent's grace, but the whole stay remained in some importunate suitors against my lord my husband and me. To these my Lord's grace, as your highness may understand, could refuse nothing that might reduce my husband and me to extremity at such time as we, through inadvertence and evil counsel, followed the way that hath led to our utter perdition and wrack through the offending of our sovereign and your majesty. As we have by humble suit and great offers pressed to satisfy the King's majesty, his highness' Regent, and Council, which are amply declared and known to Mr. "Harre" Kelligrew your minister in thes parts, so would my husband and I most heartily wish, and at your hands humbly crave to know what we might do for the reparation of offences which we judge may have moved your majesty against him through the receiving in his place of some of your rebels. Albeit your majesty well knows that this offence proceeded not of malice nor contemption anywise of your highness, but only tended at the time to a special requiting of friendship received by my husband's father in his troubles, being within your realm, who was "kepid" by Leonard Dacre's predecessors, yet would my husband be very glad, by confessing and amending his said fault, so far as in him lies, to take away all such offences as may stay your highness' good nature to extend your accustomed clemency in the help and support of us both, who now "remanis" in trouble and affliction by reason of his imprisonment and "troublance" done to me anent the intromission of both our livings. How far your majesty's request has "ellis" served to our comfort and welfare, we are not ignorant; for which we remain your higness' most bounden. We know also what good it may yet do at my Lord Regent's hands, and yet we would be sorry that your majesty, without good reason moving your highness hereunto, should travail in any our causes, and therefore have thought expedient to let your highness' minister aforesaid know the sum of our offers with the declaration of the state of our cause, which we doubt not will be by him declared to your majesty. If to the offers aforesaid anything shall be thought to be "eikid"* by your highness, we would be heartily contented to do it. If anything remains undone that lies in our power that may satisfy my Lord Regent's grace in honour, surety or profit, if we might know it, we would not omit the doing thereof. We have essayed by all means to know what may fully satisfy his grace, but we cannot yet attain thereunto, so we remain in despair to obtain the knowledge thereof, unless it shall proceed to order from your highness, at your majesty's good pleasure, by travail of your trusty minister in these parts, and therefore, as we have received our whole comfort past by your highness' travail, so now we most humbly request your majesty to extend your highness' clemency and favour towards us, and to hold to your helping hand to the furtherance of us to some welfare whereby we may be able to requite a part of the large benefit received at your highness' hands. In doing thereof, as your majesty shall oblige my husband and me, and all our friends, with all that to us appertained, to remain bounden for ever unto your highness, so shall your majesty augment to your

* Added.

Elizabeth.
1574. accustomed fame obtained for the travailing for all affiicted and penitent persons. Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Agnes Lade Howm."

1⅓ *pp. Addressed:* "To the Quenis Ma^tie^ of England." *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C.IV., fol. 271. Abstract of the same.

July 12. **14.** SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. IX. I have delivered such open letters to this Queen and Gilbert Curll according to the direction, and when she had perused them I required her answer therein. [She] said she knew no answer to make touching Leslie's wife, for that she never heard of his marriage, and therefore neither would nor could deal in that matter, nor have dealing with her; and seeming not well contented, asked me whether I had sent up her letters she wrote last to the ambassador, seeming by her speech to doubt my dealing therein. If she did, I told her, she might easily know whether they were delivered or not. The next day she sent me this packet for my Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester lest I should peruse them. I shall be very glad if Hamilton proves himself to be an honest man, for that he has taken great pains with my little boys, and for my part I could never perceive him but to deal honestly. I think myself greatly beholden to you to have me in remembrance touching this Queen's diets, for now I must make provision, else hereafter it will be the worse to come unto. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 271. Copy of the same.

July 12. **15.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letters of the 6th instant and the articles concerning Hamilton, and sent to the Regent for the boy Stewart, who constantly affirms and confirms to him so much as he [Steward] had said to him. But how truly, God knoweth. His [Killigrew's] desire is that he should come into England himself, and to that end he has dealt with him; who seemed to be contented. Has conjured him, threatened him, and done what he could, but can get no more than what he wrote before. This only he observed, that whereas Hamilton says he was but two days with him at Buxton, the boy affirms he was about five. If he cannot procure him to go into England to verify his accusations, he will get of him by all the means he can that which may be too clear a truth.

Wrote to Mr. Hatton and sent him [Walsingham] a copy, and would be glad to hear his opinion thereof, and whether he should continue that course.

Received his advertisements from sundry places, and disposed them to as good purposes as he could best devise.

Touching Adam Gordon's desire to come into England to be reconciled to the Regent by her majesty's means, the Regent had no less from the English ambassador in France, but he does not yet resolve what advice to give; but he [Killigrew] has taken a copy of Hamilton's articles and returned the original, as Mr. Mills advised him, the same day he received them.

Elizabeth.
1574. Earnestly requires him to send him her majesty's resolution whether he shall into the north with the Regent or no, and if her majesty resolves not, prays him to send his own opinion. It will be time before his answer can come to provide necessaries for the journey,—which God grant may be homewards to London. Edinburgh. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed:* "To the Right honorable M^r^ Francis Walsingham one of her ma^ties^ principall Secretarys." *Indorsed. Marginal notes in Walsingam's hand.*

July 12. **16.** EXAMINATION OF PETER FISHER.

"The examination of Peter Fisher, Scottishe man, one of the cumpany of Cap^ne^ Esteid taken at Edinburgh the x and xij^th^ dayes of July 1574."

Peter Fischer, sone to umquile Martin Fischer of Leith, declares that eight years past he being at Plymouth was hired to the Rochelle by Hucheoun Wallace in Plymouth, and passing from it was taken by four French ships of war and landed at Holan 14 miles on this side of the Rochelle, where, being condemned to the galleys and received by Pierre Castalze, captain of one of the galleys, he remained six years till he was redeemed by them of the Rochelle four years since, and returned in the ship of Andrew Ridpeth to Leith; after which he remained one year with Mr. Archibald Sandelandis in Kinghorn [Kingorne] "unsailed." Sailed from Leith in Robert Sandis' ship and was left at Plymouth, from which he passed in William Downy's ship, of Leith, to Dieppe, and there was hired by a French pirate, named Pierre Trenchar. In that company was at the taking of a Dutch hulk ladened with "pik" tar and such other wares, which were brought to Scotland and sold by consent of the owners. From which time he remained in Scotland till Lord Robert of Orkney's ship was taken out of the haven of Burnt Island, and then being hired by his servants he sailed in *the Andro* to Orkney; wherefrom he returned to Burnt Island in Mr. John Hume's barque, bringing thence Orkney wares belonging to Lord Robert. Within two months he was hired by the same Mr. John Hume, James Corsbee, and others, and passing with them toward Norway, took a hoy ladened with copper kettles and other like wares, and brought them to Orkney, where Edward Blacater received her from them. Coming to the Wemys from Orkney, and tarrying three weeks, was hired by a Frenchman called Hekkebek, who was made merchant of George Campbell's ship. Remaining eleven weeks at the Rochelle he returned to Ayr.

About Martinmas, after he was hired to be a mariner in Robert Chalmer's ship, of Ayr, in which he came to S^t^ Malo. The ship being there arrested he, George Wod, of Ayr, and John Robertson, of S^t^ Johnstone, passed to Dartmouth about Mid Lent past, whence he passed on foot to Plymouth and hired himself to pass in Mr. Hawkins' new barque to "the Neasse" [Ness.] Arriving at the Downs on Easter Day last, the master of the new barque sent him with the boatsman to Dover to hire a pilot to convey the ship to Harwich. Mr. Wod was hired for that purpose before he returned. Being left on land he passed to London and remaining there 14 days, "for-

Elizabeth. 1574. gatherit" with Mr Hills, of whom he desired passage to Flanders or such other port where he might "forgather" with a Scottish ship.

Shipping in Captain Eisted's ship three weeks after Easter, he came down in her with the wool fleet to the foreland of Tenent, and from thence to the Sluys. Three days after their departure from the Sluys they took two hoys laidened with rye, "brasill," and colour, and brought the same in four or five days to Holy Island. From Holy Island, directed by Captain Eisted, he came to Leith, and since to Edinburgh. Enquiring if the ship and prizes might safely come here, one David Crawford, a gentleman with a black beard, declared to him that if the captain was the Queen of England's servant [and had] a good and relevant cause, they would be welcome in Scotland. Before his return the ship and prizes had passed to "the Fairny Iland," and the prizes [were] lost. Got a boat at Holy Island of Captain Reid's servants and passed into the war ship. On Friday evening they "sunderit" with Captain Reid and passed from "the Farny Iland," where they received from a gentleman dwelling near thereby 3½ tuns of beer and "twa dosane." They gave the hoys as much beer as would serve them. They passed to sea and within four days foregathered with an empty hoy passing to Norway. Within 5 or 6 days they foregathered with a fleet of Hollanders, being great sails, of which they took two and a "busche" laidened with timber, into which they put the folks who were in the other two ships, and within four days came to Montrose. The morn after their arrival at Montrose the poor men that "aucht" the ships came in a Scottish ship betwixt 7 and 8 o'clock, and hearing it reported that they were come to challenge the ships and goods, and seeing the town in armour, he passed up the north side to Brechin, from that to Torry beside Arbroath, to St Andrews, and last to St Monan's, where he was taken.

Item;—declares that "thair is presentlie furth of Englishe schippis in pira[cy] Williame Winteris schip of twa toppis and ane half, quhilk hes used that trade thir sex or sevin zeris."

Item;—one Captain Caleis has "riggit" out the ships, viz., two fly boats and a hulk of 200 tons. One Mr. Anderson of Newcastle is captain of one of the fly boats. Captain Caleis is captain of the hulk. "Supponis" that Captain Higgeins is captain of the other fly boat.

Item;—John Story of Portsmouth is captain of another fly boat "riggit" out in piracy.

2 *pp. Indorsed:* "The summe of the examination of Peter Fischer Scottisman pyratt, one of the cumpany of Ysteid." *And in another hand:* "This man was executed at Lyeth the 22 of July, and is to hang in chaynes to thexample of others."

July 12. **17.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 274. My Lord Regent's grace being returned from Douglasdale to Dalkeith, which was not before the 3rd instant, his grace sent for me to come and pass my time with him there for two or three days, which I did, and by that means had occasion to talk of many things. Among others we fell in purpose of the great matter, whereof I shall be able to signify his mind within three or four days, which I purpose to do by Mr. Davison, who shall come therewith for fear of miscarrying by the way.

Elizabeth.
1574.

The pirates whose names I sent you in my last were executed, and the two boys only saved, who shall be sent home to their friends. His grace has also delivered me the merchant of Bristol that was seized with false coin in the town of Ayr until the truth of that matter be tried, wherein I trust your honour has done somewhat that they of Bristol may understand the case.

There has come a bruit to the Regent and the bailiffs of this town that Hills, who was Master in Ested's ship, has, in revenge of those that were executed here, taken three Scottish barques and thrown 26 men overboard, which makes them "wood" that they should be so cruelly handled by our nation, and would gladly send some ships of their own forth to apprehend the pirates if they thought it should not offend her majesty therein. I think the question will be demanded of me, and therefore I beseech you that I may be armed how to answer the same.

One Fischer, a Scotsman, that was pilot to Ested's ship, was taken here of late, and shall pass after his fellows, whose examination I shall send you as soon as I possibly may get it.

The Earl of Atholl's daughter was married yesterday to the Laird of Glenorchy's [Glynorkott] son and heir, who is one of the greatest friends the Earl of Argyll has—a man of great power.

The Regent proceeds still with extremity against my Lord of Argyll and his wife, which matter I fear will breed some trouble in the end, and therefore I have used her majesty's name to the Regent for quieting the matter. I look for his grace's answer within a day or two. My Lord of Argyll is a man to be made of by her majesty. He is not of blood to the Hamiltons, as his brother was, being of another *venter*. I pray you remember my last request touching that matter. His grace asked me at my being at Dalkeith when he should send to receive the ordnance pertaining to Hume Castle, and I answered, as soon as I might understand which of them pertained to the King, I would, upon proof thereof, write to the Court; so that I am to receive the proof also within two days, and that to be confirmed by the Lady Hume's own mouth or by the Lord Hume's confession, who being a prisoner and standing as a condemned man, I think not convenient for me to speak withal.

The Earl of Huntly has arrived here according to his promise. I have spoken with him, and he assures me that her majesty has promised nothing for him that he will be found an offender in, by God's grace, and thinks himself much bound to her majesty and not ill used by the Regent's grace, who has deferred his journey into the north to the 1st of August. I beseech your honour to let me know her majesty's pleasure whether I shall go with him or return, or go to Carlisle about the Border matters, concerning which I send you here inclosed my Lord Scrope's letters, to the contents whereof my Lord Regent has agreed.

Letters came here of late out of Flanders to the Regent advertising him, amongst other things, that there were 50 pilots taken of the best that could be found in the Low Countries, and sent to attend the Spanish fleet at Boulogne and thereabouts. Speeches have been made here of the causes of my coming; among others, the Regent told me how that the Earl of Atholl assured him that it was reported he would send the King into England.

Elizabeth.
1574. There is a day appointed for the matter of Walter Dull, of Bristol, which shall be to-morrow at 8 in the morning for ending thereof according to equity; whereof I shall forthwith advertise. All things [are] very quiet, and good obedience in all places, so that I see no cause why I should remain here any longer but upon her majesty's answer, especially if you resolve not upon the league nor upon pensions, which is the first ground I see to rebuild the great matter upon, without which small assurance can be made. I pray God we prove not herein like to those who refused the three volumes of "Sybillais prophesies" for the price which afterwards they were glad to give for one that was left; for sure I left the market here better cheap than now I find it. Once again I pray you to remember the Earl of Argyll's request and her majesty's recommendation of Robert Melvin. And last, what I shall do when his grace goes northward; what I think best to spare charges and for my own commodity is to return home. I write to none else at this present, referring all to Mr. Davison's despatch. I have seen the news of the overthrow in Sweden confirmed with Sir Alexander Ruthven's own hand to the Regent; of which letter I hope to send you a copy by the next. Edinburgh. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed:* "to the Right Honorable M^r^ Francis Walsingham, one of her ma^tes^ principall secretary's." *Indorsed by Walsingham; and marginal notes by him.*

July 18. **18.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Thought Mr. Davidson should have been despatched by this time, but Walter Dulle's matter has kept him occupied these three days, and not yet at any point. Steward is stayed here. The King of Sweden has written against Archibald Ruthven and the rest. Higgins brought a prize into Caithness without any men in her. He is apprehended, his ship also with 38 men, the names of whom he sends him here inclosed, having received them from the Earl of Caithness. Sends the Earl and Countess of Argyll's letters. Can get no favour for them. The Regent is of opinion that the Earl of Argyll will deliver the jewels. The Earl of Argyll is one of the likeliest to be Regent if God calls this man. The Earl of Huntly parting hence into Galloway desired him to see if there were any means to draw his brother into England and to have somewhat of her majesty, but the Regent is not of mind he should come either to England or Scotland, nor to remain in France, but rather to be encouraged to go to Germany or Italy for a time. News has come here of late that the King of Sweden's have taken many ships of Lubeck. The "contents" of them of France were that there be 14 noblemen entered into band against the Regent secretly, for that he would, as they allege, send the King into England —a thing far from his thought, God knows. He should take heed, for there was some practice to kill him. The King of Poland has escaped. The Earl of Oxford and Lord Seymour fled from England.

Yesterday the Regent caused the bailiffs to send him the two boys that were taken with Isted, one being very sick, the other weak for hunger. Means to send them home as soon as he can. Fischer the Scottish pilot is condemned, but his execution deferred.

Elizabeth.
1574. The Regent is gone to Dalkeith, the term ended, the noblemen gone home till Michaelmas, saving such as are gone to prepare for this journey to the north, which holds yet for anything he knows, and hopes to hear whether he shall go. God grant he may return, for he fears the longer he tarries here the less good he shall do if things frame abroad as they begin. Prays God when the English shall be willing to grant to such things as heretofore the Regent demanded, that he and the noblemen be as willing to receive them.

Old Lady Seton desires him to write to her majesty for her safe-conduct to pass with her company, which will not be above six, through England to France, whence she is. There is no harm in the voyage. Edinburgh. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

Postscript.—Beseeches him to impart this to the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester, as he has no time now to write to them.

4 *pp. Holograph. No address, etc. Marginal notes in Walsingham's hand.*

Inclosure with the same.

(List of pirates.)

Robert Ysted, gent., of Hastings. Robert Lutton, gent., of Fryltoun, in Yorkshire. Adam Sawier, born at Penzance. James Johneson. John Sinclair, born beside Dumfries. Thomas Tailor alias Benkis. Philip Fonteyne. Thomas Cox. John Norres. John Crechlaw alias Brocas. John Cornish. Andrew Reid, Scotsman, born at "Holymanis coif" beside Aberdeen. Nicholas Long, cook. Two boys.

In Killigrew's hand:—"I here even now that the above named are condemned and sent to Lyeth to be executed."

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p.*

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 272. Copy of the same.

July 18. **19.** [WALSINGHAM] TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

In answer to his letters of the last of June and the 12th of July, he shall understand that he has moved her majesty that he may have order to recommend Mr. Melvin's case to the Regent for the full pardoning of him, who is well pleased that he shall deal therein and do his uttermost for the help of the gentleman.

Touching her letters in favour of the Earl and Countess of Argyll, he will procure that he shall have them, also commission to follow the matter to an end. Thinks it not convenient to move her majesty for his return till such time as he advertises how he finds the Regent affected touching the great matter he had commission to deal in, and therefore thinks it fit that he accompany the Regent until he be revoked.

Whereas he writes that if it might not offend her majesty, the Scots would send out certain ships for the apprehension of Hill, the pirate, he may well answer them that they shall rather do a matter grateful to her majesty than offensive, who has already sent out certain ships for the apprehension as well of him as of others of that profession; and the rather for the great spoils they have used towards

Elizabeth.
1574. that nation, whose surety and benefit she tenders as greatly as her own subjects.

For French news he refers him to the inclosed occurrents. At present one, Don Bernardino Mendozo is come to entertain them with Spanish compliments till such times as their practices be grown to their full ripeness. By the next he shall understand more at large what he brings.

1¼ *pp. Draft. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "1574. July y^e^ 18. To M^r^ Killigree."

July 19. **20.** SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., Vol. IX. I have received your letter, much unworthy to accompany such a reprobate's submission. Nevertheless, being fully persuaded your friend's request either moved you thereto, or else Christian charity [was] chiefly the cause, I cannot but like well thereof, and friendly take the same at your hands. Wherefore, as touching that lewd fellow who has not only sought by unlawful libels "extante," as much as in him lay to deface my dutiful heart and loyalty, but also the rooting up of my house, [and] utter overthrow and destruction of my lineal posterity, I neither hold him a subject nor yet account him worthy the name of a man, who with a watery sunshine can appease so rigorous a storm. No, if loss of my life, which he has pretended, would have fully contented him, I could better have been satisfied, than with these his unspeakable villanies, for which, and other his detestable misdoings done in every part of England where he has travelled, God's just judgment now gives him this misery, if there were any, though much inferior to his works. In respect whereof I might be thought too hard-hearted if for Christianity's sake I should not freely forgive as cause shall require, and desire God to make him a better member, being so perilous an inter-pillar in the commonwealth, for I have not the man everywise in contempt. It is his iniquity and Judas dealing that I only hate; whereupon to take compassion or remorse my flesh and blood utterly deny. Knowing as I am commanded to forgive, so it is most requisite, and not "repougnenge" the word of God to pluck up or cut down such striking weeds able to infect a whole country. Therefore, his submission I weigh no more than I do his offer to satisfy the world in what sort I will, with much more—I know not what—as though his credit extended so far—or else as though anything can proceed from his mouth but infamy. Yea, I assure you, Mr. Secretary, I am the worst when I understand he speaks of me. And for my "unne frendes" or the slanderous mouths of other his fellow-mates, so long as they blaze these untruths to despite my faithful service, which my Prince and country shall still find in dutiful wise most assured. I can easily distrust them, and could thus. He that serves truly cannot please everybody.

I perceive you have gotten at the Queen's majesty's hand her warrant for the Scottish Queen's diet, wherein I think myself greatly beholden to you. And as concerning your last letters upon the perusing of such letters as were directed to this Queen and her people, I have delivered them accordingly, and sent you a packet of her

Elizabeth.
1574. letters answering again the ambassador's, to do therewith as you see cause. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

[July.] **21.** INTERROGATORIES TO BE MINISTERED TO THOMAS FOWLER.

C.P., Vol. IX. (1) Whether about midsummer last he was not sent to his mistress' house at Templenewsam. (2) If he was, for what cause. (3) Whether during his being at Templenewsam he went to speak with Lady Shrewsbury. (4) If he went to speak with the said lady, whether he repaired to her to Sheffield or Rufford, and how often. (5) Whether he had any conference with any of the said lady's or her husband's men. (6) What special matters did he go about either to Lady Shrewsbury or her servants. (7) Whether about midsummer last he knew not, or at least had some conjecture, of the marriage between Lord Darnley and Lady Shrewsbury's daughter. (8) Whether he knows the Laird of Kilsith, and that the said Laird about a year since, being in London, repaired much to the lady, his mistress. (9) What talk and matter of conference the said Laird had with his mistress. (10) Whether he knew the bishop of Rosse, and that the said bishop since his enlargement out of prison repaired to his mistress. (11) Whether he was not privy to the talk and matters of conference the said bishop had with his lady, and the repair to her. (12) Whether he is privy to any letters that have passed between the Laird of Kilsyth and the bishop of Rosse and his lady. (13) Whether he has not been a deliverer of messages and likewise received messages by word of mouth between his lady, the same bishop and Kilsyth. (14) Whether he is not acquainted with one Guerras, a Spaniard, and one Fogas, a Portugese, who are most abiding in London. (15) Whether the said Guerras and Fogas or either of them have at any time written, or come themselves, or sent any with message by mouth to his mistress, being at her house at Hackney. If they have, what those letters, messages, or messengers were? (16) Whether he knows the said Fogas to be a conveyer secretly of letters as well within this realm between personages of great calling touching matters of State, as also an advertiser of such as are beyond the seas, of the proceedings of things here. (17) Whether he knows one Wandeslowe that attends on Lord Darnley, who is lately married to Lady Shrewsbury's daughter. (18) How long the said Wandeslow has attended on the said Lord; by whose means he came into that Lord's service; where he dwelt before he came to the said Lord; and what his profession has been at any time before he entered into the said Lord Darnley's service. (19) Whether the said Wandeslowe is learned and has not [entered], or at least purposed to enter into orders of priesthood.

2 *pp. In Walsingham's hand.*

[July.] **22.** MEMORANDA OF INTERROGATORIES TO FOWLER.

C.P., Vol. IX. His time of coming from Scotland—S^{t} Steven's Day. The way —by sea. He came on the King's business. Landing places— Yarmouth, Harwich, Ipswich. His lodging since his coming. He burned the Earl of Lennox's letter in "the Dolphyn." Changed his

Elizabeth.
1574. name at Harwich. What persons he has spoken to. With Robynson at Smithfield. At Limehouse twice. At [the] "Bell." He told Robynson that he was out of favour with the Queen.

What letters he has delivered. "Black Bell." At "the Dolphyn." At St. Catherine's. At "Lymes Howse." At his brother-in-law's. The Scottish Nich. has Fowlar's apparel in a coffer.

Of his manner of escaping from Hoggs. At Standon's house on a Sunday in company with his brother-in-law. By whose means? A man in Tweedmouth that had two horses. He went through Norham. With what persons belonging to Lady Lennox? Harding's book newly printed. The flag. Cæsar the physician.

Querenda.—An old woman. Gryvell a prisoner. How many were privy? Who Fowlar was? When he was in the Fleet. Who was the bearer of a letter to his mother to have 6*l.* Whyt the Scot is secretary with the Queen of Scots. Standon. David. Fowlar. One Gwyn that went with Yaxley. What news Yaxley brought. Money. Who be they that have calculated for the continuance of the Queen's majesty's reign? What have they reported?

By whom in England they of Scotland have had intelligence, and in whom have they affiance or trust of favour? viz., in the Court; in the city; abroad. Whom do they account most contrary in this creation to the Queen of Scots? How was John Hale's book brought into Scotland? Who has written against it? Which of the Queen of Scots' Council are most enemies to England?—favourers to England?

3 *pp. In Cecil's hand. Indorsed by him:* "thexamynation of Fowlar, 1564."

July 21. **23.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

I have now longed a good while to hear from [you], and I do hope I shall before these come to you, with some answer to my demands specified in my former letters. This bearer, Mr. Davison, hath deserved more at my hand than I am able to deserve. I thank you for him, and I pray you thank him for me.

This day I received a packet from Mr. Smyth with occurrents of the 7th out of France, and did not a little wonder what was become of you. But when I perceived in his letters that De Boysett was so sick that men doubted his life, I thought you were gone to London to see him. Howbeit I might well be deceived. This inclosed is for the ambassador in France from the Regent's grace and me: who [the Regent] writes his mind touching Adam Gordon conformable to that I wrote you in my last, of the 17th. This other is from the Laird of Kilsyth, from whom he has received the money, though bare account, yet better than was looked for.

I will now be your debtor till I come home, and therefore hasten the same if you will be paid.

I pray you remember my requestes for the ordnance pertaining to Hume Castle, for a recommendation in the behalf of the Earl of Argyll and Robert Melvin to the Regent, and for myself. If I may not come home before Michaelmas, yet let me know whether I shall to the north with the Regent or no. The bearer can sufficiently inform you concerning the state of things here, and therefore I will keep you no

Elizabeth.
1574. longer. Because I know not the cause of your absence I have written in this answer to Mr. Smith's packet such matter as was ready for you.

I have no great hope to send you the boy Stewart, and therefore look not for him. Touching the letters that came out of Sweden, and the examination of some more of the pirates, if I send them not now I shall be able by the next despatch—all men keeping touch with me. Edinburgh. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address* "For the Q. Ma^tes affayres." "To the right honorable M^r Francys Walsingham one of her ma^te principall Secretarys," *etc. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

July 23. **24.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Sends Mr. Davison because he has earnest business at home. Thinks no good will be done here for anything he can learn, unless they are of other minds there than he takes them to be. If he must tarry, prays him to send him some other to supply Mr. Davison's room. *Unsigned.*

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, also address:* "To M^r Secretary Walsingham." *Indorsed.*

July 26. **25.** WALSINGHAM TO BURGHLEY.

Harl. MSS. 6991, fol. 94. [*Extract*]—A man of his whom he lent Mr. Killegrew is this day arrived from Scotland, who brings the Regent's answer touching the great matter. What it is, he knows not, for that the packet is directed to his fellow, who has not yet returned from Oxford. To-morrow the messenger will repair to his lordship with such letters as he has directed to him. He can render a good account of the state of Scotland. Perceives by him their affection for England decays, as all other things that tend to their good. Woodstock. *Signed:* Fra Walsyngham.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 30. **26.** HUNTLY TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig., C.IV., fol. 276b. "Pleis it zour majestie"; I have, according to my last letter sent unto your highness in the beginning of June, offered and entered to the Regent my own person as a pledge and hostage for my true meaning and intention not only to fulfil and observe all things by me promised, for which I "suitit" your highness to become "obligit" for me, but likewise to give declaration of my misliking of such unlawful practices as my brother Adam, now remaining in France, has heretofore been charged with (whereof I "traist" to be innocent). "At hame" I think there be no cause of offence in my behaviour. The remaining, indeed, of my brother where he is cannot, I see, but give sure cause of suspicion and "ministral" occasion to cast the surety of me and my friends into doubt. Howbeit, God knows I think never to deserve the same; neither had my brother "past" if conveniently he might have then tarried at home or had some support of reasonable living otherwise, being a young gentleman subject to great enmity through matters happened in our late troubles. Yet to avoid this suspicion conceived of his dealings through his present remaining and

Elizabeth.
1574. company, the "moyane" being foreseen, whereupon he may live and sustain the part of a gentleman of his quality (to the which I am not able, through the late troubles, to advance him, nor is he, of himself, without the service or advancement of some Prince, able to do the same, seeing the little rent provided to him by my lord our father is almost wholly spent) [I] will travail with him to leave the parts of France and to repair to such part as your highness shall best allow. Therefore I most humbly "beseik" your majesty to advise the best "heirintill," that by the same the suspicion conceived of me may be taken away. And furthermore, that it may please your highness that as you have been, under God, the instrument and procurer of my surety and repose after my "langsum" troubles, having promise for my loyalty, that even so your majesty will be a suitor to the Regent by your letters for my relief, that with his goodwill and favour I may return to my house and country for the comfort of my friends, in consideration of my willing and ready obedience shown, wherein I intend always, God willing, to continue, and never forget or be unthankful for the peace and great commodity restored to this troubled realm by your majesty's good means and particular favour shown unto myself.

Because of divers conferences betwixt your majesty's ambassador, Mr Killigrew, here resident, and me, who can fully instruct your highness of my honest dealing and intention, [I] cease to trouble your majesty with a long letter, remitting the same to his declaration. Ansco. *Signed:* Hwntlye.

1 *p.* *No address or indorsement.*

July 30. **27.** WALSINGHAM TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

Sir, before your return her majesty would have you deal thoroughly with the Regent touching the matter you wrote of to the two lords, letting him understand that she was made acquainted by them with that which passed between you in that behalf, contained in your letters directed to them; and that thereupon she willed you to tell him that, touching the sending of the Queen of Scots into Scotland, so great is the trust that she has in him—though some have sought to persuade her that in a matter of so great weight, touching her so nearly, it were not fit to repose so great confidence in any man—if he will take upon him the safe keeping of the Queen of Scots, with such conditions as were propounded by you, she will be content to send the Queen of Scots, and will not demand hostages for the performance of the said conditions until such time as the Queen be delivered, so [that] he will then promise of his honour to send hostages. Her majesty would have you thoroughly break with him in this matter before you return, to the end that if, by conference with those of the Council hereafter, it may seem to them convenient to proceed to the execution thereof, she may be assured whether he will yield to the acceptation thereof, a matter, in my opinion, no less dangerous for him to accept, if he means honourably, than to us to offer, if we have regard to our surety. The sounding of the matter in the meantime will not be hurtful through your good handling, I hope. Notwithstanding, I could have wished (considering how we deal towards them) that this overture had been forborne. Woodstock.

Elizabeth.
1574. ¾ *p. Copy, partly in cipher. Indorsed:* "M[inute] to Mr H. Killigree dated the xxx[th] of July 1574. Scoteland."

Cott. Calig., C.IV., fol. 278. Another copy of the same.

July. **28.** PROGRESS OF THE EARL OF ARGYLL.

On the 1st of July last the Earl of Argyll "begowthe" his progress in visiting the countries and lordships of Lorne, Argyll, and Cowall, holding Justice Courts first in Lorne nearest the west seas, wherein such persons as were convicted by an assize of the country of slaughter, murder, theft, or common sorcery "was hangit, of quhatsumever estait or vocatioun they war off." Although hemp and tow were scant, yet to that execution there was no lack of "thrawin wideis." The number of the persons executed was eight score or thereabout.

"Vemen and men suspectit of vichecraft and sorcerie war apprehendit," whereof some are presently retained in prison, and others let go on sureties and caution "to ane particular dyet" till further trial and judgment may be had of their lives. "In all this progress—myndfull of ye policie of ye Kirk—establishit ministreis and rederis at ilk paroche Kirk, appoynting yair stipendis to be leeviat wythin ye boundis of ye ministerie, having ye prayaris, ministratioun of ye sacramentis and forme of discipline after ye ordour of Genevay translatit out of Englis in ye Erische toung be Maister Jhone Carsnale lait beshope of the Ylis."

In which progress also he has compounded controversies betwixt Angus M[c]Coneill of Kintyre and the kin and friends of M[c]Clane; and also betwixt the kin and friends of M[c]Coneill Gormee, late Lord of Isles, and the Laird of Glengarrie, who are the chiefest persons of the west isles of this country: not omitting to "sedat" and mitigate the privy grudges and "particularis" amongst his own friends in the inner parts of Argyll.

⅔ *p. Indorsed:* "The erle of Argylis progress in July 1574." "Brought out of Scotland by M[r] Killigree at his last commynge from thence, 1574."

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 271, b. Copy of the same.

[July.] **29.** DEATH OF CHARLES IX.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 440. The alteration of the French King is like to bring that State into more quiet, to set up in government there the enemies of this realm, and thereby to breed peril to the State here. By the alteration the treaty of marriage is wholly ended; for, besides that, it is likely that this King will seek to please his brother in Poland. To bring to pass all his intentions, he will do what he can to join with the King of Spain to corrupt Scotland, and to get the young King into his hands, or to set the Queen of Scots at liberty. Dangers from the Kings of France and Spain pacifying their dominions. Consideration should be had of these things.

The Queen of England should use all the good means she may by liberality or otherwise to assure herself of the noblemen of Scotland, and thereby also assure herself of the person of the young King, or at

Elizabeth.
1574. least that no other Prince shall possess it. Her majesty should be content to hearken to some offer of marriage with the house of Austria. It is hard for this State to stand alone amongst all other States. The Queen's majesty should in time have more care to the sure keeping of the Queen of Scots than has been; the rather for that the French King has a wife.

If the Queen of England possess herself of the goodwill of the nobility of Scotland and possess also the person of the King or provide that no other Prince possess him, keep the Queen of Scots in surety, avoid the combination of the Kings of France and Spain, draw the King of Spain to be a friend, and join in marriage with the house of Austria to make that friendship the surer, then there remains no open show of great peril. Although the marriage shall indeed knit the fastest knot of friendship abroad and of surety at home, yet if her majesty shall not like thereof, it shall be convenient to proceed in the rest, which in probable reason be like to avoid the greatest number of perils that be now to be doubted or likely to ensue for many years.

$1\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. In Walsingham's hand. Indorsed:* "1574. Notes made upon the death of the Frenche Kyng."

Aug. 1. **30.** WALSINGHAM TO BURGHLEY.

Harl. MSS. 6991, fol. 100. Has sent a copy of the Irish despatch. Finds her majesty graciously enough inclined towards the Earl of Oxford. Sends him Mr Killigrew's letter last received, to the end he may give order for the apprehension and examination of certain persons suspected to be dealers in the Queen of Scots' causes. Is secretly advertised that Morgan, who was the Earl of Shrewsbury's secretary, continues his practising in her causes, and has secret access to the French ambassador. Order is given for Mr Killigrew's revocation. Woodstock. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 3. **31.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO BURGHLEY.

Received his letter of the 28th July on the 1st instant, and perceives thereby he was at Theobalds and looked for Lord Oxford, of whose return he was right glad. Now that he has seen his letter sent by Davison he can look for nothing more of weight from him, and therefore he again beseeches him to further his revocation, whereof he never stood in greater need.

The Regent is this day gone towards Aberdeen, having left Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, Mr James Macgill and others with the Earl of Angus for the rule of these parts.

The Regent has committed twelve principal men of the Borders to gentlemen's keeping till his return.

The complaints increase daily against the English pirates, and the grudge against them [the English] of those who be damnified. Surely Captain Read, of Berwick, and Mr Widdrington's son are worthy blame for favouring the pirates, a thing publicly done by them. Thinks Berwick is now left very bare without a head, having now there but the gentleman porter, and, as he is informed, great division among the captains and soldiers; but hears that Lord Hunsdon will be there shortly—which is needful.

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There came lately a letter in cipher to the Regent's hands, which was written by John Hamilton to the Scottish Queen: has sent it to Mr Walsingham deciphered. Such of the Scottish guard as were in this country repair into France as fast as they may, and yesterday Claud Hamilton was married to Lord Seton's daughter, to augment the French faction. The Master of Salton, in the north, who married the Earl of Atholl's daughter, has lately slain one of the Inneses, a kinsman of the Regent, which breeds some further unkindness, yet he thinks the Regent will pass over the matter.

The Archbishop of St Andrews [John Douglas] is dead, and somewhat will be done in this General Assembly, which is to be holden in the Regent's absence, against the man nominated to the room by the Regent, alleging that he is not fit for that office. Fears this pique betwixt the Church and the Regent will breed a scab in the end.

One Cornellis, a Dutchman, that should work their mines, came this other day to him and would have him deliver somewhat to him to put him [Burghley] in remembrance of his [Cornellis'] offers heretofore made concerning those mines, and because he likes not the man he willed him to write to him and he would see it surely conveyed; since which time he heard not of him.

There is a letter of Grange's come to the Regent of late, written to the Scottish Queen not two days before his death, making mention of his devotion towards her and of his service, and, among other things, declaring where all her jewels were, and how many Sir William Drury had in gage for 600*l.* sterling, which the Regent proposes to demand again.

Perceives that Lord Hume and others that were taken in the Castle shall not die, and therefore is contented to procure her majesty's goodwill in their delivery as occasion shall be offered. For the ordnance of Hume Castle, the Regent demanded whether he had yet any answer, and he answered "no." Beseeches God to send him home shortly, where he thinks he may do more service. Edinburgh. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 282. Copy of the same.

Aug. 3. **32.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Has little to write but to take his leave of him going this northern voyage with the Regent, who has left behind him certain Councillors with the Earl of Angus for the government, and to keep the Borders in better tune he has committed a dozen principal men to ward till his return. Daily complaints come against English pirates. Claud Hamilton was married yesterday to Lord Seton's daughter. Touching the old Lady Seton, he understands that she will speak with the Scottish Queen, if she can, under pretence to see her daughter, Mary Seton. Beseeches him to remember the Earl of Argyll's suit, for it is needful.

One Robinson, lately come out of France, and commended by Drisdale to speak with the Scottish Queen, is a man very dangerous and to be taken heed of, for he has good acquaintance and credit in that realm.

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1574. Lately wrote of James Blaketer, who brought a letter in cipher from John Hamilton. Sends him here inclosed a copy thereof, and the alphabet, as Mr Peter Young, the King's schoolmaster, deciphered it. The Archbishop of St Andrews is dead. The Master of Salton has slain one of the Inneses. Lord Hume has the liberty of the castle, where he is prisoner. Now that these people begin to wax hollow towards the English, it were not amiss to have some better regard to Berwick, where there is great division, and no governor but the gentleman porter. English pirates were so openly maintained by some belonging to that town, and are yet by some not far thence (as they say), that it makes evil blood among them here.

The Regent expects the "redytion" of the ordnance for Hume Castle, according to his [Killigrew's] speech from her majesty, whereof he hears nothing, and therefore can say nothing. Beseeches him to procure his revocation. Prays him to commend him to Madame Urse, and bid her get him home if she will have her 20*l.* His brother Sunsarbe does well. They are ready to march together. Captain Colbrone, their guide, has lost 300 francs by the English pirates. Edinburgh. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 508 Copy of the same.

Aug. 12. **33.** JEWELS OF JAMES VI.

Whereas the Countess of Argyll has made suit to the Queen of England for her favourable letters to the Regent to permit her and the Earl, her husband, to retain certain jewels in their hands until certain demands be answered to the heirs of the late Earl of Murray for money disbursed by him in the King's service, it has pleased the Regent to grant that the Earl and Countess of Argyll shall retain them in their custody, with these conditions; that, after the Regent's return to Edinburgh, they produce the said jewels to be valued and esteemed; at which time, showing any manner of cause tending to reason why they should detain them, and giving caution to the Regent to be answerable for them to the King's use, his grace, for the Queen of England's request, is contented that that they shall retain them in their custody. The Regent's pleasure is that they should be produced at Edinburgh, where able men may be found to value them.

Item;—In case this content the Earl and Countess, and they signify the same to the Regent, he will relax them from the horn that they may come to him for ending this matter. Further than this the Regent cannot grant with his duty to the King and nobility.

⅔ *p. Indorsed by Killigrew and Lawrence Thompson.*

Aug. 16. **34.** THE REGENT MORTON TO ELIZABETH.

"Pleas it zoure majestie," I have all this while of the . . . highness' ambassador, present messenger in this country, forborne to . . . . majesty, in respect of his diligence and sufficiency to certify . . . . the state of matters here in anything tending to your [highness] . . . . the weale and increase of the amity betwixt both the realms . . . . and admonitions have greatly availed to move your

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1574. highness' officers [along the fron]tiers to look to their charges, for conservation of the peace and quietn[ess] . . . the greater carefulness and circumspection; and seeing they had no . . . oft "remembred" of their duties in that behalf, none of your highness' . . . being here resident, it seems to me to be needful, if so shall be your highness' good pleasure, that some have your highness' direction to take heed unto th . . . of your majesty's wardens, and, as cause shall require, to spur forward and urge them to their duties in administration of justice, and such other good offices for the keeping of the peace and amity, whereunto none appear more apt—your majesty so employing him—than my Lord of Huntingdon, Lord President of your majesty's Council in the North, "as a thing mair reddy and facill nor for every licht occasioun to write to zoure majestie or zoure honorable counsale," as the like goodwill and earnestness shall always be found in my own part. Howbeit the difficulty is great for me long to continue this State, and chiefly our Borders, in quietness, our people, in a great part, through frequent alterations, being desirous of novelties, "and latelie the thevis having planelie attemptit to brek the order takin for the gude rule of that cuntrie geving me experience that it is mekle mair facile anys to quiet thame [than to] retene thame of ony continewance in quietnes, quhairthrow I wilbe constrainit to augment the force that I sustene for that occasioun," a matter more chargeable than I am well able to bear out, besides the reparation of the King my sovereign's decayed houses, except your majesty's support and aid supply it, "as I have and mon stil louke for the same," nothing doubting in effect shortly to find it, for without some ordinary force still entertained, I see no few inconveniences likely to fall out, considering the hollowness of men's hearts remaining, and the practice and "moyen" with strangers "not zit away." Wherein, notwithstanding, I trust in God they shall not be able to execute their hearts' desires, your majesty respecting and aiding me as the necessity of the cause requires, and as my own good deserving shall merit, "having addictit my self nixt the King my soverane to do all thing lying [in] me that may advance zoure majesteis service and incres this gude a [mity] betuix the realmes, as fully persuadit (in respect of the commoun profe[ssion] of oure religioun) that the like malice and inimetie is borne aganis ba . . . mair specialie I have conferrit with zoure hienes said ambassadoure, q[uha I] doubt not sall faithfullie report my meanyng, and thairwithall lett [your] majestie understand the gude estate of zoure dear cousing the King [my soverane], now daylie, praysit be God, incressing alsweill in habil . . . as in virtuus and princelie exercises of learning and utherwise, liklie in few zeris to do zoure hienes honnoure and pleasur, and to schaw thankfulnes for zoure majesteis great favoure and cair takin for him and his estate in the troublous tyme past of his nonaige and infancy." As touching your highness' recommendation by your letters and the travails of your ambassador for the Earl of Argyll anent the King's jewels remaining in the Earl's wife's hands, although the narration made to your majesty "is utherwise then may be verifeit," yet for your majesty's request, I can be content, they showing me any manner of cause tending to reason why they should detain them, and being produced, valued, and esteemed, that they shall retain them in their custody, giving caution to be answerable for

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1574. them to the King's use, "quhilk I traist is alsfar as zoure majestie sall think I may do of dewity," my obligation to his majesty according to the charge given me by the Parliament considered.

Lastly:—the calamity of our people spoiled of their goods and cruelly dealt with in their persons in their trade by sea by your majesty's subjects is so grievous to our men that without some present punishment of the offenders and redress of the injuries to the parties interested, I am doubtful how to satisfy them or impede them from seeking their private remedy and revenge as they may have it, as partly your ambassador has seen, and can well report to your highness, "quhairupoun" abiding the knowledge of your majesty's mind, most humbly I take my leave. Aberdeen. *Signed:* James Regent.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed:* "To the Quenis Ma^tie^ of England." *Indorsed by Lawrence Thompson, and marginal notes by him.*

Cott Calig., C. IV., fol. 283, b. Copy of the same.

Aug. 16. **35.** THE REGENT MORTON TO LEICESTER.

"Richt honorable and my verie gude lord," I have till now forborne to answer your lordship's letter brought by the present messenger, or to write anything to you since he came hither, trusting to his sufficiency and diligence, wherein I hope I am not disappointed. His longer tarry here had been very acceptable to me if so had been the Queen's majesty's pleasure, and that it might have "availlit" him. As it is, I cannot but be heartily sorry for his departure, for the "default and inlaik" I know I shall have of his presence, which served not only to great purpose in admonishing and holding her majesties officers on the Borders in mind of their duties, but in doing so many good offices amongst ourselves here, for his mediation in sundry matters has been very well liked of and followed; "sa as I truist" no stranger departed this country at any time in greater liking and contentment of our nation. And for such things as he had in charge to communicate with me, I have sincerely dealt with him therein. I remit the particular declaration of the same to his own report, whom, as I trust, so doubt I not your lordship will credit him; "fra quhom it will pleas zour lordship to caus ressave a cast of falconis of the best come to my handes this zeir."

The specialities of other matters in this our State I will not write at large to your lordship, having so sufficient a messenger so well acquainted with the whole. And so rendering your lordship most heartily thanks for the continued favour and goodwill found with you toward the King my sovereign, this country, and myself in particular, which goodwill you shall not find unthankfully bestowed. Aberdeen. *Signed:* James Regent.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed. No flyleaf.*

Aug. 16. **36.** THE REGENT MORTON TO BURGHLEY.

I have "defferrit" to answer your lordship's letter which I received from the present messenger, your brother-in-law, till now that the Queen's majesty's pleasure is to revoke him, whereof I am heartily sorry, if otherwise it might stand with her highness' content-

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1574. ment and his own commodity; for besides her majesty's service wherein he was directed, his presence has not only increased the quietness and amity (her highness' officers on the frontiers being oft times moved by his admonitions to do their duty with greater care and diligence); but he has also done such good offices in this country amongst ourselves, that I think never stranger had greater goodwill here, nor departed in greater liking and contentment of us all. I must render your lordship my most hearty thanks for the continuance of your goodwill and affection toward the King my sovereign and the amity of the two countries, which to my power I mind ever to deserve.

The state of the King and country here is so well known to the present messenger that it were "superflew" to discourse thereon by writing. In such things as he has dealt with me I have answered him plainly and directly, so meaning always to proceed, and to leave nothing undone that lies in me which may tend to her majesty's service and the common repose and quietness of both the realms. Aberdeen. *Signed:* James Regent.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Aug. 16. **37.** MEMORIAL BY THE REGENT MORTON TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

"Memoriall to my Lord Ambassador returninge towardes Englande xvjth of August 1574."

Remember her majesty's or the Council's earnest letters to be directed to the wardens to hold hard to justice, and keep good neighbourhood in all things [that] may increase the amity and quietness. Commandment to Lord Huntingdon to oversee the proceedings of the wardens. To let her majesty know how weary he is of his change. To declare how he has yielded to her majesty's request concerning the jewels. To let her understand the cruelty and inhumanity used to the Scots by the English pirates, and to procure remedy and redress. To procure a determined answer for restitution of the ordnance in Hume Castle appertaining to the King and crown of Scotland. To remember the trial of the matter of the false money apprehended in Ayr with the men of Bristol, who had their ship in Loch Raine, that the offenders may receive punishment, and the man stayed here relieved, if he be innocent; otherwise he is like to be in danger. Anent one Lawrence, dwelling in Berwick, who counterfeited the King's money. What can be gathered from Mr. John Hamilton's letter. What further light is had from the examinations of Mr. Alexander Hamilton, who was with the Earl of Shrewsbury.

1½ *pp. No indorsement.*

[Aug. 16.] **38.** NOTES BY THE REGENT MORTON FOR HENRY KILLIGREW.

"Notes to my lord ambassadour for the quenis ma^{tie} of Englande to be remembered unto hir hienes at his cuming to courte, and hir ma^{ties} gude plesur and anser craves therupoun."

(1) Restitution of the ordnance that was in Hume Castle pertaining to the King and crown of Scotland. (2) Would know what

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1574. is fallen out upon the examination of Mr. Alexander Hamilton. (3) What is discovered upon the advertisement he [the Regent] made of Mr. Thomas Leslie's examinations. (4) What further is to be looked for in that which passed betwixt them at Aberdeen touching "the mater of grietest moment." (5) To "beseik" her majesty to grant him a "placat" for a dozen of geldings. (6) That he may be certified of the Countess of Lennox's and her son's present condition and affairs. (7) That some worthy officer may be placed in the charge of the wardenry of the Middle March for the furthering of justice and preservation of the peace and amity.

¾ *p.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "The Regent's memoriall for Mr Killigree."

Aug. 18. **39.** ROBERT MELVILLE TO LEICESTER.

"Efter my humill commendatyoune of service wnto zour gud lordship"; seeing it has pleased your lordship to continue your old favour toward me in my greatest need, in procuring the Queen's majesty your sovereign to travail for the safety of my life, and at this present in giving further commission to the ambassador to suit for me; by whose labours I have obtained more surety and liberty. And albeit it has not pleased my Lord Regent to restore me my living, "zit hawyng lyf, I hoip not to lak that is sufficyent for me." I understand by the ambassador and divers others of your lordship's goodness and "kayre" for preservation of my life "quhane I lakkyt no enemeys to sut the same." I confess myself to have been always beholden to your lordship since it pleased you of your "kurtesye" to accept me in acquaintance and familiarity, "bot mayr bindying for redemyng of my lyf," which is the benefit most agreeable to flesh, which I hope in God shall be more "stedebyll" to the Queen, your sovereign, and to you, my good lord, with the rest of my other good lords and friends in those parts, than my death could have been profitable to my "onfrendis"; and as my long acquaintance and service in that country has been so favourably recompensed, so I promise to your lordship that my constant love and faithful service shall ever be ready to be bestowed at my utter power, neither sparing life nor other means to be employed to the contentation of the Queen's highness, your lordships, and country, when some of my "onfrendys" shall not prove so thankful.

I doubt not but your lordship has misliked my behaviour during these troubles, but if your lordship were informed of the truth my proceedings would be better interpreted, considering that of my "bundyng dewtye" I was so far obliged to serve my mistress—and none other can burden me of promise—and never abstracted my affection and goodwill from that realm where I had received so great pleasure and courtesy, "bot rather bure suche respect to geve occasyone of offence there, that quhane frendschip wes offerit to furder our prosedyngs, I travelyt at my pouar to forbear and neclect the same"; whereof I was burdened by friends to have been the cause of their wreck. I believe I could better satisfy your lordship of my part if I had "place," than my enemies had reason to speak in my contrary.

Please your lordship to have me excused that I have been so tedious in troubling your lordship with my long letter, praying God give your

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1574. lordship prosperity with many good and happy days. I am comforted at the writing of this letter to understand of your good estate after so evil bruit as passed of your lordship in this country. I hope in God never to have the occasion to be so sorrowful for your lordship as this war news moved me to, until I understood the contrary by the ambassador. "Karneye." *Signed:* "Be zoure lordships maist humill and affectyonat servitour, Robert Melvill."

2⅓ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 19. **40.** ARGYLL TO ELIZABETH.

May it please your highness: your majesty's ambassador, Mr. Henry Killigrew, has from time to time since his arrival notified to me and my wife your majesty's goodwill and earnest affection borne toward us both, and especially that of late your highness has directed your most earnest and effectual letters to my Lord Regent's grace in our favour, by means whereof his grace has granted to us favour to relax us again from the horn, if we will agree to certain conditions which for the most part we offered to his grace before, ever willing to perform the same, and shall be to the uttermost of our power, like as your grace's servant the bearer hereof will report; for the which benefits we render to your highness most hearty and "addettit" thanks, seeing present power is not able to acquit the same, yet the performance thereof shall be at all times ready to go forward to the execution of the deed, like as your majesty shall have the proof and experience whensoever it shall please your highness to employ and put me to charge. Argylle. *Signed:* Argyll.

⅔ *p. Addressed:* "To ye quenes Majestie of Ingland." *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 291. Abstract of the same.

Aug. 19. **41.** THE COUNTESS OF ARGYLL TO ELIZABETH.

May it please your highness;—the continuance of your majesty's goodwill and earnest affection toward me and the posterity of him that rests with God, who was your highness' servant, together with the several demonstrations of your benefits from time to time bestowed upon me and them, and especially your highness' late letters directed to my Lord Regent's grace in my favour and my children's, make me obliged to give your highness most humble and hearty thanks; and albeit my power at no time is able to acquit the least of your majesty's goodwills, yet your highness may assure yourself of my most humble service, ready at all times to proceed to the uttermost of my power, asuring your highness that both I and they shall continue your most faithful and "addettet" servants. And thus "leving to truble" your highness with longer letter, but remitting the particulars of this appointment betwixt my lord my present husband and my Lord Regent's grace, only obtained by your highness' means, to the declaration of the bearer, your majesty's ambassador, I commit your highness to the protection of Almighty God. Argyll. *Signed:* Annas Key[t].

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 291. Abstract of the same.

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1574. **42.** ARGYLL TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

Aug. 19. My lord, "efteir my maist hartlie commendatioun"; I received your letters written from Aberdeen the 13th of this instant on the 17th of the same, being in our country of Argyll, together with the conditions of the appointment whereunto it had pleased my Lord Regent's grace, by the Queen's majesty your sovereign's means and effectual supplications to condescend to, and by your travails "as ane mediat instrument and workar" only obtained, wherefore to your sovereign as my special favourer I render my most humble thanks, and from time to time, as occasion shall be offered, shall be found ready to acquit the same, whereby her grace may be fully assured that her majesty's favours and benefits on me bestowed shall not be forgotten, nor yet your travails taken in the procuring thereof, when you will employ me in anything to your weal and honour. And whereas you will me and my bedfellow to signify to my Lord Regent's grace our liking thereof, that thereby our relaxation from the horn may be procured and a final appointment made betwixt us and my Lord Regent's grace concerning the jewels, for the exhibition whereof we were in this extreme manner handled, "the conditiones subscrivit by zour hand lykis ws werray weill and evir did lyk," as at the beginning our articles oflered to that effect will bear witness, and [we] shall, by the grace of God, perform the same at such time as it will please my Lord Regent's grace to relax us from the horn and appoint the place and time for the performance of the conditions agreed upon, *etc.* We desire your lordship to write a letter by this bearer, our servant, to my Lord Regent's grace that we fully agree with the conditions offered, "willing" to perform the same, assuring his grace upon your honour that upon his answer assigning the time and place, we will accomplish the same, and this letter to serve your lordship as our obligation for performing of the same and of all things promised by your lordship to my Lord Regents' grace for our part. Will it please your lordship to receive these our other letters of thanks to the Queen's majesty your sovereign, which we would wish to be delivered by yourself to her highness, because the particulars of this appointment are referred to your declaration and report, and, if it might be possible, to procure from my Lord Regent's grace "sic ane day" for performing of the conditions offered to me, "as ze micht be present zour selff. Argylle." *Signed:* Argyll.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 291. Abstract of the same.

Aug. 19. **43.** THE COUNTESS OF ARGYLL TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

My lord, I have understood by your letter sent to my Lord of Argyll the great goodwill, favour, and earnest affection of the Queen's majesty your sovereign towards me and my bairns, the posterity of him who was her highness' servant. This great humanity and kindness shewn to me by her majesty I am not able to recompense otherwise than with a loving heart, ready to be commanded in all things that may tend to her highness' service and contentment, as I

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1574. have signified to her highness by this other letter directed to her majesty, which "it vill pleis zow to present." And seeing that I have this benefit by her highness' means, and in a part by your own diligence and travail taken therein, it is good reason that I should not be unmindful of your goodwill to give you most hearty thanks for the same, assuring your lordship that you may employ me to your honour as far as any gentleman of your own blood. I am right sorry to hear of your lordship's sudden departing from this country, "for I wald bein maist glaid to haif spokin zour selff tuiching divers thingis, wiche war lang to wreit." Some of them I declared to the bearer to be shewn to your lordship, to whom please give credit. And thus "leving to trubill" your lordship with any longer repetition of my lord's liking of the conditions offered by my Lord Regent concerning the jewels, because my lord has fully satisfied your lordship thereanent in his letters sent to your lordship *etc.*, I commit you to God. Argyll. *Signed:* Annas Keyt.

Postscript: "This berar lait me understand that ze war desyrus of hundis,* zour lordship sall resave ane leische, quhilk gif thai pruif guid zour lordship sall haif may."†

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 291. Copy of the same.

Aug. 23. **44.** JOHN ARNOTT TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

Please your lordship remember at your passing into your country my complaint made to your lordship anent the offence done by some of your countrymen to me having come from Flanders. The manner and order thereof is as follows:—we having come forth from Flanders "foregadderit" the coast of England on the 26th of July, "quhair we raid at ane anker all that nicht foranent the toun of Lasto," because the wind and tide were contrary, and on the morn thereafter we weighed our ship and "plyit" to the shore; and having come through Stanfurde [Stanford Channel], as we call it, foreanent "Lasto," we addressed ourselves to have passed to Yarmouth "raid," and, "being passand oure dew route," there was a barque—a little ketch most like a fisherman—riding at anchor foreanent a village called "Cornetoun" [Corton], as I believe; who, perceiving us, made under sail incontinent, and being to leeward of us could not fetch us with one sail, but cried to us, commanding us to set our topsails in the Queen's name, because they were barque to the Queen's two ships that were set forth for searching and seeking for pirates. Which appeared to us to be true, by reason she carried and bore a great flag upon her mizzen mast; and besides that neither we nor any others would ever have looked to have seen any "pilliartz" within those bounds, which are esteemed to be the principal roads of safety in England. So, at their desire, we set topsails, "and vyrit our saillis to gang and speik thame"; and having approached near to them they said in this manner,—'we are here appointed by the Queen's majesty to search and seek all ships coming

* Hounds. † More.

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1574. forth of Flanders, for passengers coming forth of the same who are rebels to the Queen's majesty.' And upon the appearance of their sayings to be of truth we were content they should come aboard, believing no evil to be done to us by any "pilliartz" in those parts. And after they were come aboard they not only took the merchant gear following, but also spoiled the poor mariners of their clothes "and the haill uther thing thai had, lyke as they despoulliet my self of the claithis quhilkis wer on my body," besides my other clothes which were in the ship. The clothing I had on me was easy to be "kend,"—of "buffill pasmentit with gold and violet silk." The quantity of the gear which was taken from myself [was] as follows—besides as much of my companions', as I believe, but I cannot express the quantity and number thereof.

First:—39 ells of velvet, cost 11s. 7g. Flemish money the ell.

Item:—37¾ ells of velvet, cost 12s. 4g. the ell.

Item:—37 ells of velvet, cost 12s. 8g. the ell.

Item:—20 ells of velvet, cost 13s. 7g.

Item:—18 ells of fine black velvet for hoods, cost 16s. the ell.

Item:—a piece of figured black velvet on grey satin, containing 36½ ells at 18s. 6g. the ell.

Item:—a piece of figured velvet, black, containing 37 ells, at 37s. the ell.

Item:—10 pound weight of sewing gold and silver, at 3ll. 3s. the pound.

Item:—2½ pounds of pasmentz of gold, cost 46 "sturis" the ounce.

Item:—23 pound weight of "cordonis and pasmentz" of silk, cost 32s. the pound.

Item:—20 pound weight of silk, cost 20s. the pound.

Item:—three pieces of "chamelot" gross grain of silk, cost 3ll. 8s. the piece.

Item:—16½ ells of "muschit," cost 8s. 6g. the ell.

Item:—30 ells grey Spanish "taftie," cost 9s. 4g. the ell.

Item:—35 ells red Spanish "taftie," cost 8s. 8g. the ell.

Item:—36 ells black Spanish taftie, cost 6s. 8g. the ell.

Item:—30 ells grey satin, cost 9s. the ell.

Item:—24 ells black satin, cost 7s. the ell.

Item:—63 ells of "taftie of the coird," cost iijs. the ell.

Item:—two pieces of stuff called "charley party" to be "courtingis," cost 40s.

Item:—"ane tyke of bed," cost 28s.

Item:—one piece of gross grain of Naples containing 59 ells, cost 7s. 4g. the ell.

Item:—three pieces of "camrage," cost 7ll. 10s.

Item:—three pieces of Lan, cost 5ll. 8s.

Item:—one "hinger" of gold to a belt, cost 5ll. 10s.

Sum of the whole is three hundred four score six pounds 14s. 7g. Flemish money.

Requesting most humbly your lordship to be my helper and supporter therein, and the rather because at this present I may not "await myself thereon," because continually since I spoke with your lordship at the Glammis I have been lying in the Flanders sickness, like as I am yet. Edinburgh. *Signed:* J. Arnott.

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1574. Postscript: The man's name that pillaged my goods was William Hudson, of Colchester, who was declared to me by one John Smyth of Yarmouth, then serving at the Queen's majesty's command on a fly boat, which was one of the two ships that was set forth for banishing of the pirates. For three or four days before he had desired the self same John Smyth "to gang in reving with him"; who refused, as he declared himself, and as appeared well to be because he was in other service for that present. *Signed:* J. Arnott.

2 *pp. Indorsed* (in the same hand): "Johanne Arnottis memoriall to be gevin to my Lorde Embassadeur of Ingland"; *and by Walsingham:* "Referred to the 5 article of the Lord Regent's memoriall sent by M[r] Killigree the 16 of August 1574."

Aug. 24. **45.** SIR RICHARD MAITLAND TO ELIZABETH.

May it please your majesty that seeing your highness' great clemency and favour, of your own goodness, shown to sundry of this country, who by the occasion of the late troubles (which, praised be God, are now by your majesty's means most happily put end unto) had fallen into danger of the authority, having committed many crimes against the same; for whom your highness has so favourably extended your goodness that you have not spared, both by your letters and also by commission given to your highness' ambassador, to travail at the Regent's hands for their relief, and also being assured of your continual aiding of all such (of what estate or country soever they be) as crave your majesty's help in their honest and just actions, amongst whom, in respect of your highness' most godly and virtuous inclination, whereof so long your majesty has given so good and assured proof, I am driven to lament to your highness my great and heavy trouble, who, never having offended against the King's majesty nor any of his grace's Regents, has, notwithstanding, by the space of four years past been debarred and put away from my living, to my great hurt and scaith; and now being a man well near the age of four score years, your majesty may consider what dolour and displeasure it is to me to be kept from my native house of Ledingtoun [Lethington], (which, although but new in respect of the grandeur of others, yet inferiour to few for the ancientness thereof), as I have said before, never having offended, not yet by any law "called or convict." I am assured there is none of any estate, quality, or condition within Scotland can accuse me of any point or jot wherein I have merited any part of so extreme dealing, except it may be indiscreetly alleged that for the son's offence the father deserves punishment—which is agreeable to no law, either of God or man. Very displeasing hath been to me the late proceedings of my son, as was alleged, whose fall my natural affection "behuvet" to move me to lament. I have too far "disgressed," and fearing to importune your highness, I return again to deplore unto you my miserable estate, whereof the end will be yet more miserable, unless your majesty of your wonted clemency put to your helping hand. Alas! madam, have pity for my years, whereunto it will also please your majesty to join my innocence. I have been the father of many sons, and live destitute of their comfort, having but only one remaining alive, who is, as it were, dead to me, in respect of the forfeiture led against him, as also being yet detained in ward, as your

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1574. ambassador can at length declare to your majesty. Alas! madam, were it not for the assured hope I have fixed in your highness' helpful and pitiful natural, and that of your accustomed goodness I look to have my grief and anguish appeased, rather were death a thousand times welcome to me than any longer life. Most humbly requesting your highness to join the liberty of my son now in ward to the restoring of me to my house and lands, that now, my one foot being almost in grave, I may receive some comfort before my ending; wherein I doubt not your majesty shall do a most godly, just, and lovable deed before God and the world. I have fully informed your highness' ambassador in my matter, so that I will not trouble your majesty with the particular "discus" thereof. Most humbly praying your highness to give him commission to entreat for me, as also to write to the Regent's grace on my behalf, wherein your majesty shall for ever oblige me and all mine to do your highness our uttermost service with all humility and obedience. Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Schir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, knycht."

1⅔ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 291. Abstract of the same.

Aug. [24]. **46.** INFORMATION CONCERNING SIR RICHARD MAITLAND.

His late son, William, having office in the Court of Scotland, and having some family, but no house to which he might retire when he had licence from the Court, and being one of the Senators of the College of Justice and Session, and therefore "behuvit" to remain the most part of the year in Edinburgh, and also by reason of his [Sir Richard's] great age he was content to remain continually within the said town, not having any pleasure of the fields, his said son desired to borrow his house and place of Lethington of him on the following conditions. That is to say, that whenever he desired to retire to his said house it should be patent to him and his family, as it was before, and whenever he pleased to discharge him *simpliciter* therefrom he should leave it in as good state as he found it. Upon which conditions he lent him the house, which was as well garnished as any man's house of his estate in all the country. On this lending he gave him no writing, but only his word during his will. Which house he used at his pleasure till he was taken to Stirling—how and for what cause, God knows;—and therefore he "tholit" some of his servants to remain in the said place as long as the Earl of Murray was Regent, having ever hope of his son's relief; and divers times in the meantime he repaired to the said house and used it at his pleasure.

Secondly;—when the Earl of Lennox was made Regent he feared that he would be extreme and sharp to his son, as indeed he was. For eschewing of cumber he caused his wife to pass to his house of Lethington and receive it in his name to his behoof, with the whole menage being therein, and discharged his son's servants, his own servants entering thereinto, where his wife remained till she had put all things in order concerning the house, and then returned to him to Edinburgh. Notwithstanding, soon after, the Earl of Lennox directed a writing by an officer of arms charging his servants to deliver the house within six hours under pain of treason. After

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1574. which one of his servants came to him with diligence and showed him the charge, whom he directed back to entertain the officer till he spoke to the Regent. Desired the Regent that he might "brouke" the house, and said that he and it should be ever at the obedience of the authority: to which desire he could get no answer, and for fear of further trouble he caused the house and place to be delivered to a servant of the Regent with the whole "insycht" and furniture being therein, whereof he caused his servant to make an inventory with the said receiver. Took not out of it worth one point, partly hoping to receive it soon again, and partly because time would not permit him to transport anything that was of any effect. Within a month the Regent caused it to be delivered to Captain David Hwme.

Thirdly;—the said David occupied his manse next adjacent to the said house; which manse was once in his own hand, the profit whereof the said David took to his own use.

Fourthly;—the Regent made the said David factor to intromit with all goods and lands which pertained to his son, by reason of his forfeiture. By the said letter of "factorie" David charged his tenants and farmers of the rest of his lands of Lethington to pay him the "fermes" and duties, albeit his son had never to do with the same, and never was in possession, but he himself continually in possession of the same as his heritage, and although he had the "teyndschaves" of his whole lands of Lethington "in tak and assidatioun" of the Prior of St. Andrews, nevertheless the said David intromitted "wrangouslie" with the same, and has intromitted with his house of Lethington, and the lands and "teyndis" thereof for four years.

Fifthly;—is credibly informed that the said David has "disponit" and transported the whole furniture and "insycht" of the said place out of the same. The house and place daily decay, his yards and "poleceyis" are destroyed, and his woods and trees cut and wasted to his great displeasure.

Sixthly;—he need not inform his lordship of the tragedy of his two sons last departed out of this world, because he has had sufficient information thereof from time to time, nor of the great peril his only son was in, who is yet alive, and preserved by the Regent's mercy, who might have disposed of him as he did of others; and not only has preserved his life, but has removed him from a sharp ward to one more free, where he is well entertained and treated. Prays God to move the Regent's heart to further mercies, that he may take his son into his favour, that he may become a true and faithful liege and servant to the King, which would be a great consolation to him to hear of before his departure out of his present life. Prays his lordship to travail with the Queen of England for the same.

2½ *pp.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "Certane informationis concernyng ye auld Laird of Ledingtoun in Scotland"; *and in Walsingham's hand:* "This is to be referred to letters of S^r^ Richard Maitland's to her majesty of the 24 of August 1574, and to be well weighed before her Ma^ty^ write on his behalfe to y^e^ L. Regent as he desireth."

Copy of the same.

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1574. **47.** THE COUNTESS OF ARGYLL TO ELIZABETH.

Sept. 10. May it please your majesty; I have ofttimes "impesched" your highness in my particular advice; for the which boldness, before I enter any further to trouble your majesty, I most humbly crave your pardon. At the being here of your highness' servant, Sir "Harie" Killigrew, he travailed, at your majesty's command, with my Lord Regent to bring the differences betwixt my Lord of Argyll, my husband, and his grace, for my cause and my Lord of Murray's bairns, to some good end, "quhilk as it appeired to ws it wes," and upon this occasion my husband and I wrote to your majesty letters of thanks for that favour we had obtained at the Regent's hand, only for your highness' request. But now, lately, since the departing of your majesty's ambassador, my Lord Regent's grace has desired the performance of some further surety to be done by us, than was contained in the heads agreed upon before; which "appeiris" to my Lord of Argyll, my husband, and me, that his grace is no ways of mind to make any sure end in this behalf, but only to drive time, and allege the fault is on our part, for no other ways can we judge, and that in respect of some late conference holden by his grace with a servant of my husband's, together with a late memorial of his grace's, [which he] desires [to] send with the same servant. And because my Lord of Argyll nor I "may" not be present with your majesty to declare by mouth the surety of all this our just cause, and fearing lest it might be otherwise reported than we mean, I have sent your highness the sure copies of such writings as have passed betwixt my Lord Regent and my Lord of Argyll since the beginning of the travails taken by your majesty's ambassador. This things being looked on, your highness will soon "considder" my Lord Regent's grace's mind toward the weal of me and my Lord of Murray's bairns. Wherefore, if it shall please your highness to write in my favour to the Regent, I will most humbly desire your majesty that the same may be for "ane simpliciter relaxatioun" from the horn, together with his grace's promise to your majesty that during his government I shall not be troubled in this case. And this I believe he will do at your highness' desire; for you have done more for him. I am the more desirous of this your majesty's earnest request in this form, because I understand if I should exhibit the jewels, as the Regent desires, his grace is altogether minded to retain them, and will "hald" no cause that I will allege to be lawful, why I should have the custody of them; and if I should be this way handled I am sure your highness will think there is too little done to my weal for your majesty's request. Argyll. *Signed:* "Zour majesteis maist humble servand, Agnes Keyth."

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

First inclosure with the same:—

(Custody of the Jewels.)

Whereas the Countess of Argyll has made suit to the Queen of England for her favourable letters to the Regent to permit her and the Earl, her husband, to retain certain jewels in their hands until certain demands be answered to the late Earl of Murray for money disbursed by him in the King's service, it has pleased the Regent

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1574. this far to grant, to wit, that the Earl and Countess of Argyll shall receive them into their custody, on condition that after the Regent's return to Edinburgh they shall produce the said jewels to be valued and esteemed; at the same time showing any manner of cause, tending to reason, why they should detain them, and giving all caution to his grace to be answerable for them to the King's use. If they accept these conditions, the Regent, for the Queen's request, will release them from the horn. Further than this, the Regent cannot grant with his duty to the King and nobility. Allowed by the Regent 12th August, 1574. Subscribed, H. Killegrew.

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed in a Scottish hand:* "The regentes desyre sent by ye Q. ma^{teis} Ambassadour to my Lord Argyll"; *and by Walsingham's secretary.*

Second inclosure:—

(The Regent's answers to Argyll's articles.)

"The travellis of my Lord of Ergile and his friends with his wyff, hes bene slender apparentlie, and thairthrow hes lytle availlit. And gif yai have bene effectually used, sche in refusing of sa lauchfull a commandiment and advise of hir husband hes not done hir dewtie as become ane obedient wyff. But the thinking of my lord and his friendis, that the exhibitioun of the Kingis jewellis is nouther necessary nor suir, declaris the former travellis with his wyff for that end nother to have bene ernist nor effectual." That exhibition is only requisite when matters stand in question to whom the gear appertains is only an invention without ground of law or reason, for the action of exhibition most properly appertains to all persons acclaiming any corporal things in property, whether it be questionable or not. If any power over the King's jewels was granted to the Regent Murray by the Parliament it cannot but be patent to witness the truth. Whatsoever it was, they were not ordained to be withholden by his wife after his decease; neither has her disbursing been great. She enjoys her husband's whole lands. In case the children pretend any title to the jewels their mother cannot justly claim retention of them, being neither tutrix nor administratrix to them, nor may she enjoy such office, being now wed with a husband, although she had been provided to such office before; which is not yet granted. As to the late Regent's debts contracted in the King's service, no such thing is yet found and declared by account. If she had bestowed any sums of her own, or taken money upon the jewels for maintaining the action for revenging of her husband's blood, wherefore she craves her children to be recompensed, her desire to retain the jewels would have some greater show of reason, but she has been content to behold others travail at their own charges in that cause, taking as little care and "binding" to herself thereof as in payment of his debts. If such debts were, she might have found the "middis" to have relieved them by her husband's goods if she had accepted the office of executrix committed to her trust by him, and put the goods and debts owing him to the most profit. But part of the goods were retained by her from the knowledge of the children's nearest friends, and the rest she refused to intromit with, seeming to hold her hands clean from all meddling with the same, whereby a great part thereof is either con-

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1574. sumed or perished. The Earl of Argyll's offer that he and the barons and landsmen of his kin will be surety that the jewels shall be forthcoming cannot be thought in reason sufficient, nor does it exonerate him in that which is committed to his charge without they were first seen and considered, the names and kinds "expremit," and the values of them esteemed; otherwise the surety would be doubtful. Seeing the valuation cannot be made without exhibition, obedience being shown in that point, a reasonable answer shall be giveu to the article. For discharge to the Countess and children, and security that the Earl of Argyll shall be kept scaithless, let exhibition and delivery be, and then sufficient discharge and relief shall be given. Nothing is proceeded against the Earl of Argyll in the matter but according to law; for whatsoever is laid civilly to a woman's charge her husband is debtor for it, although he has not seen the things laid to her charge; for she may not be pursued nor has any person to stand in judgment without her husband. Although it may be that the Earl has neither seen nor has the jewels in his possession, yet, since he knows they are in his wife's possession, and are not denied by her, whom he has—at least should have—power to command at his pleasure, as master and lord over her, and of all things she possesses, there can appear no reason, for his part, in the delay of the exhibition of the jewels.

1⅔ *pp. Copy. Indorsed in Scottish hand:* "The Regent's answers to my L. of Argylles articles and offers concerning jewels"; *and by Walsingham.*

Third inclosure:—

(Argyll's Answer to the Regent.)

"The coppie of my Lord Argylles writting sent unto ye regent efteir ye resait of ye quenes majestie of Inglandis ambassadour's writting togidder with ye regentis desyre to be done be my Lord and Lady."

His wife and he are willing not only to satisfy the Regent in this, but in all things, according to reason. They desire him to appoint a reasonable day for the exhibition of the jewels. In respect that his wife, who has them in her custody, is evil at point to travail, and as they are not in the bounds where she is presently, prays him to release them both from the horn, whereby he may travail with his friends, and cause him to have sure caution. Assures him there is nothing they tender more in this world than to show obedience to the King and him as his Regent. Has no doubt but he will accept the same in good part. *Signed:* Argyll.

⅔ *p. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Fourth inclosure:—

(Memoir of the Regent's Answer.)

"A memour be Maister Robert Flescher of our answer to my Lord of Argylis letter, at Aberden ye xxviij of August, 1574."

Finding by the Earl of Argyll's letter the fulfilling of the condition to be doubtful, and seeming to "crave" unnecessary delay, he cannot grant the relaxation desired without surety that at the day to

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1574. be appointed things promised shall take effect, and that then he be not frustrate, as he was by the first relaxation, at which time there was promise of reasonable satisfaction. If the Earl is desirous indeed that matters shall be ordered and take end according to the condition sent him by Killigrew, let sufficient caution be found of "enlandismen" under the pain of 10,000*l.* that the jewels shall be produced before him and the Council, at Edinburgh, on the 24th of September next, and then the relaxation desired shall incontinent be granted.

½ *p.* *Indorsed by Walsingham with the fifth inclosure.*

Fifth inclosure:—

(Argyll's Answer to the Regent's Memoir.)

It is true that the articles sent by Killigrew have the two points, viz.,—of the exhibition and caution on the valuation of the jewels, and this much more, that as soon as he and his wife should signify to the Regent their contentment of the same, then should the Regent relax them from the horn, and so he thought good to certify the Regent of his own liking thereof and his wife's. In the articles sent to him there was no caution desired for keeping of any particular diet, but for the sure keeping of the jewels when they were exhibited and valued; therefore it cannot be thought that he has in any way shifted from the first appointment. Whereas the Regent alleges that by their last relaxation the King was frustrated of his profit, and promise broken to him for not offering reasonable satisfaction, he altogether denies intromitting with any of the living of Murray during that time; and if he had, the wrong is not great, for he understands the gear is his, and not his wife's. Fears not to be accused of any crime worthy to vaunt his own. Although for his wife's disobedience the Regent has caused him to be named a rebel to the King, yet he hopes in God that never justly shall he merit that style at the hands of his sovereign. As for the promise made by his friends of reasonable satisfaction, he thought that point to be fulfilled when, as his wife declared, the cause of her retaining that gear was not for any profit to herself, but only for the weal of his bairns, who put them in her hands. Thinks the Regent will not esteem him a "frauder" of the King, nor that promise was broken to himself. Marvels what should be the occasion of his hard dealing with him and his wife. To find caution to keep such a short day cannot be, for two causes; the one, his wife's inability at this time; the other, so long as he is at the horn he has no privilege to traffic with Lowland men, as is desired. The requiring of these impossibilities makes him believe he has little desire that the things "commonit" by the Queen of England's ambassador should take end, for none of them can be performed on the sudden. Is not able to offer or do any further for obeying or satisfying his grace, but if he will release him from the horn he will be the more able to bring all things to a good point.

1 *p.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "1574. Copie of a memoire sent ye 28 of August from ye Regent to ye E. of Argile touching ye jewels, variynge from ye agreement between them before M^r^ Killigree's departure. With ye E. answeare to ye same. Referred to letters from M^r^ Killigree of ye 17 of Octob."

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1574. Sixth inclosure:—

(The Countess of Argyll's Answers to the Regent's objections.)

"The answeris of me Dame Agnes Keyth Countesse of Argylle maid unto my Lord Regentis grace's objectiones contraire my Lord Erle of Argylles artikles and offeris maid unto his grace concerning the exhebitioun or delyverance of certane jewallis pertening to the Kingis majestie acclamet of me."

Whereas it is answered in the Regent's objections that the travail taken by the Earl of Argyll with her has been slender, that the offer of finding caution cannot be thought a reason sufficient, that it does not exonerate the Regent, and that there is nothing proceeded against the Earl but conformable to law, she "omits" the answering to her husband and his friends. But, in her opinion, concerning the first head, his lordship has done that which becomes a nobleman of his honour and duty in travailing with her for the satisfaction of the Regent's desire, unless he had used her more extremely than becomes a husband or lord; which he could not of his honour do, considering the matter takes no original from any crime, but is civil.

Touching the remaining objections, her answer is that those things which are corporal, whereof the "availl" may be liquidated, and the price thereof esteemed, are not needful to be exhibited, because ordinary process may be deduced against the retainer, as there is none used against her. And this being true, it cannot be objected that her first allegation is an invention without ground of law, but may clearly appear to be alleged by her of a good zeal to satisfy the Prince with reason. Is assured that the present Regent nor any of the nobility, the King's favourers, will deny the power granted to her late husband by consent of Parliament to "dispone" upon the King's jewels, as he thought good, for maintaining the common cause. And seeing that he disposed of part of them at his pleasure, both by selling and pledging of them, and perceiving that way to fail him, he retained some part in his own hands for his relief in the debts contracted by him in the common cause, whereof the burden comes on his bairns; in consideration thereof she has just cause to withhold and retain the jewels after his decease, until relief or payment of the said debts be made. Howbeit her disbursing for the King's debts has been small, yet it is notoriously known that in her husband's time there was superexpended of his own in the common cause, by the intromission of the King's revenue, above the avail of the jewels acclaimed. As to the rest of the objection, it is impertinent to the purpose, and requires no answer.

It is of verity that she is tutrix testamentary, and also tutrix dative, and no other has opposed thereto; and if any would, they shall be answered as law will. The fault that the debts contracted by the Earl of Murray in the King's service are not found nor declared by account stood not in her, because she was not executrix nominate; and they who were executors nominate would not accept the burden, although they were most effectually required, as some of them yet living can bear witness; namely the Lairds of Pittadro and Lochleven. Nevertheless, if the Regent will suffer her person to have place to stand in judgment, she will cause such debts as were contracted by her late husband for the King's service and common cause to be tried, known, and manifest. Which being done there are none

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1574. of sound judgment but will consider her retention of the jewels to be lawful. She was never charged to bestow any sums of money of her own, nor has she taken money on the jewels for revenging her husband's blood, whereof she craves her children to be recompensed; and if she had been charged she would have provided some other means than to have pledged those jewels which were not her own. She is assured that all who have the true fear of God know how far God has permitted a subject and a woman to be a revenger of quarrels. But if it had been the goodwill of God to have promoted her to the charge that others bear, and then to have found such assistance and friendship as they have gotten, she hopes to have so discharged her duty, that not only the murderers of her husband but of others should not have been entertained nor "acceptit," and, as the common proverb is, "to haif yair hedis straiket yairfoir to yair awin contentment." Will do as becomes her of her duty and honour as time shall try the same. Thinks none of good conscience or reason will judge that the proper gear appertaining to her husband should relieve that debt contracted by him for the outsetting of the King's service and common cause. As to her intromissiou with any manner of goods pertaining to her late husband, the Regent is sinisterly informed in that case; for she is most assured that there is no one living can prove her intromission with any goods movable, saving the jewels. And if any will allege otherwise she desires the matter to be brought to proof.

3 *pp.* *Indorsed in a Scottish hand:* "My Ladie Murrayis answeris to my Lord Regentis graces objectiounis"; *and by Walsingham:* "To be referred to letters of the Regent's to her majesty of the 16 of August, to a lettre of the Earl of Argile's to her majesty of the 19 of the same, and to the 4 article of the Regent's memoriall of the 16 of August, 1574."

Seventh inclosure:—

(Conference between the Regent and Argyll's servant.)

"The Coppie of ye conference haldin be my Lord Regent's graice with my Lord of Argylles servand as wes trewlie reported be ye said servand unto his maister my Lord Argylle."

First;—at my coming to my Lord Regent's grace I presented the letters directed from the ambassador of England together with my Lord of Argyll's writing, and as soon as his grace heard thereof he found fault with the same, and said, "how wreittis my Lord of Argylle unto me, being ye Kingis rebell." I answered, "all thingis betuix zour graice and him, he hes agreit unto, and swa he can nocht haif yat name, for he wantis na thing bot ye serymonie of ye relaxatioun." After supper I showed his grace how willing my Lord and Lady of Argyll were to satisfy him in all things, and therefore desired that they might be released from the horn to the effect they might come to his grace. He made me no answer, and so I took my leave till the morn. On the morrow afternoon, after his grace had come from the Council, he caused me to come in, and thereafter said; "Maister Robert," (naming me by name), "my Lord and my Lady thinkis that, upoun yair lettir writtin unto me yat I will relax yame from ye horne; nay yai man do forder nor yis. First fynd catioun to

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1574. fulfill ye conditiones agreit upoun, at six dayis as I will appoynt, or ellis I will nocht relax yame. Alvayis I will wreit zow ane memoriall to be send unto yame, quhilk ze sall resaiff ye morne." And then his grace began to show me in plain terms that it would be very hard for my lord and lady to fulfil the condition; "for my Lady," said he, "efteir ye exhibitioun of ye jewalles before me and the counsall, scho man schaw ane caus tending to ressoun quhairfor scho aucht to haif yame in keiping upoun catioun; gif ye embossetour hes assuret yame uyerwayis nor this, he hes altogydder mistaikin me at ye begyning." With this he called for the articles; which being read, he said; "Maister Robert ze may se yat yis resonable caus is ye cheif conditioun, quhilk I will se satisfeit." I answered, "my Lord and Lady thinkis zour graice will nocht stand upoun ye interpretatioun, bot gif yai exhebeit schawand any resonable caus, zour graice will lat yame haif the custodie of yame upoun catioun unto ye Kingis perfyt aige." He answered; "the conditioun sayis nocht swa, Maister Robert gif yai beleif yat, yai will be disapoynted." I desired his grace to leave such extremity, which would be the means to draw them to his further obedience. Further, he bade me assure my Lady that there was no harm that he might use but should be used against her so long as she kept the King's jewels; and further he assured me my Lady could allege no reasonable cause so that if the jewels be once exhibited he will retain them.

1 *p.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Eighth inclosure:—

Another copy of the fourth inclosure.

½ *p.* *In a Scottish hand. Indorsed in the same hand, and by Walsingham.*

Ninth inclosure:—

Another copy of the fifth inclosure.

1 *p.* *In a Scottish hand. Indorsed in the same hand, and by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 283. Copy of the sixth inclosure.

Sept. 13. **48.** SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. ix. According to her majesty's pleasure, I send herewith the letters and writings from the pope, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the Spanish ambassador, with a letter also of Monsieur De Foix. Being certainly persuaded that he being, as he was, in sudden weak fits of his disease and desperate of recovery, all such writings as he had of any weight or moment were before that time closely and warily conveyed to her own custody, so that my travail obtained not that effect I heartily wished for, whereat I was heartily sorry. But it is my great comfort that it pleases her majesty to accept my service and goodwill therein.

I will not presume to trouble her majesty with my rude scribbling, having no matter worth her majesty's hearing, and surely this lady shall be forthcoming at her majesty's devotion. I think myself not a

Elizabeth.
1574. little beholden to you for your friendly dealing with me, which I shall be ready to requite to my power. This lady of late shows herself very willing and desirous to please her majesty. Many good words she speaks. What her meaning is, God knoweth, and we [have] no cause to trust her.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address:* "To Mr Sekretore Walsingam." *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Sept. 14. **49.** THE COUNTESS OF ARGYLL TO [HENRY KILLIGREW].

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 292. "Weilbelovit freynd, efteir my verray hartlie commendatioun. Efteir zour depairting of this cuntrie I hoped no les nor my Lord Regentis grace wald haif performet all thingis promeset unto zow conserning my Lord Argylle my husband and me, and that be the ernist demand and requeist of the quenes majestie zour maistres, bot how far hir hienes demand and sute thairin is obeit, the same may be persaiffet be my Lord Regentis graice answer giffin unto my servand Maister Robert Fleshour, and, as I beleif, hes maid zow certeifeit thairof be his letter. For thairby I persaiff my Lord Argyll, my husband nor I to be at no bettir poynt nor gif hir majesteis sute haid nocht bene maid. For en nawyeis will my Lord Regentis grace grant to oure relaxatioun frome horne (howbeit, as ze knaw, we grantet to fulfill all thingis according to his grace's desyre) unto sic tyme as my Lord Argyll fynd inlandis men (as his grace termes thame) catioun wnder the payne of ten thowsand pundis that all thingis contenit in his graice desyre sall be fulfilled, quhilk is unpossible to be done be my Lord Argylle, considering the day quhilk his grace hes appoyntet is sa short, and als that his grace hes na plaice to speik his freyndis for that effect sa lang as he remaines at the horne. Attoure,* that questions quhilk wes put out off dout be zow is now callit in contraversy be my Lord Regent, for sa far as I understude baith be zour writting and speking unto my servand, Maister Robert Fleshour, the Regent's mening wes na uther wayis bot anes the jewallis acclamet being exhebeit and valued, sure catioun being fund thay to be furthcumand to our soverane the Kingis majestie at his hienes perfectioun, my Lord Argyll and I to haif the custodie thairof. Bot now the Regentis graice hes oppned mair and speikis in plane termes that on na wayis sall we haif the custodie of the jewallis without we will allege ane resonable cause, and planlie affermes that it is unpossible for ws to allege the same, quhairby I gadder that gif oure cause alledgid ver nevir sa resonable it will be haldin na ressoun be his grace, swa that it appeires in my jugement it is na appoyntment his graice seikis of my Lord Argyll and me, bot oure utter wraik; swa this fer I thocht gude to maik manefest unto zou, quhairby ze mycht declair the trewth thairof unto the quenes majestie, for ze knaw the haill procedingis of this actioun. And gif it wald pleis hir hienes to wreit anes agane unto my Lord Regentis graice in the forderance of this my lord my husbandis cause and myne that hir majestie wald wreit planlie to desist and cese frome all persute of ws in tyme cuming for yai jewallis induring his regement. Wtherwayis we ar assuret he on nawayis will leif of trubliug ws, quhairthrow forder inconvenientis will insew, quhilk hithirtillis hes

* Moreover.

Elizabeth.
1574. bene stayit hoping all suld succeid weill. Thus desyring zow maist hartlie as ze haif contenewit my Lord of Argylles freynd and myne in this caus, quhairof his lordship and I randeris zow maist hartlie thankis, swa ye wald contenew zit unto ye end, and as evir occatioun sall serve we sall indevoir ws to acquyt the same. Argyll." *Signed:* "Zour lufing and assurit frind, Annas Key^{t}."

1⅔ *pp. No flyleaf or address. Underlined in parts.*

Sept. 19. **50.** NOTES DELIVERED BY HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

"A remembrance for M^{r} Secretary Walsingham touching thaunswering of Scotych lettres and petitions, delivered by Henry Kyllygrew to her majeste."

(1) To answer the Regent's notes given in writing, and, among them, especially to weigh well the third article. [*Marginal note in Walsingham's hand*] "Memoire, 1573."

(2) The Earl of Argyll's desire is, that it would please her majesty to take occasion upon the 4th article in the memoir, in giving the Regent thanks, to desire him to make a perfect end of that matter for her sake and to send these letters to Lord Hunsdon to be delivered from Berwick to Alexander Clerk, of Edinburgh, for the Earl of Argyll. This letter should be written and sent with all expedition, although her majesty does not so have answer to the rest, because the day of producing the jewels will be shortly, if it be not already by the Regent's return. Concerning the Earl of Huntly's letters, he refers himself to the same. Touching Lord Hume's petition and his offers to the Regent, if her majesty means to write, as she said she would, the letters should be sent to Lord Hunsdon to be conveyed to Lady Hume; or if her majesty writes in her behalf and her husband's in her letters general to the Regent, then it were convenient they had knowledge thereof, that they might behave themselves in their suits accordingly. It is thought Lord Hume shall have favour, and therefore win himself to her majesty, and his friends, who are many of the best, his sister being the King's keeper's wife.

(3) As for the offers the Lord of Arbroath makes to the Regent for the slaughter of one Westraw, the Regent does not think it good for his own surety and the King's service to have it taken up yet. The causes be, for that the Hamiltons by that means would be too familiar in Court, and so grow dangerous, as is supposed of them hitherto; to wit, newly reconciled and not too well assured.

(4) The Lord of Arbroath, notwithstanding, presses the matter; which taking no end he will demand leave to travel till it may be ended, for that he dare not remain there for fear of the revenge of the dead man's friends, who be the Johnstons and their kinsfolk, and defenders of the Earl of Angus and the Regent.

(5) Touching the Laird of Lethington's request, if the Queen of England writes anything, it were good the old man were made privy thereto. It should be done so that such as be in possession of his living be not scared therewithal from her majesty's devotion.

(6) For Robert Melville, her majesty was minded to give the Regent thanks. For the ordnance that was in Hume Castle, he leaves with him a remembrance delivered to him by Lady Hume, who knew best the truth.

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1574.

(7) For their merchants spoiled by English pirates, he leaves him to answer their complaint as he sees meet.

(8) For Walter Dulle of Bristol's matter against Patrick Loch, has left the Regent's answer with Mr. Tremayn. When he read what touched a commandment to be sent to the Earl of Huntingdon for Border matters, her majesty then liked well of it. Told her majesty he had left a cipher with the Regent if it pleased her to be resolved on any doubt. Beseeches him to procure a placard for Alexander Jordan, servant to the Regent, and his [Killigrew's] great friend, to buy a gelding in England, and carry him into Scotland. The man is worthy of the favour. therefore if he sees cause is to use his name to her majesty in this behalf. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

4 *pp. In Killigrew's hand. Indorsed by Killigrew:* "Notes for remembrance against the next dispatche towardes Scotland"; *and in another hand:* "Delivered by M^r^ Killigree to M^r^ Secr. Wals[ingham] at Farnham the xix of September, 1574."

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 293. Copy of the same.

Sept. 19. **51.** ROBERT FLETCHER TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

Was employed by the Earl and Countess of Argyll to pass to the Regent with answers by them to the Regent's memoir concerning the jewels, whereby their reasons were declared wherefore that matter could not at present be performed by them. [*Recapitulates his negotiations with the Regent.*] Requests that he, by the Queen of England's special letters, may cause the meaning and interpretation of the first condition of appointment to appear more plain and less doubtful, so that a perfect accord may be come to between the Regent and the Earl. Incloses a letter from the Countess of Argyll to him, and copies of the Regent's memoir and the answers thereto. *Signed:* Robert Flescher.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 21. **52.** [ ] TO [ ].

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 512. Recommends J. Moore and Blackston. They would pretend that the want of money stayed him. If the old proverb be true, that some war and discord are better than some peace and concord, the writer does not understand the policy that seeks now to reconcile ——* whilst "Morley" remains so malicious. The younger Hamilton is gone towards "yow" unawares to the writer. The writer's opinion is that his errands and suits shall tend as much or more to the private benefit of himself and his family. As to the Queen of Scots' service, he is not so zealous nor open and plain that way as his brother, who is more for the Queen than for himself or his kindred, and therefore allows better of him than of the other, "who is now with yow"; in whose suits, if he deals at all, he should deal warily, lest by commending of one purpose the same may be stretched further than he would, "or an other thing shifted, and should ryd

* Cipher.

Elizabeth. 1574. in under your name and authority." Will find both English and Scottish Catholics of this humour, who with the title and name of the Queen's service seek chiefly to serve themselves and their "private" before her. Brussels.

1¾ *pp.* *Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

Sept. 22. **53.** THE REGENT MORTON TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 295. "Pleas it zoure majestie"; there are lately arrived in this country three Scotsmen in several ships, servants of credit to the late bishops of Glasgow and Ross, and to Adam Gordon; all which three servants I have "causit apprehend" and put in sure custody, understanding by their examinations that the effect of their messages and negotiation is to enquire and get intelligence if the noblemen of this realm heretofore of the faction of the Queen, my sovereign's mother, have utterly left and forsaken the same, or if their present yielding to the King's obedience be only on fear and compulsion, and herewithal have direction to assure the same noblemen of the King of France's and his mother's willing intention to procure the said Queen's liberty and "repossessing to the croun of this realme," finding now (as they "speik") the occasion more proper than it has been at any time preceding; and that upon knowledge of the noblemen's minds, to be returned by means of their messengers, there shall be expressly sent a personage of credit and estimation into Scotland, outwardly directed as it were to me, with all the good offers and persuasions that may be; but in effect, under that pretext and colour, to deal with those noblemen for compassing and bringing to conclusion of this their intended purpose. Of the which I thought it my part and duty to give your majesty warning, hoping your highness will not omit to cause the greater care [to] be taken to obviate these practices, for the common safety of our religion and weal of both the realms. For, albeit they use the means of some of our countrymen now at their devotion to begin this work amongst us, yet the scope of their pretences is not toward us nor to anything that they can gain by us, saving in so far as they think to make this land to serve their turn in such attempts as they may have "in head" against England, if their power and the commodity of time answered unto their malice, for they make account to have "large als gude" intelligence and means in England as in Scotland.

Thns abiding the knowledge of your majesty's pleasure in this and such other things as I wrote and "gaif in memoir" to your highness' late ambassador, Mr. Henry Killigrew, at his departure, most humbly I take my leave. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

1 *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 22. **54.** THE REGENT MORTON TO HENRY KILLIGREW OR WALSINGHAM.

There has occurred little matter of consequence here worthy of advertisement since your departure, till of late that these men arrived, all in separate ships, from France. Mr Stephen Beton from the bishop of Glasgow, Alexander Duff from Adam Gordon, and lastly one Mr. Thomas Leslie from the late bishop of Ross. All which

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1574. three messengers I have caused to be apprehended and put in sure custody, understanding that the effect of their message and negotiation is to enquire and get intelligence if the noblemen heretofore of the faction of the Queen, my sovereign's mother, have utterly left and forsaken the same, or if their present yielding to the King's obedience be only on fear and compulsion, and to assure the same noblemen of this King of France's and his mother's willing intention to procure our Queen's liberty and restitution, having now the occasion more proper than at any time preceding it has been; and that upon knowledge of the noblemen's minds there shall a personage of credit and estimation be expressly sent into Scotland, outwardly directed to me with all the good offers and persuasions that may be, but in effect, under that pretext, to deal with the aforenamed nobility for compassing and bringing to conclusion of this intended purpose; of the which I thought very meet to give you warning, that you may let it be understood to such of my Lords or others as you think most convenient what work is in hand, that the greater care may be taken to obviate the same; whereanent I will look for your opinion at the first occasion. I have written this letter to the Queen's majesty's self, trusting you will present my letter. This far [it] may be thought, that albeit they shall practise with us in this sort by means of our own countrymen, yet the scope of their pretences is not toward us nor to anything they can gain by us, saving so far as they make this land to serve their turn in the annoying of you our neighbours, for at this time it is affirmed they have greater intelligence and "moyen" in England than amongst us.

Further;—whereas by a letter from my Lords of the Council of the 18th of August I am requested for the liberty of Leonard Sumptar and Roger Freman, stayed (as you understand) at Ayr, upon the occasion of the false and counterfeit money of this realm brought in and uttered by them there, as though they were not in law to be touched with the offence; surely, if it were not so, it were no reason, indeed, to stay them. But as the matter falls out, being rightly considered, I trust it cannot but appear that they are in danger of the law, the testification sent here being so slender that it gives us no other "debtoure" but a dead man; and such as had the counterfeit money are alleged to have gotten the same in piracy, out of a Scottish ship, whose "awneris nor maisteris nane is not declarit"; and of Leonard Sumptar, being a long trafficker in our isles, there is no small suspicion, besides this thing of the uttering of such money; whereon more strait examination and execution by law might follow, if for the good amity's cause I did not rather overpass things than curiously and exactly to seek the trial of them by law. "Alwyse" it cannot be thought but that they have been taken and stayed upon good reason, and that the liberty that shall be granted to them is rather favourably extended than of duty to be craved or given. And, at least, seeing the town of Ayr, where they were apprehended, has received great and outrageous threatenings to be unfriendly intreated and dealt with for this cause, as by letter shown to yourself when you were in this country appeared, it were reasonable that the same town had the city of Bristol's band and obligation before these men's liberty, that the inhabitants of the town of Ayr nor other the King my sovereign's subjects shall for this cause of the stay of the forenamed persons be "invadit, troublit,

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1574. arreistit, or drawin in processe of law" by any her highness' subjects, and if any sustain harm or injury therethrough, that it shall be redressed or amended, as of justice and equity is due. Notwithstanding, I have agreed that the men shall depart, finding surety for the return of this band betwixt [now] and Martinmas, or then to return themselves. Moreover, I was content to have granted relaxation to the Earl of Argyll and his lady, according to the condition delivered to you, but he, omitting that which should be performed on his part, would have the relaxation not condescending to any special time when the exhition and valuation shall be, nor will they show any reason why the jewels should remain in their hands, and so, as appears, shift from your order and condition as not satisfied with it, and as unwilling to have the matter taking end according to your travails and the Queen's majesty's request, without the which I could never have agreed to let the jewels remain anywise in the possession of him or his lady. Of the which likewise I thought good to let you know in case the matter shall be advertised there otherwise than here I have written.

There is also another matter which I cannot pass over in silence, being credibly informed that at the last day of "trew" kept betwixt Sir John Foster and our warden of the Middle March, Sir John brought Farnyhurst in his company, and with him others his servants and complices the King's rebels near to the place of meeting, "quhair that sic of this cuntremen as plesit to confer with thame had frie acces sa to do"; which was a very evil example, and a thing, indeed, that "I can not marvell aneuch of," judging that Sir John in nowise would have attempted the same of himself without some warrant or allowance. Whereanent I will pray you let me have your judgment what such thing should mean, and whereunto it tends; for till the receipt of your answer I will be loth to write anything to others of the same.

Of the state of our Borders I doubt not but you hear from time to time—standing, in effect, in like case as at your departing, saving the nightly "stowthis"* by Englishmen forth of Scotland are so frequent that it is very difficult to contain our people "unseking" their own revenge, and such notorious offenders as are fugitives from justice are plainly received with the goods stolen by them, as you may understand by a note which herewith I send you. "Alwayse" I shall omit no goodwill nor diligence that may be to retain the present quietness and further justice and redress; hoping that you to your power will procure that I may be "semblablie" answered and aided to make me able so to do, according to my memoir delivered to you at departing.

I was very sorry to hear that the hawks delivered to you by William Birsbayn, the falconer, were not in so good case as I thought they had been, for otherwise I would [have] presented such neither to yourself nor to any noblemen; but being here you saw what evil luck our hawks had this year. Indeed, never so few came to my hands, and such as came, for the most part were not for service. Since, some Norway hawks were brought in, which, for the most and best part, I understand, were carried into England, and if I had known that any of them could have been acceptable to the noblemen or other friends there I should not have failed to have gotten some of them to that end.

* Thefts.

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1574. Now to end, "I mon remember zow" in a matter of my own. My s[ervant]s have to do continually, as you know, at the Borders, and otherwise in service, where they cannot well want horses, and yet they cannnot conveniently be had with ourselves; wherefore I must pray you to be a suitor to her majesty for a "placcat" to buy in England and bring into this realm half a score of geldings, wherein you will do me acceptable good pleasure.

Our Borders, as I have before written, are greatly troubled by "stelth," and far more this year than the last. What should be the cause of it, I cannot judge, except it be that the officers think they cannot have estimation but when the country is in trouble. This should be taken heed of, and speedily, with your officers. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

3 *pp. Addressed:* "To the richt worschipfull my verie loving freind M^r^ Henry Kyllegrew esquire. And in his absence to S^r^ Frances Walsinghame secretary to the quenis Ma^tie^ of England." *Indorsed by Walsingham. Underlined in parts, and marginally annotated.*

Sept. 22. **55.** THE REGENT MORTON TO HUNTINGDON.

At the departing of Mr. Killigrew he wrote to the Queen of England that the Wardens on the Borders might be admonished of their duties to take diligent care of the good rule of the subjects under their charges, and that as occasion occurred he would give them warning of their behaviour and usage, for the experience he has of his good affection to entertain the amity and repress thieves and their favourers. Notwithstanding his travails to contain the subjects of Scotland inhabiting the frontiers in quietness, it appears that the same are altogether frustrate, such notorious thieves of Scotland as are fugitives getting plain "ressett" in England, under colour whereof they, accompanied by Englishmen, make frequent "stouthis"* and incursions upon the subjects of Scotland, spoiling them of their goods so outrageously that without some present stay put to their disorder, it will be impossible to keep the Scots from seeking their private revenge. Sends herewith the names of the Scottish fugitives and their aiders. This disorder is not so much to be marvelled at, for that Englishmen of the like nature as the Scottish fugitive thieves receive them. Thomas Carlton, called land servant of Gilsland, not only receives their persons in his office, but, as he is informed, also the goods taken by them forth of Scotland, to his own use. If he has received direction to take care of the doings within the wardenries for keeping the peace and amity, and punishment of offenders, he doubts not to find some good and speedy order taken for the redress of these things. Otherwise he expects that he will, at least, move the matter to such of the Council as he thinks expedient. The only foreign news they have of late is by servants arrived from their late bishops of Glasgow and Ross, and Adam Gordon, remaining in France, whom he has in sure custody. Understands their message is to enquire of the noblemen of the Queen of Scots' faction if their yielding to the King's obedience is voluntary or through compulsion, assuring them that this King of France [Henry III.] and his mother will seek the Queen

* Thefts.

Elizabeth.
1574. of Scots' liberty and restoration, and that upon knowledge of those noblemen's minds a person of credit shall be expressly sent to Scotland. Has given warning hereof to the Queen of England for the common safety of their religion and the weal of both the realms. "For althocht they use the meanis of sum of oure awin cuntremen now at thair devotioun to begin this werk, zit ar we not, nor nathing heir to be found the scoip thay schute at, but for suppressing of oure liberty of the Evangell ga thay thus about to practize mischeif." Prays him to direct a packet to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, wherein is his letter to her majesty for this purpose, and some others to his good lords and friends at Court. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed:* "To the richt honorable my verie gude Lord the erll of Huntingdon, L. President of the q. Ma^tie of Englandis counsaill estableshed in the North." *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Inclosure with the same:—

(Fugitives from Scotland.)

"The names of certane thevis fugitives fra the lawes of Scotland, ressett in the places following within England."

West March.—"Will" Ellott, called "Gray Will;" "Scottis Hob" Ellott and his two sons; John Ellott of Rampsygill, called "Gawynnis Jok;" "Hobbe" Ellot, his brother. "Geordie" Simsonn; "Hobbe" Simsoun; received and maintained within the office of Thomas Carlton, land servant of Gillisland. "Jony" Armstrang of Quhithauch, received and maintained in Stanegirthsyde, under James Forster.

Middle March.—David Ellott, called "the carling," and his son, received in Tynedale with "Duke" Fynnik [Fenwick].

½ *p.*

Sept. 26. **56.** SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. ix. I have received your friendly letters, wherein you make mention of this Lady's misliking of my manner of getting some of her letters from Raulet. I see small force of her letters or speech, in respect of my duty to her majesty, as [I] am very willing from time to time to give her like occasion of offence. Albeit the doubt I then carried and fear I had was that she had been too provident in conveying all such her causes of importance into her own hands before his death, which, if it were, I am the sorrier, and wish it had been otherwise.

Alexander Hamilton thinks himself greatly bound to you. I have, according to your advice, given him in great charge for his own benefit and full purgation to desire at the Regent's hands he may be charged with such matters as he has had understanding were bruited or could be objected against him. I delivered those letters to the Scottish Queen which you sent, and have required her speedy answer thereunto. She alleges [it] cannot now be in so short time as before, wanting her secretary. Nevertheless, upon my calling she has despatched one packet, which herewith I send to you.

Furthermore, whereas you write of her majesty's pleasure for my daughter Mary Herbert's longer time of abode with her sister, my daughter of Pembroke, I am willing to consent thereto, although I

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1574. had fully determined to have had her presently fetched here near to me, and it rejoices me to perceive her majesty's gracious desire for the comfort of my children, as hereby appears by her commandment to have them together for that purpose.

For the news you sent me out of France and Ireland I heartily thank you, and am glad to perceive how well things go in Ireland, wishing to God the "same like" unto all them that forget their loyalty to her majesty, that hath lately happened to some there, that such falling into her highness' hands might receive due correction as is meetest for their deserts and aptest for the safety of her majesty and tranquility of her realm. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Oct. 15. **57.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Had thought to have seen him before now, but his harvest is not all in the barn, which causes his absence for a while longer, unless he advises him to the contrary. Having received the two inclosed no sooner than yesterday he thought it his duty to send them to him, that he may have the contents of them in his good remembrance at his next despatch into Scotland. Has not written one word northward since he was with him. If the Regent deals too hardly with the Earl of Argyll, as it seems by the inclosed letter that he will, fears some inconvenience will ensue thereof, which he wishes might be prevented by her majesty's mediation, Beseeches him, if he has made any despatch, to let him know what he thinks convenient and fit for him to write to the Regent, or to any of those that committed credit to him in their lelters to her majesty, which he has. Thanks him for his good gelding. Did not see the Lord Treasurer nor the Lord Keeper since he saw him. If Mrs. Ursula be a courtier he greets her after the best manner, though it be out of the country. Prays that all saints were come that mean to come this year, that he might pay her 20*l.* Hendon. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Oct 17. **58.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

At his coming to this town about his payment, which must be tendered the 20th of this month, he found these inclosed, which he cannot bring himself for the cause above rehearsed. Beseeches him to deal with the Queen to write to the Regent, according to the Countess of Argyll's request in these letters of hers. If her majesty forbears to do anything in the Countess's favour that she may do in honour, thinks she so much prejudices her own service. Walsingham has the articles agreed by the Regent and sent by him to the Earl of Argyll, and may see he deals hardly, which he is heartily sorry to see. Where Alexander Hay refers him in his letter to one from the Regent, none such came yet to his hands. Knows not what to write to the Regent or any other in that country until he may speak with him, which shall be after the 20th of this month. London. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

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59. ASSIGNATION FOR THE KING OF SCOTS' HOUSE.

Harl. MSS. 4637c., fol. 106.

"The assignatioun maid for furnessing of the Kingis Majesties House, to begin the first day of November 1573 and to continew quhill the first day of November 1574, and sua for a compleit zeir."

The mails of the lordships of Stirlingshire and Strathern, the mails of the earldom of Fife, out of the third of the bishopric of St. Andrews, 700*l.* [*and other lands.*]

An assignation made by the Kirk in January, 1571–2.

An assignation made in February, 1571–2.

[*Marginal note*].—"Remember the assignatioun out of Dunfermling for this zeir to Johnne Knox wyff." *This appears under the heading*, "22 December 1573, was assignit," *etc.*

7¾ *pp. Copy.*

Nov. 7. **60.** MONSIEUR DE LA MOTHE FÉNELON TO LEICESTER.

Cott. MSS., Calig., E. VI., fol. 298.

Offers a small present sent by the Queen of Scotland to be presented to her majesty. London. *Signed:* De La Mothe Fênélon.

1 *p. French. Addressed. Indorsed. Injured by fire.*

Nov. 12. **61.** [SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD] TO [THE DUCHESS OF FERIA.]

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 513.

Divers write out of England, but not to him, that there is great likelihood and very pregnant hope that there will be a provision passed by Parliament or otherwise this winter to tolerate the Catholics to use their religion, and certain it is that the Lord Treasurer has lately given many arguments, and shows as though he were won and persuaded to consent thereto and to further the same.

From Rome likewise it is written by two priests of the English nation—though not to him—and by several posts, that the Spanish ambassador there earnestly solicits the revocation of the excommunication, and has made such overtures on the behalf of the Queen [of Scots] that the matter has been disputed by the Jesuits there by the Pope's order.

½ *p. Indorsed:* "1574. Extract of a Chiffre don the xij of Novemb. It seemith to comme from Sir F. Inglefeld in Fland. to the Duchesse of Feria in Spayne, intercepted."

Nov. 16. **62.** LETTER PROCUTORIAL BY LADY MAITLAND.

Add. MSS., 35125, fol. 19.

"Be it kend to all men be yir present lettres me Marie Flemyng ye relict of umquhile Williame Maitland, zounger of Lethingtoun to have maid constitute and ordanit and be ye tenour heirof makis, constitutis and ordanis my weilbelovittis Alexander Zoung [ ] and ilkone of yame conjunctlie and severalie my verrie lauchfull, undouttit and irrevocabill procuratouris, actouris, factouris and speciall erand beraris, selland, grantand and quittand unto yame and everie ane of yame conjunctlie and severallie my full, fre, plane power generall and speciall, command, expres bidding and charge for me in my name and upone my behalfe to pass to ye personall presens or

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1574. duelling place of Robert Hepburne sone to Patrik Hepburne of Wauchtoun and yair to intime, schaw and declair to ye said Robert ane lettir of tak purchest and obtenit be me fra Williame Dowglas of Lochlevin, takkisman, of ye teyndschaves of ye parsonage of Hadyngtoun, off all and haill ye teyndschaves of ye landis of Stevinstoun presentlie occupyit be ye said Robert with yair pertinencis," lying in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh and constabulary of Haddington, for five years next following the feast of "Lambes," 1574. So that the said Robert, in respect he is occupier of the said lands, and that the yearly duty used and wont to be payed for the said "teyndis" is as yet "restand" in his hands, and may pretend no ignorance of the "tak and assidation" set to me, but may make payment to me of this year's victuals as yet "on taneupe" out of his hands, whereby I may come to the possession of the said "teyndis" conformable to the said "tak" set to me thereof, *etc.* In witness of which thing I have subscribed this present procuratory with my own hand, at Edinburgh, before these witnesses; "Maister" Thomas Flemyng, burgess of Edinburgh; Robert Sinclar James Saidlar, my servants. *Signed:* Marie Flemyng.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Indorsed.*

Nov. 26. **63.** BISHOP OF ROSS TO MARY.

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 322. The King of France is very grave, and wise as any [of his] age can be. He uses little hunting or hawking,—sometimes the "paille maille" for exercise. He delights for the most part in . . . affairs —sometimes with the Council. He often visits religious places. At the hour of his dinner and supper he suffers no man uncalled on to trouble his ears with affairs, as the custom has been with his predecessors, albeit the Queen mother still keeps her old manner to lend her ear to all suitors at that time. The King sits in his chair after his dinner, and the Duke, his brother, who commonly dines with him, departs, and none remain but Monsieur de Losse, captain, and the guards, who stand in rank about him. The suppliants are then received, get their answers and depart. He has all suits made to himself, and writes the reason of the refusal with his own hand. He has appointed a superintendent of his finances. On holy days he waits on the preaching and evensong. The answers he makes are given forth by one of the four secretaries.

1⅓ *pp. Indorsed:* "An extract of a lettre of the Bishoppe of Rosse unto the Scottishe Queen dated the xxvj[ih] of November 1574, declaryng the maner of the French King's government." *Edge decayed.*

Nov. 27. **64.** THE REGENT MORTON TO HUNTINGDON.

Of late Lord Scrope, Lord Warden of the West March of Scotland, has kept meetings and days of "trew" with their officers at the West March and for Liddisdale, and has not only offered to proceed in justice, but has done the same in deed, as well in redress of attempts as in the delivery of the receivers of their fugitives within his charge, wherein he shall not find his goodwill unacquitted, but readily answered with all good offices. The like affection has not at this time appeared in Sir John Foster for the Middle March under his charge, wherein their fugitives are not only received and maintained,

Elizabeth. 1574. but the last meeting appointed with him for redress and justice in that and other matters failed, in his default, so that the same is not to be looked for shortly, to the great encouraging of the wicked and disordered people, and the increase of "stelth" and other mischief's without some speedy remedy. Is loth to complain on Sir John either to the Queen or any of the Council. But, for the good and favourable affection he knows he bears to that which is right and equitable, he cannot conceal from him that he wishes Sir John may have his admonition to proceed in justice with greater forwardness and dexterity, and to remove this occasion of complaint. Has presently written some letters to his friends at Court, directed in a packet to Mr. Secretary Walsingham. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Nov. 27. **65.** THE REGENT MORTON TO SIR [*sic*] FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

The default of his not receiving answer to so many letters has proceeded of this, that by his own letters he was put in hope of some personage to have been directed to Scotland from the Queen of England, by whom he thought to have been more amply certified, when his meaning was to have answered him fully and specially, but fearing that he should esteem him forgetful, he has now deliberated no longer to delay writing. Earnestly prays him that he may know, as far as he has intelligence, "*the name, Newcastell, of that Scottish man that spake the French ambassador in England in the matters written by you . . . in chistre,*" and whether he past through to Lions *or returned to Scotland.* As to the matters spoken, the same may be by direction of the reporter's own head to acquire credit and benevolence. For his own opinion there may be both such directions and messengers. The minds of all the noblemen are difficult to know, but they make no such show in action as is reported, nor shall have cause given by him to alter from their promised faith, and obedience to the King. Takes the gentleman who has *his highness' custody* to be sure and honest . . . , and they have kept great friendship and inward familiarity together a long time, so cannot well conceive any doubt of the same. The marriage he cannot think to be in hand *betwixt Hekord Darkey* and the Earl of Huntly's sister or daughter*; but rather thinks that the reporter has meant betwixt *the King of Spain and Queen of Spain's daughter* [*sic*]; amongst whom, indeed, there is *a contract of old.* Yet he hears no present travail of the consummation of *the marriage,* although he will take heed of all those matters as the weight of them imports; and as he [Walsingham] gets further knowledge in these or the like things, he prays him to certify him thereof. As concerning the letters and message that are to be sent here by the French ambassador in the name of the King his master, if he [Walsingham] shall yet have time and occasion to reason with him whether his message be meet to come forward or not, he [Morton] wishes he were terrified of the danger of the plague wherewith their chief towns and parts thereunto adjacent are now visited, and that the spring were more convenient. Howbeit (God be praised), the infection is not great, but likely in short space to take end. But if he insists that one of

* So deciphered.

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1574. his shall come, he sees not how he can well be stayed. At his coming will take heed to his dealings, that, he trusts, his advantage in practice shall not be great. Wishes that such as the Queen of England sends were here some time before or, at least, as soon as the other, to behold his travails and usage. Would presently write to Mr Killigrew if he knew him to be at Court, but seeing that he has never heard from him since his departing from Scotland, judges that he is either out of the country or not so well as he wishes him to be. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

1½ *pp. Partly in cipher. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham. The parts in cipher are given in italics.*

Decipher of the parts in cipher.

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 311. Copy of the same.

Dec. 4. **66.** SHREWSBURY TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 303. May it please your most excellent majesty; the commandment your majesty once gave me that I should sometimes write to you, although I had little to write of, boldens me thus to presume rather to avoid blame of negligence than dare [to] tarry long for any matter worth your majesty's hearing. Only this I may write,—it is greatly to my comfort to hear your majesty has passed your progress in perfect health, and so continue. I pray the Almighty God to hold it many years and long time after my days ended; so shall your majesty's people find themselves most happy. This Lady, my charge, is safe, and at your majesty's commandment. And may it further please your majesty to understand of late your majesty's displeasure sought against my wife for the marriage of her daughter to my Lady of Lennox's son, I must confess to your majesty that true it is it was dealt in suddenly and without my knowledge, but I dare undertake and answer to your majesty for my wife, I finding her daughter disappointed of young Bartye, whereof she hoped, and that the other young gentleman was inclined to live; who, after a few days acquaintance did her best to further her daughter to that match, without having therein any other intent or respect than with reverend duty thought towards your majesty. I wrote of this matter a good while ago to my Lord of Leicester at great length. I hid nothing from him I knew was done about the same, and thought it not meet to have troubled your majesty therewith, because I took it not to be of any such importance as to write of, till now that I am urged by such as I see will not forbear to speak and devise what may procure any suspicion or doubtfulness of my service here. But, as I have always found your majesty my good and gracious sovereign, so I comfort myself that your wisdom may find out right well what causes there are that move them thereunto, and therefore [am] not afraid of any doubtful opinion or displeasure to remain with your majesty of my wife or me, whom your highness and your Council, as good cause is, have tried many ways in most dangerous times. Sheffield.

1⅔ *pp. Copy.*

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1574. Dec. 10.

67. WILLIAM WHARTON TO SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 482.

I humbly besech your mastership (even as I always have reposed my trust and confidence in your friendship) that you will move the Lord President to stay the extremity of the recognisance for my non-appearance, and that my adversaries may have commandment to put in their bills of complaint against me, which I am ready to answer according to justice. The importance of my promised service to the Queen's majesty forced me to presume on my said lord's accustomed goodness for my non-appearance, because even at the self-same time I was with a secret friend, and set down with him, under "pretensed" friendship to the Queen of Scots, such an order that I will perform my promised service, or else let me have condign punishment according to my demerits. I wrote to my said lord from Wakefeild on the 26th of November last in this behalf, and as I want not secret enemies to suppress my credit and doings, so I assure your worship that you do not stand free from whispering obloquy, which, God willing, shall not be concealed from you, and although I too have great logs laid in my highway to hinder my credit, yet I trust by God's grace to "walter" over as I may, and to my recommendation. Sir, the peril, travail, and charges in this matter have been mine, the little I had and could borrow is spent about it, my poor wife and children want their accustomed welfare, my enemies rejoice at my adversity, and, truly, since my departure from my said lord, I have not spared any travail or time, nor will I, whatsoever becomes of me, to bring my service to take good effect. "Teste W^m. Whartone."

1⅔ *pp.* *At the head*:—"The copie of a lettre sent unto S^r Thomas Gargrave from William Wharton the x^th of Decembre 1574."

Dec. 22.

68. [WALSINGHAM] TO HUNTINGDON.

S.P. Dom., Eliz., Vol. XCIX., No. 15.

Whereas your lordship has of late desired to understand her majesty's pleasure touching Thomas Fowler, the Lady Lennox's secretary, and Malliet, detained by her commandment, and to have some order taken for them, so it is that her majesty has lately been advertised by secret means that the bishop of Ross and a Scotsman called the Laird of Kilsyth, about half a year past, who remained in London well near six months, pretending to be enemies to the Queen of Scots, have had before their departure out of England some secret access to the Lady Margaret's house at Hackney, that one Fogas, a Portuguese abiding here in London, is a conveyor of letters to Sheffield and acquainted with the Lady Lennox, and, as is informed some of her household, that Guerras has since the late marriage between the Lord Darnley and the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughter, and especially since the Lady Lennox has been commanded to the keeping of her house, showed himself so inquisitive and fearful touching her case, as though some part of her dealings, not yet discovered, might reach unto himself, upon these advertisements her majesty, I say, thinks it not amiss to stay their enlargement, Fowler's especially, and to have him examined again by your lordship to see what may be drawn out of him.

Guerras has enquired often whether the Lady Lennox shall not be committed to the Tower, and seeks to have a vessel in readiness, as it

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1574. is secretly informed, for the transportation of some "whomesoever upon the sodane, and need be."

There is also, as it is advertised, one Wendslowe, cousin to Wendslowe who is now the Bishop of Canterbury's steward, who waits as a serving man upon the Lord Darnley, but indeed and by former profession a Popish massing priest, as is also informed. What ill instruments such disguised men of his calling oftentimes have been, and are in these days most like to be, your lordship knows or may easily conjecture. Upon these grounds and suspicions her majesty's pleasure is that Fowler shall be examined upon these interrogatories which I send to you here inclosed, which your lordship may augment, abridge or alter as you see occasion. But before his examination it is thought convenient that he be for four or five days committed to some close and strait custody, and such appointed to repair to him in that time as may persuade with him that unless he shall dutifully confess what he knows further touching these matters he has been examined of he is like to incur some greater peril, for that it cannot be but upon this strait imprisonment he is to be charged by somebody's confession with some matter of importance. Some such kind of persuasion cunningly used may, perhaps, breed such fear and deep conceit in him as may cause him to utter such truth as otherwise may hardly be drawn out of him.

As for Malliet, four or five days before you have sent up hither the examination of Fowler upon such matter as now by those is sent to your lordship, you may set him at liberty, except you see more cause to detain him still in custody than hitherto you have found.

2¼ *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "1574. To the E. of Huntingdon the 22 of December, with articles to examine Fowler uppon matters about the mariage of the Lo. Darly with the La. of Shrewsbury's daughter; in M[r] Secretary Walsingham's hand."

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 306. Copy of the same.

C.P., vol. IX. **69.** ADVERTISEMENTS TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

"Humble and dutifull advertisementes to the right honnorable and noble earle the earle of L[eicester.]"

(1) To consider what singular favour and hearty affection is borne by the English Papists for the cause of the Romish religion, and by atheists towards the Scottish Queen and her pretended title.

(2) To consider the frontiering of many thousands of Papists round about the country where the Scottish Queen now remains; whose power is such that they need not to stay for two days for enlarging of the said Queen, only they rest, as it seems, upon some further secret devices which are not yet grown to perfection.

(3) It is to be considered, that if the Papists be not able to make their party good in the realm on the Scottish Queen's behalf, after her enlargement, nevertheless there are sundry apt havens and creeks in Lancashire from which they may speedily transport the said Queen into Spain, France or Scotland, to the intent she may return with more aid and mischief to disquiet the State of the Queen of England.

(4) It is reported that more ships have arrived at the haven of the Pile of Foudry [Pilefodrey] —where Martin Swart arrived in Henry

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1574. VII.'s time—and at other papistical places and creeks in Lancashire since the time of the last rebellion in the north, than have arrived there these hundred years, and their traffic thither is not without great suspicion of dangerous practices intended that way; and the rather for that Sir John Nevill, the traitor and rebel, hath of his late lands and tenements lying in Fornes [Furness] near adjoining to the said haven (*sic*). But hereof his honour may understand more by his vice-chamberlain, Mr. Glasier of Chester.

(5) For proof of further intents towards transporting the Scottish Queen—the Captain of the Isle of Man, a Papist, has of late built a tall ship at Liverpool haven.

(6) Though the Earl of S[hrewsbury's] fidelity be never so great, yet his power is too slender to resist the force of the Papists in Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire.

(7) Most true it is that so long as the Scottish Queen remains where she now is no policy can be devised to restrain the goodwill, affections, devices, and practices of the Papists touching her enlargement, for the eyes of all Papists in the north parts of England, besides other places, are zealously bent towards the Scottish Queen, as towards one in whom rests the only hope of all their desired Popish felicity.

(8) So long as the Scottish Queen remains in the north parts it is almost impossible that the Earl of Huntingdon or any other godly magistrate can draw the affections of the doubtful northern subjects from the Scottish Queen, or reclaim them to faithful and true obedience.

(9) Providence seems to have sent the Scottish Queen into England for no other end than to have her power and wicked will restrained from all opportunity of doing any harm to the Church and people of God. If then she escapes by negligence and returns to any place where she may freely enter into the public exercise of her bloody religion, it is greatly to be feared that the Lord will make her an instrument to punish the neglecting and contemning of his providence.

(10) The case thus standing, that the Papists are of goodwill and sufficient power to set the Scottish Queen at liberty, he cannot see with what reasons they are led who persuade that her abode in the north parts, or where she now is, cannot be dangerous to the Queen of England's State and safety.

(11) If it be objected that the regal power of the Queen of England shall be able to withstand these dangers,—indeed, so it may, if it be exercised in time against those undutiful subjects whose eyes are "bleared" with gazing for fit opportunity to set the "Scottish Dame" at liberty.

(12) If it be further objected that this enlargement of the Scottish Queen cannot be brought to pass without the service of many men, who, thereupon, must needs be forced to fly with her,—it is answered that many of the Papists, namely, Sir John Southworth, Hawghton, Talbott, Towneleye, Clyfton, Westbye, and Standishe, in the county of Lancashire, esquires, and many others, have prepared, as it seems, for such a voyage; for they have already set their lands and goods by deed of alienation out of all danger of law: and touching their bodies, they had rather be with the Scottish Queen to have the free use of Romish religion, and to live in hope of speedy return and great preferment at her hands, than to abide at home in danger of law and restraint of liberty.

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1574. (13) If the opinion of unkindness to be conceived on the Earl's behalf be objected against her removal, *etc.*, assuredly wise men, and such as love the Earl well, are fully persuaded that the Queen's majesty cannot work a greater benefit for the said Earl's safety than to ease him of that charge. Neither is it to be be supposed that the said Earl will mislike whatsoever her majesty shall think meet to be done, especially considering that the safety of her estate, the continuance of the Gospel, and the lives of thousands professing Christ crucified depend, after a sort, hereupon.

3 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Humble advertysementes touching y^e^ Scottyshe Q[ueen], *etc.* 1574."

C.P., Vol. IX. **70.** COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY TO [MARY].

Madam, I most humbly thank you that it pleased you to make me partaker of so welcome a letter. None wisheth him better than I. Your "lettell pore creatuar" showed more gladness than was to be looked for in one double her years. She and the rest most humbly thank your majesty that it will please you to remember them. I have sent four letters, which I desire may be showed. If it seems good to your majesty to write as is required, I beseech you send it by this bearer. I dare assure there shall come no harm of it. I beseech you write earnestly. And so, being not well, I humbly take my leave this Monday, at night. If it please you, I think it as good, or better, to write to my son to be showed, and the letter shall be returned. *Unsigned.*

½ *p.* *Holograph.* *No address, etc.*

C.P., Vol. IX. **71.** COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY TO GILBERT CURLE.

My good friend, I pray you deliver this letter, and procure answer with that speed you may. And so being always bold of you, I end with my very hearty commendations. "Your assured loving frend, E. Shrowesbury."

¼ *p.* *Holograph, also address:* "To my good frend M^r^ Gelbert Curle."

C.P., Vol. IX. **72.** MATTERS WHEREWITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IS TO BE CHARGED.

That he has had secret intelligence with the Scottish Queen. Has sought to know how the Catholics of this realm stand affected in case any foreign Prince should seek to invade it. Plots have been delivered to him to that purpose. Has sought to draw the affections of her majesty's subjects to the Scottish Queen. Has daily intelligence [with], and is a cherisher of such of her majesty's subjects as are traitorously affected towards her and her estate. Receives letters daily from Thomas Morgan, Thomas Throgmorton, and other practising traitors in France, and conveys their packets and letters to the Scottish Queen, and hers to them. Has secret intelligence with Francis Throgmorton, and has employed him as a minister in practising treason against her majesty.

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¾ *p. Indorsed:* "Principall matters wherewith the Fr. Amb^r. is to chardged."

C.P., Vol. IX. **73.** CONFESSION OF PETER DOUGLAS.

"Certaine thinges observed in the confession of Peeter Dowglas, touching the late voyage into Fraunce."

(1) That he has been an old and trusty servant to the Queen of Scots, and yet rests greatly addicted to her, which appears by a discourse made of his time spent in her service before her first going to France, his remaining with her there, afterwards his being sent into Scotland with the hazard of his life, his imprisonment and loss of 4000 crowns without any recompense, his fighting against the Earl of Morton and his party, his practising her delivery, his often and earnest commendation of her, and especially in his late attempt for her sake, finding no indirect means to further her liberty, he has sought to such as might soonest make known to her what she has to trust to from foreign parts, and desires nothing more than that she would submit herself in all things to her majesty, and that way seek her own deliverance; which was the counsel, as he protests, he purposed to deliver if he might have access to her.

(2) He has been carried into this action partly through simplicity in harkening to the vain rumours given out in his country for the preservation of them in France, and partly through a deep consideration of his former reputation in Scotland and the present view of his miserable state, with the loss of his goods, lately taken from him by the Earl of Morton and his servants, in whom he reposed greater hope of some other consideration for his long and faithful service done to him.

(3) He is very hardy to enterprise and rash in prosecuting any dangerous matter; which may appear by his departing out of Scotland without either instructions or credit from any there, and his bold acknowledgment of a revenging mind.

(4) There is now little or no reckoning made of him by his old and greatest friends; which is manifest by his naked coming from Scotland, the little account made of him by the French ambassador, being forsaken on the way by Du Vray, the cold entertainment he received at the bishop of Ross's hands, his repair to Sir A. Paulet, and his willingness to return hither alone.

(5) The hoped success of his late voyage has altogether failed—especially through the absence of the bishop of Glasgow from Paris. A repulse was given him by the bishop of Ross and Mr. Divichamber who straitly charged him not to meddle in any such attempt for the Queen's liberty, saying it was not the way to do her good, but to increase her bondage. Also he desired to be entertained by any that would relieve his present necessity.

(6) He stands much on the keeping of his promise. He offers to lose his life rather than frustrate the Queen of Scots.

The matter of greatest moment mentioned in Sir A. Paulet's letters he denies ever to have spoken. He pretends he never heard of the 300,000 crowns ready for his party in France by order of the King of Spain. He says he heard of some preparation in Spain to invade Ireland, but knows not by whom or when. He further says

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1574. that the daughter of one James Curles, in France, is shortly to come to attend on the Queen of Scotland with some others in her company, but he says that must be by licence obtained her by the bishop of Glasgow.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk): "1574, A note touching Peter Dowglas his confession"; *and in another hand:* "Examination of sondry persons in especial matters concerning the estat."

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 279. Copy of the same.

C.P., Vol. IX. **74.** ORATION BY THE BISHOP OF ROSS TO HENRY III., KING OF FRANCE.

If there was ever a man, Henry, most Christian King, either in our memory or the memory of our ancestors, who being placed at the head of most flourishing nations and empires, and who reaching this glorious height of honour held this position of unique fortune with the goodwill of men and the highest reputation for virtue, that man I judge you to be at this time, you towards whom the zeal of all good men turns; so that, since we have received from your actions both at home and in war many proofs as well of your courage as of your prudence, by reason of which we have blazed forth into an incredible love for you, it is difficult for me to hesitate among so many voices of praise, and not rather pursue your majesty with wishes for your happiness and hopes for your safety and the increase of your honours, but especially since I hope that those virtues which we see to be excellent and firmly established in you, will save our common wealth and, above all, the Christian religion. And even if this reason by itself seem to be great enough and sufficient to deserve the thanks of all and to procure the zeal of all Christian men, yet a personal reason none the less forcibly impels and urges me to fall at the feet of your majesty and render you all the thanks that in my weakness I can, impelled by all the many and great benefits which I have received through your majesty. And although it is the duty of a private person to recognise a benefit and not only to keep his gratitude locked up in his mind but also to bear witness to it with his tongue and publish it abroad, "let gratitude remain well fixed in the heart of him that is mindful of an ancient deed," yet verily a certain care and a thought standing clearly out kindles my heart enough and more than enough, so that, while I congratulate your majesty, I not only render thanks for the past but also seek that new benefits be piled upon the old. That saying of Cicero's is true that—"it is the mark of a noble mind that to whom you owe much to the same you desire to owe very much." This causes me not to hesitate to assume the character of a suppliant before your majesty and add prayer to prayer, and speak of the wretched plight of the most serene princess Mary Queen of Scots and of the condition of the Scottish realm, not so much in order to persuade you to have a care for her affairs (to which you set yourself in other respects of your own will) as that your majesty may understand by what reasons and grounds you are bound in helping to soften the blows of fortune upon your sister you are striving to soften and to give consolation for the present calamity of all pious men. First, therefore, as far as in me lies, I

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1574. recognise, most Christian king, and as long as I enjoy the use of this light I shall publish it in no vague or silent terms, the great benefit of the most Christian king your brother Charles (may whose memory be for ever blessed) towards me, and his care and solicitude for my safety. For when I was performing the office of ambassador for the most serene Queen of Scots in England, and by the wiles and calumnies of our enemies being thrown into prison and being compelled to suffer terrible injuries seemed to be but little short of the danger of losing my life, the repeated demands of the most Christian King both by letter and by his ambassadors at length effected that being released from the fear of death and set free from bonds and prison I should be sent across to France according to my wish and desire, where I showed my obedience, care, labour, zeal, and industry (if there is any in me) not less in his presence than becomes my feelings in the royal absence, being prepared to undergo anything in which my strength of body or intellect seemed likely to gratify his majesty. And this form of service that most moderate prince received with a grateful mind, wrote me among the number of his faithful servants, and as long as he lived always gave me charge of some business as far as affairs and times allowed. Then when he was removed from life by fate, when your most prudent mother the Queen, who sustained your person by administering the empire, demanded from me the same care as far as I could do and provide it, I ceased not well to advise and admonish her what things in my judgment seemed likely to disturb the State and to destroy the tranquillity of peace and leisure. But now, and may God be my witness, since your majesty is restored to the kingdom of your birth and your forefathers, I deliver myself into your hands, I give and deliver myself as a slave, I promise the same duty to you as to your brother and mother, and will serve you with no less faith than I did them. For when my liberation was being discussed in the time of the late king, I was, as I hear, deemed worthy of your trust, and by the counsel of the queen your mother it was brought about that King Charles should intercede so earnestly with the Queen of England for my safety. You have, therefore, a man most obedient to your behests; you have a man whose life was so greatly your care, prepared, if ever it can be useful to you, to lay down that life for you, and to restore to you the life which he has received by your benefit. Lastly, you have among all princes and nations the greatest glory in this, that you caused to be liberated by your patronage the ambassador of an afflicted prince held in bonds contrary to the right of nations, and, setting an example for pious princes to imitate, had him restored to you just as though he were your own. For which reason the first among the great princes of the Christian world, that patron of sanctity, the Pope, lately rendered thanks to the most Christian king, your brother, in a letter written by himself.

But, most Christian king, if so great and so glorious an accession of honour has come both to the king your brother and to your majesty for the liberation of a prince's ambassador from bonds and prison by your aid, what great glory, I ask you, will accrue, if you loose the bonds and procure the freedom of the princess herself, for whom he went on embassies? If your clemency saw fit to undergo so much zeal, care and solicitude for the slave, what ought we to

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1574. think you would do for the mistress who was herself also once a queen? If for a foreigner (though the Scots are least of all foreigners to the French) the King of the French laboured so hard, what do you think the King of the French will do for a prince not so long since adorned with the insignia and titles of Queen of the French, born of French parents, educated in France and showing the highest affection to the kings of the French beyond all princes? what lastly do you think he will do for a sister, a most dear relative and kinswoman? Therefore it becomes you by far most of all, you so great a king and of such unconquered spirit, to undertake the defence of this afflicted princess and queen, to liberate the captive against all law and rights detained in prison, and to restore her to the sceptre of her sires. For the examples, too, of your ancestors ought to move you to restore our commonweal which has long lain prostrate and oppressed by the conspiracy of all men. For, as they never failed us when our affairs had reached a narrow pass, not only that inborn love of piety and religion, that accustomed clemency and greatness ef soul which has so far impelled you to take of the cause and patronage of the wretched, but also very many other things better known to your majesty than to me, bid us hope the same from you. For that most ancient friendship of the French and Scots left to posterity perpetual and eternal offers itself to us in the first place so well known to all that it ought rather to be touched lightly upon in passing than that anything should be said of it at length. At any rate, after it had once been sealed with a perpetual bond between that Charles, king of the French (to whom the name "great" was given on account of the greatness of his deeds) and Achaeus, king of the Scots, no one has thus far dared to break it, and it has gained such admiration from all the kings and nations, that throughout the remaining circle of the whole world nowhere has it been handed down to memory that a similar bond of friendship has been entered into by princes from so long a time and so religiously observed. How much use has accrued to each of the two peoples from this bond it will be easy to see from the annals of either nation. But one or two heads of this most sacred compact and brotherly bond, agreeing with my purpose I will recall to your memory. And lest anyone should think that he is being deluded or deceived I will put before you the very words of the compact, which though they seem a little foreign to the purity of the Latin tongue, yet will deserve the great faith, because they so savour of antiquity and the venerable simplicity of that age than anything that can be said in more correct Latin or more elegantly by anyone. And first of all this occurs that:

All injuries and warlike force of enemies brought to bear against either prince or king be common to both princes and peoples.

That the kings of France preserve a mutual love for the kings of the Scots, the heirs and successors of the same, for all future time, and vice versa.

That they give counsel and consideration mutually the one to the other in turn, and to the forces and reserves of their nations, and mutually aid in their own persons if need be, even against all enemies and adversaries inside or outside the realms of Scotland or France who can live or die.

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1574. That adversaries and manifest rebels of either prince by no means be received nor publicly or privately be maintained in the kingdom of the other.

That the kings of Scotland and France, their heirs and successors do preserve the honour and interests, the true privileges and immunities of their peoples with all their forces and auxiliaries to the good interest and honour of themselves and their friends or allies and to the confusion and ruin of their enemies.

That the one by all means combat and destroy insult, scandal, loss or injury to the other king or people.

That if ever adversaries against the lawful king of the Scots move war by the power of a common enemy, the most Christian king of France, his heirs and successors do maintain and guard him and his heirs.

That the kings of the Scots, their heirs and successors do lend like aid and help to the kings of France and their successors.

What could be more sacred than these laws of perpetual friendship? What could tend more to the principal good of both realms and the observation of mutual regard? What could be better or more compactly expressed or committed to letters? And will you, o most Christian king, allow the rules of a most sacred treaty kept most religiously by your ancestors for so many centuries, will you who wield the sceptre of France allow them ever at any time to be destroyed or rendered useless? you whose dignity and royal splendour it becomes to render help to suppliants, to rouse the afflicted, to give safety and set men free from danger, even though no law compel you.

Wherefore to you we bring the cause of our afflicted prince and of our commonweal, as a prince whose justice is no less sacred, than his right hand is unconquered; and for her you ought to have and maintain regard, zeal and care, not only because she is most dear to your majesty by the intimacy of friendship and the rules of a treaty; so that this cause seems as it were to be yours, but also because of itself this cause urges you with its great equity and justice which make it worthy that all good and pious men, especially kings and princes, whom it most greatly concerns, should embrace it, sustain and follow it out with brotherly care, and it is their duty to see that this illustrious queen, expelled from her kingdom and oppressed by ungrateful captivity, be saved and restored to her sceptre. What cause, I ask you, can be more just, than the defence of a queen inaugurated by hereditary right and a long line of succession of kings and princes and by the unanimous consent of all the orders of the realm, sealed with the sacred diadem and the solemn rites? than the freeing of that kingdom which never till now was in the power of any save just princes and true lords? What could be more unjust than against all the laws of good and right to drive from the throne and tribunal of justice and to strive to throw into infamy and shame the prince through whom laws are given to the people, justice is administered, piety is observed towards God and man, that prince, I say, who ought to be the ruler of just and unjust? If this is not the summit of injustice, let my adversaries say what injustice itself is. Nor did those ungrateful and wicked men confine themselves within these bounds, nay they wished to destroy the piety of all and the true

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1574. worship of God and to bring it to pass that all the glory of religion should depart together with their queen and prince exiled to some other nation. This madness of our race we see that God truly hated by the fact that so many nobles, themselves the authors of conspiracies, who had intruded themselves into the position of the true prince, have been slain, so that there can scarcely be found among them men willing to undertake the supreme office. Venerable priests and men who love piety and religion hating this wildness of their countrymen, have left their sacred episcopal seats and convents empty and departed into foreign regions in voluntary exile. The queen herself also yielding to the violent madness, rather by divine providence than by human aid was snatched from their hands and asked aid of her, who above all other princes of the Christian world was most nearly related to her in kinship of blood, to wit the queen of England, into whose borders she descended of her own free will, and committed herself and her possessions to her friendship and faith, hoping for help and aid by means of which she might be restored as soon as possible to the kingdom which had been snatched from her by her ungrateful subjects. But the matter fell out very differently to her hopes, for so far was she from receiving help against violence from her kinswoman and sister, that she was even detained in the most strict custody, nor could free power of departure be obtained by any means for six continuous years. Truly this sort of piety is very different from that kindness which our countrymen employed towards the kings and princes of the English when they were expelled from their kingdom by the rebellion of factious men. One of them, Henry the sixth, king of England, when in the battle which arose through Edward Duke of York and the other companions of his faction, found that safety lay in flight descended into the Scottish territory with the queen his wife (who was sprung from the house of the Dukes of Anjou, your ancestors), with his children, and certain noblemen of his party. And him James III., the then king of the Scots, received most kindly, kept him a long time in Scottish territory, amused him with huntings and pleasures of every sort to which he was accustomed, and sent the same with a magnificent band of soldiers, money and supplies to regain the kingdom of England, and at last sent him away freely to his own. You see what thanks the descendants of this king return us. Wherefore this is altogether worthy of your majesty, this is owed to your excellence, this is the right of so great a king, agreeable to your deeds and to the expectation which you have roused, that you should give yourself up to consideration of this most glorious deed, whence you may set a most famous name and increase to your virtue and happiness. For this alone seems to surpass that whole most beautiful band of virtues with which you are adorned, of which the opportunity is now offered, forsooth the restitution of this afflicted princess who is imploring your aid, and the restoration of our commonweal which is most devoted to you. Thither your wisdom urges you, thither the glorious deeds of your ancestors, thither the life of the kings of the French; look at their life in history as though in a mirror, and place before you for imitation their bravery, strength of mind and constancy. Nothing was ever cared for more by them than to bring aid to the highest pontiffs, kings and princes when they sought it, even though joined to them

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1574. by no tie of blood or treaty, and when they had scattered and put to flight their enemies to restore the power and rule which had been taken away. Witness, Henry King of Castille, whence that whole line of princes which now holds the sceptre of Spain is sprung, who was restored to the kingdom of Castille by the aid and help of Charles the wise, your ancestor, when Peter had been killed and the adversaries scattered. A second Henry, too, the seventh, King of England, grandfather of that queen who now reigns over the English and great-grandfather of the most serene queen of Scots, by the help of Charles the eighth, King of the French, obtained the kingdom of England when Richard had been slain and the men of his faction put to flight: nor have the kings of France ever failed the Scots. For the kings of France have never thought it consistent with their good faith that the Scots who were most friendly towards them and joined to them by a very close bond should be turned out of their affairs and possessions. But they have often taken care to send forces by sea and by their aid the Scots have expelled their enemies and preserved their ancient liberty. Witness to this, that I may omit the rest, David Bruce, king of the Scots, who was compelled to leave his country and retired to France owing to Edward, king of England, when Edward Balliol thrust himself into the rule of the Scots: he was honourably and magnificently received by Philip de Valois and preserved to a better fortune. Meanwhile Philip did not cease helping those who had remained on David's side in the kingdom with resources, money, and supplies till at last when the enemy had been scattered and the English expelled together with Balliol, the kingdom was partly quieted, and to the great joy of the Scots and gratification of King Philip he returned to Scotland, where he was received with great and solemn preparations, and when a space was given for recovering from his daily calamities he bound the hearts of his people to himself with all the benevolence he could, and rewarded them liberally according to the virtue of each.

Then when Edward was besieging Calais, the same Philip sent envoys to Scotland to King David to ask him, according to his treaty, to invade England with an army, and recall the enemy from the siege. David, mindful of the infinite benefits of Philip towards himself, was unwilling to be ungrateful to him who had so kindly watched over him when he was in exile, and willingly commenced hostilities against the English, and, penetrating into England, laid waste all things with fire and sword, so that he raised the siege of Calais. Nor did the Scots cease from their expedition till peace had been confirmed between the French and English, and had brought an end to wars and dissensions. I can adduce many other instances of kings and princes and pontiffs innumerable who were restored by the aid of kings of France, but these in knowledge and prudence I pass over. This only I will say, that not undeservedly has this kingdom always appeared as "defender" ("αλεξικακον") of friends, peoples, and princes. We who are overwhelmed by so many and so great calamities, when we compare your most brave actions (in which nothing which adorns the name of a great and powerful king is wanting); when we compare them, I say, to the monuments of your ancestors, when we behold your glory and greatness, when we perceive that the order of your actions is produced from inner fountains of prudence, we are led to the certain hope

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1574. that since, in comparison, as it is more illustrious for a great king to consult the public rather than private interests, so the greater praise is put before you in guarding our prince and commonweal, you will henceforth give no less proofs of your piety to our prince and commonweal than you gave before of your courage. Human plans only assent, but we are much more strengthened and confirmed by the divine will. For who on turning his mind to the wars which you have waged and the victories you have gained, and your prudence not only in them but in every department of your affairs, your strength of mind and almost incredible goodness of thought does not understand that you are called and instructed by the inspiration and will of the immortal gods to the performance of a most noble work that, though you may be both the author of the revival of the Christian religion, long hoped for in the prayers of all men, and also the avenger of its violation, yet it behoves you to show yourself the defender and patron of all those—above all of Christian princes—who on account of their piety and justice, suffer violence and injury. To this end that Lord of kings and maker of princes, even God, saw fit to adorn you with His liberality and great grace, whose benignity you too have felt and others look for through you, since by his hidden and divine judgment he has bestowed on you a most august empire, innumerable peoples, kingdoms, praise, victory, and triumph. Nor must you think that to you alone they are given, nor even to your commonwealth alone, but also to the commonweal of the whole Christian world: for God has not made the end of his benefits to be in one man but has determined through one man to pour forth the fruitfulness of his celestial beneficence upon all men. That one thing, then, you must earnestly strive after, most Christian king, that in approaching and performing great deeds you may be seen to be a worthy author of human salvation and minister of divine liberty. Furthermore, to us who are in such deep despair that eternal night seemed to be spread over our minds, this hope of true safety has first flashed forth from heaven, which the immortal gods have set before us in you, on account of which we are refreshed and roused as though you were raising a sign of better fortune, and we have delivered and reposed in your virtue alone ourselves, our affairs, our considerations, and every hope of safety. Nor can we persuade ourselves otherwise than, nor feel nor think otherwise than that, since you have obtained such praise in beginning your actions, as all nations cease not to proclaim, you will bring to bear upon those actions that remain, much greater and more powerful as they are, that same force of virtue and wisdom: and not we alone share in this opinion, nor is this our own judgment, but we hold it in common with our enemies: and they do not think it less truly and deeply of you than we ourselves. Nor has that increase of your rule and authority brought us greater pleasure than it has brought them fear. For they, in their fear, are so terrified and struck spiritless by the very fame of your name that has wandered to the uttermost nations of the world by reason of your many victories, and they so fear your approach that at every mention of your name they tremble. But since it is accepted by all men that those who approach foreign princes to beg for help ought not only to recall to their memory old benefits and associations, but should also show, in the first place, that what they ask will be useful to those of whom they

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1574. are making the request, or at any rate not to their detriment, then that it can be easily accomplished. Lastly, that they will render great thanks for the benefit they have received, and that if they show none of these things, not to be angry if they get nothing. In this cause we hope that we shall lack none of these things, so that you yourself will confess that we have justice on our side when you have considered the matter with a little more attention. First, you will be rendering aid to men who are receiving, not inflicting, injuries. And that fact will bring praise to your majesty in the eyes of all nations and races, and will gain for all time to come the thanks and goodwill, zeal and love of those on whom you have conferred the benefit, who will be able to confer not less protection and adornment than they have received. If by your help, zeal, and care our affairs were settled, and the princess most dear to you enjoyed with her subjects in mutual love their wonted peace and repose, she would be able to supply for the aid of your majesty no less forces than formerly Achy King of Scots supplied to Charles the great under the leadership of Sicomus his brother, as the Regent Robert did to Charles the seventh under John, Earl of Buchan, his own son; also when King James the First of Scotland was held a prisoner in England, and as many other of our Kings have done formerly to the Kings of France. And this would certainly now be most expedient and convenient to your majesty, who is hiring mercenary soldiers from foreign nations. But let me by your pardon say and state this one thing, that in these civil and intestine disturbances of France only the absence of our legitimate sovereign and the consequent disturbed condition in every part of our state has prevented you, contrary to the wonted custom of both kingdoms in former times, from enjoying in this calamity the fruit of that compact of our ancestors, the Scottish forces: this fact has deprived you of an instrument of great weight in carrying out your affairs and of the opportunity of a more speedy and, perhaps, more fortunate victory, or, at any rate, it has slightly delayed it. And, to omit all the relationships and intercourse of both peoples, this ought to be of no little weight with your majesty—namely, that the Kings of France have most religiously cultivated that ancient bond of friendship with us by frequently seeking marriage in Scotland. For you will find that marriages have been contracted with no other foreign nation so often as with ours, so that if you follow the true account of the annals and hark back to your own cradle and the first beginnings of your origin, we claim you, as it were, as a countryman, since the most serene princess and queen your mother can trace back her origin on her mother's side to the Kings of Scotland. And lest anyone should think that I am trying to delude your majesty by these means and to give you bad counsel, as though I wished to persuade you to neglect the care of your realm which is now nearly exhausted and consumed by long civil war, and to launch all your forces and strength to the restoration of our affairs, that intention is far from my thoughts. For I protest that it is my duty to your majesty to wish to counsel not less to your good than to that of my most serene Princess, and to wish that all things may go well and prosperously in like manner as well for you as for her, and to call on God in my daily prayers: especially as all those who have erected the monuments of both kingdoms have perceived, that the condition of each has been so linked from many

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1574. ages past that the safety and good condition of the one seemed to depend always upon the other. Far be it, therefore, from me that I should seem to persuade you anything else than what is good for both kingdoms, and what can be done with little trouble. For with you to urge our cause I doubt not that the Queen of England, being first pacified by good conditions and rich agreements and on the exchange of hostages, will permit our princess freely to leave her territory. For she has never turned away from her just conditions. For when I myself three years ago was attempting, as envoy in England, to procure the restitution of our most serene princess, the business was all but accomplished. For one efficient and rich satisfaction only was wanting to confirm the peace and ratify with incense the concord between princesses otherwise most friendly, and that was one on which indeed the Queen of England could rightly depend and fully touch that that thing could by no foul means afterwards happen to herself and her kingdom. Nor can the tranquillity of English affairs be in any way disturbed by the memory of past injuries. Therefore this one means remains to gain the cause of our princess, which can very easily be obtained by the authority of your majesty. When she has been pacified and joined with your majesty in arranging those matters which remain with the Scottish nobility, by your consent and the conspiring of our minds for so useful a plan, everything will be very easily settled between the most serene Queen of Scots and her subjects, when she is restored to her kingdom by the will of all orders, and peace which has so long been an exile from thence is given back to our citizens, and when all things have been restored anew, as it were, to their former state, while the whole Christian world applauds. But lest I seem to be acting upon a stage with the eyes of the stalls upon me, thinking that I have performed my duty, I have made these few statements about the condition of our case as it was delivered to me. I remit the rest to those whose business the matter is, that they may open more safely and securely by public speaking than by written argument a prompt and expeditious road to performing these matters. Further, if it please your majesty either to hear by me any fuller details bearing on the matter, or to commit your offices in this matter to some select men of most holy counsel, pains shall be taken that your honour and glory, the good of your kingdom, and at the same time our expectations and hopes of you shall be satisfied.

To the same most Christian King an epigram:—

Si rara virtus, lætaque prosperis
fortuna rebus, quartaque pretiis
attrita justis universum
agmina te celebrant per orbem,
tuique fama nominis hostium
virtus supina languet inertia,
sic te bearunt dii, salutem ut
concilies, miseris, opemque.

Nam profligandæ sceptra superbiæ
et vi parantur laus atavis tuis
insignis est, bonis [sic] ademptum,
principibus retulisse sceptrum.

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Te par beabit gloria pristino
gentis colendo fœdere Scoticæ
te unum colentis restituta.
Imperio natrio sorore.

35 *pp. Latin. A small octavo volume bound in white vellum. A device stamped on the back in gold.*

Jan. 16. C.P., vol. X. **75.** MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY FOR THE EXAMINATION OF HENRY COCKYN.

One Murray, a Scottish man.

Mr. Hamilton was with him in his house in March, and brought letters from the Queen of Scots to be delivered in England, and to be sent into France.

He received divers letters from the bishop of Ross and others.

He received letters by a boy who came out of Flanders this last summer, and lay at one Wilson's house in St. Catherine's; at which time he had letters which he sent to the Queen of Scots by a servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to which Morgan, the Earl of Shrewsbury's man, was privy.

The bishop of Ross's man was at London last summer, and lodged in Fish street, and conferred with the said H. Cockyn, and one Lyddell with him, and one Mr. Lesley.

He has much conference with one Nichola, a servant of the French ambassador.

He has much conference with one Doctor Atslo, Mr. Morgan, the Lord Harry [Howard], etc.

He has a cipher betwixt him and the Queen of Scots.

He received letters in July and August for the Queen of Scots by Alexander Bog and Robinson.

1 *p. In Burghley's hand. Indorsed:* "16 Janr. 1574. Matter to examine H. Cockyn uppon. Drawen by the Tresorer in his owne hand."

Jan. 16. **76.** WALSINGHAM TO ELIZABETH.

Having received certain letters from the Regent and a copy of instructions delivered by the bishop of Ross to his servant sent into Scotland containing matters touching her State and government, has thought fit to send the same to herself. By the same she will see how hardly the two great Princes her neighbours are affected towards her, as also what unsound subjects she has at home. Hopes when she has well weighed them she will see it is high time for her to set her hand to the helm, and not to suffer her safety and the quietness of her estate to depend, as it does, on others' harms. Though the Cardinal of Lorraine be dead the peril is not past. For the love of God, let not the cure of her diseased estate hang any longer in deliberation. By one of the inclosed letters she may see how much the Regent finds himself aggrieved. There is no man of judgment who loves her that can imagine any peril to her so great as the loss of that gentleman. For the love of her own safety let her not lose one negligently whom it behoves her to keep so necessarily. London. *Signed:* Fra. Walsingham.

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1574-5. 1½ *pp. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "To hir Ma^tie ye 15 of January 1574"; *and in another hand:* "M[inute] of sondry letters written to her ma^te and others during thes actiones."

Jan. 16. **77.** EDWARD CAREY TO WALSINGHAM.

Has at last received answer from the Queen. The Regent's letter speaks of a cipher, which she has not received in the packet he sent her. Touching the man that dwells in London, her pleasure is that he devise instructions to be sent to the Regent with thanks from her for his advertisements, and write that ere long she will send Randolph or Killigrew. Is to send the letter and instructions to the Queen before they be sent away. Hampton Court. *Signed:* Edward Carye.

Postscript.—Has taken such an extreme cold that he is constrained to go home for three or four days, but if he sends his footman to his house, which is not five miles further, going the next way from London, with anything he will have delivered, he will within two hours be at the Court and deliver them.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed:* "To the right honorabell my verye lovinge brother M^r Franceis Walsingham, esquier." *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Jan. 16. **78.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig., B. VIII., fol. 333. Has kept silence for fear of importuning her. Has written to Monsieur De La Mothe. Implores her to reply to her former request. Sheffield. *Signed:* Marie R.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. (Printed, Labanoff. vol. iii., p. 120.)*

Jan. 17. **79.** EDWARD CAREY TO [WALSINGHAM.]

After he had received the Queen's answer touching the letters he sent her, and so written to him, she sent for him and told him that she had not read his [Walsingham's] own letter, which she found afterwards in her pocket. When she had read it, she told him that he wished her to make some two or three of her Council privy to the matter, and so willed him to bring her the packet again. He did so; and she bade him send away her first resolution to him, and she would show the substance of the matter to them herself; so that he thinks her pleasure therein will be further signified to him by some of those whom she means to impart the secrecy of the matter unto. Hampton Court. *Signed:* Edward Carye.

1 *p. Holograph. No address. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "From my brother Carie, dated the 17 of January,"

Cott. Calig., C. IV. fol. 310. Copy of the same.

Jan. 20. **80.** MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY FOR THE EXAMINATION OF HENRY COCKYN.

C.P., vol. X.

Mr. Hamilton, Leslie, Murray, Alexander Bog, Robinson, Berkley, Morgan, Nesbitt, Liddell, Bishop of Ross's man who lodged in Fish

Elizabeth. 1574-5. Street. When he heard, spoke or wrote to them, or received any letters from them. What letters he has sent or received from the bishop of Ross; by whom, and when; to whom were any such letters directed. What letters he has conveyed to any person, and by whom.

1 *p.* *In Burghley's hand.* *Indorsed:* "20 Janr. 1574. For H. Cockyn to be examined uppon, in my L. Thresorer's hand."

Jan. 21. **81.** ANSWERS BY H. COCKYN.

C.P., vol. X. As touching Mr. Hamilton, I knew him by reason of his accompanying Nesbitt, with whom I was acquainted through his access to the bishop of Ross the time of my remaining with the said bishop, through which acquaintance he would speak to me when he passed by my shop accompanied by Mr. Hamilton. As for dealings with them, I never had any.

Touching Thomas Leslie, I knew him through the occasion aforesaid (as I knew the rest of the bishop's household). By reason whereof, at his last being in London in the company of Liddell he came to me as well to buy some books of me as to have two or three bound that he brought out of France, which were the orations that his master wrote in Latin and dedicated to the Queen of England.

Touching Murray and Berkley, I knew them [to be] the bishop's servants, and since that time had nothing to do with them. Robinson came to me from the bishop for the works of Sir Thomas More; which book I had not. With Bog I never had any conference.

What servant of the bishop lay in Fish Street, I know not, nor ever knew any that lay there but Thomas Leslie and Liddell.

Mr. Morgan I have known of long time by reason that he has bought many books of me, and for books I have dealt with him, and not otherwise in any respect I never heard from any of the bishop's servants or spoke with any of them, otherwise than before rehearsed. I have neither sent any letter to the bishop of Ross nor received any from him.

¾ *p.* *Indorsed by Burghley:* "21 Jan. 1574. H. Cockyn's answers"; *and in Walsingham's hand:* "in his own hand."

Jan. 25. **82.** ASSIGNATION FOR THE KING OF SCOTS' HOUSE.

Harl. MSS., 4637c., fol. 113. "The assignatioun maid for furnessing of ye Kingis Majesties House begynnand ye first day of November 1574, and to continew quhill ye first day of November 1575, and sua for a compleit zeir. At Holyruidhous the xxv. day of Januar, 1574."

2 *pp.* *Copy.*

Feb. 5. **83.** INTERROGATORIES FOR H. COCKYN.

C.P., vol. X. "Generall interrogatoryes to be mynistred unto H. Cockin."

1. Whether he was ever in prison before. If he was, where? and for what cause, and how he was released, and by whose means?

2. How he grew first to be acquainted with the bishop of Ross?

3. Whether he ever served the bishop of Ross, how long, and by whom was he recommended to him?

½ *p.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "5 Feb. 1574. Generall interrogatoryes to be ministred unto He. Cockin in myne own hand."

Elizabeth.
1574-5. Feb. 5. C.P., vol. X.

84. MATTERS TOUCHING COCKYN'S EXAMINATION.

(1) Imprisonment—the time. Book. Queen of Scots' title. After the release out of the Fleet he served the bishop of Ross. After committed to the Tower. A letter. Barker's man. Lauder's release. Doctor Wilson. Committed at St. Catherine's by the Recorder and Doctor Wilson.

(2) First acquaintance with the bishop of Ross. Sent for by him. Lodged London. Nicholas Wilson. Powle. First book.

(3) He remained with the bishop half a year. Bishop of Ross at "the Lymes Howes." Benson, printer. Islington. Limehous—Morgan.

1 *p.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "5 Feb. 1574. Matters towching Cockin's examinatyon."

Feb. 5. C.P., vol. X.

85. INTERROGATORIES FOR COCKYN.

What pensions he knows to be paid by the Queen of Scots to any of the Queen of England's subjects. What knowledge he has of Nichola the ambassador's man; what conference he had with him of the Scottish Queen or of matters of France. Whether he knew Morgan. Whereupon grew the acquaintance he had with the Lord Henry [Howard]. What cipher he has of the Scottish Queen or any of her men. Whether he knew Doctors Good and Atslowe; what conference he had touching the Scottish Queen's causes or any other matter that touches the disquiet of the State.

¾ *p.* *In the hands of Thomas Randolph and Walsingham. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "5 Feb. 1574. Interrogatoryes to be ministred to Cockin, in M[r] Randolph's hand."

Feb. 7. C.P., vol. X.

86. WALSINGHAM TO ELIZABETH.

Most excellent majesty; these inclosed advertisements might minister to me some fit matter to comment upon; but fearing that on the one side the roughness of my style will but yield an unpleasant gloss, and knowing on the other side that the ripeness of your majesty's rare judgment can easily enough without others' gloss discern the mysteries contained in the text, I forbear to comment; beseeching Him who directs all Princes' hearts resolutely to incline your mind to that speedily which may prevent the mischiefs that most dangerously hang over your head.

⅔ *p.* *Draft in Walsingham's hand.* *Indorsed:* "7 Feb. 1574. A m[inute] of a letter unto her majesty."

Feb. 16. C.P., vol. X.

87. EXAMINATION OF HENRY COCKYN.

"The Examynacyon of Henry Cockyn att the Tower ye xvj[th] of February a° 1574 before S[r] Owyn Hopton, knyght, lieutenant of ye said Tower, Thomas Rendell, esquyer, and Tho. Bromley, Sollyciter Generall to her Majestie."

To the first he saith he knows all the parties in the interrogatory named, but never sent nor received any letters to or from any of them. About Whitsuntide last he spoke with Leslie and Lyddell in Fish

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1574-5. Street, where he came to bring Leslie certain books which he had bound for him, namely, the orations written by the bishop of Ross to the Queen of England, and other English books. Denies utterly that he had any conference with them touching the conveying of letters or for any other matter of importance. Spoke with Robinson about midsummer last, and not since, by occasion he came to his shop to ask for the works of Sir Thomas More. Spoke very lately with Morgan, only touching the binding of a dictionary. Never spoke with any of the residue nor heard from them since the departure of the bishop of Ross.

To the second he says that he knew of no servant of the bishop of Ross but Leslie and Liddell to lodge in Fish Street, and had no other conference with any of them. Never received any letters from the bishop of Ross nor sent him any.

To the third he says that he never received any letters directed to the Scottish Queen nor sent any.

To the fourth he denies the receipt of any letters directed to the Scottish Queen in August last.

To the fifth he says he never received any letters that the bishop of Ross wrote, but knows him well.

To the sixth he says he never received any letters from Nichola, the French ambassador's man, nor ever delivered any to him or his fellows. Knows Nichola very well.

To the seventh he says he never conveyed letters to nor received any from the Scottish Queen.

To the eighth he says he never talked with Morgan touching the Queen of Scots, nor knows of any his dealings touching her.

To the ninth he says he knows Lord Henry [Howard], and was with him at the Charterhouse about Easter last for the selling to him of a Prayer Book. Knows nothing of his dealings with the Scottish Queen.

To the tenth, touching Mr. Good and Mr. Archelow, he can say no more than in his former examination.

To the eleventh he says he never had any such cipher.

To the 12th he says he does not know of any pension paid by the Scottish Queen to any of the Queen of England's subjects. *Signed:* "Her hignes faythfull subject and daylie orator, Henry Cockyn." *Subscribed by Sir Owen Hopton, Thomas Randolph, and Sir Thomas Bromley.*

2 *pp. In Cockyn's hand. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "Exam. of H. C., 16° Februar. a° 1574, taken in the Tower by ye Lieutenant, M^r^ Randolph and M^r^ Solliciter."

Feb. 18. **88.** THE REGENT MORTON TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Whereas the eldest son and heir apparent of the Lord Carlisle, the King of Scots' subject, departed this life last year, leaving an only daughter in the custody of her said grandsire, to whom she is now heretrix, and in the King's ward, not being past the age of six years, the same damsel was soon after her father's death stolen away from her said grandsire's dwelling-place by her father's brother and one Adam Carlile of Bredekirk, a notorious thief, who, not being able to "brouke" her in Scotland, carried her into England, where this long while past she has been secretly kept, this contempt made him move the matter to Lord Scrope, Lord Warden of the West March,

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1574-5. requiring him to enquire for the damsel, and to travail to get her into his own custody, that he might make suit for a warrant to deliver her into his hands; and now understanding that after removal from place to place, she was found at a place called Hoffe, in Westmorland, being a house of Thomas Calton's, land-serjeant of Gilsland, and presently is in the keeping of Lord Scrope, prays them, considering that she is the King's ward, being the heretrix apparent of a baron of Scotland, stolen by her father's brother, who is immediately to succeed to her, and as no consent of parents can prejudge the King's ward, and her mother being ignorant of the same and is presently pursuing by law therefor, that Lord Scrope be commanded to deliver her to him, whereby such as enterprised this contempt may be punished. Holyrood House.

1 *p. Copy in a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "Scotland. Copy of the Regentis lettre to the Counsele of England the 18 of February."

Feb. 20. **89** CONFESSION OF HENRY COCKYN.

C.P., vol. X. About December 1573 the bishop of Ross, lying at St. Mary Overy's with the bishop of Winchester, sent for me to bring him certain books of physic in English to the number of four or five at the first time of my repair thither, and so, after that, I repaired thither divers times with books. During which time he communed with me about my trouble, saying that I had thereby sustained hindrance, but as yet he was not able to make me any recompense, yet said that before any long time he would remember me. He enquired of me what report I heard of him touching his behaviour in the time of his trouble. I told him that the talk I heard was very little, but some men thought that he dealt not so honourably nor honestly as he might have done. Quoth he, "I knowe all men speakes the worst of mee, and woorse to than I have deserved: and it is tould me that sume men are so sore bent agaynst me, that they have vowed to kill me before I depart the realme, and namely the Lord Henrie [Howard] (and, as I remember, the Erle of Southampton)." I told him I knew not the Earl nor what his mind was, but I had a little before talked with the Lord Henry (by reason that he sent for me to the Charterhouse), whom I found evil affected towards him, but not in the mind to kill or hurt him. Quoth the bishop, "I hope to pacifie bothe him and all others that thinck evill of me before I depart the realm." Then he enquired of me whether I had spoken with Mr. Goodyeare since his delivery forth of prison. I told him I had not. Then he willed me to go to him and his brother, Mr. Lodar, and to desire them to continue still in good opinion of him, as also of the Queen his mistress, and to do her such pleasure as they might. Master Goodyeare's answer was, that at the present he was not at full liberty, neither yet in the favour of the Queen's majesty his sovereign; yet said that he would continue his good opinion of them. Mr. Loder's answer was, that he thanked the bishop for his remembrance, and that he would continue his opinion of him. When the time of his departure drew near he willed me to go to Mr. Bertie [Barty] and to desire him as before, and withal to learn whether there were any pirates on the seas lying in wait for him. Mr. Bertie answered, that the bishop of Ross had given him but small cause to think well of

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1574-5. him, by reason he had made report to the Council of England that he used him but for a spy, yet said he freely forgave him, and that for his mistress' sake he would do for him what he might, and so promised to learn what he could; and within a day or two sent him word that he might go without danger, and that he would speak to my Lord Cobham that he might be safely conveyed to Dover. Now, as I think, the bishop used Doctor Good to pacify my Lord of Southampton; and the bishop had of purpose made a little treatise to send to Lord Henry before his departure, intituled (as I remember) "an Apology or Defence of the Bishop of Rosse touching his honest and friendly part always kept towards the honourable Lord the late Duke of Norfolk." But the bishop was advised by Doctor Good (as I think) not to send it before he was out of the realm, for fear lest Lord Henry show the same to some of the Council, whereby he might be stayed. A day or two before the bishop should depart the realm he gave me 40*s.* for the writing of three or four of his books intituled "Piæ et afflictæ animæ meditationes, divinaque remedia," and "Tranquillitatis animi præservatio et munimentum"; which he sent me (during the time of his abode with the bishop of Winchester) by James Browne and his cook, who lay then in London, saying that he was not able to give me any money at present in recompense of my former service done to him, by reason that the ambassador of France detained from him 500 crowns which the Queen of Scots should have delivered to him the summer preceding, and that without a new command from her he could not get, and to that end he said he had written to her, and also that she would bestow somewhat on me. Which things, as he said, would be easily obtained if I would take in hand the delivery of his letters to one that he would send me to, who could convey the same safely to his mistress. I enquired of him who that was. He said it was a gentleman, a countryman of his, that was schoolmaster to Lord Shrewsbury's children, whose name was Mr. Alexander Hamilton, and remained at that time at a place called Bosworth, ten miles from Sheffield or Chatsworth. I told him I was loth to take the delivery of his letters in hand to one whom I knew not, and the lother for that he was his countryman. "Well," quoth he, "let the matter staye a while and I will so use the matter that you shalbe acquaynted together, for he wil be here shortly" (and, as I think, Thomas Leslie had so appointed with him at his being there) "and I will in the meane season leave my lettres with Nicholas Jude, servant to the French ambassador"; and withal said that he had appointed me to signify both to the Queen his mistress and to him all such advertisements as their friends should give me instructions of, and with that delivered me an alphabet, and to that end had spoken and written to them already; namely, he had spoken to Doctor Good and Mr. Morgan, and had written to Mr. Bertie, and, as I think, he wrote likewise to Doctor Attslowe; and therewith delivered me his apology with the order of his proceedings to deliver to Lord Henry with his commendations, and gave me in charge further to say to Lord Henry that the Queen his mistress was very desirous to have two things which were in his custody: the one was a letter of contract, and the other a precious ring which she sent to the Duke,* his brother. Which message I [delivered] to my lord [Henry Howard] at Audley End. My lord received the book with

* Norfolk.

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1574-5. the message, and willed me to assure the bishop that the letter of contract was burnt, and, as to the ring, he neither knew it nor where it was, but said he would make search for the same, and, being obtained, I should have it to send to the bishop. The bishop departed in January, and in February Hamilton came to London, being directed to John Nettsmith, who came to me and said that the gentleman that the bishop of Ross told me of was come to town, and so desired me to go home, and he would bring the gentleman thither; and when he came there out of his bosom he pulled certain letters (being sewed in his doublet) and delivered them to Netsmyth. Netsmyth requested me to deliver them to Nicholas, but I refused, saying that they were not directed to me, but to him, and therefore should deliver them himself; which he did. In the meantime Hamilton and I talked together, and he said that Netsmyth had given him to understand that I was appointed by the bishop of Ross to deal with him for the convoy of letters between the Queen [of Scots] and the bishop, and so said that the Queen had given him in charge to get resolution of three heads: the one, whether the Parliament held; whether her removing was determined; and whether the French King would not sue for her liberty. These three points he was desirous to be resolved of before his departure out of town (but yet had no such commandment, as the Queen made mention afterwards). I told him I would learn what I might for the satisfying thereof, and so departed for that time. But when time came that he should go homewards he was desirous to know the resolution of these three heads. I told him that, as far as I could learn of her friends, the Parliament held not, her removing was not determined, and to the third I could say nothing. Then I delivered him the bishop's letters, which I received of Nicholas, and appointed to meet with him the 10th day before Easter, at Nottingham, and there to receive answer. At the same time I wrote a letter making mention of the bishop's message to Lord Henry, and his answer, and of the stay of the Parliament, and likewise the stay of her removing, which I understood by Doctor Good, Mr. Bertie, and Mr. Morgan, with the presenting of their humble commendations to the Queen.

I was likewise with Mr. Goodyeare, willing him to write to her; but he answered he would not, for he had nothing to write. Then, according to appointment, I met with Mr. Hamilton at Nottingham, where I delivered him such letters of the bishop's as I received of Nicholas, and one of my own making mention as before, and withal one letter of Doctor Good's, wherein he wrote to the Queen to bestow something on me, and made mention of the correcting of the defence of her honour, which he had sent by the bearer with desire of answer of her liking thereof. I delivered the book with letters to Mr. Hamilton, and received the answer of that he received before, and so concluded to meet again on Monday in Whitsun Week at Buxton. I received a letter from the Queen [of Scots] written both to Morgan and me, wherein she made mention that she was glad of his liberty with the rest, and thanks for their good remembrance; and to me gave thanks for my pains, and therewith made mention that she had written to the ambassador to deliver me 100 crowns. When I came home the ambassador made the matter dangerous, whether they should be English crowns or French crowns, and so would not deliver

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1574-5. the money till he had a new warrant. But at my going to Buxton he delivered me 10*l.* In which letter she willed me to signify to my Lord Henry that she was glad to hear of his welfare, as also of his nephews, her children, as she called them, and to desire them to think no worse of her than her honourable dealings towards the late Duke deserved, and that she was glad the letter of contract was destroyed, and very desirous to have the ring. His answer was, that he never thought otherwise of her than well, and said likewise that he thought the Earl, his nephew, was of the same mind.

During the time of my being at Nottingham a boy came forth of Flanders from Mr. Hamilton directed to Nettsmyth with a letter to the Queen [of Scots], which Nettsmyth delivered me before I went to Buxton. At Whitsuntide I went to Buxton, where I met with Mr. Hamilton, and I delivered such letters as I had from the bishop and others, one from Mr. Good, one from Mr. Morgan and Mr. Bertie, all written in my cipher; the contents whereof were of common matters, and the chiefest was that Mr. Guaras was a friend of hers and bore affection to her; and, as I think, my Lord of Oxford was forth of the realm at that time, whereof they made mention, and of the Duchess of Suffolk's going into those parts. Her answer at Whitsuntide was that she liked well of the book, yet there wanted some additions, which she would augment herself and send them to him. She would also bestow a pension on me if she knew what was sufficient, and so willed them to say their minds therein, and it should be paid. When I returned from Buxton I found Thomas Leslie in town, who delivered me a little packet of letters and told me that he had brought a present to the Queen's majesty of England, and that he had sued for a passport to go down to his mistress, but could not obtain it; but said that Liddell, who was then come over with him, had grant to have a passport by reason that he had letters directed to your honour in his favour. But as for conference of importance with him or them, I had none, saving that I enquired of him whether the French King would not sue for his mistress' liberty, and, as I remember, his answer was, that he hoped all should be well one day (and so would the bishop always say). In the company of Leslie and Liddell I saw Murray, but conference I had none with him, nor ever had. Immediately after my return from Buxton Mr. Hamilton was brought to this town as prisoner, whom Nettsmyth saw and spoke with the same day, and told me thereof. Within a fortnight after, Hamilton, as he went to the lecture at St. Dunstan's church, came to me and showed me the interrogatories that he was examined of, and his answers, and therewith said that he thought to be discharged within a little time, and willed me to prepare such things as I had, for he would adventure the carriage thereof. Then I made ready Thomas Leslie's packet, and desired Mr. Good and Mr. Morgan to write their minds to the Queen touching my pension. Which they did, and concluded that I should have 30*li.* a year, and likewise they each wrote for an alphabet, and, as I think, of the death of the French King, showing that their opinion was that the new King and Duke John would both sue to her for marriage, but advised her not to consent to either. And at the same time Mr. Guaras sent her a token, being, as I remember, the twelve Apostles drawn in yellow tafita. But Mr. Hamilton not being licensed to depart so soon as he thought was

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the occasion that Mr. Morgan rode into the country and took me with him to carry those letters; and, being at Sheffield, he sent one to Sheffield to cause one of his acquaintance, the Earl's man, called Watkin Davyes, to meet him on the way to receive those letters; which he did, and that night went to Rotheram, and from thence, the next day, being St. James's eve, to my Lord Darcy's, and so to Doncaster. On St. James's day there came one of the Earl's servants, called Nevill Sands, to receive such things as Morgan had. And because he had delivered them before to Watkin, and that Sands should not think any in the house to have that credit but he, Morgan caused me to make up a packet of white paper instead of letters, and so appointed a place where letters should be received, and the same day caused me to return home, which I did. Within three days after Hamilton came to me and told me that he was likewise to depart, and I told him I would provide for him against the next day, and so received of Nicholas two letters—one little one of Doctor Attslowe; and Mr. Good and Bertie wrote again, as before, advising her not to make any promise to either, but to take good deliberation thereon; and at the same time Mr. Guaras sent a letter, and Nettsmyth delivered me two letters which Robinson brought in his shoes, and the said Robinson came to me for the works of Mr. More, which book I had not, and so I answered him. The said book Mr. Good sent since by Bogg at his being in town, but any conference with him I had not. All which [letters] were delivered to Mr. Hamilton the 3rd of August, and within three hours after I was apprehended and examined by Mr. Doctor Wilson touching the delivery of letters to Hamilton. I denied, and so was sent to the Bailiff of St. Katherine's house, and after that never called to answer, and so discharged. The same night that I was apprehended Mr. Hamilton went to Doctor Good to know what he should do with those letters. He willed him to cast them into a hedge in his garden, and so the next day Hamilton departed without letters. Towards the end of August Morgan came to town with letters, one directed to Mr. Guaras, one to Mr. Bertie, one to Mr. Good, one to Mr. Goodyeare, one to himself, wherewith he and Mr. Good received an alphabet, and in their letters she made mention that I should have my pension allowed. The letter directed to Mr. Goodyeare was mistaken, and so was sent back again.

In September Mr. Morgan rode again into Wales and there met with Watkin Davie, and delivered those letters that were cast into the hedge by Mr. Hamilton; but answer he received not until November or December last, which was by Nevill Sands. In her letters to Mr. Good, Morgan, and Bertie she made mention that they all advised her to take deliberation for answer of marriage, and as yet no such thing moved to her, and if any such motion were made they should not be the last should understand it, whose advice she would use, and withal willed them to beware of discovery. "For," said she, "I had rather be without intelligence than any of you should sustain damage," and therewith willed me to be circumspect how and at what times I repaired to friends, and that she had sent her command to the ambassador to deliver my quarter's pension; which I received. She was also desirous to know how the Queen's majesty of England liked of the marriage between Lord Lennox and Lady Shrewsbury's daughter.

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1574-5. Mr. Morgan wrote to her that it was thought that she was the deviser of that marriage. What Mr. Good wrote, I know not, for he wrote some part in his own cipher, and the rest I wrote in my cipher; and likewise he wrote to her to augment the pension of Bogg, for that he had so desired him at his being in London; and so Nevill Sands departed about the midst of December. Within two or three days after Sand's departure came another of the Earl's men, called Jackson, whom the Queen had sent to make a proof of, as I think; for she wrote to Morgan to know his opinion whether he thought the said Jackson fit for that purpose. Morgan's answer was that he thought him too timorous. Jackson was directed to Nicholas, who desired Mr. Morgan to help him to speak with Nicholas, and by appointment Nicholas and he spoke together, and, as I think, Jackson carried letters which the bishop had sent by his cook; for, as the cook told me, he was directed by his master to carry the same to Calais [Callice], there to deliver them to the post, and himself to follow, and to request me and Morgan to hasten answer thereof. Whether answer be returned yet or no, I know not; but it was not before my apprehension. I have received five or six letters from the bishop requesting in every one to understand of the removing of his mistress and her welfare, which I have answered accordingly. He wrote once to Mr. Good, Mr. Bertie, and Mr. Morgan thanks for their friendship; which letters I saw and read.

Thus most humbly desiring your lordship to procure at the Queen's hands pardon for my faults, I trust to serve her highness truly hereafter.

7 *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "20 Feb. 1574"; *and by Hunsdon:* "The coppye of H. Cockein's confession." *Marginally noted.*

Another copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 315. Original of the same.

Feb. 21. **90.** HENRY COCKYN TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X. Whereas Mr. Lieutenant * informed your honour that I seemed to be afraid to discover anything that might touch great personages, indeed, at first I was afraid to discover that which I knew of Lord Henry [Howard] and the Lady Cobham, who were the personages I stood in doubt of, and no others. If I were able to say anything of any others whatsoever, I would not let to utter the same in consideration of your honourable promise therein. For the care which your honour has to keep me from peril I rest your bedesman, and will so continue during life.

Touching the avouching of that I have written to the mean personages' faces, I would be loth (in respect they were my friends), yet in consideration of the premises I am content, and therefore I most humbly beseech your honour to procure my liberty as soon as you may conveniently, and in the mean season to permit my wife to have access to me. 21st February, 1574.

At whose hands Morgan, Attslowe, and the rest receive their intelligence of at the Court, I know not, and I never received advertise-

* Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower.

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1574-5. ment at Mr. Attslowe's hands but once (in August or September last), which was a letter. What favourers the Scottish Queen has in Court, I know not, other than Lady Cobham.

Of those that were in trouble for the said Queen, who showed themselves affected to her, or have any dealings for her, I know none other than I have already made mention of. Mr. Good and Morgan be the chiefest that deal for her. I never knew any pension given by the said Queen, either in Court or out of Court, to any besides myself. I know William Dunckin, the bishop's cook. He came to London at least a month before my apprehension. At his first coming he told me that he was come into England to seek him a master, but afterwards said that his master sent him with letters to Calais, and willed himself to come after and hasten the return of answer at the hands of Morgan and me. This he said he was commanded to do, but whether he spoke with Morgan since his coming, or not, I know not. He was at my house with me four or five times: the occasion thereof was to let me understand what answer two Frenchmen had at the Court, who sued to go down to the Scottish Queen. He lies sometimes at the ambassador's, and sometimes at a cook's house, called Downall, near Salisbury Court gate. *Signed:* Henrye Cockyn.

Postscript.—I have herein sent his alphabet.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Feb. 22. **91.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ELIZABETH.

C.P., vol. X. Neither by examination nor threatening of torture could we get the party (whose confession I send to your majesty) to discover anything, so that I was almost void of all hope to do any good. In the end, having great cause to suspect that he received some secret pension at the Queen of Scots' hands (which he was loth to lose), I thought good, therefore, to run on that course with him, assuring him by my letters that if he would discover what he knew (accusing no man wrongfully) in the causes he was examined of, I would not only procure your pardon for his former offences, but also some such further consideration that both he and his should be the better for it, and, besides that, the matter should be handled with such secrecy that he should not be discovered to be an accuser of others any further forth than he himself should assent to; which offer, if he should refuse, I assured him by torture he should be made to confess the bottom of the matter. This course being both faithfully and substantially executed by the Lieutenant of the Tower (who, therefore, deserves at your hands great thanks), the party was drawn to set down in writing the said confession. I hope your majesty will see that performed to him that by me was promised. If now upon his discovery the matter may be thoroughly handled by faithful and well chosen ministers, I do not doubt but that your majesty shall be able to discover a great number of the corrupt members of your estate, especially such as remain most dangerously about your person. On the other side, if it shall be loosely handled (as I do not doubt but that there will be all the devices that may be to qualify the matter), your majesty shall utterly discourage all honest ministers for dealing effectually in like services whereon depends so much your safety. I most humbly desire your majesty that at such time as you shall communicate this

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1574-5. matter to such of your Council as to your majesty shall seem fit, you will let them understand that at my departure from Court you gave me special commandment, in the time of my absence, to send to yourself all such matters of consequence as should come into my hands, without communicating them to any other; for that, otherwise, I doubt that this my secret dealing apart with your majesty will be interpreted to proceed either of a certain distrust of their loyalty, or of a kind of ambition in myself. I carry no respect to persons, as one that depends on God and your majesty, yet bear towards them that reverend respect that their calling and places require. London.

1 *p.* *Indorsed:* "22nd Feb. 1574. A m[inute] of a lettere unto her ma^tie."

Feb. 26. **92.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ELIZABETH.

C.P., vol. X. Whereas you require to know my opinion whether the whole or part of the confession I sent your majesty is to be communicated to such of your Council as you shall choose, as also who they be whom I think fit; if your majesty makes choice of those that be loyal and secret, then may you without any difficulty impart the whole to them. For the second—whom I think fit—I must refer that to your own choice, whose long experience and trial had of them can best judge of them.

Touching the matter itself, your delay in resolving not only makes me void of all hope to do any good therein (the opportunity being lost), but also quite discourages me to deal in like causes, seeing mine and other your poor faithful servants' care for your safety fruitless. And so most humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon this my plain speech, proceeding from a wounded and languishing mind, I forbear further to trouble your majesty. London.

⅔ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* "26 Feb. 1574. A m[inute] of a letter unto her ma^te."

Feb. 29. **93.** [WALSINGHAM] TO SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. X. Whereas by certain persons lately apprehended it is confessed that certain of your servants, forgetting their duty, have been secret conveyers of letters and messages to the Queen of Scots, namely, Alexander Hamilton, "Sandye" Nevell, Watkyn Davye, and one Jackson, her majesty's pleasure, therefore, is, to the end they may be charged by their accusers, that your lordship should send them up guarded.

⅔ *p.* *Indorsed:* "29 Feb. 1574. A m[inute] of a letter unto the E. of Shrewseberry."

[Feb.] **94.** MATTER THAT CERTAIN PERSONS MAY BE CHARGED WITH.

C.P., vol. X. "Articles of such matter as the persons hereafter named maye be severally charged with and examined uppon, gathered owt of Henrie Cockin's confession."

Goodyeare.—The bishop of Ross enquired of Cockin whether he had spoken with Goodyeare since his delivery. The bishop of Ross willed Cockin to desire Goodyeare and Lowther to continue their good opinion of the bishop of Ross and of the Queen of Scots, and to do her

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1574-5. such pleasure as they might. Goodyeare answered, he would continue his good opinion of them. Cockin moved Goodyeare to write to the Scottish Queen; who answered that he would not, but sent commendations to her. About the end of August last Goodyeare received a letter from the Queen of Scots, which was mistaken, and therefore sent back.

Richard Lowther.—Cockin went to Lowther from the bishop of Ross to desire him to continue still in good opinion of him and of the Queen his mistress, and to do her such pleasure as he might. Lowther [said] he would continue his opinion of him.

Francis Bartie.—Cockin went to Francis Bartie from the bishop of Ross to desire him to continue as is before touched of Goodyeare, and to know whether there were any pirates lying in wait for him. Bartie answered that he had given him little cause to think well of the bishop, but said he forgave him. Bartie sent word that the bishop of Ross might pass without danger, and offered means for his safe conveying to Dover. The bishop of Ross wrote to Francis Bartie to send his advertisements to Cockin, who should write the same in a cipher. Intelligence given to Cockin by Bartie to be signified to the Scottish Queen. At Whitsuntide Bartie wrote to the Scottish Queen in Cockin's cipher. The contents thereof were Guarra's affection to the Scottish Queen, the departure of the Earl of Oxford, the coming of the Duchess of Suffolk into these parts. Bartie wrote to the Scottish Queen touching her marriage, and received a letter by Morgan. A letter was sent in November or December last to Francis Bartie from the Scottish Queen. Bartie received letters of thanks from the bishop of Ross.

Doctor Good.—Was used by the bishop of Ross to pacify the Earl of Southampton. Advised the bishop of Ross not to send his Apology to Lord Henry [Howard] till he was beyond the seas. Was spoken to by the bishop of Ross to give intelligence to Cockin. Signified to Cockin the stay of the Scottish Queen's removal. Cockin delivered to Hamilton a letter of Doctor Good's to the Scottish Queen. Doctor Good sent a letter at Whitsuntide, written in Cockin's cipher, to the Scottish Queen. Wrote to the Scottish Queen for Cockin's pension. Wrote another letter to the Scottish Queen touching her marriage. Received letters from the Scottish Queen, and an alphabet. Sent Sir Thomas More's works by Bogg. Advised Hamilton to cast certain letters into the garden hedge. Wrote a letter to the Scottish Queen partly in his own cipher and partly in Cockin's cipher. The bishop of Ross wrote letters of thanks to Mr. Good.

Doctor Atteslowe.—The bishop of Ross wrote to Atteslowe. The next day after Hamilton's departure Cockin received two letters from Nicholas, the French ambassador's man.

Morgan.—The bishop of Ross, before his departure, spoke to Morgan for intelligence. Advertised Cockin of the stay of the Parliament, *etc.* A letter from the Scottish Queen to Cockin and Morgan. At Whitsuntide last Morgan wrote to the Scottish Queen. Wrote to the Scottish Queen for Morgan's pension, *etc.* Rode into the country with Cockin to carry letters to the Scottish Queen. Sent for Watkin Davys. In September last Morgan rode into Wales. The Scottish Queen, about November or December last, wrote to Morgan signifying that she was not yet moved touching marriage. Wrote to the Scottish Queen that it was thought she was the deviser of the marriage of the Earl of

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1574-5. Lennox with the Countess of Shrewsbury's daughter. The Queen of Scots sent up Jackson. Jackson was directed to Nicholas. The bishop of Ross wrote letters of thanks to Mr. Morgan.

Alexander Hamilton, schoolmaster.—A receiver of letters and advertisements from Cockin, and the conveyer thereof to the Scottish Queen. In February directed to Nesbith—whom Cockin calls Netsmith—with letters, and Netsmithe requested Cockin to deliver those letters to Nicholas. The Scottish Queen gave Hamilton in charge to take resolution of three heads. Cockin met Hamilton at Nottingham, and in Whitsun week at Buxton. Hamilton received of Nicholas two letters.

Nevill Sands.—On St. James's Day came to Morgan for letters. Came about November or December last to London and brought answer to the letters cast into Dr Good's hedge.

Jackson.—Sent to London by the Scottish Queen to be proved, *etc.*

Watkin Davys.—Received letters from Morgan by the way of Sheffield to deliver to the Scottish Queen. Received letters from Morgan in Wales that were cast into Doctor Good's garden hedge.

5 *pp. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

March 1. **95.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ELIZABETH.

C.P., vol. X. Whereas your pleasure is that I should set down my opinion what course is to be taken with the parties detected;—I think it convenient that Atslowe, Good, and Morgan be apprehended at one instant and committed to the Tower. Which thing, if it had been executed at the first time when I acquainted your majesty with the matter, there would have been that drawn from them then which I fear will not now, for sundry respects. Touching Bartie, who is discovered to be a principal actor in this tragedy, I presume that I shall by persuasion be able to draw from him that which, perhaps, neither imprisonment nor torture may win from him. After the said parties be apprehended, then may your majesty appoint certain to examine them. London.

½ *p. Indorsed:* "1 of Marche 1574. A m[inute] of a letter unto her ma[te]."

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 319. Copy of the same.

March 3. **96.** PROCLAMATION FOR CRYING DOWN PLACKS AND HARDHEADS.

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 320.

"The Proclamation of the crying doun of the new plakkis and heidis."

The Regent and Estates assembled at this present Convention having consideration of the great inconveniences that now proceed amongst the King's lieges, in default of victual and all other merchandise and goods that are "put to derth" and raised and put to exorbitant prices, "and haldin and abstractit fra mercattis" through occasion of great quantity of false counterfeit money, "plakkis and lyonis," otherwise called hardheads, "strikin in cuinze" in the time of the Queen "drowarier" and Regent, the King's "guddam," as also by false coiners, not only within Scotland but "outwith" the same, so subtly and in such form of metal that it is very hard for the ignorant

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1574-5. to discern the true from the false—have ordained all the said new "plakkis" last coined "to have course and passage" amongst all the King's lieges after this present proclamation for two pence the piece, and all the said "lyonis," otherwise called "hardheads," for a penny the piece, and that none shall be holden to receive the said plakes and hardheads after the proclamation of any dearer avail and price than is before specified. "Attour," because it is well known that the greatest part of the said plakes and hardheads now passing in this realm are false, which being the chief cause of dearth, are by Act of Parliament made before "ordanit to be clippit." Therefore ordain and command all persons "havaris" of the said new plakes and hardhead in their hands to bring or send them to the King's "cuinzehous" to John Carmichaell, warden thereof, to be seen and considered by him, James Gray, sinker, John Hart and "Nicholl" Sym, appointed visitors thereof, or any of them, betwixt the date hereof and the 20th of November next to come, to the effect that such as they find false may be instantly clipped down and put into a close [locked] coffer "upon compt and inventar" of the quantity received from every person. Money that is found of the lawful coin of Scotland to be marked* by the said James Gray and delivered again to the owner. Plakes and hardheads so marked shall have course for the prices above written, "but" any contradiction, Persons found with plakes and hardheads not marked in this sort shall be pursued and punished as wilful outputters and chargers of false and corrupted money. Holyrood House.

1 *p.* *Blackletter.* *Imprinted at Edinburgh by John Ros.*

March 8. **97.** LEICESTER TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X. Mr. Secretary, I understand by her majesty that one Nesbyth, or Nesmyth, is one that has been lately accused to know divers matters touching the Scottish Queen, specially to be a conveyer of letters, and such like dealer. The Recorder of London likewise gave me to understand, upon a letter that I wrote to him about this Nesbyth, that he was one touched in a letter from my Lord Treasurer, and had commandment to stay him. This Nesbyth was with him, and yet not stayed; and because he is one that attends upon young Seton here, "and of like the rather, if he be so well acquainted before as it seems he is, I thought good to tell her majesty that this fellow was here about Seton, and what I learned of the Recorder as well as of herself." She marvelled that he was not dealt withal. Wherefore I thought good to signify to you this much, that you may call the Recorder to understand the causes, as also if there be any other matter fallen out that touches him, that he is now here to be had, and upon answer from you I will send him to you. For it seems by his note to me that the fellow knows that he was mistrusted and sought for, and desires his justification. I willed H. Killigrew to tell you of young Seton's coming to me at Kenilworth. I perceive it is he the Regent sent word of. He was recommended as to serve me, but I have refused that; but whilst he tarries here I use him with such courtesy as appertains, and I see he is one that will soon

* The mark is inserted here, but is torn at the top.

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1574-5. be acquainted in our Court, and can well apply himself to please all parties. He has been very well brought up, and a very good wit. Her majesty could be content he made no long abode here, and if it might be cleanly brought to pass, it were no harm such instruments were further off, since he is doubted to be affected as he is. If this Nesbyth may be justly touched it may procure some occasion to show mistrust also of his mistress being here, having such a minister about him, and thereby may be dealt withal by degrees. Touching this Nesmyth, I pray you let me hear from you, for I perceive her majesty likes he should be dealt withal. *Signed:* R. Leycester.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 8. **98.** WILLIAM WHARTON TO HUNTINGDON.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 480. According to my promised service to the Queen's majesty for the unfolding of the Queen of Scots' practices and the bringing to light of her secret and unlawful favourers, I have employed my diligent service at all times without any respect either to want of support or lack of regard for my good intended service. I humbly beseech your honour not only to receive this my letter in good part, being made of necessity a spokesman to your honour for want of other friends to advance my honest causes, but also favourably to consider and weigh that lack of ability has been rather the cause of tract of time, than any want of matter or dutiful service when mature occasion served most aptly for the purpose. My lord, if I had proceeded according to the first orders my who[le] doings had been utterly frustrated, as I have good intelligence both by a secret friend and by my own industry for the knowledge thereof. But, notwithstanding (most singular good lord), that I right well understand that I am continually pestered with undeserved obliquy, the frailty of my passed years set forth by my adversaries to the most view of my discredit with authority (for fear of punching some in the quick), my just and faithful intended service misconstrued, my painful travail, with no small peril of bodily harm at divers times, little regarded, my great costs and charges (to my great impoverishing), nothing considered, my adversaries traitorous causes (I mean Thomas Wray and his rebellious society) overshadowed by procured friendship and "lucricious" favourers, your good lordship "wraisted" by sinister persuasion to mislike of me and my doings—a thing most of all to my discomfort—and I, poor man, left destitute of all consolation and refuge, but only in your lordship, to whom (by my own suit) I was committed with credit. Yet I rest not discouraged, neither will I fail in my point of my promised service (if I may be licensed and favourably considered upon) so politicly to handle the practice by a contrary mean, and under "pretensed" friendship to the Queen of Scots, that not only my credit and perfect friendship shall be assured to her from her most trusty and dearest friends in Scotland, but also such a meet person sent from them to come in under my safe conduction as shall be thought by her trusty friends a most apt instrument for that purpose. But for the better accomplishment of this service it is very expedient to have your lordship's letters to be directed to Lord Scrope and Sir John Foster for this secret conference and circumspect dealing, and assisting of me in the execution of this action, as cause and time shall minister occasion; and if I then fail in

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1574-5. any point or jot of my promised service for the bringing of the Queen of Scots' packet of letters to be taken and brought to your hands upon secret intelligence from me when time serves, let my sovereign take from me the greatest jewel that man possesses, which is the only thing that my adversaries daily gape for, besides the procuring of my creditors to prosecute me with all extremity. My lord, I ask no more of my Prince for the reward and consideration of my service but that my poor credit may be now tried, and that I may have and enjoy your good countenance, and some order for my protection during the time of my service without molestation or encumbrance. Otherwise, I shall not only be constrained to make refusal of my own natural soil and country (to the great discomfort of my poor wife and children), but also a mean to occasion me to leave that your good intended service unfinished which I have taken in hand, not for any advancement or preferment (I take God to be my Judge), but verily for the safeguard and preservation of my sovereign's security. And further, your lordship shall understand that I right well know that the now Earl of N. rages against me,—"Aliquid inde latet quod non patet"—and the Lord Chief Justice spurns privily against my doings concerning the accusation of his brother for receiving and supporting John Goore (a notorious lurking traitor). I will justly prove my doings to be true by sufficient testimony, or else reject me as a reprobate, and as one most unworthy of credit. I know that they have divers instruments almost in all places to touch me with ignominy, and that some in the Court attending at the Queen's majesty's elbow have not only made small account of me and my doings, but also have uttered such secrets declared by me as now turn me to great displeasure. But my service (good lord) is as far without their reach as the bright beams of the sun transcend the light of the moon. The importunity of my adversaries and their favourers urge me to write thus boldly, and the circumstances of my causes thus largely, for I have neither said nor done anything without good matter for me, or otherwise than was my bounden duty both towards God and the discharge of my natural subjection towards my Prince, whereunto I always have had, and will have during my life a special regard. Consider that my only desire was to be directed to your honour that the fruits of my service might redound to your honour's recommendation in part of some recompense of that goodness which your father had extended to me when I stood in great need of his help, and partly also that my credit might be the better advanced by your means as the substance, quantity, and quality of my service should justly require. I am driven for my refuge to cry to God with David, and next after my Prince to your lordship for your accustomed goodness—"Judica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam," *etc.* Ripon. "Teste W^m^ Whartone."

3¾ *pp.* *At the head;* "The copie of a lettre sent unto therlle of Hunt. by William Wharton the viij^th^ of Marche 1574."

March 9. **99.** [WALSINGHAM] TO LEICESTER.

C.P., vol. X. The Recorder is not presently in this town, whereby I cannot inform myself at his hands what he has to object against Nettsmyth. In the confession I sent to her majesty there is one that bears that

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1574-5. name, who is charged to be a secret conveyer of letters to the Queen of Scotland; which offence, if her majesty shall think fit to be punished in a stranger, and suffer her own subjects to escape untouched, who not only convey letters to her, but also write to her, and some of them in cipher, he may think himself hardly dealt with. If it be a fault in a Scot to convey letters to his natural Queen, and thought worthy of punishment as a thing forbidden by her majesty, how much more is the fault redoubled in others, who, being her majesty's natural subjects, most unnaturally and undutifully practise not only with a foreign Prince, but with one who is competitor with her for this crown? If it be thought unfit to touch the principal, being her own subjects, it may seem hard dealing to punish only an accessory, being a stranger. Surely her majesty's strange dealing in this case will discourage all honest ministers who are careful for her safety to deal in the discovery of the sores of this diseased State, seeing her majesty bent rather to cover than to cure them. Notwithstanding, for that her majesty has power to punish and pardon whom she lists, she shall find me ready, touching the said Nettsmyth, to execute such directions as I shall receive from her majesty. Mr. Killigrew, as your lordship writes, showed me how desirous you were to be rid of young Seton in some such honest sort that there might no particular unkindness be taken by him, nor generally by that nation. Surely, for my own opinion, having some cause to doubt that there are Scottish hearts in some English bodies of that Court who are able to do more harm than he, makes me to think his abode there of less peril. Notwithstanding, if her majesty were minded to proceed to a thorough reformation of this her corrupt State, it were well, amongst other things, he were removed. But seeing her majesty seems not to have any meaning to remove the Scottish Queen from the place where she presently is, whereby she might be both more narrowly looked to and more safely kept—from whom grows the ground of all the corruption—I see the removing of him, and the punishing of the other (the matter having been so long delayed) a thing of less consequence. Thus your lordship sees how my grieved mind is forced to unfold before you such passions as the same is presently possessed of. My chief exercise (as one that despairs of all remedy) is presently to arm my mind with patience, and my body with a resolution to sacrifice the same in her majesty's service. London.

1 *p.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "The coppye of my letter unto the E. of Leycester."

March 10. **100.** SIR WALTER MILDMAY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X. This afternoon the Lord Treasurer told him her majesty's pleasure was that Walsingham, himself and Mr. Solicitor should consider what was meet to be done further touching those who are touched in the confession of Cockyn, and thereupon delivered to him the copy he sent to her. Mr. Solicitor and he have agreed to be with him [Walsingham] to-morrow between 8 and 9 in the morning, and in the meantime Mr. Solicitor has the examination to peruse, and to note such things as he shall think material. *Signed:* Wa. Mildmay.

¾ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

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101. [WALSINGHAM] TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 321.

Understands by Sir Walter Mildmay, whom the Lord Treasurer sent for on his return to this town, that it is her majesty's pleasure that they should proceed to the apprehension and examination of the parties charged by the stationer. Fears the only good that will grow thereof—the matter having been so long delayed—will be that such evil ministers, being committed, shall be cut off from practice, and others learn by their example to be more wary. Is sorry to learn that the Irish matters were still unresolved. In his poor opinion the best resolution will be to revoke the Earl. The disposition of the forces being in one man's hand, there is most apparent likelihood that the enterprise would have taken most happy success to her majesty's great honour and the discharge of this crown of an intolerable consumption of treasure. Thinks God's curse upon that country will suffer nothing to take place that tends to the reformation thereof. Judges that Cockburn in his letter to him [Leicester[let fall somewhat whereby it might appear how necessary it were for her majesty to have a minister in Scotland, especially before the arrival of someone that is looked for there out of France. It is strange the conservation of the amity of that country importing her so much as it does. Has so often put the Regent in hope of someone to be sent from her majesty to him that he is now ashamed to write to him, having no colour of excuse to lay before him to make him interpret this long stay in sending in good part. London.

1½ *pp. Copy.*

March 11.

102. EDWARD CARYE TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X.

I have, at length, had time to move her majesty from you in behalf of the poor man [Henry Cockyn] that that which has been promised him by you might be performed to him by her majesty for his pardon, and also that by degrees she would be good to him. Whereunto her majesty assents, and will confirm that which you have promised. She is content that his wife shall go to him. She thinks there might be more got out of him, and says that that which he has confessed is but of small importance—only the conveying of letters to the Queen of Scots.

Her majesty has further willed me to signify to you that she has delivered the whole confession to my Lord Treasurer, and has taken order with him for the examining of the other persons that you know of, and that he means to come to you himself, by whom you shall understand the whole, and the cause why it has been so long deferred. She seems to be very careful for your health and perfect recovery. Richmond. *Signed:* Edwa. Carye.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 12.

103. WALSINGHAM TO HENRY COCKYN.

C.P., vol. X.

Her majesty means to stand your good and gracious lady, for that you have so dutifully set down in writing what you know touching those causes you were examined of. Notwithstanding, she is of opinion that, forasmuch as it appears that there has been great trust

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1574-5. reposed in you, you are able to say much more than you have already discovered. To that purpose, her majesty finding in your confession certain points that need explanation, her pleasure is that you shall truly and fully set down what you know therein, as you look to receive favour at her hands. Which said points I send you herewith. Her majesty has sent me word that she will maintain my promise towards you every way, and for a taste of her favour she is content that your wife shall have access to you. I tell your wife that her majesty is content that she shall have access to you to that end that she may persuade with you to discover what you know in the causes you are examined of, for that as yet we can get nothing from you; and, for the better disguising of the matter, I have taken order with Mr. Lieutenant that he shall be present at such time as she shall have access to you, to the end he may use such speeches before her that she may conceive that you can be brought as yet to discover nothing. After certain who are appointed to be apprehended be examined, then shall she have free access to you, and within four days after I doubt not but to procure your liberty, as also some such considerations for your relief that you shall have cause to content yourself withal. I pray you, therefore, so deal in the explanation of the points I send you that I may have the better foundation to deal with her majesty for the increase of her favour towards you. I would be very loth that it should hereafter be found that others' confessions should charge you with matter of importance that you have not already confessed. You are wise enough to consider of your own case, therefore my hope is you will deal accordingly. Mr. Lieutenant shall acquaint you with the care I have for your present relief. I have appointed your wife to repair to you on Monday next.

1 *p. Indorsed:* "14 Marche 1574. A m[inute] of a letter to Cockyn."

March 14. **104.** ARTICLES DELIVERED TO HENRY COCKYN.

C.P., vol. X. "Artycles delyvered unto Henry Cockyn the [ ] day of Marche a° 1574, for thexaminacyon and makynge playne of a former declaracyon by hym made and wrytten with his own hand."

(1) Whereas you say that you answered the bishop of Ross that some men thought he dealt not so honourably nor honestly as he might have done, declare whom you mean by these (some), and what were the points of dishonour or dishonesty.

(2) Which Lodar do you mean? Gerard or his elder brother?

(3) What ground have you to think that Doctor Good was a mean to pacify the Earl of Southampton, or that he dissuaded the bishop of Ross from sending the Apology to Lord Henry?

(4) Whereas you write that the bishop of Ross said that he appointed you to write to the Scottish Queen and him all such advertisements as their friends should give you instructions of; who were those friends?

(5) Whereas you write that you think the bishop of Ross wrote to Doctor Atteslowe; what ground have you so to think?

(6) The bishop of Ross delivered you his Apology with the order of his proceedings; what were those proceedings?

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1574-5.

(7) Hamilton was desirous to be resolved of three heads before his departure, and you answered you would learn what you might; and you told him, as far as you could learn of her friends, the Parliament held not, and that her removing was not determined; what persons did you use or confer with for resolution of any of the said heads, or with whom did you purpose to speak? Who were the friends whom you speak of in your answer to Hamilton?

(8) Where and when did Doctor Good declare to you the stay of the Parliament, *etc.*, and who were then present?

(9) Where and when had you your conference with Goodyeare, and who were present?

(10) You delivered a letter to Hamilton at Nottingham; of whom did you receive the same letter?

(11) By whom was the book written for the defence of the Scottish Queen's honour corrected? Who printed it? and what written copies were thereof, and by whom were they written?

(12) When you went to Buxton you delivered letters from the bishop and others; who were those others?

(13) You delivered Hamilton letters from Doctor Good, Morgan, and Berty; of whom did you receive those letters, *etc.*?

(14) Where did you leave your cipher?

(15) Lyddell said to you that he hoped all should be well one day, and the bishop of Ross was wont to use the same speech; what were the grounds which they showed for their hope, and what was that "one day"?

(16) You write that Nettesmyth spoke with Hamilton; where did he speak with him, and what means did he use for the same?

(17) Morgan and Good wrote to the Scottish Queen touching your pension, and for an alphabet; declare whether they wrote severally, and of whom you received the letters, whether you are acquainted with the alphabet, where and when you saw the same, whether Morgan and Good had two alphabets or one, and how you know the same.

(18) You received two letters from Nicholas—one from Doctor Atteslowe; declare from whom the other came, to whom it was directed, how you know the one to come from Atteslowe, your knowledge touching these two letters, whether they were in cipher, and whether Doctor Atteslowe has a cipher.

(19) Good and Bartye wrote again advising her, *etc.* Declare whether in one or several letters, and of whom you received the same.

(20) Good willed Hamilton to cast the letters into a hedge; declare how you know the same.

(21) Towards the end of August Morgan came to town with letters to Guerras, Bartye, *etc.*, and that he and Good received an alphabet; declare how you know this.

(22) The letter directed to Goodyere was mistaken; declare whether the same was delivered to Goodyere, and by whom, and by what means the mistake was found out, of what effect the letter mistaken was, and who conveyed the same back again.

(23) The Scottish Queen in her letters to Good, Morgan, and Bertye made mention, *etc.;* declare how you know the letters came to their hands.

(24) Morgan wrote to the Scottish Queen that it was thought she

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1574-5. was the deviser of that marriage, and what Mr. Good wrote you know not, for that he wrote part in his own cipher, and the rest in your cipher: declare how you know that, and what be the contents of that part which was written in his own cipher.

(25) Jackson was sent by the Queen of Scots to make a proof of him, and wrote to Morgan to know his opinion, *etc.* By what means do you know that she wrote so to Morgan, and how do you know that Morgan made answer?

(26) How and by what means do you know that Nicholas desired Morgan to help Jackson to speak with him? Where did Nicholas and Jackson meet, and who were present?

(27) The bishop Ross wrote once to Mr. Good, Mr. Bartye, and Morgan, which letters you saw: declare how you saw the same, when, and who were present.

(28) What secret letters or ciphers had you at the time of your apprehension, and where have you bestowed them?

5 *pp. Indorsed:* "14 Marche 1574. Artycles drawen by M[r] Sollycyter* for H. C. for the better explaination of his former confession, in M[r] Sollicitor's owne hand."

Copy of the same.

March 14. **105.** HENRY COCKYN'S EXPLANATION.

C.P., vol. X. "Henrie Cockin's explanation of his fyrst declaration, made uppon certayne articles delivered unto him the 14 of March 1574."†

(1) It was the common talk in the city that the bishop of Ross had accused the Duke and all others that he had dealt with, to the uttermost; and Mr. Good said to me a little before the bishop's departure, that the bishop had played the child in uttering what he knew of the Duke, Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Thomas Gerard and all others he had dealt with, and that the bishop was the death of Hall. "For," said he, "the chiefest evidence against Hall was the confession of the bishop." "Yet," quoth he, "wee must make the best wee can of it; but in good fayth I may say to the [thee], his dealyngs weare starcke naught." This conference I had with him in his bedchamber in November 1573, nobody being present.

(2) It was Mr. Richard Lodor, who lay at a glover's house near Holborn Bridge. Never had any conference with his brother Gerard.

(3) The bishop himself told me that he would use Doctor Good to pacify the Earl of Southampton, and that Good had dissuaded him from sending the Apology to Lord Henry till he departed the realm.

(4) Those friends were Mr. Good, Mr. Bartie, Mr. Goodyeare, and Attslowe. Other friends he named not.

(5) I do not well remember whether the bishop wrote to Mr. Atteslow or not concerning advertisements; but he wrote to know whether any pirates were secretly laid for him, and his answer was, that, so far as he could learn, the seas were clear. This answer I received of him at his own house.

* Sir Thomas Bromley. † Answer to the interrogatories in No. 104.

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(6) The bishop delivered me his Apology and the whole discourse of his proceedings from the time of his first coming to this realm until his departure; wherein was contained the whole order of his examinations and confessions during the time of his imprisonment in the Tower; which discourse he delivered to me with the Apology to be delivered to Lord Henry, wherein he willed me to use the advice of Mr. Good, and to follow his directions. Immediately after the departure of the bishop I went to Mr. Good to know his mind whether I should then presently deliver the discourse and Apology. His answer was that I should not yet deliver them, and that the discourse should not be delivered at all; for that, said he, it was not requisite that Lord Henry should view the whole proceedings, because they appertained not to him, but he should have the Apology, and the order of the bishop's examinations during the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, and that not fully, but only as much as concerned his brother. "And that," quoth he, "must be holpen in some places to, or els the Lord Henrie will skarse like well of it." And so Mr. Doctor willed me to write the bishop's examinations by themselves, and after they were corrected by him he willed me to bind the examinations and Apology together, and to deliver the same with my message to Lord Henry; which I did, as I remember, in January or February 1573, Lord Henry then lying at Audley End. Mr. Good detained the whole discourse, which, as I think, he has still.

(7) For the resolution of those three heads I conferred with Good, Bartie, and Morgan. In my answer to Hamilton I named no man, so far as I remember, as friends to the Scottish Queen. But as Hamilton told me that he had been for physic with Good and Atteslowe, whom he thought to be friends to the Scottish Queen, I answered that I thought so too.

(8) Doctor Good declared to me the stay of the Parliament and removing of the Scottish Queen when Hamilton was in London; which was, as I remember, in February 1573. There was none present, for he used always to confer with me in his bedchamber.

(9) In December, at his lodging in Foster Lane, in a house that was sometime Sir Ralph Rowlett's. His page, Thomas Rogers, helped me to speak with his master at that time.

(10) Of Doctor Good. Which letter was not directed to Hamilton, but to the Scottish Queen.

(11) The book was newly corrected by Doctor Good. The book was written. I know of no more copies than four, whereof I wrote three. One was sent to the Scottish Queen; another Good delivered to Nicholas to be sent to. the bishop to be printed; the third, being imperfect, he keeps; and the fourth likewise, which was written by some other of his acquaintance, but who that was, I know not. Morgan borrowed the said book of Mr. Good to show to Doctor Lougher, with whom Morgan then lay, and within seven or eight days after Morgan delivered me the same to restore to Doctor Good; which I did a little before my apprehension.

(12) I have made mention of all their names in my former writing,

(13) The letters delivered by me were all in my cipher. Mr. Bartie wrote his letter himself. Mr. Good and Morgan delivered me their several letters written with their own hands, willing me to put

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1574-5. the same in my cipher and restore their letters to them again. As I remember, I received Doctor Good's letter of him in his own house. Morgan brought his letter to my house. Mr. Bartie borrowed my cipher, wrote his own letter, and then delivered the same to me at my house. What the contents of his letter were, I know not; but the Scottish Queen wrote afterwards that they all advised her to take good deliberation of answer of marriage, and as yet no such matter moved. The contents of the other two letters were principally to advise her of her removing and the stay of the Parliament. Mr. Good wrote of the return of the Earl of Oxford and the going down of the Duchess of Suffolk, advising the Scottish Queen to beware of her, for that she was her great enemy.

(14) Within three months after the receipt of my cipher I burnt the same. I had the same perfectly in my mind.

(15) It was Thomas Leslie who used those speeches to me, and not Liddell; for with him I used no great familiarity, by reason that Leslie told me that Liddell had brought letters of commendation to your honour from her majesty's ambassador in France and from one Drisedale, a gentleman of credit in the French Court, who used, as he said, to give advertisements to her majesty; which letters Liddell gave Leslie to keep. Leslie opened the letters and closed them up again when he had perused them. But what he or the bishop meant by those speeches, I know not, unless they meant thereby that her majesty would one day take order for their mistress' liberty, or that the French King would sue therefor; or whether their meaning was that their faction would grow strong again in Scotland, and that by the help of the said King, whereby her majesty would the sooner yield to the restitution of the Scottish Queen; or that the bishop meant that some of his mischievous practices should take place [I know not].

(16) The same day that Hamilton was brought to London, Netsmithe, by fortune, went to Coldharbour [Coleherbert] to enquire there when the carriers came up, for that he would write to Hamilton for certain money that he owed him, and there saw Hamilton in the company of another, and at the sight of him he offered to talk with him. Quoth Hamilton, "Nettsmith come not neere me, for I am a prisoner: but I defie all the world in aught they are able to charge mee withall. Yet I praye you," quoth he, "come hither to morrowe and inquire whether I be sent to prison or not, and yf I be, then I pray you provide some good cheere for me, and send to mee."

(17) Morgan and Good wrote severally to the Scottish Queen for my pension and for the alphabets. I am not acquainted with those alphabets, which were two several. They received both of them at my hands. The cipher of Mr. Good I saw when he wrote last to the Scottish Queen. I delivered Morgan his cipher, which he within a short time gave to me to keep, which I had at the time of my apprehension.

(18) The two letters that I received of Nicholas, as I think, were from his master; which, as I suppose, were written in cipher. The cause that makes me so to think is, for that they had no directions, but only this mark **E** on the backside. The other little one I received of Mr. Atteslowe in Cheapside. The letter, as I suppose, was in cipher, for that it had no direction, but this * mark, or

* A trefoil.

Elizabeth.
1574-5. some other very like the same. Yet, so far as I know, he has no cipher himself. Mr. Attslowe told Hamilton of the same letter, and Hamilton came to me and enquired whether Mr. Attslowe had delivered me a letter or not, for that Mr. Attslowe had so told him.

(19) Bartie and Good wrote severally. Because I lent Mr. Bartie my cipher Mr. Good was highly offended with me, and for the same used many ungainly speeches to me, and said, that though Mr. Bartie was an honest gentleman, yet I had not commandment to deal with Mr. Bartie, but only with himself; who said that he was himself able to get sufficient advertisements without the help of Mr. Bartye. The cause, as I suppose, that he sent for a cipher was that he might signify every man's advertisements in his own name.

(20) I know that Mr. Good willed Hamilton to cast the letters into a hedge by reason that Mr. Good told me so, and likewise signified the same to the Scottish Queen in his last letter, which was written in his own cipher. He signified likewise in his own cipher, as I think, that he had given my wife during the time of my trouble 40*s*. I have cause to think so, for that he told Morgan the same tale—although a great untruth—and Morgan likewise told me thereof.

(21) I know the same by reason that I delivered them myself. The letter directed to Gwaras I delivered to Mr. Bartie.

(22) The letter at that time directed to me made mention of a letter to Gwaras (S), one to Mr. Bartye (G), one to Mr. Good (B), one to Mr. Morgan (R), one to Mr. Goodyeare (Y), and another to Nettsmithe—the letters directed by the marks only. Now, there wanted one of the number that mention was made of in my letter, and the mark of Mr. Goodyeare and Nettsmyth being much alike, and I not acquainted with Netsmith's mark caused me to think that Nettsmith's letter had been wanting. Whereupon, about the end of October last, Thomas Rogers being in town, I told him I had a letter for his master from the Scottish Queen. Rogers said that he marvelled that the Scottish Queen's wisdom was so small that she would write to his master, being then in displeasure, yet willed me to deliver him the letter; which I did. His master wondered what the Scottish Queen meant by writing to him in a cipher that he was not acquainted with. I told Rogers that I supposed that answer was but devised "to give me a door." Then he swore to me the contrary. I willed him to give me the letter again, and it should be sent from whence it came: which he did in November last. Shortly after Mr. Goodyeare persuaded Mr. Bartie to leave the course he had begun in sending to the Scottish Queen. Mr. Bartie told him those things he meddled in were not very dangerous, for he used but to send her some such things as she sent for appertaining to physic. "Yes," quoth Mr. Goodyeare, "such a one cometh to you," naming me, "I am sure for other matters than physicke only"; and with that departed. This talk Mr. Bartie told me Mr. Goodyeare used to him. Mr. Bartie told me this at his house. The cause of my repair thither was for a book that his wife bought for me, called "The Instructions of a Christian Woman."

(23) I delivered those letters to them myself and I received them of Sands at the "White Hart" at Cripplegate.

(24) I know that Morgan wrote to the Scottish Queen by reason that I saw his letter, which he delivered to me to write in my cipher at "the Checker" at Dowgate.

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1574-5.

(25) I deciphered his letter to Morgan; which letter I received of Mr. Nicholas. I know that Morgan answered by means that I wrote his answer in my cipher.

(26) Morgan told me that Jackson desired him to speak with Nicholas, and so Morgan willed me to go to Nicholas and appoint him to meet with them at the Doctors' Commons. The next morning I met Morgan at the Doctors' Commons—but then Jackson had not come thither—and told him that Nicholas had promised to be there about the hour appointed, which was then at hand, and so I departed and left Morgan walking in the yard. Presently I met Nicholas going thither. I told him that Morgan tarried for him. Who were present when they talked together, I know not.

(27) Those letters from the bishop, directed to Mr. Bartie, Good, and Morgan, I received of Nicholas. I opened them thinking they had been in cipher, but they were written in a secretary's hand, and so delivered them according to his directions. With the bishop's letter I delivered another to him from John Cuthbert, secretary to the bishop, wherein was only thanks for the friendship received at his hands.

(28) Secret letters or ciphers I had none at the time of my apprehension (for, as I received any letters I always burnt them), but only Morgan's cipher. Whether the same was found or not when my house was searched, or whether Morgan has gotten it since my apprehension, I know not. I told him where I had put the same, which was in the case of my bow.

6 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Copie of H. Cockin's explanation."

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 325. Original of the same.

Cott. Julius F. VI., fol. 43, b. Copy of the same.

March 16. **106.** WILLIAM HENRYSON TO [THE REGENT MORTON].

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 329.

Please your grace to wit [that] the bishop of Ross and the French ambassador conferred together ere he departed from this country. It is devised betwixt them to cause the King of France to send to your grace and the rest of the nobility very fair offers, the which were not heard of these many years. In so far as I could get the intelligence, the offers shall be these. The King's order of the "cokle" (coquille) shall be offered to your grace, my Lord Huntly, my Lord Argyll, and my Lord of Angus, together with the pension of the same. The estate of gentlemen in chamber to the King shall be in like manner given to six lords or gentlemen with the yearly pension thereof. The Scottish company of men-of-arms shall be "lyftit" again, and the captains thereof at your grace's election. The captain of the King's guard in like manner to be given to a Scotsman, as your grace shall present the man. The yearly pension of money or munition contained in the old league shall be yearly paid and sent into Scotland. All these offers shall be performed "sua" your grace with the rest of the nobility will observe and keep the old and ancient league betwixt the two realms. There is devised that one gentleman of credit shall come into Scotland to your grace. William Stewart, brother to the Laird of Gasstown, has been in France this last year bypast, and "is cumit"

Elizabeth.
1574-5. here within these eight days; who has shown me that Adam Gordon is busy there, and some suppose that he "dois purches" to have of the King some men or money to come into the north parts of Scotland. But your grace shall wit that the King has other thing to do nearer hand himself, for I saw a letter that came forth of France within these six days to Monsieur Vidame of Chartres making mention that those of the religion have taken now lately the town and castle of Lusignan, St. Mesan, Parthenay, and Brouage, together with all the isles that are about the Rochelle, and Monsieur De la Noue is in Bas Poictou with 3000 hagbutters and 1000 horsemen to assemble the troops; Monsieur Gyttry in the Beausse with 1500 horsemen, and has taken Beaugency, which is the passage over the river of Loire; and there are more than 80 towns and castles taken in Pro . . . , and Damvoill is at an extreme point in that country, and that he dare not come upon the fields. The King has sent to him Monsieur De Los, who is captain of the Scottish guard. "Syclyke" they are camped about Toulouse, and take prisoners all that "dois sort" forth of the town, and that the castle of Blaye in the midst of the river of Bordeaux should be taken, "bott no certante cummit" thereof at all. The Count of Montgomery comes here again with diligence, who went to Guernsey, and it is spoken here that he shall take over certain companies with him to Picardy, for there is already some insurrection there, as it is spoken here. The French ambassador had made some appointment betwixt the King and the Court of Montgomery, and the King sent here his letter subscribed with his hand; which letter his wife received, being for that present in this town, and she sent the same to him. The offers were these:—if the Count would be a true subject to him, that he sould have all his living assured and "obayit" to him wheresoever he was in any realm, being the King's friends, and if he pleased to remain in the Rochelle and be under the King's obedience, he should have liberty for the same. He spoke with the French ambassador himself when he was in this town sundry times, but I cannot well "schaw" your grace if he accepts the offers.

The old quarrel betwixt the house of Montmorency and the house of Guise, which was about the county of Dampmartin, was finally agreed. In Montmorency's own house the King, the Queen mother, and Monsieur de Guise and his friends were all present, and were banqueted and made great there, and thereafter they came all together with the King to St. German's. But now lately the quarrel is fallen forth amongst them worse than ever it was, the manner whereof was this. Monsieur de Guise alleged that Montmorency had "conducit" Monsieur de Guise's own master stabler, who is a gentleman of good rent, to have slain his master, and alleged that the same gentleman had revealed the same to him, and craved his pardon for the enterprising thereof. This allegation being revealed to Montmorency, he was very "commovit" at the matter, the which he never thought, and showed the King that such like things were alleged on him that he never thought. In the meantime Monsieur de Guise comes to his own master of stable and strikes him with his sword seven or eight times through his doublet and cloak, till he believed he had slain him, and gentlemen took him from him, thinking, if he had been slain, that the King should not have the trial of the matter. The gentleman was examined, and deponed that it was Monsieur de Guise's own device,

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1574-5. and he never spoke such like to him. And thereafter Monsieur Montmorency said to the King that he could not tarry longer in the Court with his grace, seeing and perceiving the inward malice that was borne to him, being under the colour of friendship, *etc.* The Duke d'Alençon and his bastard brother, the Grand Prior, with all the blood of France take Montmorency's part. The Queen mother and all the strangers take Guise's part, and the King stands neutral for them both as yet. The King of France has many ships rigging to the seas in many of the ports of France, what to do we hear no word as yet; and if there shall come into these parts any matter of consequence that I may get intelligence of, I shall either write the same to your grace or else "schaw" the same to Mr. Killigrew, who will let your grace be advertised thereof. "Beseikand zour grace for Godes cause in considerationn thatt I am brokin of my estaittis and feis that I had of the quene, and is rewynnit and hereit be hir service and wantis bayth my feis thatt ar restand awand unto me and syclyke money for wynnes thatt I furnissit quhen the Larde of Skyrling was comptrollar unto hir, lyke as the toun of Edinburgh's bukes declares be ane decrete gevin aganis me, the quhilk I was contrynit to pay"—that your grace will be so favourable to me at this present as to write to Mr. Killigrew in my favour to help me at my Lord Treasurer's hand, with his honour's request to the Earl of Shrewsbury to solicit the Queen to pay me that is owing to me, otherwise I cannot have the means to sustain my poor wife and bairns, and, with the help of God, I shall do such like service to the King's majesty and your grace that your grace shall think the same well bestowed. Andoun. *Signed:* William Henrysone.

2 *pp. No flyleaf or address. Indorsed:* "Kilsighe. 1574. William Henrison the L."

March 18. **107.** CONFESSION OF HENRY COCKYN.

C.P., vol. X. There was a practice, by the Spanish, he thinks, in June or July last for conveying the young King of Scotland. The reason he thinks so is, that Mr. Bartie came to him enquiring what the gentleman's name was who had the custody of the king, where he was kept, how the party was affected, and whether he would be corrupted with money. Told him he was not able to make answer to his questions. He willed him to learn what he could. Answered him within two or three days that Sir Alexander Erskine had the custody of the King, who was kept in the castle of Stirling. Sir Alexander thought a friend to the Scottish Queen, by reason he was sometime her servant, and one that would do much for money. Has heard no more thereof. This was the answer he made to Bartie, which he had learned of Netsmithe.

About the same time Mr. Good wrote to the Scottish Queen;—"Madame, I am to desyre you that you would send one speciall commendations to a verie vertuouse ladie, who prayeth dayly for you: yt is the Ladie Margaret Jermin yongest daughter to the ould Erle of Derbie. Surely, madame, shee is your good frend, *et tota familia Derbiensis nisi præcipium, et nullus est.*" Wrote the same in his [Cockyn's] cipher.

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1574-5. ¾ *p. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk): "1574. Copie of H. Cockin's confession the 18 of March."

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 330. Original of the same.

Mar. 20. **108.** WALSINGHAM TO ELIZABETH.

Learns from Mr. Killigrew that she is determined presently to despatch him to Scotland to observe the proceedings of him who is looked for from France, to excuse her long stay in sending as proceeding upon some answer looked for out of Germany touching a general league for the defence of religion: and that he should signify to the Regent that, the general league proceeding, the particular should be less necessary considering she, who has always assisted them in their necessity, means not to abandon them so long as they show themselves thankful for the former favours received at her hands; whereas she thinks that the sending home of the Queen of Scots might be perilous to them, for that she cannot be so safely kept there as here, she means to retain her, and commit her to the custody of such as shall carefully look to her, whereby she may be divided from practice. Thinks it his duty, forasmuch as there are certain requests which the Regent delivered to him to be preferred to her, whereunto he has long attended her resolution, to send her a note of the same, fearing that if he shall not receive some such answer as shall be to his contentment, her sending thither may rather prove prejudicial than profitable. Whereas she makes difficulty to enter into mutual league of defence with that crown—a thing more profitable for her than for them, for that it is apparent that none will ever assail Scotland but with intention to have a foot in England—such of her Council as are most careful of her safety and look deepest into her estate very much lament her delay in accepting their offer, which cannot in the end but breed in them an opinion that she has them in contempt, whereby there may follow an alienation incurable. If it so fall out the error will be cast on her only by refusing that amity contrary to the advice of her Council, which, unoffered in due policy, were necessary to be sought for—a thing her predecessors, who stood not in the like need of their amity, would have redeemed with any treasure. The inconvenience that may follow this error, besides the loss of their friendship, may breed an alienation in her own subjects, in that she lays them open to so many manifest perils that depend thereon. Whereas she conceives that by his information pensions were demanded by certain of the Scottish nobility, she mistakes him; for, as appears by Mr. Killigrew's last instructions, the advice grew from the Regent, who thought it a necessary means to continue their devotion to her. If he sees this advice neglected it cannot but, for his own safety (upon such offers as he shall receive from the French) make him take another course. Gathers from Mr. Killigrew that the sum that may content them is not great, but the benefit that may ensue thereby, if she makes a just and due value of quietness and safety, is invaluable. Whensoever they should be alienated from her, besides the great mischiefs that may follow thereby, the ordinary charges of the increase of garrison on the Borders will amount to 10,000*l.* a year at least more than presently she is at. Whereas she

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1575. doubts the French offers will overweigh hers, if it be considered that the French be of a contrary religion, that their liberality tends to put them at division among themselves, and that their large pensions are paid by leisure, she may be well assured that they will more esteem a mean pension of hers than one of five times the value offered by the French. Refers these opinions to her grave consideration. London.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "A m[inute] of a letter unto her majesty."

Cott. Calig., C. IV., fol. 247. Another copy of the same.

March 29. **109**. [WALSINGHAM] TO LEICESTER.

C.P., vol. X. Whereas the Lord Treasurer let Sir Walter Mildmay and Mr. Solicitor know that her majesty was of opinion that the matters contained in Cockin's confession were not so sufficiently put down that the parties by him detected to be practisers with the Scottish Queen might be convicted, Sir Walter and Mr. Solicitor pressed Cockin to some further explanation. Sends articles together with the confession and explanatian to the end that he may acquaint her majesty with them, and understand what her pleasure is should be done further by them to the parties named in the articles.

1 *p. Indorsed:* "29 Marche 1575. A m[inute] of a letter to the Earl of Leycester."

March 29. **110**. ELIZABETH TO SHREWSBURY.

Lansd. MSS., 1236, fol. 47. Whereas the Queen of Scots has been destitute of a French secretary since the death of Raulet, and has by her own letters and by means out of France desired her to suffer another to supply that place about her, which he has hitherto forborne to grant for divers good causes, and, among others, for the evil offices which her other secretary did there; now, forasmuch as the bearer hereof, called De Naou, a Frenchman, has been chosen and recommended to her by the French King as her secretary, and has promised that he shall carry himself in that even manner that becomes an honest minister and not practise any hurtful or offensive thing, which he himself has also vowed and promised here, with offer that if he shall at any time be found faulty he submitted himself to any punishment—for these respects, and at her errnest request, she is pleased that De Naou should resort thither and abide with her as her secretary. Commands him to receive him into her company, and to suffer him to serve her in that place. He is to admonish him at his entry and hereafter to have consideration of the caution which the French King has given her for him, and also of his own promise.

⅔ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet. (Printed, Ellis, 1824, part ii. p. 277.)*

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April 1.

111. THE REGENT MORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

I received your letter of the 23rd of March with the foreign occurrents, and for the same right heartily thank you, for that it is now a good while past since I had any so certain intelligence of the dealings and proceedings of our neighbours, whereof the knowledge is both meet for me and very acceptable; and although I cannot well acquit you with the like, yet shall I want no goodwill to do you pleasure, if at any time a proper occasion so to do happens to present itself.

I have, as well at Mr. Killigrew's late departing out of this country as at sundry times since, written up divers matters of importance both to the Queen's majesty herself and to you, and have also been put in hope of some person to be sent here with resolution of her highness' mind in all those points, for which I have still looked from day to day, till now that finding no appearance or mention thereof in your last letter, I have thought good presently to pray you to let me understand whether there be likelihood of any such personage to be sent hither, or of any answer and resolution at all to the matters heretofore written by me, for I have no will to be thought "further importune or fascheux" in the matter, seeing so long space already past without any certainty thereanent, howbeit some things concerning the State, and tending to the common quiet betwixt the countries required, methinks, to have been more earnestly and in a more special manner looked upon there and provided for, than has appeared this long while past; and surely it has not been a little pain so long to stay the thieves and disordered people of our Borders from attempting some great trouble and misrule, which—if it had once taken effect, as there has been matter "ministrat" to draw it on—might have put her majesty and the King my sovereign also, to greater charges than now can be well considered. But as heretofore I have impeded that inconvenience, so will I do my best therein hereafter. And, indeed, on all the frontiers of that realm, I cannot say but that we find good answer and justice, saving in the Middle March under Sir John Foster's charge that the King my sovereign's outlaws and rebels are received and entertained, to the great trouble and annoyance of his good subjects; which dealing, for the evil example's cause, I wish might be remedied, and that this occasion of misliking were remedied for the avoiding of the greater inconveniences that may follow thereon.

Our country here, praised be God, is in good quiet, and has not been in better state for a long time by gone. The late convention of the Estates, whereof I trust you have heard, was so frequent that a greater number of noblemen was not seen together at once these many years, and the conclusion thereof good; wherein, amongst other matters "intreatit," there was a reconciliation of all our differences, and chiefly with the Duke's sons, who now having done that which becomes them, are accepted, and as obedient as any others in the realm. The occasion of controversy with my lord of Argyll and his lady is likewise removed, and he, after accompanying me since the beginning of March, is now lately passed to his house well satisfied, as I am with him. Certain persons nominated by the

Elizabeth. 1575. Estates are now in hand to draw our ecclesiastical policy, as also a uniform und compendious order of our laws. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Marginally noted.*

April 5. **112.** THE REGENT MORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 53, b. Copy of the latter part of No. 111.

1 *p. In the margin:* "Ex orig, from the Regent to Sir Fra. Walsingham, 5th April 1575."

April **113.** WALSINGHAM TO THE REGENT MORTON.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 151. Received his letters of the 1st instant, the contents whereof he has not yet communicated to the Queen of England, for that as yet he remains at his own house under the hands of the physicians, of whom he hopes shortly to be rid, being in a very good way of thorough cure. When his grace shall understand the cause of the stay of someone whom her majesty has long meant to send to him with her resolution to the points contained in his grace's memorial, he will rest satisfied. Incloses the last occurrents received from France. One called Monsieur De La Chastre has been of late sent here from the French King to confirm the late league made with his brother. Which being done he has returned homeward with great contentation, for that he was very honourably received. Touching the present treaty of Flanders there is small hope of any accord. London. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 7.* **114.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 3. It may please your majesty to be advertised that lately I have learned of a Scottish gentleman who is here—one most zealously devoted to your majesty—who not long since received letters out of Scotland, how the Regent has of late preferred to place of justice Mr. James Balfour and one Burteg [David Borthwick], both pensioners to France and enemies to the amity of this crown; whose advice he uses more inwardly than heretofore he has done; which makes men of judgment well affected to her majesty to suspect that he inclines to some alienation.

Furthermore, he showed me—which he desires to be used with secrecy—that by letters he has of late received from Sir Alexander Erskine, his uncle, he perceives that his said uncle has lately discovered that the Regent secretly practises to draw the young King out of his hands, committed to his custody by consent and order of Parliament, a matter—in respect of the doubt of his alienation—of great consequence; and therefore, for the discharge of my duty in that

* The date is taken from the calendar, but all that remains in the MS. is ij°, April 1575.

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1575. behalf, I thought good to acquaint your majesty with all, not doubting but when your majesty has deeply weighed it you will presently give order that mischief of such danger as may befall unto this realm by the alienation of Scotland may be presently prevented. All men of judgment who look into the inward corruption at home and further consider how the great Princes, your majesty's neighbours abroad, are affected towards you, howsoever now the necessity of their own broken estates forces them outwardly with fair disguised speech to cloak their inward passions, tremble to think that so dangerous a gap that may be so easily stopped should so long lie open for the execution of their malice. For the love of God, madam, therefore, let not the mischiefs that may break into this realm through that dangerous gap teach your majesty over late to value the Scottish amity.

I am the more earnest in this behalf for that I see that the guilt and burden of so perilous an error (if it should so happen, as God forbid) will be wholly thrown upon your majesty's shoulders. I hope your majesty, seeing the ground of this my zeal, will most graciously incline to pardon this my rude and plain, though dutiful manner of writing. "At my lodgeinge."

1⅔ *pp.* *Copy.* *At the head:* "To the Queen's majesty."

April 14. **115.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO [THE REGENT MORTON].

Eg. MSS., 1818, fol. 59. Seeing his grace has so lately heard from Mr. Secretary Walsingham, is sure he understands more of the state of England than he can write, as he knows most what has been long intended and is wished for to take effect between these two countries, so he trusts his grace learns by him what is the cause of the delay and stay thereof. It has been effectuously dealt with, and there is great hope that time will bring it to pass.

Will write somewhat of that which is rather given him in commission to write of, than meddle in those things that without authority he has not to do in. Much speech has passed divers times between the Earl of Leicester and him touching his grace; only to this end, that such perfect amity and league might be made between these two countries that both might stand in less danger of foreign enemies than they do. Can say somewhat how earnestly he [Leicester] has travailed to this effect, and more Mr. Walsingham can witness. Is fully resolved that it is true, yet are there such suspicions and doubts of him as though he were the greatest adversary therein that might be, and most earnest favourer of the other party and faction—means "the Lady mar all"—that is in England. This opinion is so spread abroad that the bruit of late in Court has been common, and, perchance, gone so far that it may be brought even to his grace's ears.

To confirm, and not a little to augment this suspicion, there came hither of late—recommended by his grace—Lord Seton's son, whom "my lord" [Leicester] uses well in Court and all other places, and much the better, for that it should appear what account he makes of

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1575. anything which the Regent desires. Understanding somewhat of this himself, and having also some doubt what might ensue hereof, deals so plainly with the Earl of Leicester that he has told him what he doubted himself of his affection of late. Upon this many matters came to purpose as well concerning the King of Scots, his mother, and all her ministers as well here as in France and elsewhere, as also his grace and the place he occupies. They concluded that there is no Prince living, next to his sovereign, whom he wished better to than to the King of Scots, no creature whom he hated more and stood more in danger or doubt of than of the Queen of Scots, no nobleman or friend living, not being his brother or near kin to him, whom he loved more or thought better of than his grace. He liked his government and friendly dealing towards the English nation so well that he must think Scotland happy of their choice, and them [the English] unfortunate who cannot embrace so many good graces of good offered to them by his grace's means for the uniting of these two realms in perpetual friendship.

He [Leicester] is not minded to retain Seton long, to the end that the suspicion may the sooner be taken away. For those matters that have been confessed against him either by him [Seton] whom his grace has in prison or any other, they are so fully answered that no doubt is to be had of his good meaning. Thought good to write this to him, not that either Leicester or he think that his grace doubts of Seton's sincerity, but that he should not be moved by any bruit or report that he may hear of him, which are neither meant nor any way intended on his part, but towards the King of Scots, as with his duty to his sovereign he ought, to be an unfriend to his adversaries, and a perfect and assured friend to his grace, as he should be. As his lordship has sincerely and with earnest words pronounced this to him, so does he truly and faithfully put down the same in writing, as he most certainly believes it to be true. If there be further matter whereof his grace is willing to be certified or resolved in, he may as soon have knowledge thereof by his letter either to the Earl of Leicester or him as if he were present. Begs him to let no strangeness grow between them, to let no suspicion breed any unkindness, and to let no malicious or false report take such place in either of them that neither of them be to each other as they ought to be—in perfect amity and goodwill to the advancement of all good causes that may be to God's glory and the weal of both their countries. His [Seton's] credit was never greater than presently it is, his mind never better affected to do good, the occasions never better served than now they do.

His grace has heard that Monsieur De La Chastre has lately been here from France. His usage has been better than the opinion is of any man here of his virtue or well deserving. His errand was to comfirm the league that was made with the late King in this King's own person. He gave them many fair words, and, he believes, received part again.

They understand for certain that the Protestants in France are so strong that they will [have] no after-peace than that which they like. It is like to be tried this summer who shall be master of the greatest part of France, the King finding so many against him that he knows not whom to trust. Requests that the Lady of Boyne may ever

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1575. remain in his good grace and favour under his defence against her adversaries, and be holpen in those suits she has, as her goodwill has always been ever to deserve well at his grace's hands. Fears his other good friend is not so far in his favour, and therefore doubts his suit will be the harder, yet hopes his fault is not so heavy that his request for him shall not altogether be frustrated. Beseeches him to be good to James Murray. If neither for his own sake nor his [Randolph's] any speedy favour cannot be had, yet his old master's goodwill towards the Regent and desert towards his country crave more than that his grace should over long show his heavy displeasure towards him. Sometimes hears his grievous complaints and moans, with earnest desire to be restored to his good grace and favour in such sort that he may be assured of some good life at his return.

Has now taken boldly enough upon him to trouble him, chiefly that his grace understand the truth of him who of all others in this country it stands him upon to have most firm and perfect friendship with.

If his grace judges aught in him for his silence, has only this poor excuse to allege for himself, that although he be the Master of the Posts, yet he is not of authority to command within the town of Berwick, specially as long as Lord Hunsdon is there, who has him under deadly feud, "as we are all readie paste all speakinge kyndenes."

Has now chosen Mr. Errington as his readiest way to send his letters, whom he desires him to trust in anything he will command. London. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

5 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

April 14. **116.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 4. Touching my opinion what is to be done for the stopping of the Scottish gap to prevent such mischiefs as may dangerously break in that way, I can but put your majesty in mind of such remedies as have been heretofore propounded, namely, these:—the acceptation of the Scottish league; the bestowing on certain well chosen persons yearly pensions; and the restraining of the Scottish Queen from practice. But presently, in respect of the Regent's alienation to be doubted, in my simple opinion it were very requisite for your majesty (after the matter has been thoroughly considered of) to despatch one into Scotland with some comfortable message to the Regent, under the colour thereof to discover whether there be any such alienation as is suspected; and if, upon due search made thrreof in secret wise, it shall appear that either there is no such alienation, or if there be any it has chiefly ensued through the delay your majesty has used in sending to him, aud that the same is not grown to such an extreme degree but that by some good assurance from your majesty of your honourable consideration of his requests he may may be drawn to continue his former devotion, then were it convenient that the gentleman of whom your majesty shall make choice to send thither should carry with him your full resolution touching the three points abovenamed. On the other side, if he shall discover upon his arrival there, that the alienation in the Regent is void of all hope of recovery, then were it necessary that he seek by all secret means to procure to your majesty a party there that may take heed to the Regent. Amongst others, it

Elizabeth.
1575. will be most requisite that three persons especially be drawn to your devotion; namely, the Earl of Argyll, in respect of Ireland, Sir Alexander Erskine, for the stay of the young King in that country, and the Captain of Dumbarton, whereby that fort may not come into the hands of the French. For the winning of these persons to depend upon your majesty, the gentleman who has acquainted me with the doubt conceived of the Regent's alienation, in respect of the credit he has with the said parties, will be a very apt instrument. But this last remedy is no way to be put in execution if the Regent be by any means recoverable. For the division amongst them, besides that it will be chargeable to your majesty, cannot breed that quietness to your State as the keeping of them at union, which union most assuredly can neither continue long there nor here, unless your majesty takes order in time for the restraining of the Scottish Queen from practice. And as for the other two points, the league and the pensions, unless they may come jointly accompanied with the third, the putting in execution of any one of them apart, in my simple judgment (be it spoken without offence of your majesty) will prove like seed unprofitable sown in untilled or unmanured ground. "At my lodginge."

2 *pp.* Copy. *At the head:* "To the Queen's Majestie."

April 16. **117.** WALSINGHAM TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 514. Whereas in my last I wrote to your lordship that after the French ambassador's audience there was one despatched into France, I learn that I was misinformed, and that he who was despatched carried over commission for taking the King's oath.

This day there arrived at the Court a gentleman with letters sent from our ambassador, who refers me to a general letter sent to my fellow and me, and therefore, being absent from Court, I cannot write much to your lordship touching the contents of these last letters. I know your lordship will not be unadvertised by others of the contents of the same. By the last letters out of Flanders it is advertised how the commissioners for the treaty of peace are withdrawn for a time, as it is thought, for that the Governor acknowledges the King's resolution. Men of the best judgment have small hope of any peace.

The Regent of late countenances the Hamiltons more than heretofore he has done, and has, besides, not long since preferred Sir James Balfour and one Burteg [David Borthwick] to places of justice, both pensioners to France. This thing weighed with our manner of dealing with him gives me just cause to doubt the early evasion of him—a matter of no small peril. London. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1¼ *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.*

April 19. **118.** PETITION OF WILLIAM HENRYSON TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. X.

In most humble and lamentable manner complaining, sheweth unto your most honourable lordship, your poor and daily orator, William Henrison, Scottish man, servant to the Queen's majesty of Scotland, that whereas necessity has caused me to send this poor boy,

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1575. my son, divers times to your honour to be a mediator for me to my mistress, who sent by two Frenchmen 50 French crowns to be delivered to me, and the said Frenchmen are passed to France and never delivered me one penny; and also her majesty sent a writing subscribed with her own hand by "Willey" the cook, directed to the French ambassador, to give me other 50 French crowns, and the ambassador says that he received no writing, may it please your honour to help me, and to let the Queen's majesty my mistress understand the French ambassador's declaration, and that I have received no money. London. *Signed:* William Henrysone.

1 *p.* *Broadsheet.* *Indorsed.*

April 19. **119.** THE REGENT MORTON TO ELIZABETH.

Whereas of late a young gentleman named John Seytoun, my cousin, son to my Lord Seytoun, upon earnest desire to visit your highness' Court, repaired thither with my licence and recommendation to my lord the Earl of Leicester, upon whom he presently attends, and seeing your majesty's gracious favour inclined that the gentlemen and others of our nation frequenting your highness' dominions shall be friendly entertained and used, which this young gentleman having found in experience has truly made report of; I finding the same so agreeable to the advancement and continuance of the good amity betwixt the realms, must of duty render unto your majesty my most humble thanks therefor. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

¼ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

April 26. **120.** BISHOP OF ROSS TO WILLIAM COTTON.

C.P., vol. X. "My good freind," I received your letter of the date from Antwerp the 2nd of April, together with another directed to one of the King's secretaries here. But I cannot "goodly" present the same by myself nor any of mine to him, in case he might take some opinion of my dealing with strangers, specially I not knowing what is contained in your letter, and that you require so precisely to observe what answer is given or words used at the delivery thereof, which makes me think it is some great matter of importance. "Alwayis" I will keep the letter till your next advertisement, and then shall deliver it to any that you appoint, for I assure you I will do anything I may for you or any Catholic of your nation that I may do to further them without my own discredit. I hear nothing of that you wrote me by Monceaux. I wish it might take effect, but there is little appearance. They are busy in treating the peace here as they are with you, but not yet concluded. God grant it may be universally to his glory and the common weal of Christendom. Paris. *Signature in cipher.*

Postscript.—The bearer would not deliver your letters till he received some "ryellis" for the portage. Albeit it was written with some other hand writing, which makes me suspect the letters to have been put in some other hands before they came to me.

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

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C.P., vol. X.

121. EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR GOOD.

"Thexamination of D[octor] Good taken the xxviij[th] daye of Aprill anno 1575 before Thomas Randolphe and Thomas Bromley, esquieres."

(1) How often did you speak with the bishop of Ross after his delivery out of prison and before his departure? (2) How often have you heard from him since his departure, and by what means? (3) How often have yon sent and written to him, and what were the contents of your letters? (4) How many letters have you received from the Queen of Scots, at what times, and what are the contents thereof? (5) What acquaintance have you with Alexander Hamilton? (6) What letters or messages have you sent to the Queen of Scots, and by whom? (7) What conference have you had with Doctor Atteslowe touching the Queen of Scots? (8) What conference have you had with Henry Cockin concerning the said Queen? (9) At what time did you see the bishop of Ross' Apology made for his defence touching his usage towards the Duke of Norfolk? (10) At what time did you counsel the same to be sent to Lord Henry Howard? (11) By whom did you advertise the Scottish Queen of the staying of her removal from the Earl of Shrewsbury? (12) By whom did you send the book called "The Defence of the Queen of of Scots' honour corrected," and who corrected it? (13) What manner of alphabet did you receive from the Queen of Scots after you had advertised to her the death of the French King? (14) What time did you send Sir Thomas More's works by Bogge? (15) On what occasion did you advise Hamilton to cast certain letters into your garden hedge? (16) Who made the ciphers that you had to write letters in to the Queen of Scots?

1 *p.* *Indorsed:* "1575. The examination of D[octor] Good taken the 28 of Aprill."

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122. EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR GOOD.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 11.

"Thexamination of D[octor] Good taken the xxviij[ih] day of Apryll anno 1575, before Tho. Randolphe and Tho. Bromley, esquyers."

[*In the margin, in the hand of Burghley's clerk*]: "Originall in M[r] Bromley hand."

To the first, the said Doctor Good says that since the delivery of the bishop of Rosse out of prison he never spoke with him but in the bishop of Winchester's house, which was at such times as he repaired thither for his counsel and advice to the said bishop of Rosse concerning his health; at all which times either the said bishop of Winchester or some of his servants were present, and heard and saw all things that passed between them.

To the second and third, he says he has heard from the bishop of Rosse about three or four times since his departure out of this realm, and that by the means of Henry Cockyn only. At one time the request of the bishop of Rosse was to have some of Doctor Stephen's water sent to him; at another time to have the works of Sir Thomas More sent to him; at another time to have the writing which the bishop of

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1575. Ross left with this examinant concerning the defence of the honour of the Scottish Queen to be sent to him, which the bishop of Ross left with this examinant at his departure, and sent the same by the said Cockyn to the intent that the said examinant should "engleishe" such words in the same as were in cipher, and further the said examinant did not deal with the said writing. He further says that otherwise he has not heard from the bishop of Ross since his departure, save that he has received commendations from him as well by Cockyn as by Bogge, Willie, and Robinson. Has not written or sent any message to the bishop of Ross since his departure.

To the fourth, the examinant says that he has received from the Scottish Queen about five or six letters, which were all received before Christmas last past, and these letters he received by the means of Cockyn, and were by him deciphered and brought to this examinant, the answers whereof he always committed by mouth to Cockyn, who put the same into his cipher and sent them to the Scottish Queen by Morgan, as Cockyn reported to this examinant. The contents of all which letters were only concerning matters of physic, and the answers delivered by this examinant were only pertaining thereto,

To the fifth, he answers that he is acquainted with Alexander Hamilton, by occasion that he has been with him for counsel and remedy touching the stone, and touching any other cause, this examinant never dealt with the said Alexander Hamilton, save that he brought this examinant commendations from the Scottish Qneen and others of his acquaintance in the house of the Earl of Shrewsbury. *Signed:* per me Jacobum Good.

To the sixth, he says he can no further answer.

To the seventh, he says that he never had any conference with Doctor Atslowe touching the Scottish Queen, except of matters concerning the state of her health.

To the eighth, he says he has had no conference with Cockyn touching the Scottish Queen but only in such sort as is declared to the fourth and second interrogatories.

To the ninth, he says that he never heard or read the Apology specified in the interrogatory, but says that Cockyn told him he had such a one to write.

To the tenth, he says that he never gave any advice either for the sending or not sending of the Apology to Lord Henry Howard, but says that Cockyn told him that the bishop of Ross purposed to send the same to the said Lord Henry.

To the eleventh, he says he never gave advertisement by any means touching the stay of the Scottish Queen's remove from the Earl of Shrewsbury, neither did he hear thereof but by Cockyn or Morgan.

To the twelfth, he says he corrected the book touching the Queen of Scots' honour in such sort as he has before answered to the second and third interrogatories, and not otherwise, and sent the same to the Scottish Queen by Cockyn. He has not reserved any copy thereof.

To the thirteenth, he says he never received from the Scottish Queen or from any other any alphabet or cipher.

To the fourteenth, he says he never sent Sir Thomas More's works by Bogge or any other.

To the fifteenth, he answers that he never gave advice to Hamilton

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1575. to cast any letters into this examinant's garden or elsewhere, nor knows of any such letters conveyed by Morgan or any other.

To the sixteenth, he says he never had any cipher to write any letters in, neither does he know of any cipher but Cockyn's, and who first devised the same he knows not.

And, moreover, the examinant says that now he calls to remembrance that he by one of his letters gave advice to the Scottish Queen to be considerate and well advised touching her marriage, and not to deal therein without the good liking and consent of the Queen's majesty. *Signed:* per me Jacobum Good. Before us—Tho. Randolphe; Tho. Bromley.

2 *pp. In Sir Thomas Bromley's hand. Marginal notes in Walsingham's hand.*

April 28. **123.** INTERROGATORIES FOR JOHN NASMYTH.

C.P., vol. X. (1) Whether you know Alexander Hamilton? (2) How long have you known him? on what occasion of business, and in what place were you first acquainted with him? (3) Whether Hamilton came up to you in London in February twelvemonth, sent by the bishop of Ross' appointment. (4) At the time of Hamilton's coming to London did you not "bring" acquainted with certain persons in London? (5) Whether Hamilton brought you letters? (6) Whether you received by Hamilton messages by word of mouth? (7) Whether you know what the chief cause was that the bishop of Ross appointed Hamilton to repair to London? (8) Whether you know Henry Cockin? what doings have you had with him? (9) Whether you delivered to Cockin certain letters brought from beyond the seas? (10) Whether you know that Alexander Hamilton was brought up as a prisoner? (11) If you know he was so brought up, how you first knew? (12) Whether you had not knowledge that Hamilton should be brought as prisoner before he came, and were appointed to talk with him before he was examined? (13) Who gave you the appointment? (14) In what place did you talk with Hamilton, and what was your talk? (15) Whether Hamilton did not make you or any other privy whereof he had been examined? (16) Whether you know one Robinson? (17) Whether about midsummer last, and the time that Alexander Hamilton was discharged, you received letters from Robinson? (18) What living and maintenance you have of your own or by your friends and master? (19) Whether you have any pension of the Queen of Scots? (20) Whether you know or have heard that Cockin, Hamilton, or any other Scotchman or Englishman, not serving her, have pensions of her? (21) Whether you know Doctor Good, Doctor Atslowe, Francis Bartie, Mr. Goodyeare, any of the Lodars, James Browne, John Hamilton, Thomas Leslie, any of the Murrays, Watkin Davies, Nevill Sands, Bogge, and Jackson, and what conferences have you had with any of them touching the Scottish Queen's causes? (22) Whom do you know besides who have been dealers in the said Queen's causes? (23) What was the cause of your repair to Scotland? (24) By what means and for what purpose did you come into the service of Mr. John Seton? (25) What is the cause of Mr. Seton's repair to this realm? (26) How often has Mr. Seton been with the French ambassador, why, and at what time?

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1575. 3¼ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "1575. Interrogatories ministered to John Netsmith the 28 of April."

April 28. **124.** ANSWERS OF JOHN NASMYTH.

C.P., vol. X. (1 and 2) To the first and second he saith he hath known Alexander Hamilton ever since they were schoolfellows, which is twenty years ago and upwards.

(3) Hamilton came up to London in February last was a twelvemonth to seek remedy for his health, as he told this examinant, and the examinant brought him to a stranger's house who cuts men with the stone, and being searched was found to have no stone, but a carnosity, which the stranger promised to heal for 4*l.*

(4) The said examinant brought Hamilton to all the doctors of physic who he heard say could do him any good, and in special to Doctor Julio, because he had been at the Spa with Mr. Hatton, Doctor Frances, Doctor Good, and doctors at Slough (Slowe); and and also, he having Harry Cockin's name, a book-binder, brought him to his house to buy some books, as he said, and, as this examinant well remembers, he bought some of him.

(5) Hamilton did not bring any letters to him to be delivered to any.

(6) Hamilton brought no messages to him to be delivered by word of mouth.

(7) Knows no reason why Hamilton came at that time to London, saving for his health. Heard Hamilton say that he never saw the bishop of Rosse. Thinks that his coming to London was not by any appointment of the said bishop.

(8) Has known Henry Cockin four or five years, and the doings between them—which the said examinant laments—shall plainly appear in these examinations, without any dissimulation.

(9) There came a boy to him, named James Blackater, from Mr. John Hamilton from Flanders with a cipher to be sent to the Queen of Scots. When he heard of it he was afraid and not minding to meddle with it, because he plainly saw all those that ever had any doings with those matters either one way or the other to be molested and troubled. Fearing that the boy should be taken and the cipher found with him should say he was directed to him, he took the cipher from him and delivered it to Harry Cockin, which ever since he repents.

(10) Knows that Alexander Hamilton was between Whitsunday and Midsummer brought up as a prisoner.

(11) Coming by Coldharbour he went in to see whether the carrier was come, and in the court he saw Hamilton and serving man sitting together, and went towards them, not knowing of any prisoner. Immediately the said Hamilton said in the hearing of the other man, "Go your ways from me, for I am sent for by the Council, and within two or three days come hither and enquire what is become of me, and let me not want my necessaries."

(12) He knew not that Hamilton should be brought up as prisoner before he came, nor yet was appointed to meet and talk with him before he was examined.

(13 and 14) Saith as in the 11th and 12th.

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(15) Hamilton, after his examination, showed him the copy of his interrogatories whereupon he had been examined, swearing that he had never been at "the Bull" in Doncaster, as was supposed in the interrogatories. Does not remember any other he made privy thereof without it were Harry Cockin.

(16) Knows one Robinson who is servant to the Queen of Scots, one of the valets of her wardrobe, and has been acquainted with him five or six years.

(17) About the time specified in the interrogatory the said Robinson had come from France and brought to this examinant a pair of shoes, saying that he put his gold therein for fear of robbing on the sea, and willed him to lay them up; and so he put them in a chest. Within two days after, the said Robinson being at Court in Reading, Cockin came to this examinant, being in bed, with a token for the said shoes. The examinant showed him where they were, and he took them; but as for any letters, he received none, nor any other things other than before is said.

(18) His living is but small, being a younger brother, saving the profit of 200 or 300 marks which his parents have laid on land to his use, as the custom is by his service and master whom he serves.

(19) Has no pension of the Queen of Scots, and never had the value of a groat from her or any that belongs to her.

(20) Has heard Alexander Hamilton say that he had a pension of the Queen of Scots of 100 francs, being one of her scholars in Paris. So have the said Robinson, Alexander Bogg, Robert Liddell, Thomas Leslie, and a number more of Scots in Paris. As for Cockin, he neither knew him nor heard say that he has any pension of the Queen of Scots.

(21) Knows Doctor Good, Atslowe, James Browne, John Hamilton, Thomas Leslie, and Alexander Bogge, but never had any conference with any of them touching the Queen of Scots or any of her causes. As for the rest mentioned in the interrogatory, he knows them not.

(22) Knows none to have been dealers in the Queen of Scots' causes without it be these specified in the aforesaid interrogatory, and cannot say directly that all those have been dealers therein.

(23) In nine years before his repair to Scotland he had not been there. His parents being dead and had left him some goods he had a mind to see the same bestowed to his profit, and to see his brother and sister.

(24) Being in Scotland and hearing that Mr Seton was come to England, having a desire te dwell in England, he caused request his father that he might come in his company to London; and so they agreed.

(25) As far as he knows, the cause of his said master's repair into England is because the King of Scots is yet young and keeps no Court, the Regent liking grave and wise councillors better than young lusty youths; and he having already seen the French King's Court and also the Spanish Court in Flanders, and hearing of the great renown and liberality of the Queen's majesty moved him to have a great desire to serve her majesty and willingly to bestow the best part of his young age rather in her majesty's service than in any other prince's in the world, hoping not to lose his time, but to be

Elizabeth. 1575. well rewarded for his pains by reason he is the first gentleman of Scotland that ever served in the Court of England, which would allure other gentlemen to leave France and to come and serve in England.

3½ *pp. Indorsed:* "1575. John Netsmithes answears to interrogatories ministred unto him the 28 of Aprill, in his owne hand."

Two copies of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 5. Another copy of the same.

[April.] **125.** HENRY COCKIN'S REPLY TO NASMYTH.

C.P., vol. X. To the fourth:—whereas he says that he brought Hamilton to me to buy some books, it was not to that end; but he said that there was a gentleman come from the Scottish Queen with letters, and desired me to go home and he would bring the said gentleman to me, and then we might confer together for the conveying of letters to the Scottish Queen. Immediately after Netsmith brought Hamilton to my chamber; who sat down on my bed, and, opening his doublet, called for a knife to cut the lining thereof, and took the letters and delivered them to Netsmithe to be delivered to the French ambassador. Netsmith requested me to deliver them. I answered him that he should deliver them himself, and he went therewith, leaving Hamilton at my house till his return. During which time Hamilton declared to me that Netsmith had told him that the bishop of Ross had appointed me to deal with him for the conveying of letters to the Scottish Queen. In the presence of Netsmith Hamilton and I concluded to meet at Nottingham the ninth day before Easter, and, as I remember, Netsmith asked Hamilton whether he had uttered those three heads he had in charge to be resolved of, and so departed. Netsmith, after the return of Hamilton to the north, received a letter from him, wherein he willed Netsmith to put the bookbinder in mind to provide his physic books against the time appointed, which was ten days before Easter.

To the fifth:—whereas he says that Hamilton did not bring any letters to him, the contrary is true; for Hamilton delivered him those letters he brought to be conveyed to the French ambassador.

To the sixth:—(as I remember) he declared to me those three heads Hamilton had to inquire of, before he brought Hamilton to my house.

To the seventh:—whereas he says that he knew no cause why Hamilton came to London, saving for his health, the contrary is before declared. Although Hamilton never saw the bishop of Ross, yet the bishop told Henry Cockin that Hamilton would be in London shortly after, and therefore it seems by appointment.

To the 17th:—whereas he says that Cockin came to him with a token for the shoes that Robinson had left with him, the contrary is true; for immediately after Robinson's coming to London Netsmith came to me showing that Robinson was come over, and had brought letters in his shoes, but would not take them forth, because Robinson was gone to the Court to sue for a passport to go down to the Scottish Queen. But when Netsmith perceived that Robinson was not like to get any passport, and that Hamilton was to go down within two or three days, he requested me one evening to come the next morning

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1575. for the letters. The next morning I went to his chamber, he being in bed; who said, "you are come somewhat to early, for I have not yet taken them forth by reason I satte uppe late yesternight in writyng a lettre of myne owne": and so showing me where they lay desired me to rip the seals and take the letters forth; which I did, and within one or two days I delivered them to Hamilton, which was rhe day I was apprehended, being the 3rd of August, 1574.

1¾ *pp.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "1575. H. Cockyn's replie to Netsmithes fyrst examination taken the 28 of Aprill."

Copy of the same.

[April 28.] **126.** INTERROGATORIES FOR DOCTOR ATESLOWE.

C.P., vol. X. 1. How often did you speak with the bishop of Ross after his delivery out of prison, and before his departure?

2. How often have you heard from him since his departure, and by what means?

3. How often have you sent and written to him, and what were the contents of your letters?

4. How many letters have you received from the Queen of Scots, *etc.*?

5. What acquaintance have you with Alexander Hamilton?

6. What letters have you sent to the Queen of Scots, and by whom?

7. What conference have you had with Doctor Good touching the Queen of Scots?

8. What conference have you had with Henry Cockin, a book-binder?

½ *p.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

April 28. **127.** EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR ATTESLOWE.

C.P., vol. X. "Thexamynacyon of D. Atslowe taken the xxviijth day of Aprill in the xvijth yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lady the quenes Majestie, before Thomas Randolphe and Thomas Bromley, esquyers."

(1) He never spoke with the bishop of Ross since his delivery.

(2) Since the departure of the bishop of Ross he received from him an oration made to the Queen of England, which was in print, and bound in vellum, with the superscription on the vellum in golden letters, "D. Doctor" on the one side, and "Atslowe" on the other side. Which book was brought to the house of this examinant; but who was the bringer thereof the examinant did not know.

(3) He never wrote nor sent to the bishop of Ross other letters or message, nor caused any other to write to him.

(4) Never received any letters from the Scottish Queen but one, which was within a fortnight after his return from the Scottish Queen, and directed to this examinant and to Doctor Good; the contents whereof were thanks for the travail taken by the examinant and Doctor in their advice touching her health, a declaration what effect their medicines had taken, and request for their further advice.

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(5) Does not know Hamilton to his remembrance.

(6) Has not at any time sent any letter or message to the Scottish Queen.

(7) Never had any conference with Doctor Good concerning the Scottish Queen but for the state of her health only.

(8) Never had any conference with Henry Cockeyn concerning the Scottish Queen nor is of any acquaintance with him, more than that he knows him by sight, and did not know his name to be Cockeyn before this time of his examination. *Signed:* Gerrard Atslow.

1 *p.* *In the hand of Sir Thomas Bromley.* *Indorsed:* "Aprill 28. Ex^{on} of D. Atslow, subscribed in his owne hand."

Subscribed: "before us, Tho. Randolphe, Tho. Bromley." *Underlined in places, and marginal notes in Walsingham's hand.*

April 28. **128.** EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR ATTESLOWE.

C.P., vol. X. [*A paper containing copies of Nos.* 126 *and* 127.]

2 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "1575. The examination of D. Atslowe taken the 28 of Aprill."

[April 28.] **129.** REPLY OF HENRY COCKYN.

C.P., vol. X. (2 and 3) To the second and third he saith that the bishop of Rosse made those requests to the said Doctor Good in the letters written by the bishop to him the said Cockyn, viz., for Doctor Steven's water and the works of Sir Thomas More, and also to have the book called "The defence of the Scottish Queen's Honor." Doctor Good received two letters from the bishop by the hands of the said Cockyn. The contents of the one were only his commendations and thanks for the goodwill he bore as well to him as to the Queen his mistress. The contents of the other were that he had received the works of Sir Thomas More, sent by Bogge, and that he had sent him in recompense thereof one missal and two Roman primers. Which letters were delivered to Doctor Good by the said Cockyn, and the books likewise; but the books were not delivered by him to the hands of Doctor Good, but to one of the said Doctor's maids. The one letter was received about September, and the other in December last. In November or December last Doctor Good caused him to write a letter to the bishop in his name signifying that he should receive the defence corrected, and with the same some notes which he received from the Scottish Queen to be augmented thereunto. The said book, notes, and letter were delivered by Cockyn to Nicholas Jude to be sent to the bishop of Rosse.

(4) Doctor Good has by his means received three letters from the Scottish Queen. The first was received at Whitsuntide last, the second in August, and the third in November last, all which letters were first deciphered by the said Cockyn, and delivered to the said Doctor in common letters. The contents of her first letter were that she liked well thereof, yet said that there wanted somewhat to be augmented, which she would take in hand herself and send to him by the next commodity, and withal made mention of some infirmity she had in her side, and therein desired his advice. The contents of the second were that she had received his letter, thanked him for his counsel, and she

Elizabeth.
1575. was well recovered, that she was sorry for the death of the French King, that she was disquieted by reason of Hamilton's trouble (for fear that any of her friends should be disquieted), that the notes were not then ready, because at that time she looked not to hear from any her friends nor to have the commodity to send, that his request and Morgan's should be granted touching the said pension, that he should receive an alphabet, and advised him to take heed of discovery, saying that she had rather want advertisements than he or any of her friends should come to trouble; and, lastly, made mention that she had received Mr. Gwaras' token—being either the picture of the Passion or twelve Apostles drawn on yellow tafeta—and for the same willed Doctor Good to give him thanks. The contents of the third were that she had received his letter, and thanked him for his good advice, saying that he advised her to take deliberation of marriage, and as yet no such thing moved unto her, but when any such matter were moved, she said that he should not be the last that should be made participant thereof; and likewise she made mention of the marriage between the Lord of Lennox and the Lady Shrewsbury's daughter; and also that he should receive those notes she promised in her former letter.

(6) To the sixth he says that by his means Doctor Good sent five letters to the Queen of Scots. The first was sent in April, 1573, the second at Whitsunday, 1574, the third in July, the fourth in September, and the fifth in November. The contents of his first letter were commendations, and that he had sent her a corrected copy of the book intituled "The defence of her honour," and desired to know her liking thereof. The contents of the second were, that Parliament was adjourned, that her removal was stayed, that Mr. Gwaras was her good friend, of the ladies that were taken at mass, and desiring her to bestow some pension on Cockyn. The contents of the third were the death of the French King, the departure of the Earl of Oxford, the token that Mr Gwaras had sent her, being the story of the Passion, or the twelve Apostles, the coming of the Spanish navy towards Flanders, the preparation of the Queen of England's navy to the seas, the Duchess of Suffolk going to the north, and for an alphabet. The contents of the fourth were the return of the Earl of Oxford, the coming hither of an ambassador from the King of Spain, who was the Count de Mandoza, for the staying of the Queen of England's navy from the seas, that it was supposed the French King and Don John d'Austria would be suitors to her for marriage, and therefore advised her to take good deliberation and be well advised therein, and that it would be dangerous for her to make any contract without the consent of the Queen of England. The contents of the fifth were the receipt of her letter in August, the receipt of an alphabet, the receipt of her notes, and that he would send them with the book to the B[ishop], the advice he gave Hamilton to cast those letters which were delivered to Hamilton by Cockyn into his garden hedge, the trouble of Cockyn, and the sending of a box of "mithridat." The advice given to Hamilton and the mention of Cockyn's trouble were written by Doctor Good in his own cipher, which he had received in August from the Scottish Queen: which said part of his letter he read to the said Cockyn after he had put the same in cipher, that part being written in another letter in a secretary's hand, and so the rest of his letter he committed to Cockyn to be written in his cipher, as he did all the other three before. And further he

Elizabeth.
1575. saith that he used always to deliver to Dr. Good his plain letters again when Cockyn had put the same into cipher. He advised the Scottish Queen to write often to the Queen of England, for she was the best friend she had in Court; and wrote that her removal was in question.

(9 and 10). To the 9th and 10th he says that the Bishop of Ross delivered him his Apology to write, saying that he would send it presently with him to Lord Henry Howard, and also the discourse of his whole proceedings and answers; whereof Cockyn told Doctor Good. The next time of his repair to the bishop with the Apology the bishop told him that Doctor Good had dissuaded him to send the same until he departed the realm, and so willed Cockyn to stay the delivery thereof until he departed, and when he was gone to go with it when Doctor Good should think convenient. Shortly after the bishop's departure Cockyn went to Doctor Good to know whether he should go to the Lord Henry with the said book: who answered him, that it was requisite first to write the confessions of the bishop touching the Duke by themselves, and to join his confessions and Apology together; and so he advised him to do, and Doctor Good would amend it in some places, and that being done, said that Cockyn might go with it when he listed. Doctor Good advised him not to deliver the whole discourse and proceedings of the bishop, because they appertained not to him Henry to know or see. And so Cockyn wrote the confessions and Apology, bound them together, and showed them to Doctor Good, who perused them, and afterwards willed Cockyn to deliver it; which he did shortly after Christmas, 1573, and the principal copy thereof Cockyn delivered to Doctor Good.

(12) To the 12th he saith that he knows of four written books touching the Scottish Queen's honour, whereof he wrote three himself, and of those three one was sent to the Scottish Queen, another to the bishop by the commandment of Doctor Good, and the third, being imperfect, is in the custody of Doctor Good, so far as he knows; and who wrote the fourth copy, he knows not.

(14) To the 14th he saith that Doctor Good delivered the works of Sir Thomas More to him to be delivered to Nicholas Jude for Alexander Bogge.

(15) To the 15th he saith that Doctor Good in his last letter to the Scottish Queen signified to her that he advised Hamilton to cast such letters as he had at the time of Cockyn's apprehension, which was the 3rd of August last, into the hedge in his garden.

(16) To the 16th he saith that he delivered an alphabet to Doctor Good in the end of August last, and therewith the deciphering of his letter from the Scottish Queen.

4 *pp.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 8. Original of the same.

April 30. **130.** FURTHER EXAMINATION OF JOHN NASMYTH.

C.P., vol. X. Whereas in your answer to the fifth interrogatory, being demanded whether Alexander Hamilton did not bring certain letters to be by you delivered, you deny flatly that he brought any such,—answer plainly to these questions following.

(1) Whether before you brought Alexander Hamilton to Cockin's house, as is by you confessed, you did not go to Cockin and tell him

Elizabeth.
1575. the gentleman (meaning Hamilton) of whom the bishop of Ross had told Cockin, was come to town, and afterwards brought Hamilton to Cockin's house?

(2) Whether Hamilton did not take out of his doublet certain letters, taking them to you to be delivered?

(3) Whether you received those letters? If you did, then declare to whom they were directed and delivered by you.

[Answers.]—(1) To his remembrance he did not go to Cockin to tell him the gentleman was come before he brought Hamilton to Cockin's house; for, as he verily thinks, the bishop of Ross could not tell Cockin anything of Hamilton, seeing that he had never seen him.

(2 and 3) After Hamilton was brought to Cockin's house he did not take any writings out of his doublet, taking them to this examinant. If any such were Cockin had them. This examinant has offered to lie in prison seven years if any of them came to his hands. Thinks he is very hardly dealt with, therefore prays for liberty.

(3) Whereas in your answer to the third interrogatory, you answer indirectly, that he came for help of his infirmity, *etc.* Answer plainly whether it was by the appointment of the bishop with you and Hamilton. Also declare that stranger's name to whom you brought Hamilton to be cut for the stone, in what part of the city that stranger's house is, and who can testify besides yourself of the 40*s.* paid to the stranger.

(4) Answer truly whether your bringing of Hamilton to Cockin was not by the appointment of the bishop of Ross or some other dealer in the Queen of Scots' behalf. Declare plainly how Hamilton had the name of Cockin, *etc.* Declare how and of whom Hamilton or you heard that Doctors Julio, Francis, Atteslowe, and Good were good physicians for Alexander Hamilton's infirmity.

(6) Declare whether Hamilton had not special message to you by word of mouth to learn somewhat of the holding of the Parliament, *etc.*

[Answer.]—Whether Hamilton asked this examinant anything touching the holding of the Parliament or not (as God send him liberty) he remembers not. But, as he now remembers, either at that time or the last time Hamilton was in London, this examinant told him the word was here that the Queen should be removed to the Earl of Bedford.

(7) Whereas you say Hamilton said that he never saw the bishop of Ross,—declare upon what occasion Hamilton entered into that speech, and who, besides you, heard him, and in what place he spoke those words. Also, whether you know that the chief cause of Alexander Hamilton's coming to London in February was a twelvemonth was to acquaint himself with Cockin and others of whom he might receive letters and advertisements for the Queen of Scots.

[Answer.]—Hamilton in his sickness sometimes used to lie in the "Chequer," at Dowgate, where others of the Earl of Shrewsbury's men resorted, and there came one day to visit him two or three scholars, Scotsmen, one Black, one Russell, and one Mackillmein, Masters of Arts, whereof some had been his scholars; and so talking together in the afternoon, sitting by the fire, of learned men of our country, and specially of Mr. George Buchanan, some of them lamented that he lost all his time and wrote nothing, others saying that he was not idle and had excellent works, which should not come

Elizabeth.
1575. forth so long as he lives, or else until the King was of years, to whom he would dedicate them. Some spoke of the bishop of Ross, and that he had dedicated a book to the Queen of England. Hamilton at that time asked what stature and years the bishop of Ross was of, saying he had never seen him. Knew no cause of Hamilton's coming up to London saving for the remedy of his infirmity, and that twenty know as well as he, who saw him in such misery, for here he lay six weeks. He was a very slack messenger, if he came any other errand, to tarry here so long. His medicines cost him well nigh 10*l.* besides drugs had at his lord's apothecary; and therefore this examinant thinks that that was his business, and not appointed by the bishop of Ross to acquaint himself with Cockin or any other.

(8) Whereas you confess you have been acquainted with Cockin these four or five years;—declare how your first acquaintance with him grew; also what other doings and dealings besides that you have expressed—which is very little for five years acquaintance—have been between you, for which you may lament.

(9) You confess that a boy named James Blackater came out of Flanders with a cipher,—declare what is become of the boy; also whether you have any copy of the cipher; whether you know any the contents of the letters brought by the boy; whether you have not sent letters to the Queen of Scots; whether you have now or have had any cipher to write in. What is become of the cipher?

(11) You say you came to Cold Harbour and going there to see whether the carrier was come, you saw Alexander Hamilton, *etc.* Declare what carrier you mean; whether there passed then no other talk between Alexander Hamilton and you; and what necessaries were those that Hamilton spoke to you for; whether you know that serving-man whom you confess you saw with Alexander Hamilton.

(15) You say you do not remember that Alexander Hamilton made any other privy to his examination besides yourself but Henry Cockin;—declare plainly why you think Cockin was made privy thereto. Also declare what moved Hamilton to acquaint Cockin with his examination, having no knowledge of him before you brought him to Cockin to buy books only.

(16 and 17) Declare more plainly what Robinson's token was by which Cockin fitted those shoes with the gold from you, and where Robinson was then. Also declare truly whether Cockin at or about that time had not of you certain letters brought out of France by Robinson. Also whether Robinson be any of those who daily attend on the Queen of Scots, or whether he has any access to the Queen of Scots or to any other who dwells near where she now lies.

5½ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Nesmith's examinacion."

[April.] **131.** ANSWERS OF NASMYTH.

C.P., vol. X.

[*Answers to some of the interrogatories in No.* 130.]

(3) Remembers not the stranger's name, but his dwelling house was then right over against Blackwall Hall. No one was present at the payment of the 40*s.* saving the stranger, Hamilton, and this examinant.

Elizabeth.
1575. (4) He neither brought Hamilton to Cockin by the appointment of the bishop of Ross nor any other person save only Hamilton, and uttered nothing to this examinant saving the buying of some books, which were not openly to be sent, some being Papists' books or "Lady Matins books" of the last printing. Doctor Francis was counted the best learned doctor of physic in all this town, and Doctors Atslow and Good having been divers times with this examinant's master and mistress, therefore this examinant brought Hamilton to them before others.

1 *p.* *Indorsed:* "1575. In Netsmith's owne hand."

[April 30.] **132.** ANSWERS TO NASMYTH.

C.P., vol. X. [*Copies of answers to the first, second, third, and fourth interrogatories in No.* 130.]

1¼ *pp.*

[April 30.] **133.** ANSWERS OF NASMYTH.

C.P., vol. X. [*Answers to the third and fourth interrogatories in No.* 130 *with the following addition to the fourth interrogatory*].—And did not utter to this examinant what other business he had to do with Cockin, saving only for the said books. But it appears that there was some other business between them by certain interrogatories ministered to this examinant at Mr. Secretary Walsingham's, where this examinant was demanded of certain writings which were supposed to be taken out of Hamilton's doublet. If any such were, then Cockin had them, who can but tell what was done with them, for in very deed this examinant had none of them, and that he will take upon his death. If any of them will swear in this examinant's hearing that any of those writings came to this examinant's hands he is content to suffer imprisonment seven years.

1 *p.* *Indorsed:* "In Netsmith's owne hand."

April. **134.** HENRY COCKYN'S REPLY TO DOCTOR ATTSLOWE'S EXAMINATION.

C.P., vol. X.

To the second he says that the bishop of Ross a little before his departure sent him to Doctor Atslowe to desire the said Doctor to send him word whether he heard of any pirates who lay in wait on the seas for his hurt. Doctor Atslowe answered that so far as he knew there was no such thing meant by any; yet said he would make enquiry amongst his friends, and so appointed Cockyn to come to him again within two or three days; which he did, and received the like answer as before. Does not remember whether the bishop wrote at the same time to the Doctor.

(6) About the 1st of August, as he was going through Cheapside, he met Doctor Atislowe at the end of Foster Lane, who enquired of Cockyn whether Hamilton was gone or not. After he had answered that Hamilton was not gone, Doctor Atslowe delivered Cockyn a letter to be delivered to Hamilton. *Signed:* Henrye Cockyn.

Elizabeth.
1575. ½ *p.* *Indorsed:* "1575. H. Cockin's replie agaynst D. Atteslowe's examination of the 28 of Aprill."

Copy of the same.

April 30. **135.** WALSINGHAM TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 523. I send your lordship Goode's, Atslowe's, and Netsmythe's confessions. How they vary from Cockeyn's confession and explanation your lordship shall perceive by resorting to those places contained in the same, noted in the margin with certain Roman letters. The way to bring the matter to a trial is to commit the said parties to the Tower, where they may be confronted. And whereas her majesty thinks it an abasement of the place to have so mean personages committed thither, therein her majesty is not to consider the person, but the matter. These persons are charged to have written in cipher to a Prince who has heretofore disquieted this State by practice; which containing in itself a manifest presumption of their inclination to continue like practices, in due policy—the offence being public—they ought to be committed to the Tower rather than to any other prison, which serve but for private affairs. I beseech your lordship to know her majesty's pleasure herein.

Netsmythe seeing that he is not committed to the Tower, as I threatened, swerves from that in his writing that in his speech he uttered to me. I sent to Cockyn his confession; who has replied to the same. By which your lordship may perceive how loth Netsmythe is to tell truth. London. *Signed:* Francis Walsyngham.

1 *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

May 1. **136.** LEICESTER TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X. I could not have her majesty's pleasure touching the causes you wrote to me of till this evening. She has perused all the particular papers, and caused me to read them all to her. She is pleased that you use your discretion for the placing of those companions where you and my Lord Treasurer shall think meet—either [in] the Tower or other, *etc.*; and her majesty doubts there is great dissimulation used in sundry the examinations, finding their answers to grow near in some points, and yet far from appearance of truth, the matters being discovered as they be. Her majesty would also that all others who be touched by any the accusations be dealt withal according as you have sufficient to charge them with; as specially she named my Lord Harry Howard, that my Lord Treasurer and you should call him and charge him with that he is touched withal, for that it appears he both heard from the bishop of Ross and received the writings, and concealed that whereby she thinks him greatly in fault. *Signed:* R. Leycester.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

May 4. **137.** SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X. I have sent you by my servant Peter Tyndale Alexander Hamilton, Nevill Sandes—for Sandy Nevill I have none such hanging to me—and Watkin Davyes. For Jackson, who was my man, I have made search for him, and I hear he is gone to London. If he returns

Elizabeth.
1575. to these parts again I shall send him up. I put him from me a quarter of a year since for his lying abroad out of my house without leave. I am sorry for my boys' sakes if Alexander Hamilton prove not himself honest, my children profited so much in learning under his governance, and had thought shortly to have sent them to Cambridge or Oxford with him. And for Sandes and the rest, if they have played the varlets you will procure their punishment to the terror of the like. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

Postscript.—This Queen's tailor is come with your letter. I wish it might have pleased the Queen's majesty to have directed me more particularly in the using of him. I have searched him, but it was in vain, for nothing could I find but two or three closed letters directed to this Queen and her folks for their affairs; only within his packets he brought he showed me answer that he has for some apparel making to the Queen's majesty by his mistress' device, which he must finish; and having seen a good part of the same in working this long time amongst the hands of her and her folks, and considering it is for her majesty's person, I have thought fit, and less danger for practices, to permit him to remain within the house during the time of his abode, and not to be forth at all till he has ended his work, rather than to suffer him to lie abroad, and by that way, under colour of his necessity, have access to and fro; and also to the end they have yet less means to do harm in case any be meant. I have caused them to despatch his goods with their horses homewards again, for I see she minds not shortly to despatch him. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

May 6. **138.** THOMAS CORKER TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X. The process that he has against Weston is that one Richard Bacon, prisoner in the Fleet, desiring Weston to borrow money on a lease, the money being granted by him, he denied Bacon. Hereupon, conceiving unkindness, he told him that he would utter matter against him and his fellows to their shame; which Weston bade him do if his conscience would serve him thereto. The writer overhearing these words, and after talking with Bacon he fully confessed, and promised to affirm the same at any time. He also told him that Weston had the Scottish Queen's picture in his chamber, which he kept with great reverence, and showed him the same. None was greater with Weston than this Bacon. Bacon told him how unkindly Weston had dealt with him.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[May.] **139.** LEICESTER TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X. I have imparted the matter you sent me to her majesty, and she perused all your extracts to see if there was any new matter fallen out, other than she had before, and she finds that the substance of that was written in the former confession: and touching the dealing with them, she says that she willed my Lord Treasurer, Mr. Chancellor,*

* Sir Walter Mildmay.

Elizabeth.
1575. and you to consider of the writings and confessions, and as you should find the matter to fall out, so to deal in it thoroughly with as many as were directly touched—as Morgan, first, she thinks to be often and divers ways detected, and likewise Doctor Good. And for as many else as there falls out matter meet to be dealt withal, she would have the parties called to answer and apprehended; and she thinks it has been somewhat too long forborne already for some of them that are chiefly touched and have been principal doers, and also heretofore offenders. Therefore she would have you consider of these examinations with speed, seeing it begins to grow known abroad, lest that they slip away who are to be dealt with, and according to the quality of the offence to deal further with the parties, and from time to time to proceed as you shall see cause with them. *Signed:* R. Leycester.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

May 9. C.P., vol. X. **140.** [WALSINGHAM] TO THE LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER AND OTHERS.

Whereas her majesty has lately committed Doctor Good, Doctor Atteslowe, Francis Bartie, John Netsmith, Alexander Hamilton, Nevill Sands, Watkin Davis, and one Jackson to the Tower, her pleasure is that they examine them all severally in such sort as shall seem best to them for detecting such matters as they have been practisers in, and such persons as they have dealt with. Incloses copies of all the writings that concern what hitherto has been done touching them. If after their several examinations they shall find that any of them persist obstinately in denial of that whereof Cockin has made confession, then they shall bring Cockin to charge every of them severally face to face. Wishes some matter to fall out by their travail whereby her majesty, knowing the secret practice of her enemies, may the better avoid the dangers thereof.

1 *p.* *Draft.* *Corrections in Walsingham's hand.* *Indorsed:* "1575. To Mr. Lieutenant, Mr. D[octor] Wilson, and Mr. Sollicitar, the 10 of Maye."

[May 10.] C.P., vol. X. **141.** COMMUNICATION WITH THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

Goodyere.

The bishop of Ross enquired of Cockeyn whether he had spoken with Goodyere since his delivery.

The bishop of Ross willed Cockeyn to go to Goodyere and Lowther to desire them to continue their good opinion of the bishop of Ross and the Queen of Scots, and to do her such pleasure as they might.

Goodyere answered he would continue his good opinion of them.

Cockeyn moved Goodyere to write to the Scottish Queen, who answered he would not then, for that he had nothing to write of. Sent commendations to the Scottish Queen.

About the end of August last Goodyere received a letter by Morgan from the Queen of Scots. The letter directed to Goodyere was mistaken, and therefore sent back.

Elizabeth.
1575.

Richard Lowther.

Cockeyn went to Lowther from the bishop of Ross to desire him to continue still in good opinion of him and of the Queen, his mistress, and to do her such pleasure as he might. Lowther thanked the bishop of Ross for his remembrance.

Francis Bertye.

Cockeyn went to Francis Bertye from the bishop of Ross to desire him to continue in sort as is before touched of Goodyere, and to know whether there were any pirates by sea lying in wait for him.

Bartye answered that he had given him little cause to think well of the bishop of Ross, for that he reported to the Council that he used him but for a spy; but said he forgave him: for his mistress' sake he would do for him what he might.

Bertye sent word that the bishop of Ross might pass without danger: offered means for his safe conveying to Dover.

The bishop of Ross wrote to Francis Bertye to send his advertisements to Cockeyn, who should write the same in a cipher left with Cockeyn to the Scottish Queen and the bishop of Ross.

Intelligence given to Cockeyn by Bertye to be signified to the Scottish Queen, with his commendation to her at Easter last.

At Whitsuntide Bertye wrote a letter to the Scottish Queen in Cockeyn's cipher; the contents, as Cockeyn says, but of common matters, as of Guerras' affection to the Scottish Queen, the departure of the Earl of Oxford, the coming of the Duchess of Suffolk into these parts.

Bertye wrote to the Scottish Queen to advise her to take good deliberation touching her marriage. Bertye received a letter by Morgan about the end of August last from the Scottish Queen.

A letter sent in November or December last to F. Bertye from the Scottish Queen that she had not been moved concerning marriage. If she were, he and others should not be the last that should understand thereof. Willed them to take heed of discovery. She had rather lack intelligence than she should receive damage.

Bertye received letter of thanks from the bishop of Ross.

Doctor Good.

Doctor Good, as Cockeyn thinks, used by the bishop of Ross to pacify the Earl of Southampton.

Doctor Good advised the bishop of Ross not to send his Apology to Lord Henry [Howard] till he was beyond the seas. The Apology was a declaration of the bishop of Ross's good uses towards the Duke of Norfolk.

Doctor Good spoken to by the bishop of Ross to give intelligence to Cockeyn.

Doctor Good signified to Cockeyn the stay of the Scottjsh Queen's remove, which he advertised with the commendations of Doctor Good.

Cockeyn at his meeting with Hamilton at Nottingham, at Easter, delivered a letter of Doctor Good to the Scottish Queen; the contents —to bestow somewhat on Cockeyn; that he had sent the defence of her honour, corrected; the correction of which book was made by Doctor Good.

Elizabeth.
1575. Doctor Good sent a letter by Cockeyn at Whitsuntide, written in Cockeyn's cipher, to the Scottish Queen.

Doctor Good wrote to the Scottish Queen for Cockeyn's pension, desired an alphabet, advertised the death of the French King, gave advice touching her marriage.

Good wrote to the Scottish Queen for advice touching the marriage.

In August Doctor Good received a letter from the Scottish Queen and an alphabet—Morgan the conveyer.

Doctor Good sent Sir Thomas More's works by Bogge. He advised Hamilton to cast certain letters to the Scottish Queen into the garden hedge, which after were conveyed by Morgan.

Good wrote to the Scottish Queen, partly in his own cipher, partly in Cockeyn's.

The bishop of Ross wrote letters of thanks to Good.

Doctor Archelow.

The bishop of Ross, as Cockeyn thinks, wrote to Archelow. The next day, after Hamilton's departure from London, Cockeyn received two letters of Nicholas, one of which was from Doctor Archelow to the Scottish Queen.

Morgan.

The bishop of Ross before his departure spoke to Morgan for intelligence.

Morgan advertised Cockeyn of the stay of the Parliament, and of the stay of the removing of the Scottish Queen.

A letter from the Scottish Queen to Cockeyn and Morgan. She was glad of Morgan's liberty, with thanks for his good remembrance of her.

At Whitsuntide Morgan wrote to the Scottish Queen in Cockeyn's cipher of the affection towards her by Guerras, the departure of the Earl of Oxford, the coming down of the Duchess of Suffolk.

Morgan wrote to the Scottish Queen for Cockeyn's pension, advertised that he thought the French King and Don John d'Austria would be suitors to her for marriage; advised her to consent to neither.

Morgan rode into the country with Cockeyn to carry the letters which Hamilton brought, for that Hamilton could not be liccensed to pass.

Morgan sent for Watkin Davys, a servant to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to meet him on the way for delivery of the letters; who received the letters. Morgan that night went to Rotherham, the next day to Lord Darcy's, and so to Doncaster.

Morgan wrote to the Scottish Queen that it was thought she was the deviser of the marriage of the Earl of Lennox with the Countess of Shrewsbury's daughter.

In September Morgan rode into Wales, where Watkin Davys met him and delivered the letters which were cast into Doctor Good's garden hedge.

The Scottish Queen about November or December wrote to Morgan signifying that as yet she was not moved touching marriage, if any such motion were they should not be the last should understand it, whose advice she would use, advised them to beware of discovery *etc.*,

The Queen of Scots sent up Jackson, servant to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to make a proof of him, and wrote to Morgan to know his opinion of Jackson. Morgan answered he was too timorous.

Elizabeth.
1575. Jackson was directed to Nicholas. Morgan spoke to Nicholas for his meeting with Jackson; by which occasion they met together.

The bishop of Ross wrote letters of thanks to Mr. Morgan for his friendship.

James Browne and the bishop of Ross' cook conveyers of letters to Cockeyn.

Alexander Hamilton, schoolmaster.

The receiver of letters and advertisement from Cockeyn, and the conveyer thereof to the Scottish Queen.

In February, after the departure of the bishop of Ross, Hamilton came to Cockeyn, being directed to Nesbythe, whom Cockeyn calls Netsmythe. The Queen [of Scots] sent Cockeyn to deliver them to Nicholas.

The Scottish Queen gave him in charge to take resolution of the heads, who moved Cockin for the understanding thereof.

Cockeyn met with Hamilton at Nottingham and then delivered him letters; some received of Nicholas, a letter of Cockeyn's; a letter of Doctor Good's; the book for the defence of her honour. This was about Easter. Appointment to meet again at Whitsuntide. Their meeting after at Whitsuntide, at Buxton; delivery of letters from Morgan, Good, and Bertye, written in Cockeyn's cipher.

Going to the lecture at St. Dunstan's he delivered to Cockeyn his interrogatories whereupon he was examined, with his answers.

Requested Cockeyn to prepare letters, and he would adventure the carriage. Morgan and Good wrote the same time to the Scottish Queen.

Hamilton received of Nicholas two letters, one of which was from Astlowe.

Hamilton went to Doctor Good to know what he should do with his letters, who cast them into Good's garden by his advice.

Nevill Sandes.

Came on St. James's day to Morgan for letters; who had delivered the same to Watkin and caused a packet of white paper to be made for Sands, lest he should seem to be discontented.

Nevill Sandes came about November or December to London and brought the answer of the letters cast into the hedge. Nevill Sands departed from London about the midst of December.

Jackson.

Sent up by the Scottish Queen to be proved; directed to Nicholas; spoke with him by the means of Morgan; received letters; and, as Cockeyn thinks, brought by the bishop of Ross' cook.

Watkin Davys.

Received letters of Morgan by the way towards Sheffield. He received likewise of him in Wales.

4⅓ *pp.* *In the hand of Sir Thomas Bromley.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "Articles wherewith to charge certayne persons, gathered out of Cockin's confession, in M^r^ Sollicitars owne hand."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 23. Copy of the same.

Elizabeth. 1575. May 12.

C.P., vol. X.

142. EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR ATTSLOWE.

"Thexamination of Doctor Atslowe taken at the Tower of London the xijth of May, anno 1575, before Sir Owyn Hopton, knyght, Tho. Wyllson and Tho. Bromley, esquers."

Can say no more than he has confessed in his former examination. Utterly denies that he ever required of Cockeyn whether Hamilton was gone, or that he ever delivered any letter to Cockeyn as from himself or any other to the Scottish Queen, or to any that are towards her. *Signed:* Edward Atslow.

The day last above specified the said Edward Atslowe being confronted with Harry Cockeyn, the said Cockeyn affirmed that he went in message from the bishop of Ross to Doctor Atslowe, praying him to enquire whether the bishop of Ross might pass the seas without danger of pirates, which Doctor Atslowe promised to do; and likewise Cockyn affirmed that about the beginning of August last he received of Doctor Atslowe a letter for the Scottish Queen to be sent by Alexander Hamilton. All which Doctor Atslowe utterly denied.

½ *p.* *Indorsed:* "12 May, 1575. The confrontynge of D. Asshelowe and Henrie Cockyne."

May 12.

143. EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR GOOD.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 15.

"The Examynacyon of D. Good taken at y^{e} Tower of London the xijth of May, anno 1575, before S^{r} Owyn Hopton, knight, Thomas Wyllson and Thomas Bromley, Esquyers."

First;—the said examinant sayeth that he never received any letter from the bishop of Rosse since his departure out of this realm.

Further:—that he never received any notes from the Scottish Queen to be put into the book written concerning the defence of her honour. He never caused Cockeyn to write any letter to the bishop of Rosse at any time from this examinant; neither has he sent any letter to the bishop of Rosse since his departure from this realm. The letters this examinant received from the Scottish Queen were only received by means of Cockeyn; neither has he sent any letters or messages to the Scottish Queen otherwise than he has showed in his former examination to the fourth interrogatory. Also he says he never received any alphabet from the Scottish Queen by the delivery of Cockeyn or of any other.

Further;—he denies that he ever knew of any message or token sent to the Scottish Queen by Qwerras, or of any message sent by the Scottish Queen to Qwerras. Also, he utterly denies to have given any advertisement to the Scottish Queen touching the adjournment of the Parliament or for her removal where she now remains, or that Qwerras was her good friend; or of the coming of the Spanish navy to Flanders, or of the coming of Mendoza in embassage to the Queen of England, or of his message, *or of any that would be suitor in marriage to the Scottish Queen,** but confesses he gave advice to the Scottish Queen concerning her marriage in such sort as he has showed in his former examination; and also advertised that he heard

* The words in italics are crossed out in the MS.

Elizabeth.
1575. that the French King and Don John of Austria would be suitors for marrying with the Scottish Queen.

Further;—he says he never wrote to the Scottish Queen either of the receipt of any alphabet from her, or of his advice given to Hamilton for casting any letters in this examinant's garden.

Never gave any advice concerning the Apology to be sent to Lord Harry Howard, and never saw the same nor any copy thereof.

Also, he confesses that he burned the copy of the book written for the defence of the Scottish Queen's honour, which was left with him, immediately after his coming from examination before the Lord Treasurer; and the letters which he received from the Scottish Queen he ever either burned or otherwise destroyed shortly after the receipt thereof. Per me Jacobum Good. He denies also that he at at any time delivered to Cockeyn the works of Sir Thomas More to be conveyed to any person.

The said examinant further says that Morgan came to this examinant's house about a fortnight after such time as he the said examinant was before the Lord Treasurer at the bishop of London's house, and required of him to know upon what points he was examined by the Lord Treasurer. Whereupon this examinant made declaration to the said Morgan of all those things he was examined of; and at the same time he declared to the said examinant that he would enquire as much as he could of Cockeyn's confessions, being then prisoner in the Tower, and upon knowing of anything thereof he would give advertisement to the said examinant. Shortly after the said Morgan came to this examinant's house and showed to him that the said examinant and Morgan and divers others were accused by Cockeyn—the said examinant as a principal doer to the Scottish Queen in all her English causes, and the said Morgan as the carrier of her letters, and thereupon willed this examinant to send for the said Cockeyn's wife to come to his house. Which he refused, but resolved that she should be sent to meet the said examinant and Morgan in the White Friars', whither she came; and being demanded whether she knew of any accusation made by her husband of the said examinant or of the said Morgan, or of any punishment or torture used upon the said Cockeyn, she utterly denied to know anything thereof. Albeit she had before that confessed to the said Morgan that her husband had accused the said examinant, Morgan, and divers others. Whereupon the said Cockeyn's wife left the examinant and Morgan together; and the said Morgan, after the going away of Cockeyn's wife, told this examinant that he would not abide this matter, he was not able to endure torture, another realm was as good for him as this. And to the examinant he said "doe you for your sellff as you thinke good," and thereupon took this examinant by the hand and bade him farewell, for he would be gone.—Per me Jacobum Good.

The day first above written, Henry Cockeyn, confronting the said Doctor Good, affirmed all and every the points above mentioned by him denied, which the said Henry Cockeyn before confessed and declared in his former examinations and declarations.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "12 May, 1575, D. Good's examination"; *and in Walsingham's hand:* "with Henrie Cockin's confrontynge of him."

Elizabeth.
1575
May 14.

144. SIR OWEN HOPTON TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X.

Doctor Good, Doctor Atslow, and Hamilton in effect confessed nothing, although Cockyn honestly avouched to their faces. To-morrow they examine them further, but fear they will confess very little, for they stand on their reputations that they are better to be believed than Cockyn, for they are men of credit; he is not; they have many friends, he few, and they be two to one. Thus with their determined purpose before they came to the Tower, together with their brags of estimation, they think to overthrow the whole matter. Cannot be quiet until it comes to some better pass, and there he intends to wait on him on Monday morning next, and then to show him such devices as he has taken, which he doubts not shall bring all these matters to light, but will do nothing without his advice, neither would he have any man know it but him. The Tower. *Signed:* Owyn Hopton.

Postscript.—Beseeches him to remember Mr. Bishop for his liberty.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

May 15. **145.** EXAMINATION OF WATKYN DAVIES.

C.P., vol. X.

What letters have you received to be conveyed or delivered to the Scottish Queen or any of her servants? What letters have you received from the Scottish Queen or any of her servants, and to whom were the same sent? What letters did you receive of Morgan on the way to Sheffield, and to whom did you deliver the same? What letters did you receive of Morgan in Wales about September last for the Scottish Queen; to whom did he deliver the same?

Answer of Watkyn Davys.—To all the interrogatories he says that he never received any letters or messages to be conveyed to the Scottish Queen from any person, nor yet from the Scottish Queen or any her servants or ministers to any person. Denies also the receipt of any letters from Morgan to be conveyed to the Scottish Queen or any her servants. *Signed:* Watkyn Davith. *Certified by*—Thomas Wylson; Tho. Bromley; Owyn Hopton.

⅔ *p.* *In the hand of Sir Thomas Bromley.*

May 15. **146.** EXAMINATION OF JOHN JACKSON.

C.P., vol. X.

"Thexamynacyon of John Jackeson taken att the Tower of London the xvth of May anno 1575, before Sir Owyn Hopton, knyght, Thomas Wyllson, and Thomas Bromley esquyers."

Confesses that somewhat before Christmas last, coming up to London about a legacy bequeathed to one of his daughters, at the desire of Beton, servant to the Scottish Queen, he received a letter from the same Beton to deliver to Nicholas, the French ambassador's man, which Beton told this examinant was to no other effect but that Nicholas should provide for Beton three pair of Spanish gloves, for the providing whereof this examinant received of Beton a French crown. On his coming to London he met Morgan and declared to him that he had a letter to be delivered to Nicholas, and thereupon

Elizabeth. 1575. Morgan offered to deliver the letter; upon which this examinant delivered to him the letter and the French crown. About two days after this examinant received of Morgan a letter to Beton and another to Curle, which shortly after he cast into the fire, fearing to carry the same. *Signed:* J.J.

Certified by—Thomas Wylson, Thomas Bromley, Owyn Hopton.

¾ *p. In the hand of Sir Thomas Bromley.*

May 15. **147.** INTERROGATORIES FOR NEVILL SANDES.

C.P., vol. X. (1) What messages or letters have you received to be sent to the Scottish Queen? (2) What messages or letters have you received to be sent from the Scottish Queen? (3) Were you at London about St. James's time last; who sent you, and what business had you to do, and with whom? (4) Did you not then receive a packet from Morgan? From whom was the same directed, and to whom? (5) Were you in November or December last at London, for what cause, and who sent you? (6) What letters did you then bring from the Scottish Queen, and to whom, and what letters, tokens, stuff, or message did you receive back to the Scottish Queen, and from whom? (7) How long did you tarry in London at your last being there? what was the cause of your long tarrying? with whom had you any conference concerning the Scottish Queen, and to what effect?

¾ *p.*

May 15. **148.** EXAMINATION* OF NEVILL SANDES.

C.P., vol. X. "Thexamynacyon of Nevyll Sandes taken att the Tower of London the xvth of May anno 1575, before Sir Owyn Hopton, knyght, Thomas Wyllson and Tho. Bromley, esquyers."

(1 and 2) Never received any letters or messages to the Scottish Queen, nor any from her. (3) Was not at London, but was attending on his lord at Sheffield Castle. (4) Denies utterly that he received any packet from Morgan. (6) Shortly after Michaelmas last he came up with Mr. Gilbert Talbott to London, and there received of him the note of certain benefices in Norfolk, called Saxthorp, Mannington, and Melton Magna, which are of the Earl of Shrewsbury's gift, to the end he might beg of the said Earl a presentation in the next turn or voidance of them; and the next day after his coming to London he went towards Norfolk to understand of the said benefices, and of the values thereof. From thence the examinant returned to London within 14 or 15 days, and remained at London about two or three days; which time he spoke with Morgan, but had no conference with him concerning the Scottish Queen. From London the examinant returned directly to Sheffield. (6) Has answered in the first and second. (7) Can say no further than to the fourth and fifth interrogatories. *Signed:* Nevill Sands. *Certified by*—Thomas Wylson, Owyn Hopton, Tho. Bromley.

* For interrogatories see No. 147.

Elizabeth. 1575. 1 *p.* *In the hand of Sir Thomas Bromley.* *Indorsed:* "15 May 1575. Examinacion of Nevil Sandes"; *and in Walsingham's hand:* "Subscribed with his owne hand."

May 15. and 16. C.P., vol. X.

149. DEPOSITIONS OF HUMPHREY WYMES.

Has delivered cinnamon water, *aqua cœlestis mathioli*, unguent for the stomach, unguent for the spleen, and oil of nutmegs to the French ambassador's man, who paid for them. Never delivered any mithridate or treacle to Doctor Good, but delivered one ounce at divers times to Cuthbert and John. Whether he delivered any in December last or November to any of his servants, he refers himself to his book, wherein he finds none. Does not know that Doctor Good was privy to their being sent to the Scottish Queen. Written in the Tower of London, 15th May, 1575, in the presence of Mr. Lieutenant, Doctor Wilson, and Mr. Solicitor.* *Signed:* Humphrey Wymmes.

Postscript.—Remembers that some such medicines as unguent for the stomach and oil of nutmegs were delivered by him before Christmas to Nicholas' man. Doctor Good was not privy to the delivery of the said stuff, although he asked him about that time if he had any good oil of nutmegs. Touching half a pound of mithridate which he is charged to have delivered to Nicholas by Doctor Good's appointment for the Scottish Queen's use, in a box of tin, he never delivered any. Never packed any such stuff nor saw the same packed up, but simply delivered the same to Nicholas by parcels and at no time to any other. Always received his money of Nicholas only, 16th May, 1575. *Signed:* Humphrey Wymes, apothecary.

1⅓ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "15 May 1575. Humfrey Wynnes, apothecarie, dwelling in Fleete Streete"; *and in Walsingham's hand:* "Subscribed with his owne hand, and written in his owne hand."

May 16. C.P., vol. X.

150. EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR JAMES GOOD.

"16 May 1575. Before M^r^ Lieutenant, Sir Owen Hopton, knight, and Thomas Wilson, Master of the Requestes."

In November last he gave order to Humphrey Wem to send to the Scottish Queen cinnamon water, *aqua matthioli*, an ointment for the spleen, and another for the stomach, and half a pound of mithridate in a tin pot; all which he saw put up in a basket by the said Humphrey. The French ambassador paid for all the stuff. *Signed:* *per me* Jacobum Good.

½ *p.* *Indorsed:* 16 May 1575. Doctor Good. Touchynge apothecarie stuffe delyvered by Humfrey Wynnes in November last"; *and in Walsingham's hand:* "Subscribed with his owne hand."

May 19. C.P., vol. X.

151. FURTHER EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR GOOD.

"Thexamynacyon of Doctor Good taken att the Tower of London the xix^th^ of May anno 1575, before Sir Owyn

* Sir Thomas Bromley.

Elizabeth. 1575.

Hopton, knyght, Lieutenant of the Tower, Thomas Wyllson, and Thomas Bromley, esquyers."

Can say no more than he has before declared. *Signed: per me* Jacobum Good. *Certified by*—Owyn Hopton, Thomas Bromley, *and* Thomas Wylson.

½ *p.* *Indorsed:* "19 May 1575. Thexaminacion of Doctor Good"; *and in Walsingham's hand:* "Subscribed with his owne hand."

May 19. **152.** EXAMINATION OF HENRY COCKYN.

C.P., vol. X.

"An answere to certaine articlis proponed by her majesties commissioners the xix[th] of Maie 1575."

(1) Touching his first acquaintance with Nevill Sandes. (2) Touching the receipt of letters at Doncaster. (3) Touching the receipt of letters in London towards the end of November 1574.

[*No answers.*]

¼ *p.* *Indorsed:* "20 [*sic*] May 1575. Articles for Henry Cokkyn concernying Nevil Sandes."

May 20. **153.** WORDS TOUCHING LADY COBHAM.

C.P., vol. X.

"The woordes which Doctor Good wrote in a letter to the Scottish Queen tochinge the Ladie Cobham this last somer, 1574."

"Havinge occasion to ride abrode this last somer, it was my chance to passe by a house of the Ladie Cobham's (wheare she then laye); with whome I had sum conference; and surelie, madam, I finde her to be your good freind and welwiller." At the end of his letter made mention that the said lady had sent her a box of mithridate. *Signed:* Henrye Cockyn.

¼ *p.* *Indorsed:* "20 May 1575 Henrie Cockyn towchynge a letter written by D[octor] Good concerninge the Ladie Cobham"; *and in Walsingham's hand:* "In H. Cockin's owne hand."

May 20. **154.** CONFESSION OF HENRY COCKYN.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 18.

(1) To the first, he says that upon Good Friday, 1574, Nicholas Jude brought Nevill Sandes to his house to be acquainted with him, to the end that they might conclude upon some place of meeting for the conveyance of letters when need should require. The order was this,—that whensoever there were letters to be sent to the Scottish Queen the said Cockyn should write a letter to Sandes in the name of one Edward Hill (who is a soldier of Guernsey) making mention that a chest of the said Sandes was come to London, which he left in the keeping of the said Hill at his being in Guernsey, under the charge of Captain Laighton, and within twelve days after the date of any such letter the said Sandes would meet Cockyn at Nottingham. Yet he says that, notwithstanding this appointment made between them, there was never any such letter written as before is mentioned, by reason he was but newly returned from [Alexander] Hamilton with whom he had made a former appointment. The same night Morgan

Elizabeth.
1575. drank with Sandes at his house, by reason that Morgan was in his house at the same time, yet not seen by Sandes at that present. But immediately after the departure of Sandes, Morgan went forth and seemed to Sandes as though he had met with him by chance, and so brought him back again to the said Cockyn's house, where they drank together, as before is said. And after Morgan had talked a little with Sandes, he appointed that he and Cockyn should come to his inn (which was at "the Bell" in Coleman Street) the next morning, and bestow a breakfast on him, because it was then too late to make him any good cheer. The next morning he and Morgan went thither one after another, before 10 o'clock in the morning. And from "the Bell" they went to "the Sune," at Cripplegate, where they dined; and so took their leave of Sandes.

(2) On St. James's day last Sandes came to Doncaster to Morgan (which was by appointment of Morgan two days before, he then being at Winckfield), where Sandes received of Morgan, in the presence of Cockyn, a little packet of white papers, instead of letters, to be by him delivered to the Scottish Queen. The cause wherefore Morgan delivered him white papers instead of letters was that he had sent his letters the day before by Watkins [Watkin Davies], and at the same time Morgan took order with Sandes that on that day fortnight or three weeks, he should come to him with answer of those letters, to a place called Epperston, five miles from Nottingham, Sandes thinking that a convenient place, by reason that he might obtain licence to visit Sir Jervis Clifton, who he said was his good friend and old acquaintance, the said place would not be far out of his way, and so for that time departed. But, as Morgan told Cockyn afterwards, Sandes did not keep promise with him, so that Morgan was forced to devise a new way to get answer; which was to ride to Lord Darcy's, thinking that although Sandes could not get leave to ride to Nottingham, yet when he should hear that he was so near, Sandes might easily go thither and return in a short time. To which place Watkins came to Morgan with answer to the letters which he had received of him; and shortly after came Sandes with white papers instead of letters.

(3) Towards the end of November last Sandes came to London, and being lodged at the "White Hart" without Cripplegate, sent a poor old man to his house to enquire for Morgan, who answered that he knew not where he was. Immediately after the poor man returned again saying to him the said Cockyn that there was a gentleman at the "White Hart," come from Lord Darcy's, who would gladly speak with Morgan, and if he knew not where Morgan was, then Cockyn should come himself; which he did. At his coming thither he saluted Sandes, and so went into his chamber. Then Sandes demanded to know where Morgan was. Cockyn answered that he knew not. Quoth Sandes, "I have letters here which I was willed either to deliver unto Morgan or to Ludovico Aretino, whom I know not." After Cockyn had told him that they were directed to himself, Sandes delivered them to him, and willed him to provide answer against his return from Suffolk. And further he says that at the same time Sandes told him that he killed a horse in riding to Morgan, who was at the Lord Darcy's, with answer to those letters which he received of him at Doncaster, and that he had spoiled another horse on that journey. And, moreover, he says that a little before Sandes' depar-

Elizabeth.
1575. ture from London, Morgan had appointed to dine with him, and that he and Cockyn would be with him at his lodging by ten o'clock in the morning. When Morgan was come Sandes enquired where they should dine. Quoth Morgan, "at the 'Horse Head,' in Cheapside." Which Sandes misliked because there was too great resort of people, and that he would not be seen in his company. Then Morgan named the "Sun," at Cripplegate; which Sandes also misliked because he had been there once before, and said that he had rather go to the "Flying Horse," in Silver Street, which was a tavern that stood out of the way, and there was, as he said, no great resort. Which place Morgan misliked, and so they concluded to go to the "Sun," Cripplegate; where, after dinner, Sandes desired Morgan to take up of his own credit, in some place of the city, so much fine cloth, either linen or woollen, as should amount to 20*l.*; whereby he might from time to time have some apparent business in the city, and thereby, as he said, he might do the Scottish Queen the better service. Morgan answered him that he would be glad to show him what pleasure he could, but could in nowise like of that device, because the earl,* his master, would soon perceive it, adding further that he doubted not but that the earl had an eye to all his household, and if he should perceive him to rise so suddenly he would straightway suspect that he had some other help besides his allowance, and so advised him to bear as low a sail as he could, and departed. Further;—he saith that the next day Morgan told him that Sandes desired him to take up a "grogram" gown-cloth for his wife, and that he might have it the same day to pack up amongst other stuff to send down by the carrier. Morgan's answer was that his business was such that he could not that day go about it. Then Sandes desired him to deliver it before the carrier went down. Morgan told him that it would breed suspicion if he should deliver any such thing to the carrier for him. Sandes desired him to cause a letter to be written in the name of James Billesberie, making mention that he had sent it. Which Morgan promised to do, and performed, as he told the said Cockyn. Likewise he says that the same day that Sandes departed the city, which was in November or December last, he delivered him certain letters for the Scottish Queen, which were in a leather bag, and that those letters were by him delivered to Sandes before 7 o'clock in the morning. *Signed:* Henrye Cockyn.

3 *pp. Holograph. Indorsed:* "20 May 1575. Henry Cockyn, towchyng Nevil Sandes"; *and in Walsingham's hand:* "In his owne hand." *Some corrections.*

May 20. **155.** CONFESSION OF JOHN NETSMYTH.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 20. About February was a twelvemonth one Alexander Hamilton, schoolmaster to the Earl of Shrewsbury's children, came to London to seek remedy for his infirmity of the stone, sought out this examinant, because they had been schoolfellows and of old acquaintance, and told him that the Queen had given him some things to be delivered to one Henry Cockin, whom he knew not, and willed this examinant to bring him to the said Cockin. And so this examinant did. There Hamilton

* Shrewsbury.

Elizabeth.
1575. took out of his doublet certain ciphers and delivered them to the said Cockin; who seemed to be very glad of them, and especially that the Queen had such a mean or servant thence. Afterwards Cockin bid Hamilton and this examinant to dinner and supper, and made them good cheer; where, in the end, Hamilton and Cockin concluded that Cockin should bring advertisements from London, and meet Hamilton at a certain place appointed between them in the country, where Hamilton should bring the Queen's writings and deliver them to Cockin, and receive Cockin's advertisements to be conveyed to the Queen. This order they kept three or four times. Hamilton at that time was appointed to learn if the Queen of Scots should be removed to any other place of custody, or if the Parliament did hold, and what intercession the French King would make for her liberty.

In April was twelvemonth there came a boy, named James Blackater, from Flanders, from Mr. John Hamilton, who brought a letter to this examinant to be sent to the Queen of Scots; which, for fear that the boy should have been examined, and the cipher found with him, would have said that he had been diverted to this examinant; therefore he took it from him and delivered it to Cockin to be conveyed to the said Queen: and except the same cipher, there never came any cipher or letter to this examinant's hands either from the Scottish Queen to be delivered to any person, nor from any person to be delivered to the said Queen. For this examinant always saw that whosoever meddled in her causes were always molested or troubled one way or other. Therefore, albeit he bore her goodwill and wished her well, he would never meddle with her matters.

About midsummer last one George Robinson, who is the Queen of Scots' servant, came out of France when the Queen of England was at Reading, and brought with him divers writings to the Queen of Scots, and also a pair of shoes, between the soles of which he told this examinant that he had put his gold for fear of robbing on the sea; but the truth is they were ciphers or letters directed to the Queen of Scots, which Cockin had to be conveyed to the said Hamilton, and from him to the Queen. *Signed:* "*per me* John Nesmyth."

1¼ *pp.* *Fragment of flyleaf remaining, on which is indorsed:* "20 May 1575."

May 21. **156.** CONFESSION OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

"The confession of Alexander Hammylton the 20 day of May, 1575."

Whereas Alexander Hamilton, in June, 1574, was brought up to London before Mr. Secretary Walsingham, and there examined upon certain interrogatories touching sending a boy from Doncaster to Scotland with letters concerning the Queen of Scotland's affairs, the said Alexander, according to his answer, then denied absolutely that ever he sent a boy with any writing belonging [to] the Queen of Scots to Scotland, or knew any that went thither about any such matters alleged in the interrogatories, and for the more confirmation of the same the said Alexander, in October last, presented himself before the Regent, desiring his grace for a further trial concerning those things whereof he had been examined in London. His grace finding nothing against him, gave him a favourable passport to return to his lord and master again.

Elizabeth.
1575.

Now, the said Alexander being demanded whether he knows any who carry any letters from the Queen of Scots to any of England, he confesses willingly, for the truth's sake, that he himself in February was twelvemonth, being deadly sick of a "strangurie," obtained licence of his lord and master to repair to London to seek remedy for his health, and Raulet, the Queen of Scots' secretary, understanding of his going up, willed him to deliver a letter to one Henry Cockin, bookbinder, in London; saying the contents thereof were to know whether the Parliament would hold or not, or if there was any word that the Queen of Scots should be removed to any other place, and what intercession the King of France would make for her liberty. On his coming to London, not knowing where to lodge, he sought out his countryman, a friend of his called Nasmythe, and within two days after inquired of him if he knew a bookbinder called Henry Cockin, of whom he said he would buy some books, desiring Nasmyth to bring him to his house; which he did. Where the said Alexander privily delivered the letter to Cockin, who promised him an answer before his departure: the which he inclosed in a pair of "pantofles," and on his return he delivered the same to Raulet, secretary.

Secondly:—the said Alexander confesses that by the persuasion of Cockin he met him at Nottingham before Easter, and received from him a book written by the said Cockin concerning the defence of the Queen of Scots' honour, with some letters, and also delivered to Cockyn certain letters from Raulet, all which were fast sealed.

Thirdly:—confesses that he met Cockin in the holidays of Whitsunday after, at Buxton, and there received letters from him, and also delivered to him some letters from Raulet; but he neither knows from whom Cockin received any of his letters—for he would never reveal to Alexander such things—nor to whom Raulet directed his letters, saving to Cockin alone. All these letters which Hamilton received from Cockin he delivered to the hands of Raulet, who all that time was sick and took physic in his chamber.

Finally:—the said Alexander confessed that in August last he received some letters from Cockin in London, and because immediately after Cockin was apprehended by the Recorder of London, the said Alexander tore the said letters in pieces and thrust them into a privy in the inn where he then lay. This is all that ever he did himself or ever knew any other to do in the Queen of Scots' affairs, and if there be any honest man who can affirm either contrary to this or in any other place that ever he had to do either by writing or word concerning the Queen of Scots' affairs besides with Cockin, as he has truly above declared for conscience sake only, without any compulsion, he is ready to suffer the greatest punishment that can be devised.

1⅔ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 17.

Original of the same. *Signed:* "Alexander Hamylton, the 21 off May, 1575."

May 22. **157.** CONFESSION OF NEVILL SANDES.

C.P., Vol. X.

"The voluntarie confession of Nevill Sandes of thinges which he had denied before the Commissioners that examined him the xvth of Maye 1575."

Elizabeth.
1575. It pleased my lord my master to commit me to ward under guard till his pleasure was to send me up to the Tower of London, I not knowing the cause, and now, since my coming to the Tower, I am charged by the Queen's commissioners to be a dealer for the Scottish Queen in conveying letters from her and to her. Being charged therewith so deeply by the commissioners, whose words caused me to call to God inwardly for his grace, that I might speak the truth to my gracious Queen—being sore amazed and ashamed of the matter which was laid to me—and that I had done the thing not knowing the contents but to have been commendations of common causes to friends, God is my witness; notwithstanding, I confess to be worthy of punishment at the pleasure of my gracious Queen and her Council, desiring God and her majesty to forgive me.

Here follow the things that I know and that I have done, from whom and to whom.

First;—I received one small letter of Gilbert Curlle to give to one Nicholas, servant to the French ambassador, or to give to one Henry; and so I gave it to Nicholas, who gave me one again, and brought me to Henry Cockin; and there was Morgan; and they desired me to carry some letters to the Queen's men. I demanded to whom. They willed me to Gilbert [Curlle], and so I gave them to him. This was in Lent, two weeks before Easter a year past.

At St. James's Day next, Morgan being at Doncaster fair, I came riding thither to buy cattle and household stuff; which I did. As I came riding into the town he called me in his chamber window. I went to him, and so he asked me if I would dine with him. I said if I could I would, and within two hours after I came to him to make my excuse that I could not, for that I dined where my horse stood with my lord's man; and so he prayed me to take a letter to Gilbert Curlle. So I took it, and gave it the next day to him. But there was with him Henry Cockin, and before I came one John Jackson, my lord's man, was with them, who, I think, had received the things of value—I mean some packet to the Queen; for the letters that I had were written there openly, and given openly to me. Within two weeks after I was required by Gilbert to give a letter to Morgan if he came that way, or that I should send it to him. I confess my fault, I took it, and hearing that he was ridden by to my Lord Darcy's, I rode after my lord, who was before a hunting within half a mile. I rode to my Lord Darcy's, where Morgan was, and gave him the letter; for they said to me that it was for Wares, at London; and before I had been with him Watkin Davie had been with him, as he said, to pay him money, and so he first told me of him; and so I departed and rode after my lord to the place where he was hunting.

Within four weeks after Candlemas next, in the term time, I asked licence to go to London, and so to Norfolk, to see certain benefices that my lord gave me the advowsons of. Then comes Gilbert to me and prays me to give a letter to Morgan or to Henry Cockin; and so I took it and brought it to Henry Cockin and gave it to him, and at my return out of Norfolk he came to me and gave me another with a box of apothecary Wares. For Gilbert said to me that his letter was for apothecary Wares, and at my return I delivered it to him in a small bag of leather.

God is my record, more than these things I did not, neither do I

Elizabeth.
1575. know of anything else, and if I did I take God to witness I would with a glad heart declare it. Humbly beseeching the Queen's majesty of her gracious goodness to have mercy on me, a poor soldier, who ever was and is ready to serve her.

I confess that I had yearly 20 French crowns at New Year's Day, and besides that at three times more 10*l.* at a time. God is my judge herein I took it for need.

Bastian [Pages], her man, Curlle, one Baltisar [Hully] of her wardrobe, and Florence be those who gave me always the money and writings; and, before the living God, it were a gracious and good deed of the Queen's majesty to deliver that good, noble and worthy subject* of that charge, for other life than this will not be in this realm so long as she is here. It were pity, before God, that he or his house should be harmed by her. God of his goodness deliver this realm of her.

2 *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 12. Original of the same.

May 22. **158.** MONSIEUR VILLEROY TO [MR. COTTON].

C.P., vol. X. Because I have always been absent from this Court, your preceding letters were not given to me till my arrival, and I would not have failed to reply immediately if I had had the Sieur de St. Gouard's key, without which I could not decipher your letters. But I have only received it eight days ago. I have let the King understand what you have reiterated by your letters of the 6th of April, which I only received four days ago by means of the bishop of Ross. His majesty commanded me to answer you, that he greatly esteems your goodwill, and will be very glad to recognise it when occasion offers. But as regards the proposal you make for the furniture of three or four ships for the enterprise contained in your letter, inasmuch as his said majesty has entered into terms for pacifying the troubles of his realm, he cannot at present make use of this commodity and of the offer you make him. You will do him great pleasure by letting him know what you shall esteem to be worthy of his said majesty. This present will be brought and given to me according to the advertisement which you give me by your last. Paris. *Signed:* Villeroy.

½ *p. French. No flyleaf or address. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 22. Copy of the same.

May 27. **159.** BISHOP OF ROSS TO MR. COTTON.

C.P., vol. X. I received your letters of the 6th instant, and incontinent thereafter passed to Villeroy and delivered your letters; and the next day he communicated the contents thereof to the King of France and the Queen mother, and said that he had special commandment from their majesties to write to you, at Leith, which he had done already by the King's ambassador, so that at his hands you will receive your answer. Because I understood nothing of the matter I could press them no further. Yet it seemed to me that they liked well of your letters. Paris. *Signed:* John E. Rosse.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address:* "To the very virschipfull and my loving frend M^r^ Cotton, Inglishe gentillman, presentlie in Flanders."

* Shrewsbury.

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1575. *Indorsed:* "Received in Dunkerk 24 Junii 1575 by clerk Rossensis." *Indorsed by Burghley:* "27 Maii 1576 [*sic*]. B. of Ross to Wm. Cotton"; *and in Hunsdon's hand:* "Byshoppe of Rosse to Cotton from Paris to Bryssels, with a note frome Cotton to Heighington to be ware howe he sende his letters. This Heighington was secretarie to the Earle of Northumberlande, and ever since hath been with the Cowntesse—a dangerouse man, and, as I take it, a great practiser with Cotton, and those letters with this marke 'H' bee his, to Cotton, or els Sir Francisse Engylfyldes mark."

Pasted to the same:—

(William Cotton to Robert Heughington.)

I pray you have good regard to what messengers you commit those letters you have to send hither to me, for these your last, of the 21st instant, came to my hands more by hap than by certain direction. They cost me nothing for the postage, or who brought them, I know not, but I had rather pay treble postage than receive any letters from you in such sort as these came, which had been, as I understand, at the English house to seek me, where some good fellows, when they understood from what place they came, made "deskant" on them without any "playnesenge." Yet, as hap was, I found a friend there who directed them well to my lodging, and found them also not to have been opened, therefore I guess the seeking for me at that place was rather of simplicity than of any malice in the bringer of them. Hereafter I pray you take better heed to your directions. Antwerp. *Signature torn off.*

½ *p.* *Addressed:* "A Monsieur, Monsieur Robert Heughington, en la mayson du Monsieur Guillame Erp, Channoyne du St. Poll, Lyege."

May 27. **160.** INSTRUCTIONS TO HENRY KILLIGREW BEING SENT INTO SCOTLAND.

S.P. Dom. Eliz., vol. CXXXIV., fol. 267.

For that the Queen of England perceives the Regent seems to marvel much that she has so long deferred sending him answer to those things whereof he gave him a memorial, he shall declare to him that the chief cause of her stay was for that she has long attended answer out of Germany touching a league thought necessary by the Regent himself to be made between the Princes, Protestants of Europe, for the common defence of religion, wherein, not having received that answer she looked for, thought it not convenient to stay any longer from sending him thither, as well to visit the young King as to impart to him her answer to the memorial.

First;—he shall declare to the Regent that, touching a mutual league to be made for defence against foreign or inward attempts, especially for the cause of religion, she could be very well content to enter into the same if so be all other foreign Princes making the like profession of religion with them might be induced to the like, and to be comprehended therein with reasonable conditions for a mutual aid and defence of all that should have need thereof. But seeing that the said Princes are not so willing to enter therein as she looked for,—weighing, perhaps, that such other Princes as are of contrary religion,

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1575. and are not a little jealous of their states, might take occasion thereby to combine more strongly against them by reason of their excess in number, wealth, and strength, and more sharply to prosecute with forces their quarrel of religion—she has thought it much better to forbear to proceed therein. Notwithstanding, he may assure him, that as hitherto in any common necessity or peril of that country she has always performed in effect as much as they could desire, or by league were reasonable to be accorded, so she faithfully means to continue hereafter the same friendly dealing towards them, whereof so good demonstration has already sundry ways been made on her part, and shall be likewise hereafter upon any occasion or necessity, as possibly no greater could be performed through any league that might be made. If he shall not rest satisfied herewith he shall further show him (1) how friendly she has dealt in that succour which she has sundry times, not enforced by any league, yielded to them in their greatest extremities—a matter so well known to himself that she needs not particularly to instruct him therein. (2) How, having gotten with her great charges and no small peril divers strong forts and places of that nation from the young King's enemies, she did not retain the same in her own hands—a thing in these days most rare in Princes—she would hereby put the Regent in mind hereof, that by due consideration of what she has heretofore done voluntarily for them he may be induced to look for the like at her hands hereafter, if need be, and to content himself with this her answer in refusing presently to yield to enter into the said league.

Secondly;—as to support for the Regent and pensions for some of the nobility.

Thirdly;—she accepts most thankfully his advice with regard to the safe custody of the Scottish Queen, as proceeding from the great care he has for the quiet estate of her and her realm, which of late she has well perceived has been in peril through the practices of the said Queen and her ministers, and that, therefore, she purposes to be more watchful over her, and to restrain her from some part of that liberty which heretofore she has granted to her, and on her part has not been a little abused.

Fourthly;—is to assure the Regent that the ordnance taken in Hume Castle shall be delivered.

Having dealt with the Regent in these four points he is to certify the Queen with all convenient speed how he rests satisfied with her answers, and also whether he continues constant in affection to her since the new friendship he is entered into with the Hamiltons and Sir James Balfour, for that some suspect some alteration of his devotion to her is likely to ensue thereby. As it is thought that the late death of the Countess of Angus may breed some change in the amity betwixt the Regent and the house of Mar, he is to observe and enquire diligently what alteration is like to follow thereof. If he shall find any true grounds of the Regent's alienation from her in such sort that there is no hope of the recovery of him, he is to advertise her thereof with all speed, to the end she may signify what he shall do for assuring such of that nation to her whose friendship may stand her in some stead, and of whom she may have least cause to doubt.

Whereas she is given to understand of some unkindness that pre-

Elizabeth.
1575. sently reigns betwixt the Regent and some other of the nobility there, as also certain of the best affected burgesses of Edinburgh, who have always hitherto most sincerely concurred in all their actions for the weal of that realm and the safety of the young King, whereof there may follow some dangerous inconvenience if the same should not be prevented, she would have him thoroughly inform himself thereof, to the end he may use all the good means he can to appease and remove the same. If that good accord she desires cannot be wrought between them, he is plainly to tell those whom he finds most faulty, that she, considering what peril may grow to her State by their dissension, is fully resolved to join in assistance of those whom she shall perceive to prefer the repose of the two realms before their particular interests or revenges.

Is to declare to the Regent, that whereas he wrote to the Privy Council desiring to have someone appointed to oversee the doings of her wardens of her Marches, she has thought on some way—to institute her good cousin the Earl of Huntingdon, President in the northern part, superintendent over the said wardens.

Perceiving by the Regent's letters to Walsingham of the 10th instant, that he is desirous to understand what has ensued here of Thomas Leslie's confession sent in January last, wherein divers of her subjects were discovered of evil practices to disturb the quiet of this realm, Walsingham will inform him of as much as shall be thought necessary for the Regent to know.

Is to take one Davison with him, whom he used in place of secretary at his last being in Scotland, and after he has done all things according to the purport of these instructions is to present him to the Regent with such recommendation from her as he shall think meet to be used for his better credit, there to remain as her agent.

3 *pp.* *Copy.*

Lausd. MSS., CLV., fol. 163. Another copy of the same.

June 10. **161.** WALSINGHAM TO THE REGENT MORTON.

S.P. Dom. Eliz., vol. XLV., fol. 48. By this bearer, Mr. Murray, he shall know the whole course of their proceedings here; who has so well performed the charge committed to him, to the honour of the King his master, her majesty's contentment, and his own commendation, that a man of more desert could not be fitter chosen, showing himself to be so sincerely devoted to the maintenance of good friendship between both the realms, that it is hoped he will be no less careful hereafter to prove a good minister to further the advancement thereof. Upon the general good liking that is conceived of him here for his soundness and sufficiency, the same has been an occasion the rather to move them to deal more frankly with him in declaring to him their opinions touching the matters that have been handled, whereof he doubts not but he [Murray] will make a perfect and ample relation to his lordship. Is very glad to understand by him [Murray] that there remains no suspicion of unkindness between his lordship and him. Assures him he has witnessed by divers good effects the greatness of his true and unfeigned devotion towards him [the Regent], as to a nobleman most worthy to reap the fruit of all honest affections.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p.* *Copy.*

Elizabeth.
1575.
June 10. **162.** ELIZABETH TO THE REGENT MORTON.

S.P. Dom. Eliz., vol. XLV., p. 47.

This gentleman, the bearer hereof, Mr. James Murray, being in some doubt of the alienation of his favour and goodwill towards him, and knowing the great respect he [the Regent] bears towards her, has made his humble request to her to recommend him to him, and to desire him to restore him to his good opinion, which request being so reasonable, and having heard very good report of the gentleman as one well affected to the present State, and knowing for many respects how necessary it is to have such as are of account rather reconciled to than alienated from him, she could not with reason nor in honour deny his request, hoping that for her sake (unless there be great cause to the contrary) he will deal towards him that he shall rest contented, and she will think herself beholden to him. Hatfield.

⅓ *p. Copy.*

June 14. **163.** ELIZABETH TO THE REGENT MORTON.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 524.

The desire we have to understand of the well doing of our good cousin the King, your master, as also to send to you our resolution touching certain points contained in a memorial delivered by you to our servant, Henry Killigrew, moved us presently to despatch him towards you; and whereas, perhaps, you may find our long stay in sending somewhat strange, we doubt not but when you shall understand by him whereupon the same has proceeded, you will rest content with that which we have given him in charge to impart to you for your satisfaction in that behalf; for we would have you so to think of us that having found by so good proof your affection and devotion so constantly settled towards us—as we must confess we have—we should in our own conceit condemn ourself for "ingrate" if we should not, by friendly using of you, make open demonstration to the world of the great goodwill and especial favour that we bear towards you. Hatfield.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

June 26. **164.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letters of the 22nd, and perceives thereby that there is no hope to alter his instructions, and therefore will endeavour to make the best of them he may for her majesty's service. Incloses a note of the ordnance that was taken in Hume Castle, which pertained to the King, which he received from Sir Valentine Browne, who heretofore had a warrant to deliver them, but because it was specified in his warrant that he should deliver such as had the King's mark or names on them, and he finding none so marked did not deliver any. There are few pieces in Scotland that carry that mark, for the ordnance of Scotland came out of France, or was given them, or taken by them from strangers; and therefore if he causes any warrant to be made for the delivery of them the effect would be that such ordnance as was taken in Hume Castle and known by any proof to be the King's, or appertaining to the crown of Scotland, and not properly belonging to Lord Hume as his own, are to be reserved to the Regent; and for proof that they

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1575. were the King's he will procure Lady Hume to signify which were her husband's. Requests him to write his mind touching this matter that he may not return this time, as he did the last, without fulfilling the promise he made the Regent in her majesty's name, according to his said instructions. Thinks Sir Valentine Browne had proof made to him that they were the King's when the Regent sent for them.

Is now ready to depart, having taken order for the receipts and payments of her majesty's treasure and safe custody of that which remains until his return. London. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

Postscript.—Since the writing hereof, finds among his papers a note of Lord Hume's given him when he was last in Scotland touching the ordnance of Hume and Fast Castle, which he sends here inclosed, whereby it may appear which were Lord Hume's and which the Laird of Restalrig's, wherewith he has not to meddle, and which, in effect, were the King's as left there and delivered at sundry times to Lord Hume by them that were rulers for guard of that place.

Further:—Sir Valentine Browne showed him by a servant of his that the Regent challenged those which are mentioned in his schedule to be the King's, and not properly pertaining to Lord Hume or any other subject in Scotland. The matter is not worth exquisite trial, nor does he think will like to be further urged, having ere now sent his kinsman to Berwick for this cause, upon promise from hence that they should be delivered.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same.

(Artillery taken out of Hume Castle.)

"Memorandum—the ticket of the artillery that was takin out of Hume."

Item:—the first given by Mons. de Lorge at the Queen Regent's command to keep the house of Hume, "with all twa colveringis battartis."

Item:—one "moyane" which the Duke lent to keep the house with when he was governor.

Item:—that time the governor came to Grenlawring after the burning of Kelsoe he left ten "conttrotis" and certain "slainges" of iron behind him in the house of Hume, because he could not get them carried home with him.

Item:—a single falcon which Lord Hume's arms were on, at that time given by the governor.

Item:—given by the first Regent to Lord Hume, another single falcon, at Langside [Launsyde], which Lord Hume's arms are on.

Item:—two "merlownis" of brass brought out of Fast Castle, which pertains to the Laird of Restalrig.

Item:—four falcons with certain other pieces which I cannot remember. The Marshal of Berwick took [them] out of Fast Castle, which pertains to the Laird of Restalrig.

½ *p. Indorsed by Drury.*

Elizabeth.
1575. [June.]

165. THINGS MISLIKED IN THE REGENT.

He grants out licences for wines and other things inhibited by law, wherein he is noted for corruption. He has of late bound the merchants to bring 3 ounces of silver, broken or whole, for every last of herrings they transport abroad; for every cauldron of salt 2 ounces; and after like rate for coals. Which converted by his order into Scottish coin is noted to redound greatly and only to his particular commodity. He has inhibited the carrying of any English silver out their realm by way of exchange, which he likewise converts into Scottish money, making, as they say, upon every shilling sterling 6*d.* clear to his purse.

½ *p.* *Indorsed.*

July 7.

166. DISORDER ON THE BORDERS.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 57.

"Notes of the beginninge of the disorder at Redswier, and of reformacion and punishment appointed to followe."

"Theise came with lettres from the Earl of Huntingdon of the [ ] of September, 1575."

Upon our meeting with the Regent we took order that such as were taken prisoners and were under promise or bond to re-enter should be set free by proclamation.

We charged Scotland with breach of the amity and league, dishonour done to the Queen's majesty, and their forgetfulness of her goodness to them. They acknowledge the Queen's goodness towards that realm, but alleged the fault and beginning of the outrage to arise on the English part, and required the same might be examined. We agreed that execution should be done of the murderers at the next day of truce, and in the meantime to get the best knowledge we could who they were; yet that to be as privily done as could be, lest the offenders should escape. Because her majesty's commission was to my Lord [Huntingdon] not to seem contented with anything before her pleasure known, we forbore to appoint any day for execution, or any number to be executed.

Upon examination of the matter we could not find who was the first offender, nor certainly of which realm he was. We charged them much with the taking of prisoners and putting them under bond or promise to re-enter. They excused it for the wording of further revenge and inconvenience, and no evil, but good ensued, and were answered that that was not sufficient to take away the blemish which touched the Queen of England. When the Regent himself offered the delivery of Carmichael we left that to the direction of the Queen of England, and trusted that the Regent being contented to deliver him who was the principal man on their part, and in whom no great fault was found, would not "stickle" to deliver so many of the other takers as we should reasonably require. Part of the best of ours who were taken prisoners were taken by their friends for their safety, and might have gone home, but dare not, and had money and friendship offered them. Neither dare we demand anything certain nor seem to be satisfied with any offers until her majesty's pleasure was known, for so my lord was appointed by her letters, and therefore my lord first sent up in writing the state of the whole matter. Then my

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1575. lord sent up Mr. Robert Bowes with instructions concerning the whole proceedings, whereunto he was also privy, and with him was sent up the Regent's offer and the Earl of Huntingdon's letters to her majesty. Now having received her majesty's pleasure we will endeavour [to do our] duty to the best of our power. But it is to be remembered that our deliberation always was to have the offenders executed shortly after the Queen's pleasure is known, before which we dare not seem content with anything, and we kept that as privily as we might, for that we would have perfect knowledge of them; for if we should have taken such as they would have delivered, it might chance it should have been both of poor and simple men and innocent of the facts.

It appeared to us that the beginners of the fray were the evil men of both the realms, and if it lies in their power to break the league, amity, and peace by their disorders, and to raise war, then, surely, no peace shall long continue, and unless at this time the execution and punishment be so sharp that it may be a terror to both the frontiers they will hardly be kept in any order hereafter. Let the evil smart for their faults, and not the innocent. It is to be feared that there be some persons who mislike of the quiet, amity, and state of both the realms, or of their religion, the government of both realms or either of them, or of the persons who govern. The Regent and all the commissioners, and all other wise men of Scotland, as it is reported to us, acknowledge the goodness and benefits of the Queen's majesty, and the commissioners seem very willing to satisfy her as much as they may, yet they are but subjects and servants, and if they do more than shall be well allowed of, it may be to their displeasure and displacing from offices, and so the state altered betwixt both the realms, which might chance to be displeasant, and some placed in authority who should not depend on her majesty's devotion. It is thought and much spoken that the Regent has many privy enemies in Scotland, and is in danger of displeasure. The matters that most touch in honour are the detaining of prisoners as it were in time of war. Though the game was very injurious, yet good came thereof; for the Borders during that time remained quiet. But now since their coming home there had chanced divers raids and robberies.

This collection was made by Mr. Gargrave, and surely the notes be good and true, therefore I send them to you to consider of as you think good.

2 *pp.* *Copy.*

July 7. **167.** JOHN CHISHOLME TO MARY.

C.P., vol. X. "Please zour majestie"; since being here, these two years and a half past, I have forborne altogether to trouble your highness with any letters or other importune suits of mine, except at the first beginning, and that in respect your ambassador has been so favourable to me for your sake sundry times as occasion has occurred, at my earnest instance to write and "remember" your grace of me, and by his letters has witnessed and certified (as I believe) your majesty of my goodwill and general faithful affection borne to your grace's service, if time and place would permit, "als" that it was expedient and convenient that your grace should understand particularly my

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1575. sincere devotion and loving mind, or yet were it notified to your highness, as knows God, my good heart and true meaning towards your majesty, I am sure your grace would be as content and well pleased with me as if any of your servitors of my quality, whatsoever he be. Also, I put no doubt, of all the letters my lord ambassador has lately sent be come safely to your hands, but your highness shall find his lordship to make good testimony of me, my behaviour, and zeal (according to my duty) anent all that may concern your majesty's welfare so far as my little "spreit" or capacity may serve. I cannot think otherwise but your highness ever to this hour has given me good cause of obligation thereto, and, as I may consider, by reason of the good demonstration made to me in deed. Your grace, I believe, is sufficiently persuaded of my honest and dutiful part in all things, for your majesty of your accustomed goodness has "plesit recognosce" me among other your faithful servitors with 200 francs yearly pension, which began last year, *etc.* "Attour" I have lately understood further of your good mind towards me, being remembered by your grace in the roll of the distribution of the silver which was thought to have been got from this King; so that by all their favour and gracious dealing, besides my most humble thanks to your highness, therefore I must grant myself infinitely and wholly "oblist" to your service for ever. But now, madam, seeing the matter is so fallen forth that no part of that silver which was promised by the King here is recovered, nor in anywise is further hoped for, as your grace, I trow, is well informed of ere now; also, that abiding so long in "esperance" of the getting of the same, I have for my little part contracted great debt and remained (as I do yet) in extreme necessity, I am compelled humbly to entreat with your majesty, and beseech the . . . most earnestly to have pity on me by calling to mind my good and faithful service ever s[ince you] came first into Scotland. The great wreck, scaith, and "hinder" I have had in my goods and living fo[r your] cause, how willingly and only for your sake I hazarded and lost all that your highness ge . . . and advanced me to for my true service long before the troubles, as also all that I "conquisse[d" for my own part, wherethrough I am left altogether destitute, and in right lamentable case abandoned and pr . . . of any means to live in my own country. Wherefore, if it should please your majesty to bestow some little piece of silver on me besides my pension it would be a great help, and relief to me, *etc.*, for, as I shall answer to God, I have no shift or help in the world but only the said pension, which your grace may well consider, as the dearth of living stands in this land it is not able to sustain me, and scarcely for to buy my clothing if I should not live with more moderation than in times past, and like a banished man. [*Further complaints as to his poverty.*] Madam, think not hereby that I am moved by covetous or greedy heart thus to crave some aid of your majesty, or that my intention be to make myself rich of anything I demand of your grace at this time. I take God to witness it is no such thing I mean, neither do I desire any great matter, but whatsoever—much or little—your highness shall please [to] vouchsafe, *etc.* Remember when I departed last from your highness, I proposed, and your grace liked well thereof, that after that voyage ended I should have returned to remain beside your highness with my wife, who would be found, as I

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1575. "suppone", right proper to serve your grace as she should be commanded. She is a young gentlewoman having no bairns as yet, and I dare answer for her affectionate mind as I known my own, that we would both be most gladly contented of the most simple life that might be, yea to have no better entertainment but bread and water, "sna we mycht have therewith daylie the sicht of zour grace's guid face and presence." What your highness shall find "with tyme" expedient in this, and if the means be "impetrate" of the Queen there and such as your grace has to deal with, I refer to your majesty's own best liking and good pleasure to advertise me, for we shall be ready to quit loving good kinsfolk, friends, country, and all to obey that happy fortune if it shall so chance. Madam, howsoever it pleases your majesty to do to me or use me in these matters that I most humbly crave, I pray your grace to be assured, so long as my life endures, I shall never alter my "wowit" affection nor "spare" myself in any sort from your highness' service, with the promise that if the time will not permit me to supply the same so far as I would, at least, in the meantime, I shall not fail, by God's grace, daily to pray the eternal God, as I have done, for your highness' health, prosperity, and "suddane" delivery from all your troubles. Paris. *Signed:* Johnne Chesholme.

2 *pp. Closely written. Addressed:* "To the Quenes majestie my soverane mestres." *Indorsed.*

July 8. **168.** FARNYHURST TO MARY.

C.P., vol. X. Madam, since my hither coming I delivered some letters to my Lord of Glasgow, your majesty's ambassador, to have been "convoyit" by his means to your grace's hands, by the which was declared at length my hard case and very great . . . , and now in consideration of the long time past that neither have I gotten any answer or yet assurance of h . . . whether the said letters be delivered or not, I thought good to write anew and essay if by my wife's means (being in that country) your highness may surely get this letter, in case your grace has not as yet received the other, [and] by the same implore most humbly and earnestly your help and speedy support in respect of the right hard and strait point I and mine are at, and have been this long time, as your majesty may perceive by the contents hereof, which a[re the] very same and whole substance of my other former letter. Albeit I never took on me to write to your highness in time past—and specially since your entry into that realm—it was nowise for lack of my goodwill, b[ut for] fault of sure means on the one part and on the other, fearing lest it might have been prejudicial in somewhat to your grace. "Nocht the less" God and the world know how faithfully, constantly, and with most loving affection I have at all times, [as] occasion served, hazarded myself, my friends, servants, and all the means I had in the world in all and whatsoever actions that have occurred these seven years bygone in Scotland for the defence of your majesty's good cause and furth[ering] of your highness' service, "quhairthrow" I have sustained such wreck and destruction of all that [to] me appertained, as is most manifestly known to all men, the which if I should declare particularly, as it is true indeed, even as it would be over tedious and "displesant" to

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1575. your grace to understand the manner of it, so I put no doubt but it would move your majesty to p[ity] my case and consider the same to be more hard and lamentable than of any other, whatsoever he be, who has bestowed [him]self and suffered in your service. I would fain eschew to trouble your grace with any rehearsal thereof, the matter itself being so unpleasant, but seeing it imports me so much, and how heavy it is to me, I cannot forbear to info[rm] your majesty (as shortly as I may) how extremely things have passed concerning my particular, and the adverse estate I am . . . into at this present.

First, at the coming in of the Queen of England's army my whole houses were burnt with powder [and] "castin doun," my lands and rooms, and likewise those of my friends and servants "over all quhair" also burnt, spoiled, and all utterly harried, with all my "plenissing" and theirs taken and reft away. At which time, as I am a Christian man, my scaith ex[ceeded] 20,000 crowns. Notwithstanding, since, according to your divers letters written by your own hand [to] me, I continually found myself, "with my haill freindes and all that I mycht do," with your lieutenants in Edinburgh, together with the Captain of the Castle and others your ministers being therein, in all the enterprises and executions that w[ere by] them devised, and as they commanded, and "nochttheless" of the want of such as your grace shall know with time, who were my men, "feollis," and servants, who rendered themselves to your grace's adverse party, whom they continually served against [your] highness' actions and causes. I "left" not for all that to remain in the said town on my own expenses without any entertainment whatsoever, "but the onlie promise of grit guid deid" to follow, oftentimes accompanied by 300 men or more of my own surname, special kinsmen, friends, and servants; of the which number I am sure . . . remain alive 40 or 50, who were evil hurt, shed their blood, and yet bear, as they will to their l[ives'] end, the marks thereof, besides some of the principal gentlemen come of my house "mutillat" for ever, with others many who lost their lives "for alltogether"; so that I never swerved nor abandoned them in any sort, till in . . . about the beginning of the abstinence I was advised to come to France, seeing I was not able to make my party g . . . against the Earl of Morton, then elected Regent, for the great hatred he "buyr at me," and obtained letters of the Captain and the Secretary directed to your ambassador in France for my reception, sufficiently written in my favour [to] the effect I might there eschew the danger of my life for a certain time. Yet, nevertheless, immediately thereafter, I w[ith the] self same persons "contremandit" and prayed with great instance to remain still on the Borders and "hald" the cou[ntry] as great trouble there as I could, whereby the forces of the enemies might be diminished and "skayllit" from about t[here] by sending companies to invade me and stop my enterprises; whereunto I agreed, and did according to their desire "at the last parceaving England to tak part aganis them, and mak to the sieige of that house; the Lordes of Lie . . . and rest of the nobillitie of zour grace's partie to agre every man for him self, and I left out, the said castell . . . to the utter exterminionyn of those quha war in it, and to my grittest hurt of all, because that nocht onlie bayth silver, jewellis and cloithing I had there, bot alsua all my haill evidences, chartoris and saisingis of landis being in ane coffir within

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1575. the said Castle for the mair suyr keiping wer gottin be th'erle of Mor[ton], quha possessis and detenis thame still; sua that gif God of his guidnes restoir nocht zour grace onto zour awin a[nd] be able with full power to redress me in this poynt of the lose of my saidis evidences I can nocht escaip my house and posteritie unwraykit for ever, in sic a maner as I and my house ar at ane far worse poynt nor ony he that servit zour majestie, quhatsumever he be." I will except none, for I dare be bold, and will affirm that I had a living worth enough and sufficiently "dottit" with all pleasure, commodities, profit and "case," so that, in verity, I would not have . . . the same with the living of any man on the Borders. Then, after the execution of the Captain and others of who[m I] think your grace ere now has good knowledge, I was compelled to leave Scotland for altogether and pass into England, my wife, friends, servants, and all that were with me, there to abide for the safety of their lives. During which time my whole living, woods, and all were "disponit" and given to the Earl of Angus by reason of my forfeiture long before; who now "bruykes" f . . . all that was mine; and yet he, not content therewith, at the same time, of very malice and cruelty, "causet violentlie . . . down and destroy" a great part of my forests and woods, which were such as no lord, baron or gentleman in the lowlands of Scotland could compare with the like, and on my conscience I dare say these woods "cuttit and destroyit," are m[ore] scaithful to me than 40,000 crowns. What shall I say more, but that I am wholly destitute and "private" of all [I] had in the world of my own, and a great number of my friends and servants in the like state, at as evil point [and] extremely handled as any in their respect—banished with wives and bairns forth of the country, for the most part through me and for my cause—are brought to such ruin that I am as so grieved for their "inconvenient" and continu[al] "displesour" as for anything that I feel touching myself? "Attour," madam, I being in England "causit travell" [with] the Queen by sundry means and very long suit to have been assured of my life, and to have remained there [under her] protection, abiding some good occasion of help or support to have fallen forth for the redress of your . . . in Scotland, but it was not possible that I could obtain any such favour at her hand, so fearing that w . . . by the great pursuit of Morton I might, peradventure, have been delivered into his hands, I took deliberation—as I h[ad] proposed long before—to withdraw myself from that perilous and miserable state, and came as quietly [as I] might to this country, where I arrived eight months since, "soir troublit in my veaige be sea with pilliaris,* a[nd] besides verray grit cost maid for my passage," in great danger of my life, or at the least to have been de[livered] again either into England or Scotland. Yet God of his goodness has preserved me and brought me safe hither, w[here] immediately, and as soon as I might, I addressed myself to my Lord of Glasgow, of whom I received such good comfort and courteous entertainment, for your sake, as he could make me, and daily does. At . . . time I prayed his lordship to advertise your majesty of my being here, and to write to your highness expressly in my favour, [which] he assured me to have done already.

* Pirates.

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1575. Yet, nevertheless I thought it convenient to write myself so at length as I have, praying your majesty most humbly [to] call to remembrance the good and sincere affection I ever bore to your service in all the time past, *etc.* The which being all considered, "positlie" weighed and respected by your most wise judgment and accustomed dis . . . , I may find myself "thocht on" and in effect regarded by your highness as one whose honest part and unmovable . . . is clearly known and well declared in deed to your grace, whereof my proceedings, the great inconveniences that h[ave] happened me, and present adverse estate bear good testimony, not doubting but your majesty will favour [me] far, both in respect of things past, and in hope of my further service to come, if God shall grant either your own . . . or yet any help or support of the Princes, your friends, to that effect, that in the meantime I with my wife, bairns, and servants—of whom my said lord ambassador has sent your grace "elles" the number by "wrayt"—may be honestly entertained and sustained with some sufficient and sure means, wherethrogh your majesty may both have honour and I sure contentment to encourage myself and my said friends thereby to abide such a good time as, at the pleasure of God [shall] shortly fall forth, wherein we may have the occasion yet again to bestow ourselves in all our power to the advan[cement] of your welfare and preferment, unto the which we shall be found with the firmest, most willing, and re[adiest to] "jeopard" life and all that remains to the uttermost. I would humbly wish your majesty would please take such . . . and sure order that without delay or spending of time I may have your effectual and substantial answer in deed, that whatsoever your grace thinks good to bestow of your liberality on me, and the same to be earnestly and in special recommended to your ambassador and others, ministers here, for ev . . . trust I have well deserved, so I believe assuredly your majesty will well enough foresee and provide for me [in] respect of the hard and strait care I am in, and have been for years bypast, during the which space I nor [any] that [to] me appertains ever "josit" nor profited the value of a groat of my living in Scotland, wherethrogh I was constra[ined] as I was in that country to borrow great sums of money from my friends for my sustentation, and of all . . . there, and it that worst of all, which grieves me most, since my being in England with so many depending on me, after they had spent all their own, I had no other way to entertain myself and them, but have borrowed from Englishmen of name who had pity on my case above 500*l.* sterling upon my faithful promise to repay them again at days appointed, assuring your grace that ere I kept not promise to them "I had rather want the lyf," and that for many good causes both concerning your own service and my honour. Truly, if I had any kind of help of any part of my living forth of Scotland to relieve me with I would be most sorry and loth to importune your majesty for any aid, but seeing I have no other refuge except to your highness I will most humbly crave that I may be considered and acknowledged by your liberality with the means to acquit myself at the hands of these Englishmen only, and as for the rest of my debts in Scotland I will leave off to burden your majesty anywise therewith till God sends a better time and your grace further commodity.

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1575. This, madam, is near hand the effect of my first letter dated the 8th of March last, and yet can I not "leave to ampliffye" the present with somewhat further by reason of the occnrrences last happened in my affairs at home, whereof I have been but lately advertised forth of Scotland. My wife and friends have written that since my arrival here the Earl of Morton has greatly increased his deadly hatred against me, and has caused the Earl of Angus [to] come to Jedburgh and other rooms that were mine under your majesty, and there has not only of his accustomed cruelty set pioneers to pull down the "stanis" of all my houses to the ground, but also has caused and compelled the folks of the country [to] fall to work and cut down my whole woods and forests wherever they grew, which was not done when I departed from England, but a part thereof. Besides [he] has given command that neither my wife nor bairns shall be received in Scotland, under such pains as can be devised therefor. Thus seeing that neither myself, friends nor servants, who are banished, nor yet my poor wife and young bairns can be suffered to remain in their native country, nor can have any kind of support forth of the same, "bot aither must beg or de," I most humbly beseech your grace to provide some hasty remedy for me and them. As to these great losses and scaiths that I have incurred for your causes, which I take on my honour extend to 200,000 crowns and better, I will remit the same till your highness be restored to liberty. At the very point of my departing forth of England there was lent me by a gentlemen of name, only for your sake, 600 crowns of the sun, whereof I remain yet debtor, as of the other 500*l.* sterling. These 600 crowns . . . I expended every penny as well on the furnishing of my ship and passage hither, as since, in this country, daily accompanied with three or four . . . &c., I and mine could not have lived nor been sustained were it not [for] the favour accompanied with three or four . . . of your ambassador, from whom I have also borrowed 500 crowns to help my entertainment, *etc.* "Beseikand" your highness, therefore, to have regard hereunto, and consider of your goodness to what extreme point I am driven, in such a manner that if your majesty shall not find the means hastily to put remedy in these cases, spec[ially] to relieve my great debt contracted in England and here, and therewith ordain some sure and honest entertainment fo[r me] and mine afterwards, I stand in danger to lose my honour and credit, which are dearer to me than all that I have else ty . . . Yea, and rather would I wish to be forth of this world ere I should fail of my promise to such as I have to do with, seeing the days approach near, and that they expressly and only for your sake have shown me so great friend[ship] many ways, without the which I had been utterly "perist." I fear this long letter and "fascheulx" discourse will se[em] tedious to your grace, but God is my witness, as I am most sorry to have such occasion, so I am very disp . . . to utter the same to your highness in this manner. Marry, I can do no more but crave your majesty's pardon therefore, wishing also that all be taken in as good part by your grace as my meaning is honest and upright. Paris. *Signed:* Farnherst, knycht.

3 *pp. Closely written. Addressed:* "To the Quenes majestie my soverane." *Indorsed:* "To the Q. of Scotes from the L. of Fernehurst." *Underlined in parts.*

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1575. **169.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

July 8. Whereas he wrote to him yesterday somewhat doubtfully of the great inconvenience happened between the Lord Warden of the Middle March and the Laird of Carmichael, the same has been confirmed to him this morning by Mr. Selby, the gentleman porter of this town, to whose relation he refers these matters, because they are his proper charge. Forasmuch as this accident is of such moment, prays him to let him know whether he shall proceed or stay till he be further commanded. Howbeit, is not the fittest man to come suddenly by true intelligence among them of this town, yet he hopes within two or three days he will be able to know what both parties can say for themselves, and whether this mishap grew upon the sudden. Beseeches him to communicate his advertisements only to such of the Council as will not make him author of them, for that this is not incident to his charge. Thinks he shall learn out of Scotland from such as were present at the chance, and the like of them that were with the Lord Warden, and make him [Walsingham] judge of both. Before this chance happened he learnt that there was never better justice done on the Borders by the Scots than Carmichael did of late. That it should appear it is no "pretensid" matter, even as the deputy warden and governor here immediately upon the news rode forth to take order, so he perceives the like course was taken by their wardens of the Middle and East Marches, one whereof wrote him this inclosed; whereto, in the governor's absence, by advice of some of the captains he made the answer inclosed, to the end he might be assured of her majesty's good meaning, *etc.* The like letter the governor of this town for the present received from the other warden, with this addition, that whereas upon the news of the breach between the warden and Carmichael some under his charge had taken certain cattle pertaining to Englishmen, he had made them sure to be re-delivered upon the first call, and since the sudden fray he cannot hear of any more harm done by either side. Notwithstanding, unless this matter be wisely and temperately handled, the broken men of the Borders, thieves, and others that desire nothing but war and trouble, will draw this sudden misadventure to great inconvenience and a dangerous consequence. Peace or war hangs now by a twine thread; and there be more in this town that profess war than peace. Hears there have been certain frays of late against the orders of the town unpunished, but trusts the like will not follow.

As for his stay here, has thought it so necessary that if now he did go into Scotland till he heard from the Council he should well deserve punishment. Thinks it fit that the Scot should first clear himself by letter to her majesty. The Earl of Huntingdon told him he had no commission from the Queen of England to oversee the proceeding of the wardens. Prays him to remember this point, and also touching a warrant for the delivery of the ordnance in Hume Castle, if it be thought fit he should proceed in that article. If the Queen and Council think good that Mr. Davison shall remain as her majesty's agent, beseeches him to remember a warrant for his allowance; for to send him back to the Court and abide his return should be an over long delay, unless the matters of his despatch should be of greater weight than hitherto. Out of Scotland he can learn of nothing.

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1575. but all quiet and obedient to the Regent, whatsoever has been written to the contrary, and so he thinks it will continue unless her majesty shall see cause otherwise; and if so, then truly he would be an unfit instrument to handle the same, because all those who were or might be procured to be enemies to the Regent, of all other Englishmen, would not trust him nor discover themselves to him, because on late service he [Killigrew] showed himself to be so entirely his, and the Regent his, as the necessity of the time required. Which impressions cannot be so soon pulled from them. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Killigrew.

Postscript.—Since the writing hereof has received this other letter from Sir James Hume, to whom the deputy warden, Mr. Selby, went this morning, and to whose relation he refers him. Incloses a true copy of a letter from Sir John Forster.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

July 8. **170.** THE REGENT MORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Is now, to his grief, pressed to burden him to present these his letters to the Queen of England and her Council touching the late unhappy accident fallen at the Middle March on the 7th instant, the manner whereof, according to his knowledge and advertisement received, he has written to them. Is ready upon return of answer to proceed to that which shall be thought next best for eschewing further breach and mischief that hereon may grow, if by wisdom and diligence the same be not prevented; wherein he prays him in particular to extend his friendly and effectual travails so that their common enemies may find themselves frustrate of their expectation. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Harl. MSS., 289, fol. 194. Copy of the same.

July 8. **171.** SIR JAMES HOME OF COLDINGKNOWES TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

Is come to the East March to stay all inconveniences, and to see to all good order. Is desirous to speak with him, and will be glad to meet him at the Bound Road. Hutoun. *Signed:* James Home of Coldkneys.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

July 12. **172.** WALSINGHAM TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

The Council having some cause by Mr. Selby's letter of the 10th instant to hope that the disorder lately happened in the Middle Marches was not a thing "purpensed," but fell out by chance upon some untemper at speeches that passed between Sir John Foster and Carmichael, think it very convenient (unless he sees great cause to the contrary) that he proceed onward to the Regent, and that he should, as of himself, deal very earnestly with him for the redress of this late inconvenience, and lay before him that the Queen of England cannot in honour endure that a minister of hers of that quality that Sir John Foster is of should be so used, and that others should be slain and taken prisoners without revenge, unless he shall see some severe

Elizabeth. 1575. punishment executed on the offenders; and for that it is thought that Carmichael is one whom the Regent dearly loves, and therefore (notwithstanding he is the man that is chiefly thought culpable of the disorder) would be loth to use that severity in punishing of him that in justice he is bound,—yet they would have him persuade him to commit him for a time to Edinburgh, that it may appear to the world that her majesty is not had by them in contempt, which cannot be otherwise conceived unless he be punished.

It is also thought convenient that he move him to do execution on some that shall be discovered to have been the murderers of Sir George Heron and others of her subjects at that time; for that her majesty may not endure to have her subjects slain, and the slayers of them not punished according to such treaties as have passed between the two crowns. Kenilworth, 12th July, 1575.

2 *pp. Draft. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "A Minute of a letter to M. H. Kylligrew dispatched 11 July, 1575."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 36. Another copy of the same.

July 13. **173.** WALSINGHAM TO THE REGENT MORTON.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 153. Received his letters dated the 9th instant, and also certain [letters] directed to the Queen of England and the Council, by which it appears that he is greatly miscontented with the disorder that has lately happened, and is also desirous that such order may be taken that all things may be appeased and the amity continued. Whereof, as he never doubted, so he dares assure him that the like affection reigns in her majesty and the Privy Council. Considering the good disposition of either party, in his opinion, the true way to bring this to pass is first to choose apt and fit ministers who may without partiality examine how the disorder grew, and who are the offenders, to the end that there may be due punishment executed on such as shall be found culpable as well of the one side as of the other. For, surely, without severity used in this behalf it will be a hard matter to quench the quarrels that otherwise are like to follow; which unquenched may breed a war of that danger that both the realms shall rue. As he doubts nothing of his grace's wise handling of the matter with that severity and integrity that are requisite, so he hopes he shall have no cause to complain of the course that the Queen of England will take in that behalf. Kenilworth. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyingham.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 16. **174.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

In his honour's letter of the 11th he exhorted him to search out the bottom of this matter chanced at the day of "trew" between the Lord Warden and Carmichael, but is sure he has received other letters since that from the Regent, and the Lord Warden's reports, which will satisfy him in some points. Yet, because the matter chiefly consists upon the Lord Warden's own declaration, the Deputy Warden of this March thought good to send Captain Ethrington to the Regent, upon receipt of his last letters from Dalkeith, which were of the 14th, and sent up to him [Walsingham], to understand a more full report from

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1575. his lordship's own mouth than they think he dare write thence since he has been in their hands. Has received his other letters of the 12th with instructions from the Council concerning his proceeding forward if he did not see cause to the contrary; but till Mr. Ethrington return and that he shall hear from him [Walsingham] of the receipt of the Regent's packet which he sent him, and also the Lord Warden's own letters, he does not think meet in anywise to go. Notwithstanding, in the meanwhile he will prepare his way thitherwards after the return of Captain Ethrington, by whom they shall know more; and by that time he looks also to hear from the Council what they resolve touching the three points he mentioned in his letter of the 8th. Whether it shall be thought convenient to say yea or nay to these things, or nothing at all, he stands indifferent, but they be all contained in his instructions, *etc.* Imputes some fault to the posts for so small haste made with his packets. Perceives that unless a man paints a gallows and writes many lives upon the packets—which he cannot do—they will use their discretion. Thinks the note of the delivery should suffice at such an hour to put them in mind of their duties, and not to cause so much wondering by the way, "as the gallows and for lives commonly doth without fruit."

The cattle which the Laird of Cesford, warden of the Middle March of Scotland, confessed to have in his keeping, are delivered and received by the owners again, not without the offence of their landlord, Mr. Graye, for that they were content to take their own without "double and sauffe," as they term it.

This inclosed is the copy of a letter sent him from Gaynsford, for whom the Lords of the Council wrote to the Regent; whereof he has this good answer. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

1⅔ *pp. Part holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

July 17. **175.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Before making up the inclosed Mr. Ethrington was returned from the Lord Warden, and brought him this inclosed from his lordship. What further report he brought he refers to Mr. Selby's letters. This other from the Regent he received by a kinsman of his, who told him by mouth that the Regent had little more to write of the circumstances touching the late accident, and that the Lord Warden and he did not much differ, saving where the Lord Warden says that he had stayed the party of England at what time Carmichael returned, that is denied by his grace, and affirmed that after the first ruffle, wherein the Scots say two of their men, by name Robson and Symonton were first slain, and Carmichael himself shot through the breast of his doublet, being unarmed, as they were all for the most part on both the sides, saving those that were at deadly feud." The Lord Warden, on the contrary, says that one Mr. Phenik [Fenwick] and one Mr. Robert Shafton, a man of the Earl of Northumberland's, were first slain of his side. Thus they differ, and will still till it comes to examination of both parts. The best he now finds in this matter is that the Regent seems willing for his part, if the Queen shall like thereof, to agree to some good remedy whereby the like inconvenience may be prevented from henceforth—a thing in his simple opinion very necessary fer preservation of the peace, and

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1575. without which it will be hard to keep the peace any long time. Whereas the stay of their Warden is a rare example, yet they allege a Warden of theirs to have been slain by one of the Herons at a like meeting, for which offence he was delivered into Scotland, and there remained seven years in prison. Refers him to Mr. Selby's letters. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

Postscript.—The Lord Warden and his company be so feasted at Dalkeith that he thinks the Regent would glady be rid of them, but that he has the wolf by the ears.

1½ *pp. Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 19. **176.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Has received his letters of the 13th, 14th, and 15th this morning, and her majesty's from Mr. Secretary Smith. Whereupon he sent forward to give knowledge—as the manner is—that he meant to be in Edinburgh to-morrow night, and so shall use all fidelity and diligence to accomplish her majesty's commandments. Whereas he writes that it was looked for at his hands that he should have stayed the Lord Warden from going further into Scotland, he knew nothing thereof but as the Lord Warden wrote; which was so late that he could not in time do the same, yet as soon as he could find means upon any reasonable ground to send in, he forgot not to send his grace word to that effect by Captain Arington, who brought his grace's answer, and, he thought, had signified the same with the report of the rest. He [Arington] now does this himself. Of that message it is fallen out that all the gentlemen who were there with the Lord Warden be come home since, saving only the Lord Warden and Sir Francis Russell, who, he trusts, shall also be sent home upon his going thither. Trusts the Earl of Huntingdon will make some good end of this unhappy meeting, if God be not disposed to punish both the realms for their unthankfulness towards His majesty. Will use all the best means he can to persuade the Regent to meet with the Lord President himself, and if it be a thing that he may do, he will not mistrust but he will. In case not, he doubts not but he will appoint the best in Scotland, whom he takes to be the Lord Chancellor for one, and some such others of the best sort of nobility. This he writes privily for himself. Wishes a good physician to cure the grief fallen to his legs. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

Postscript.—Until he shall hear further from the Queen or any of the Council can deal nothing at all in his first instructions.

The gentleman porter having been abroad this day tells him even now that John of the Stone House, a man dear to the Lord Warden, and has been a great helper to this trouble, is not only slain at home by his kinsman, but also another of his blood, for grazing of a nag. This man was delivered by Sir George Heron to Carmichael at their former meeting, and came home into England contrary to his promise. Yet, as he is informed, he was the busiest man at this last trouble, as he was cause of many another. Trusts it will appease part of God's wrath, for his crimes, by report, were "enormable."

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

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1575.

177. NICHOLAS ERINGTON TO WALSINGHAM.

July 20. Being sent of late into Scotland, upon his letters to Mr. porter,* to understand the ground and particularities of this late accident, the report of which, as far as he could learn, was sent to him by the gentleman porter from hence on the 17th instant, and although Mr. Killigrew, her majesty's ambassador, did not write by him at that time to the Regent, yet he gave him in charge to communicate some speech of his to his grace touching the accident. Amongst other things, he willed him to signify to the Regent that the Queen of England and the Lords of the Council, he doubted, would take in evil part the detaining of Sir John Foster with the rest of the gentlemen as prisoners, and especially the carrying of them from the frontiers so far as Dalkeith, considering the good amity and peace betwixt both realms; and the disorder not growing upon any pretended cause, but known, they marvelled not a little that the frontiersmen of the Middle March, having lost their dear friends, did not presently fall to revenging and spoiling—considering the warden of that March and the chief gentlemen who should have been the only stay of rude and wilful minds—being at that present altogether without government. Whereupon the Regent answered that the "sudden" was such, and so rare a matter, that he could not of himself well determine what was best to be done therein, the noblemen and Council not being present with him, and fearing if they had been presently sent home it would have bred some further troubles in seeking revenges, considering the great affinity and kindred betwixt them and the men slain, and therefore thought it most convenient to stay them in his own house, not as prisoners, but with such liberty and treatment as his grace could devise, until such time as her majesty's pleasure was known, which he daily expected. Notwithstanding, it seemed that the Regent considered the speeches passed with the advice of the Council there—or loth to incur her majesty's displeasure—the next day, not receiving any further resolution from hence, sent all the gentlemen who were detained into England, except Sir John Foster and Sir Francis Russell, who yet remain at Dalkeith, and it is supposed that they will not be long kept there. To his simple judgment the Regent seems not only to lament the "chance" and harms committed, but is also very careful to do all good offices to the contentation of her majesty and the good quietness of both the realms, with such punishment as shall be thought meet for such offenders. Berwick. *Signed:* Nicholas Arington.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 36, b. Copy of the same.

August 3. **178.** WALSINGHAM TO BURGHLEY.

Harl. MSS., 6992, fol. 13. The letter drawn by his lordship, directed to Mr. Killigrew, the same being signed by all the Councillors here save one, was torn in pieces, as others have been heretofore—misliked only for that it was tempered with too much "fleame," and he was thereupon commanded

* The gentleman porter of Berwick.

Elizabeth.
1575. to draw another of another temper, which was so seasoned with choler that he thinks they may take their leave of the amity of Scotland. Never wrote letter with worse will, and if it prove as dangerously for the State as it was by him unwillingly written, he fears they shall then have just cause to mislike of this intemperate course that is held presently, Lichfield. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

August 8. **179.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO LEICESTER.

Among all the great benefits and favours that I confess to have received at your honour's hands—for the which during my life I must of duty acknowledge myself most bounden—this last favour and goodness of yours declared in your honourable and grave letters of the last of July so much confirm the rest and bind me that I know not how I can be able to render your lordship condign thanks, and therefore will turn myself to my bounden duty, abiding occasion wherein I may show myself grateful and serviceable. I confess I should by my diligent advertisements have provoked your honour to so favourable a deed, but your goodness in preventing my slowness—or rather negligence—has ministered me occasion to lay before your honour the cause of my silence both to her majesty and your lordship, and all other my good lords there in Court, whither I have not to this hour written one word since this late unhappy accident; and if my reasons shall be found weak by your honour, yet I trust and do most humbly beseech you to pity them, and with the power of your credit to strengthen them so that I fall not utterly under this great burden. The experience I have of your honour's good nature and clemency comforts me more than my faults can make me despair, and therefore I will trouble your honour with no longer preamble.

This odious fact at the meeting of my Lord Warden and Carmichael was committed the next day after I came to this town, so that my stay grew thereon, and should have held till this time if her majesty's letters had not commanded me forwards. During my abode here I received advertisements and letters both from my Lord Warden and the Regent, which I sent to the Court, referring them to her majesty's good pleasure; and the Lord knoweth whether I did not wish myself at home, yea in prison, for fear of the burden that I doubted would be laid on my weak shoulders; and, my good lord, would it not have amazed a wiser man than I, considering I was despatched from her majesty to do good offices for the entertainment of the amity between the two realms, to hear of a matter so contrary to the same? Wherein, as your lordship truly writes, her majesty's honour was so highly touched that rather a war than a peace was looked for, and I likely to have some handling therein, as in the end it fell out, for on the 19th of July I received her majesty's letters commanding me to repair to the Regent, and to move him to come to the Borders and to join with my Lord President of the North for the indifferent examination of this fact, and reparation of her majesty's honour and the damage of her highness' subjects, and how soon the Regent should declare his mind touching the time and place, I should advertise my Lord President thereof. Which I did, first by my letters of the 21st of July, and

Elizabeth.
1575. ever since, from time to time, with as great care and duty as I could possibly, according to her majesty's express commandment, and in some things that I durst not write I sent Mr. Davison—a gentleman who has married a kinswoman of your lordship's, though unknown, I think, yet to you—to Newcastle to his honour, and thus I thought I had accomplished my duty, for I wrote to his honour divers times that my commission was to advertise his lordship, and therefore wrote nothing to the Court. And truly, my lord—under correction I speak it—I think, if I had written to any man but his honour, considering the authority given him by her majesty to treat in this matter, wherein her honour and the realms were so highly touched, I should rather have offended then by observing my commission, for other matters then concerning this examination came not in question. For, touching my first instructions, I have no manner of way made mention of them nor any part of them, nor shall until this matter be ended, and I have new commandment. And for my usage to the Regent for this time of my being there, it has been as strange as though it stood upon terms of war; which I think will follow unless he the better satisfies her majesty, and till the proof thereof I will will make no mention of his fair words and offers, because her majesty has chosen this way of treaty first at his grace's suit, and for pity of the innocents that might by the contrary perish, *etc.* Now, my lord, seeing this matter is come this far, and being of great weight as it is, would your lordship have wished me, your poor servant, to have taken any other course either for her majesty's service or my own discharge, considering, as I say, that her majesty will first have the matter examined, until which time no truth can be known nor other course taken? It is laid to my charge that I should have advertised what I had learned being here, and that could not be but uncertain reports till trial be had, and seeing authority is given to a nobleman to take trial thereof, for me to have written uncertain reports in so weighty a cause, I think would scarcely be allowed, having no warrant other than her majesty's said letter, which gives me no such liberty; and if anybody looked that I should make report of that which the Scottish say, they are deceived, for they lay the fault from them and say never the worst but the best for themselves. And should I, my lord, write their reports to the abating of my Lord Warden's letters subscribed with his hand? God forbid. I trust your honour would not have me do so. Thus, my lord, I have confusedly, as a man amazed, showed your honour the manner of my proceeding, and therewith the cause of my silence since my Lord President was authorized to deal in this matter; beseeching your honour of your accustomed goodness and clemency to shield my faults with your credit and favour; which I am the bolder to crave for that I am sure they were not maliciously committed, but through ignorance, and I shall be more bound to pray for your honour's prosperity. As for the directions I have newly received from her majesty and your honour, and am to receive presently of my Lord President here, I purpose to deliver them faithfully, and to make my account of them accordingly. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

Postscript.—Whereas your lordship notes a slackness in the Regent for that he has not sent some man to her majesty, the truth is he was full minded, as I learn, to have sent Mr. Nicholas Elphinstone if I had

Elizabeth.
1575. not come when I did; whereof I was assured at my coming into Scotland.

2 *pp. Address in Killigrew's hand. Indorsed.*

August 12. **180.** THE REGENT MORTON TO ELIZABETH.

"Pleas it zour majestie," after my advertisement sent by my letter to your highness of the late trouble happened on the Middle March, at the Reedswyre, according as I had the first report thereof my mind was to have certified your majesty more specially of that matter, and of new to have craved the knowledge of your gracious good pleasure for the avoiding of further inconveniences by an express messenger from myself, but being then certified by your highness' ambassador, Mr. Henry Killigrew, of your majesty's direction sent to my Lord of Huntingdon to repair towards the Borders for the trial and ordering of the same matter, I was so well satisfied both with the manner and the personage appointed by your majesty, that not only have I agreed to the meeting myself, but ever since the knowledge thereof I have still looked for good effect to follow thereon, and in that respect purposely forbore to trouble your majesty with more of my letter in that behalf, "alwayes" deferring to our conclusion, which shortly I look for, God willing, to your majesty's honour, and contentment of the good subjects of both the realms. And thus for this present, remitting the further declaration of my own meaning and dealings to my said Lord of Huntingdon and your highness' ambassador here resident, most humbly will I beseech your majesty to suspend your judgment till the end of the treaty and negotiation, which now being so forward, I doubt not shall within very short space be brought to a good "fyne," wherein, for my own part, no default shall be, God willing. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

August 14. **181.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO LEICESTER.

For haste, and being partly half amazed with such letters as he received from the Court, he forgot to signify to him that coming hither to attend upon the Earl of Huntingdon he met the Earl's letters by the way, wherein he willed him to signify to the Regent the misliking of the place nominated by his grace, and in lieu thereof named others, and sent him certain articles for that purpose, which, because he was so near Berwick, he sent to the Regent; so that the Lord President having well considered the weight of the matter and that which he demanded, thought best to will him, in case the Regent would agree to his demands, to spare the utterance of her majesty's so great misliking until his [Huntingdon's] meeting with the Regent. Which advice he followed, because he found the Regent had so readily agreed to all the articles that the Lord President had sent, the rather for that if he had uttered all the Lord President thought he should have, as it were, almost nothing else to say to the Regent at the meeting, the substance of his first commission being contained in her majesty's second letter to him [Killigrew]; but in case the Regent had refused to meet him at the Bound Road, then he was willed to utter all. Yet, for all this, he let his grace know by general speeches,

Elizabeth.
1575. and, as it were, of himself, what cause her majesty had justly to be offended with his manner of dealing. As their lordships meet to-morrow he must refer himself henceforth to the Lord President himself, having no further commission or warrant to deal any more with the Regent in any manner until he shall be commanded by her majesty. If the Regent be as good as his word and writing to her majesty, then he trusts all shall be well. If otherwise, no man shall be gladder than he to see his ingratitude rewarded thereafter. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Killigrew.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same.

(The Regent Morton to Elizabeth.)

Copy of No. 180.

August 15. **182.** SIR THOMAS SMITH TO BURGHLEY.

Harl. MSS., 6992, fol. 19. When the Queen of England lay at Dudley Castle letters came from the Earl of Huntingdon to his lordship, the which, because her majesty was desirous to hear from the north, and suspected that they were for those matters, she called for [them]. Incloses them herewith. Her highness has appointed Lord Hunsdon to join the Earl of Huntingdon in that commission. If the Regent will not meet them in person the Earl of Huntingdon is forbidden to meet with any other. Mr. Killigrew wrote all occurrents there to the Lord President. Worcester. *Signed:* T. Smith.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

August 16. **183.** HUNTINGDON TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 38. Because her majesty may understand how I proceed, though it be not so speedily as I could wish, I have thought good to write this shortly to you. By my last, of the 19th, I advertised you that the Regent appointed to meet with me the next day at the "Bound Road"; but the rain was so vehement, and thereby the river which he was to pass grew too great, that our meeting for that time was "lettyd." But this day, after the water fell, he came over and met me betwixt one and two in the afternoon at the "bounde roode," where we spent two or three hours in conference, and in the end have concluded upon the manner of our proceeding to examine the whole cause, wherein to-morrow we begin, and have for that purpose appointed to meet again at 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

My skill to serve her majesty in these weighty affairs is but small, but a goodwill to do her majesty the best service according to my duty (I thank God for it) I am sure that I have, and with the help of my assistants I trust to serve her highness in this to her honour and liking. In this short time that we have spent this day, I think we have in speech run through the most part of the whole matter—in that end referring ourselves to the proof on both sides. I have also straitly charged the Regent with the acts subsequent to the brabble—as the taking of our warden, *etc.*, prisoners, and that in England ground, the carrying them into Scotland and detaining of them so

Elizabeth.
1575. long there, and in the end to discharge them upon band in warlike manner—three facts both strange and odious; yea, such as much wound the honour of the Queen's majesty my sovereign, that except he the better answers and satisfies her majesty for the same, he is like otherwise to hear thereof than yet he does. I note only these points to you, that I did specially to him, because, for other matters which I spoke of, I have not yet so good warrant as for these. His answer to this and the rest in sum was this. First:—he required me that I would be contented to proceed to the examination of the cause and ground of the matter that happened, to try how it first began, and in whom the fault was; and by that, he said, I should see more than I yet understood. And then, as he says, neither the acts done on that day nor the matters which have been since done, and with which I so vehemently charge him, will be found so offensive to her majesty as yet they are taken to be. But, said he in the end, with a vehement protestation and calling of God to witness, that in his heart he had no intention to offend her majesty; and here he acknowledged the great and many favours her majesty had shown to the realm of Scotland, and in particular to himself. "For which," said he, "I doo confesse to owe hyr hyghnes, nexte the Kynge my sovereayne, my hole and best servys that I can doo." And for this unhappy accident—for so he termed it—he said from his heart he was sorry for it, and that there was nothing done by any Scotsman at that time, nor since by himself, but he trusted, and in his heart minded, with reason, to satisfy her majesty. I write briefly that which was spoken more at large, yet touching, as near as I can remember, the very phrases of speech that he used.

I charged him also with some inclination to be in him to depend upon France; and some cause I had to fall into that speech; for here is one come, a Scotsman of the King's guard, who tells many tales; and he came with great speed, for he was [at] Dieppe the 10th of this month, and landed at Fast Castle on Sunday night or yesterday morning. He was going towards the Borders, but was stayed and carried to the Regent. He says that a peace is concluded in France, and that if Scotland breaks with our sovereign the French King will see they shall want neither men nor money. To my charge that I laid to the Regent of his inclination to France, he answered that he easily believed that the French King would be glad of the breach of the amity betwixt these two realms, but said he, "there is not a good man in Scotland that will lyke therof"; with much more to that effect. But, for all his speeches, I trust her majesty will have good consideration thereof, and this matter, methinks, offers a just cause of a good deliberation how the cause I have in hand shall be proceeded in.

I may not forget to note unto you how both the commissioners who are come with the Regent and the other gentlemen who wait on him have uttered in speech, that rather than this matter should turn to a war they would seek peace on their knees; and they all do to her majesty's great honour, [and] remember and acknowledge her majesty's many and great benefits showed to that realm. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed:* "To Mr. se. Smythe my verrye frend." *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1575. August 17. **184.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO LEICESTER.

Hears that the meeting between the Regent and the Lord President was to the liking of both. Was not present, because his commission has expired. Beseeches him to be a mean to her majesty for his revocation. If there should be any occasion for further negotiation, thinks it fit, under correction, that the Regent should send to her majesty. Has many causes to make suit for his return;—his own unableness, his house dispersed by visitation of the plague, which took one of his servants, his wife sick and in danger of her life, the time approaching for the exercising of his office, which he is constrained to do himself, and the state of his body, which is grown so weak that he is in doubt of his life. Sees no cause to deal with his first instructions. If he finds any cause why any should stay for her majesty in these parts, beseeches him to commend Mr. Davison, who is partly akin to him [Leicester] by marrying with his kinswoman the Lady Mason's daughter, and is now well acquainted with the affairs and humours of Scotland. If anything fall out against the Regent, he [Killigrew] is not in policy a fit instrument to deal for her majesty, because none of the Regent's "back" friends dare trust or deal with him, for the great trust conceived to be in his grace of him, and in him of the Regent, so that, though his will were never so good, he can in nowise be so able to serve her majesty therein as Mr. Davison or any other. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

Postscript.—If Mr. Davison may not be thought fit, beseeches him to remember the Dean of Durham, whose ableness all manner of ways cannot be denied by any that have skill.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

August 18. **185.** DOCTOR ATSLOW TO BURGHLEY.

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXI., fol. 18.

Thanks him for permission to be let go from custody for a short time and to walk about in the yard. No one can put any crime on him; it is suspicion only. Prays him to intercede with the Queen of England for him. Tower of London. *Signed:* Edouardus Atslow.

2¼ *pp. Latin. Holograph. Indorsed.*

August 19. **186.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO WALSINGHAM.

Thanks him for his sundry letters, and craves pardon for his own silence. His last was from Dudley Castle, of the 12th, with the occurrents out of France. If this bearer his [Walsingham's] brother-in-law had not desired to repair homewards he had not heard from him at this time but by Mr. Secretary Smith's packet, wherein there is a letter for him; who, he trusts, has also acquainted him with their proceedings here. Makes earnest suit to come home, and has written earnestly to the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Hatton to that effect in this despatch. Although he thinks he has been acquainted with their Scottish news, yet dares to send it to him, and also a minute of a letter which before going into Scotland he had thought to have sent him concerning the matter now in examination. Howbeit he would not be author thereof for divers causes, for that there is error, though not very great. Let it, therefore, only serve him for the manner

Elizabeth.
1575. of a meeting between wardens, and stay his judgment of all other circumstances until the commissioners have made their report, who be now in hand withal, and Mr. Davison is still present on the English side, as Alexander Hay is for them. Is not in commission, and therefore absent. Cannot learn anything hitherto passed between them, but the Lord Warden is not so clean as he would he were. They have not yet come to the bottom of the matter. Her majesty's mind for the Regent's meeting is satisfied with all the honour that may be to her. The Lord President and his assistants hitherto like well of the Regent and his, so that he hopes the best to follow.

His first commission lies in the desk, and in case the occurrents move any man there to think it fit that any should go into Scotland after this conference, prays him to remember Mr Davison or the Dean of Durham, who for many respects is fit for that office—rich, learned, of good experience, near at hand, and apt for the office. If sentence be pronounced that he must needs die, then he begs for the best instructor. If he must remember his first commission, prays him not to forget the ordnance for Hume Castle. Asks him to help the bearer for his charges this journey, and to thank him for the great pains he has taken here with him. If their matters end not before their new commissioner comes he may hear of some change." "My Lord President doth use himself like himself." If the latter part of his instructions be true or near a truth they will be constrained to say "had I wyst." As for the burgesses of Edinburgh that were in ward, they be at liberty of late. The apparent troubles in Scotland will soon be pacified if they would deal as they should both for God's glory, the peace of His church, and their own weal. Mr Davison has collected notes upon the conferences, which he shall have by the next. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Aug. 19. **187.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO [BURGHLEY].

Trusts he will not misconstrue his silence before or since the receipt of his letter. The cause he hopes shortly to declare to him himself. Will omit to remember anything that was done before her majesty's letter of command came to him for the drawing on of the meeting between the Regent and the Lord President, in the circumstance whereof some fault was found, which proceeded from want of experience as well in others as himself, whereby his blame grew, and delay to the cause from the 2nd of this month till the 16th. The Regent's first provision being clean lost, upon her majesty's second letter, by the Lord President's grave and virtuous dealing the sharpness was somewhat mitigated both for her majesty's honour and good service. Does nothing but expect her majesty's answer for his revocation. [Recapitulates the matters mentioned in No. 184.] Beseeches him to further his suit for his revocation, for he is so weary of this course that he sees begun, that he had as lief almost be dead as to be an instrument in the same.

Can write nothing but that they met on the 16th instant at the Bound Road, and have every day since been in conference four or five hours at the least. What was done he refers to the commissioners, for he was not among them, and therefore dares not make any report,

Elizabeth.
1575. especially knowing how her majesty is incensed. Hears that the Regent uses himself well, and the want that yet appears he rather found on the English side than theirs. Lord Hunsdon is daily looked for to be also in commission. Trusts he [Hunsdon] will help them forward to her majesty's honour and surety; howbeit he perceives the Scots have not that opinion. Incloses a copy of such intelligence as he has gotten since his being here; wherein, if he finds anything that requires a man to remain in Scotland for a time, he beseeches him to help him with good and ample instructions, and that he may be able to answer to divers points contained in the said occurrents, and know how to carry himself in her majesty's service. Hopes he shall not be commanded to deal with the Regent, whom he finds the same he was wont to be towards her majesty and the continuance of the amity, howsoever the country be infested with private factions and mislikings among themselves, which, he thinks, with mean good handling might be appeased.

Has sent Mr. Secretary Smith certain notes touching the Border matters, very convenient to be thought of, and commandment should be sent to the Lord President or others to confer with the Regent of them in case they fall to an amiable end. Learns even now that the Regent has put the seven burgesses of Edinburgh out of ward, and that upon the quarrel between Lochleven and Arbroath there will be a convention at Stirling shortly of all those that be partakers with Lochleven. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Killigrew.

4 *pp. Holograph. No address. Indorsed by Burghley:* "16 Aug. 1563." [*Sic.*]

Inclosure with the same.

(Advertisements from Scotland.)

(1) Adam Gordon is still in ward. His friends desire he may be delivered upon sureties. The Regent has deferred them till his return from the conference with the Earl of Huntingdon.

(2) Was in hand with Adam Gordon to know what Englishmen he met with in France or Flanders, and what practices they had in hand; who sent word that in France he was acquainted with the Logans [Loggins], and that while he lay in Flanders for a wind the Earl of Westmorland wrote once or twice to him, but he made him no answer. One Captain Cotton, or Copley, said he had a letter of marque against the Flushingers, and desired him to help him.

(3) Whereas he advertised in his last letters of some attempt against the Lord of Arbroath by the Earl of Murray's friends, this much more has ensued. The Lord of Arbroath sent for his friends to accompany him to the Regent; his way lay through Fife, and by the Laird of Lochleven's bounds, who was the chief of those who before lay in wait to have slain him and a brother to the late Earl of Murray, and, suspecting the worst, sent for his friends, and was above 1200 men Arbroath came as far as Cupar, and was near 1000 horse. The Earl of Rothes being friend to them both dealt to take up the matter for that time.

(4) He dealt with Lochleven to suffer Arbroath to pass. Lochleven was contented he should pass with his own household, so he came not

Elizabeth.
1575. within his bounds, but if he sought to press with more he should not pass unfought with. My Lord of Arbroath would not pass after that sort, and *in fine*, being the weaker party, he retired, to his discredit. Whereupon Lord Claud Hamilton and Lord Seton, his father-in-law, came to the Regent to complain; who made answer as to Adam Gordon's friends. The next day, being the 12th of this month, my Lord of Arbroath with 24 horse stole over in the night, and has been with the Regeut to complain; who has made him the same answer as he did to his brother Claud. It is greatly feared that this matter will breed new trouble in Scotland unless it is well looked to, for Arbroath is like to have all the Queen's party, and Lochleven the King's.

(5) Although Lochleven be the man that bears the name, because he was brother to the Earl of Murray, yet there be of his party, as it is thought, the Earls of Argyll, Atholl, Buchan, and Mar, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and all their friends, the Abbots of Dryburgh and Crosraguel, of the house of Mar, yea, the master himself has said he will put up the rest that way.

(6) Lochleven excuses his first enterprise, saying it was not the Lord of Arbroath he lay for, but the Provost of Bothwellhaugh, who slew the Earl of Murray at Linlithgow, who he was advertised should arrive by sea at Arbroath; but the secret of the matter is, the Lord of Arbroath, being in doubt but in time the said Regent's death will be laid on him, for that he lent his horse and his gun to the man who slew the Earl of Murray, has sought to ally himself with the Regent and Earl of Angus by marrying the Lady of Buccleuch, widow, sister to the Earl of Angus: which marriage is thought to be so prejudicial and dangerous for the King's person that all those who tender his weal do what they can to hinder the same.

(7) The 12th instant, upon this news, he dealt with the Regent touching the marriage, who has answered that he had uot resolved to proceed in it, yet he thought best not to make a plain refusal of so honourable an offer, lest thereby the Hamiltons should take away occasion to mistrust his indifferency and goodwill towards them. He therefore used these delays following, alleging that the Earl of Arran is alive, and that the Lord of Arbroath could neither make her a sufficient jointure nor leave his children any lands. But for all this it is feared the Regent will in the end yield to this.

(8) The Earl of Arran is a prisoner in the castle of Draffin, whence he cannot come nor any repair to him but such as my Lord of Arbroath and Lord Claud appoint.

(9) It is said also that the Earl of Arran is oftentimes in perfect memory, and that if he were at liberty, well used, there is hope of his recovery. He will not subscribe to the writing for anything his brethren or friends can persuade.

(10) This marriage taking place will, by all appearance, alienate from the Regent all the minds of those who tender the King's preservation.

(11) The Regent is not hitherto fallen from her majesty's devotion nor joined with France, yet there have been offers made to him out of France promising to reconcile him with the Queen of Scots, and if he would draw his friends to join with the other Princes to procure her liberty it should be greatly for her surety and advancement. His

Elizabeth.
1575. answer, as he could learn, was that he was chosen by the States to be the King's Regent during his minority, and that he knew no other sovereign, nor would not so long as the King lived.

(12) As for the friendship between the Regent and Sir James Balfour, it is of small weight, for he now and then, peradventure, twice a year, uses him to serve his turn when he would contrary the ministers or the citizens of Edinburgh.

(13) Whereas Sir James made suit for the Regent's favourable letters to the King of Sweden in favour of his brother detained prisoner there, he was flatly denied thereof by the Regent.

(14) The Regent has no guard about his person: he goes without fear of any enemy almost alone both a hunting and fishing.

(15) It cannot be denied but since this late accident the Scottish Borders have been kept in such good order that England, for anything the writer has heard, cannot complain of them—a matter not heard nor seen in many eyes before. Unless her majesty had had one here at this time it had been impossible to have kept the peace.

(16) Mr. George Douglas, who practised the Scottish Queen's escape out of Lochleven, has made means to the writer not only to procure her majesty's passport to pass through England to France, but also that it would please her to give him leave to speak with the Scottish Queen, not secretly, but in the presence of Lord Shrewsbury or any other. The cause of his suit has been declared by Lord Lindsay, who assures him it is but to have her favourable letters into France to have his money there due to him; which obtained George purposes to come home, and is already assured to a rich widow, called the Lady of Balwearie [Bawery], in Fife, not far from Lochleven. George was with his brother at the last assembling of men in Fife, and is thought to be won to that side. To this suit he answered that he could not give ear to anything until the Regent had made such amends to the Queen of England as might stand to her contentation and honour.

(17) The Bailiffs of Edinburgh and ministers of the said town, and the wives of those burgesses who are yet detained prisoners made the like request, and had the like answer.

(18) The Regent caused a lodging to be prepared for him with fair hangings and a very rich and sumptuous bed, but* would not accept to lie in it until trial was taken of the odious fact committed at the meeting between the Lord Warden and Carmichael.

(19) There be two causes for detaining of these burgesses; the one is for that the Regent has been informed that they said that as they had set them [the Regents] up, so they were able to and would pull him down. Thinks this to be a false report. The other is, that the Regent's displeasing of the burgesses in towns wins to him the goodwill generally of all the artificers in Scotland, which tends more to his strength by ten to one, than the friendship of the burgesses.

(20) The misliking between the Regent and the ministers is on this ground. The Regent would "induce" into the Church of Scotland the liberty used by the magistrates and bishops of the Church of England, which they like not of, and so it stands between them as yet undecided. In the meanwhile the Church fast holds her own, and at this General Assembly begun on the 6th instant, at Edinburgh,

* The writer.

Elizabeth.
1575. among other things, these Articles following have been in question, and some of them presented by the Commissioners of the Assembly to the Regent's grace.

(21) First;—that it would please his grace to take order that ministers might be established in every church, and to "casse" the order which limited four churches to one minister.

(22) To take order for the entertainment of the free schools, and to appoint stipends fer scholars to supply the want of ministers.

(23) To confirm the order taken in the last Assembly for the provision of the poor.

(24) The bishopric of St. Andrews is void still, because the College will not agree to choose a man of the Regent's nomination.

(25) The bishop of Dunkeld is suspended for not pronouncing the decree of excommunication against the Earl of Atholl pronounced in the last Assembly, but at the Regent's request there be commissioners appointed to confer with the Earl. [He comes to the church and to the sermons, but the decree is grounded upon the Act of Parliament, which gives power against all those who will not subscribe to the religion confirmed and allowed by the said Act.]*

4 *pp.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 29. Copy of the same with additions.†

Aug. [19]. **188.** ADVERTISEMENTS FROM SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 29. [*Copy of inclosure with No.* 187 *with the following additions.*]

(26) There is a resolution in the Assembly to suspend the bishop of Murray, *alias* George Douglas, unless he answer the better, for that he is not qualified sufficiently to be a bishop.

(27) The bishop of Galloway for his evil life by past, whereof not reconciled to the Church, also unabsolved as yet.

(28) Whereas the bishops have great dioceses under their visitation, it is in question [at] this Assembly to make petition to the Regent that learned men may be nominated as supplies where the bishops themselves cannot do their duties, *etc.*

(29) Never heard of ruler yet but that some would mislike of him, and though many now seem to do the same, yet his most "back frendes" who have any regard to the State and peace of the country cannot tell where to find his like, or any to be compared to him if he were gone, nor that were so fit to entertain the amity with England.

(30) The Earl of Argyll, as he is informed, being solicited out of Ireland to send them aid, has written to the Regent to know his pleasure.

(31) The fishing of salmon is this year utterly failed in Scotland, and at Berwick also.

(32) Corn was never so fair nor so plenteous on the ground as it is this year in Scotland by most men's remembrance, so that the prices of corn are already fallen half in half.

(33) Small store of wine came into Scotland this year, and the same very bad.

* The words in square brackets are supplied from Cott. MSS. Calig., C. V., fol. 29.
† For the additions *see* No. 188.

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1575.

(34) There was some news out of Denmark that the Earl Bothwell and Captain Clark were dead in prison. Howbeit, since that, the death of Clark is confirmed, and that Bothwell is but great swollen, and not dead.

(35) Scottish men lament this late mishap on the Borders and desire a perfect trial thereof, punishment to the offenders, and recompense to the guiltless.

(36) The Grahames have ridden and spoiled in Scotland since the truce.

(37) The ministers in their sermons pray to God for the preservation of peace with England, and for punishment of the offenders.

(38) Scotland is able to make 20,000 mariners. This was spoken in the hearing of my Lord Warden.

(39) The Scottish Borders are grown stronger, and the English weaker.

(40) Lord Hume, Lady Lethington, and Robert Melvin's friends besought the writer to be a means for their causes to the Regent; to whom he answered, that although her majesty had pitiful consideration of their humble suits, and given him direction accordingly, how to deal with the Regent therein, yet by reason of this late accident he was restrained from handling any part of his first instructions until the Regent had satisfied her majesty for this last accident.

(41) The Regent made provision against the 2nd of this month, at Langton, which was all in vain, because of the long delay of the same meeting.

(42) The Regent now comes every morning eight miles to the meeting, the Lord President but four miles or five at the most.

(43) The obedience is such in Scotland during this surcease that a man may ride where he pleases without fear or danger.

(44) The Conservator of the Scottish nation in Flanders, called Mr. George Hacquett, is now home, being sent for by the Regent, some say to render his account, some others be of opinion that it is to discover and bewray such Scottish merchants as have brought over the counterfeit hardheads out of Flanders, and to touch some of them that be in ward.

(45) The gun forgers of Edinburgh have promised to furnish at all times, when they shall be commanded, fifty calivers a week, and others powder for the same.

(46) The Regent has six fair muskets come out of Flanders to serve for patterns to make others by; for which purpose his artificers are skilful, and as for "dagges," otherwise called "snaphaunces," they have furnished the most part of the gentlemen and horsemen of the realm.

(47) On the 12th instant Lord Claud Hamilton's wife, daughter to Lord Seton, was brought to bed of a son

(48) Lord Hume being in despair to obtain any relief at the Regent's hands, has made suit to him to be a mean to her majesty to have a pension to sustain him with. Thinks the man will not live long, for he is consumed with sickness.

(49) On the 14th or 15th of this month there arrived at Fast Castle one of the Scottish guard out of France, called Patrick Leyrmont, son to the Laird of Darcy in Fife, his mother being Sir James Balfour's sister, and allied to the Laird of Grange. This man was in

Elizabeth.
1575. the Castle of Edinburgh during the siege. He is come over with great speed in a French ship, which returned again how soon he was landed. He is of kin to Captain Molins, and, he thinks, his "vant carrier." Thinks he was directed to Lord Seton and that faction upon the news that the Regent was slain.

(50) His news is that the peace was signed in France by the King, ready to be proclaimed; the Protestants to have free exercise for their religion, and ten towns for their surety. . Moreover, that there were 3000 men in Brittany ready to embark for Ireland.

10 *pp.* *Copy.*

Aug. 24. **189.** HUNSDON TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 42. Arrival of Mr. Bowes. Satisfaction of the Queen of England's honour. Killing of her subjects. Taking of Sir John Foster. Sixty years since a base son of Sir William Heron slew the Warden of Scotland. Touching the Regent. His doings misliked. Arbroath shall marry the Lady of Buccleuch. Berwick. *Signed:* Hunsdon.

1¾ *pp.* *Holograph.* *No flyleaf or address.* *(Printed, Wright, vol. ii., p. 21.)*

August. **190.** BISHOP OF GLASGOW TO HIS BROTHER.

C.P., vol. X. Has received his letters about seven weeks ago. Has received letters from her majesty [the Queen of Scots]; besides which he has heard nothing from her since. Begs him to send her the counter-cipher in order that she may have those which follow deciphered. Sends his affectionate commendations to the Sieur Nau and all the rest.

¼ *p.* *French.* *Indorsed:* "In August 1575. Deciffred foran letre. From the beshop of Glasco to his brother."

Calig., C. V., fol. 78. Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 526. Another copy of the same.

August. **191.** BISHOP OF GLASGOW TO MARY.

C.P., vol. X. By what she has told him, she has not received certain letters of his, although he has written to her fully several times. Would not fail to try if by means of the Laird of Farnyhurst she might get this, which he would not send in her old cipher, fearing that it might be recognised, not being assured of that way nor of her secretary Nau's. But has sent him one in this, the counter-cipher of which his brother will give her. Is sorry that the accustomed means for sending his letters to her and receiving hers are lost, for he has no other commodity for himself except by her advice. Will not fail to execute what she sends the personage mentioned in her letter. Not being able to obtain anything of the assignment promised, has been constrained to furnish 1000 livres, besides the 500 livres which he received since November. Without her favour to the Sieur d'Achevindon and him he will be 500 livres in arrear, besides the 1000 livres paid by her commandment. Has caused 500 crowns to be given to the Laird of Farnyhurst, which make with what Achevindon has received the

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1575. 4000 livres which she lately appointed, not including what he has furnished to the Laird of "Dhommendis," Mr. John Hamilton, and d'Achevindon. Has written fully to her hereof and of what appears by way of Monsieur De La Mothe.

¾ *p. French. Indorsed with No. 190.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 78. Copy of the same.

192. ELIZABETH TO HENRY KILLIGREW. *

Sept. Having of late seen the copies of certain writings sent by him to the Earl of Huntingdon concerning certain demands and questions propounded to him [Killigrew] by the Commendator of Dunfermline and the Justice Clerk in the Regent's name, she finds by the same that the Regent has so far forgotten himself, by such a strange and insolent manner of dealing, to the blemishing of her honour and reputation, that she thinks it convenient that he charge him particularly with these points in manner following.

First;—he shall declare to him that—howsoever it fall out touching the parties that hereafter shall be found faulty in the disorder lately committed by the detaining of her Warden and governor of so principal a fort as Berwick is, a thing that so much wounds her honour to the eye of the whole world—so foul a fact can no ways be excused, the blemish thereof not being removed, nor her honour repaired; and that he cannot well answer to the State there, in that he has given her so just a cause of breach of the treaty with that realm, whereof, if she would take advantage by prosecuting that just revenge that she is provoked to, he should then both perceive and learn what it were for one of his base calling to offend one of her quality. And whereas he goes about to excuse the detaining of her Warden, alleging that he doubted the recent trouble and hot blood, having lost his brother-in-law, might draw him to enter into some kind of revenge, he is to declare to him that such a kind of excuse connot by men of judgment but be interpreted rather to be more scornful—and so to aggravate and double the fault—than tending to the qualification of the same. Would have him know that neither Foster nor any other public minister or private su[bject] of hers carries so small respect and reverence to her, her government, and authority that either he or they da[re take] upon them to enter into a particular revenge to the b[reach] of a public treaty without her knowledge and allowance. Supposing, according to the Regent's doubt, Foster, being set at liberty, had so far forgotten himself and had entered into a particular revenge, can [she] think that a man of government and judgment [like] the Regent pretends to be should weigh [some] inconvenience of a particular revenge [more] than the offending a Prince of her state, whom, for her power, he has reason to dread, and for her benefits employed upon that realm so just cause to love and reverence?

Secondly;—notwithstanding this his manner of dealing, which justly might have provoked her to a revenge, she has thought it not reason that a whole realm should bear the burden and smart of the folly of one man, and is content, at his request, who desired that there

* S.P. Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. 26, No. 82.

Elizabeth. 1575.

be some search made for the principal instruments of the disorder to the end there might have issued some punishment of the offenders, that the Earl of Huntingdon repair to the Borders to confer there in that behalf either with the lieutenant [or] some other of like quality to the Earl of Huntingdon. Her dealing might have provoked a man of judgment rather to have duly acknowledged his former error than to have given a new occasion for propounding so strange questions to him touching the manner of meeting and proceeding in the searching for the ground of the disorder; which gives her just cause to think that he either has her in contempt or that he has not yet learned what appertains to the room and place he now holds. Whereas he has taken upon him to appoint a place of meeting four miles within Scotland, is to declare to him that she reputes it so ambitious a part, and to savour so much of an insolent desire of sovereignity, that she would think great scorn to have like request made to her either by the King his master, if he were come to his government, or by the greatest Prince in Europe, having received that injury and touch of reputation that she has received at his hands—much less at such an inferior's hands as he is, in respect of the difference of their qualities.

Whereas he desires to know whether the meeting should be in armour, he may say to him that she esteems the question strange, considering that she is not entered into any kind of hostility as yet, whereby there should be any apparent cause to meet in armour. Touching the copy of the Earl's commission, he shall say to the Regent, that if he means thereby such a commission as should be under her broad seal, she means not to use that solemnity in this matter.

To conclude;—he shall declare to him, that if he himself in person shall be content to meet the said Earl in place convenient for her honour on the Bound Road, she can then consent that the meeting shall proceed; otherwise she does not mean that he shall join with any other in that realm but himself, whereunto she knows no cause why he should not consent to yield, when some of his predecessors have not stuck to repair—as he can well remember—to York, and afterwards to her person well near 300 miles within England. If he shall not [agree] to this, then he shall show him that she means not to employ persons of greater quality than Sir Thomas Gargrave in the conference, and others whom the Earl of Huntingdon shall join to him, and who shall receive their commissions at his hands.

Having done with the Regent, she must not forget to say something to himself. First, she must charge him with his dark and slight kind of advertisement, whereby he shows himself not so careful of her service as in duty he is bound. Secondly, he can receive such demands at their hands that so much touch her in honour without making any reply to the same, whereas, indeed, if he either weighed her [service] or his own duty he would not put up [with] things in such sort as he does.

3½ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 51. Another copy of the same.

[Sept. 6]. **193.** The Regent Morton's Declaration to the Earl of Huntingdon.

Whereas, upon his declaration how grievously the Queen of England had taken the late misrule and disorder happened at the meeting

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1575. betwixt the Lord Warden of the Middle March of England and the keeper of Liddesdale on the 8th of July last, but especially the stay and detention of the said Warden and others her subjects after that day, and taking promise for their returning, whereby her honour might appear to be wounded, he answered him by speech of his meaning and proceedings in that behalf according to the very truth, affirming that he would approve the same by his handwriting for the more full and cartain information of her majesty, and satisfaction of all good men, who, peradventure, upon some sinister report have been induced to conceive the contrary opinion. Trusts it shall not appear that her honour was anywise wounded, the state of the case, his true meaning, and the necessary and good occasions that moved him, with their circumstances, being well and indifferently considered. When he was first advertised of the accident, being for the time quiet at his house, he wrote immediately to the Queen and her Council certifying the cause according to the report he had received, and craving knowledge of her mind and pleasure touching the order she would have in that matter followed out, for that he was ready, upon answer from her and the Council to proceed in such form as should be found meetest, to have the circumstances tried and ordered to the honour, weal, and quietness of both the Princes, their countries and subjects. With which letters his meaning was to have directed a special messenger of his own, if he had not then received knowledge of the coming of Mr. Henry Killigrew to Berwick; upon whose incoming to him he stayed his own messenger, desiring the ambassador [Killigrew] to hold forward his intended journey, offering him whatsoever convoy or surety he thought meet either for his coming or remaining, as he thought by him to have understood more shortly her highness' meaning, as also by him to have informed her of his mind. But he being somewhat crazed and weak by sickness (as he wrote to him) could not then instantly satisfy his desire by his coming. He also with diligence convened such of the Council of Scotland as then could be had together most readily, "exponit" to them the case, and required their advice toward the ordering of the same, especially how the Warden and other gentlemen of England, then being at Jedburgh, should be used. Whereupon taking deliberation, and considering the nature of the said Warden, his charge, his disadvantage so freshly received, the recent slaughter of his brother-in-law, and the multitude of broken men and disordered people under his rule, who, being either commanded, licensed, or moved by him (being at home), their seeking of sudden revenge might have drawn on such mutual incursions on either part as should have broken the country and begun the war in effect before her majesty's knowledge. Had report of some hard speeches uttered by the Warden and others in his company tending to the same end. All which being considered, it was thought better that he should be a little while stayed, and well entertained till the knowledge of the Queen's mind, than that he should so suddenly, upon a hot blood and recent displeasure, pass home, where a little of his countenance might have moved the people, as it had so recently done at the late meeting, fearing the second meeting's mischief should have exceeded the first, and be found more difficult to appease, and for her majesty's honour, seeing he was her officer, caused him and the gentlemen who were with him to abide with him in his own house of Dalkeith (which is no room for receipt of prisoners), where they were well used as his friends.

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1575. Sent proclamations and writings without delay all over the Marches of this realm straitly commending the observation of the peace, and that none should attempt any manner of hostility against the subjects of England on pain of death, certifying also the wardens of the West and East Marches of England desiring them to show their earnest goodwill for the observation of the peace, as the like disposition should be found in him and the officers of this realm for the King's part, until such time as by good order to be taken, upon knowledge of her majesty's mind, the trouble might be set down and appeased to the punishment of the private offenders and the public benefit of both the realms.

No Englishmen were prohibited from access to the Warden and other gentlemen of England, nor they restrained from any part that they were desirous to visit during the few days of their remaining there, without any guard for their custody, and as soon as the Warden showed him that their tarry was somewhat scaithful to them, and that they were desirous to be at home, he freely condescended thereto, as also to his own "home passing" as soon as he perceived in him a mind to keep the peace, and a promise that he would so do, till the matter be tried and appeased, which he always persuaded himself should be her majesty's resolution, if in the meantime the borderers were kept in quietness, without new trouble or occasion of further inconveniences offered; and so, before any knowledge of her majesty's meaning was received, he had agreed that he should pass home. The taking of promise for their returning was assuredly upon no other intention but to hold them the more mindful of their promise made for the observation of the peace until her majesty's pleasure should be known, and order taken for good rule of the Borders, in respect of the misliking standing through the accident fallen, never meaning to detain them longer under promise than that some order should be taken towards the good rule of that Middle March by the wisdom of such as her majesty should happen to commit the consideration of the matter to; and such good effect followed hereupon that since the day of the trouble till this conference, little or no new occasion of disorder intervened to hinder the end which in the beginning he wished for, and always has been careful to attain to, that is, the continuance of peace, the offence happened being tried and ordered to their punishment in whom the offence grew, and to the honour of their sovereigns and quietness of all their good subjects, *etc.* Whereby it well appears that he was far from all meaning any manner of dishonour to her majesty, but contrarywise, then and at all times ready to honour her with all lawful service and good offices tending to the weal of her estate and the continuance of the peace and good amity, having at all times borne her and her estate a sincere good mind and true affection as that Princess to whom the King, his sovereign, is so dear, and this country so far obliged for benefits received, the thankful acknowledging whereof he trusts has always so appeared, especially since he entered into this charge of government, that he thinks her highness and her Councillors have had no cause of misliking given on his part, nor have her subjects on the Borders ever had better neighbours or readier justice and redress till this accident chanced, and that not of any malicious meaning to the dishonour or offence of her majesty or hurt of any of her subjects, but

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1575. to his grief, as God is his judge. Which premises considered, and her majesty being informed of the same truly, he has no doubt that she not only will stand well satisfied with all his late doings in this matter, but that she will esteem him to have done that thing which most probably and apparently serves to keep quietness for continuance of the peace, deserving her good allowance and thanks in that respect. Trusts this declaration will satisfy her majesty, and if upon good consideration it may be found that the reasons before rehearsed do not fully satisfy, he will leave nothing undone that may be esteemed to redound to her honour, the same standing with the honour of the King, his sovereign, and the common weal of his realm.

4 *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "Copie of the Regentes Declaration, 1575, Septemb."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 62. Another copy of the same.

Sept. 6. **194.** LORD SETON TO ELIZABETH.

"Madame, perceaving dalye th'augmentation off your heinesse great and bening fawours towert my soun (which I do and shall thinke alwayes doine unto my selwe) suche humanite in so hight and mightye a Princesse deserweht (as most humbley I render unto your majesté) innumerables thankes, and haith moweth, zea compelled me rather to be reputed to boulde nor ingrat. Wherfore thus shalbe to lett yonr majesté understand my duetie and trew meaning to recompanse at all my power the manifoulde courtasies wseth unto him; and als to testifie unto your prencely majesté that I shall att no tyme inlake no goodwill to declaire my selwe grate alwayes to do your hienesse most humble and deu service, as your majesté lyketh to commaunde me: knowing also perfytlye my soun, in respect off the courtasies receawed, will do your hienesse, as weill becumeth him, most humble and assured service for ever, notwithstanding the curious and oowre politike braines off some that haith soght to giwe your majesté occasions to estime otherwayes. Contraire whois meaning and to thintent your hienesse mott try with tyme and long experience his fidelte, I am constreined to dedicatt his most humble servitude unto your majesté, not knowing also howe to recompanse the smallest part off your hienesse excellent courtasies and goodnes otherwayes at this present but by suche a offer, which I besiche your majesté, as your hienesse doeth excel in all wertu, constance and humanitée, to tak in good part. Seton. *Signed:* Seton.

1 *p. Addressed:* "To the Queenes Majesté." *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Sept. 13. **195.** DISORDERS ON THE MIDDLE MARCH.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 35. "Articles concluded and accorded upon at Foulden the 13th day of September, 1575, betwixt the right honorable James, Earl of Morton, Lord of Dalkeith, Regent of the realm of Scotland, and Patrick, Lord Lindesay of the Byris, commissioners for the King's highness of Scotland, assisted with Robert, Commendatare of Dunfermling, cheife secretarie to his grace, Marke, Commendatare of Newbotle, Sir James Hwme of Coldenknowes, knight, Lord Warden

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1575. of the est Marche of Scotland over against England, and M^r^ Jhon Scharpe, advocate for the party of Scotland, and the right honorable Henrie Earle of Huntingdon, Lord Hastinges, Lord President of the Queen's majestie of England's counsale established in the north, and Henry, Lord Hunsdon, Lord governour of Barwicke, and Lord Warden of the East March of England over against Scotland, commissioners for hir majestie, assisted with Sir Tho. Gargrave, knight, Sir Henry Gates, knight, Rafe Rokeby, and Robert Bowes, esquiers, all of the same counsale for the partie of England, for compounding and redressinge the late disorders committed at a meeting at the Redswire on the midle Marche upon the vij^th^ of July last, betwixt Sir Jhon Forster, knight, Lord Warden of the midle Marche of England and Jhon Carmichell, the younger, deputy Kepair of Liddesdale."

First;—it is agreed that all and whatsoever countenance, speech, deed, wrong, and injury done by any of the subjects of either realm against the others the said 7th day of July, and whatsoever may depend thereupon, shall not hereafter be any cause of breach of peace; but the same peace, as it is established by God's special grace and favour, to continue perpetually hereafter, to the pleasure of God, the honour of the Princes of both realms, and the wealth and quietness of their subjects. And, nevertheless, in consideration of the said great disorder, and of the evil example that thereof may ensue, to the terror of disordered and seditious persons hereafter, it is agreed and determined that the offences committed on either side on the said day shall be tried and punished as follows.

The slaughters and hurts on either part shall be tried and punished, and the goods taken redressed by order of such commissioners as shall be appointed by the Princes of both realms to that effect, according to the laws of the Marches, or otherwise by their good discretions; and for the more surety and better execution of justice, all the persons suspected shall be apprehended with all diligence. and surely kept in ward, or [ ] upon surety under great sums to be answerable for the same slaughters and hurts wherewith they shall be charged, as accords; and that the commissioners shall first meet at Reddenburne, and after that at such places and times as shall be agreed upon betwixt them. And forasmuch as the Lord Warden of the Middle March of England and divers gentlemen and others in company with him were stayed upon the ground, and some of them even then set at liberty, and the said Lord Warden and certain others after that detained in Scotland fifteen days or thereabout, that the Queen of England's pleasure might have been known in the meantime touching the appeasing of the said trouble, who were after that set at liberty, being all the time of their remaining well and friendly entertained, the bands also and promises given for their re-entry at the beginning of this conference, on the 17th of August last, were by open proclamation made void and discharged: and since it appears that her highness esteems her honour herein offended, for further satisfaction of her highness and declaration that the Regent will leave nothing undone that in honour and reason may satisfy her, he shall betwixt this and to-morrow night enter four gentlemen of his own name and four of the name of Carmichael to remain in the town of Berwick during her goodwill and pleasure, or elsewhere in England where her majesty shall appoint.

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1575. These articles shall be fully done and speedily executed according to the true meaning and intent of the commissioners herein named. *Vera Copia. Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

2 *pp.*

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 521. Another copy of the same.

Sept. 14. **196.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 58. That I may witness my care to satisfy your late request, and in all things accomplish your will to the best of my power, I have presumed to trouble you herewith, as one to whom I acknowledge especial goodwill, heartily praying you to accept in good part this piece of the same.

On Monday and Tuesday last past the Regent of Scotland, Lord Lindsay, and the other commissioners for Scotland met, at Foulden, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, and the assistants for England. After some discourse of former proceedings and consideration of the cause of their meeting, and declaration of her majesty's pleasure expressed in her last letter to the Earl of Huntingdon, they readily accorded upon sundry articles. (1) That due punishment shall be done on the offenders in the late slaughters and corporal hurts committed at the broil at Redswyre, with speedy restitution of the goods taken at that time, according to the laws of the Marches. (2) That eight gentlemen of Scotland, whereof four are of the surname of Douglas, and of the blood of the Regent, and the other four Carmichael, should be delivered, to remain in England and endure her majesty's correction at her pleasure, for the offence of taking and detaining Sir John Foster and the other English gentlemen. Which eight persons are already entered and received according to this agreement.

For further satisfaction of her majesty, and signification of the Regent's readiness to submit all things to her majesty's good pleasure, he promised to deliver John Carmichael, the principal in the assembly of the Scots at Redswyre, to abide simply such punishment as her majesty shall determine. He is "respected" for some few days to make his entry to Lord Hunsdon, for his better "furniture" and establishment of all things at home, and good order taken for his entry and conduction to the Earl of Huntingdon. Now, whereas no execution is already done on the offenders in the slaughters—as haply will be looked for—the same is deferred only because the offenders standing to their purgation and denial may not orderly be condemned before lawful trial and conviction; which, as well in default of the certainty of the manner of trial of slaughters by the laws of the Marches, lacking practice of the same these many years, as also in want of sufficient power in these commissioners to proceed herein, cannot in such perfect manner and with warranty be made as the value of the life of man and reasonable order require; and therefore they referred the execution of this to be done by fit commissioners to be joined and authorised by the Princes of either realm. In the meantime, for the surety of due punishment to be done with speed on these "faultors," it is provided that, as the names of those suspected or accused are interchangeably delivered, so they shall with diligence be apprehended and safely kept in prison, or upon good bond to answer

Elizabeth.
1575. all things objected against them, and to abide such pains as the quality of their offences shall deserve. And although these eight gentlemen delivered are guiltless, and by their innocency may some deal restrain her just correction as upon guilty trespassers, yet, forasmuch as the most part of the takers of the Englishmen were very base and of mean calling; therefore, for the more honour and better expedition of this delivery these said eight persons, being of name and possessions, were offered and also accepted. And whereas fourteen several persons are principally accused for the slaughters of the Englishmen, and sundry others noted for the hurts there done, it is thought that the apprehension and safe keeping of these offenders will give no less terror to like disordered persons, than execution to be done of some few; and the execution following thereon will continue the memory of this chastisement, with thanks to her majesty for the mercy bestowed on the remnant pardoned.

The state of all these things is certified at length to the whole table of the Privy Council; and because you shall thereby much better understand all these acts and reasons of accords than by my disordered scribbling, therefore I spare to trouble you further herein, beseeching God that as with great care these are brought to this conclusion, so they may well content her majesty and benefit both realms.

That you may know how the Regent pretends to desire much to be restored to her majesty's favour and good opinion, his offers and acts give some taste, and I trust you shall find his disposition declared by other letters of greater credit than these.

For his own testimony and his good meaning and service towards her majesty, he openly declared that her majesty only made him Regent, and that for her alone he has thus long served in this office, wherein he first desires to satisfy her in these present causes, and after, with her favour, to be dismissed, and his room committed to some other to her liking, wishing to have opportunity to make his complaint, which he will only commend to herself and good pleasure, as haply by his own letters and messenger may shortly be signified.

As he and the most part of the nobility of Scotland, especially such as love this amity and quiet of their realm, profess outwardly to be wholly devoted to her majesty, avowing their services to her in recompense of some part of her benefits received, so they seem to revenge and detest all devices that may draw them from the same, saying—as the truth is—that her majesty is the only safety of their King, and the stay and life of their welfare. It may, therefore, be thought a fit time, after the end of these troubles, for her majesty to bestow a cheerful countenance towards the Regent, which shall continue his friends to join and cleave to him, and in fear restrain his adversaries to discover their intents. But these things, as wholly and far beyond my capacity, I leave to your wisdom, heartily beseeching you to pardon my boldness and to accept all these here written, not as any opinions, judgment or purpose in me to set forth or pull back any matter or person, but simply to verify to you the doings and words seen, heard, and reported to me, to use as your good experience may best determine.

The expectation of the convention reported to have been intended in Scotland is now frustrate, and the bruit thereof seems to have been raised rather of practice than of truth.

Elizabeth. 1575.

Whereas I perceive by my Lord of Huntingdon, upon letters from the Earl of Leicester, that her majesty did not hear me signify to her highness the consent of the Regent that the offenders in the late slaughters should be punished according to the laws of the Marches, like as I declared to the Earl of Leicester, I may hereby think my journey unfortunate and myself deeply fallen to just sorrow, not only because my service received such evil success, but also and chiefly that it is noted that my default has procured such hard effect in so weighty a cause; trusting, nevertheless, that her majesty, upon remembrance of my speech and the questions moved by her to me, with my answers, will favourably call to good memory what passed me therein; and I hope Sir Thomas Smith and others, upon the like good remembrance of my words and certificate to her majesty, will give testimony herein for me. But, as I am fearful and loth in any wise to offend her majesty by avowment of anything beyond her good pleasure or my own duty, so choosing rather to fall under this heavy burden with discredit than to hazard the inconvenience of her majesty's displeasure, I do not, therefore, write this to you to call this matter to trial, but freely yield with humility to commend it to silence. And yet I most heartily beseech you to use the same friendly, by your good discretion, that her majesty may, above all things, stand pleased, and, after my credit saved, as my part and doings only, without offence to her majesty, may in truth deserve. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 14. Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 60.

197. HUNTINGDON, HUNSDON, AND OTHERS TO [THE PRIVY COUNCIL].

"It may pleas your honorable lordshipps to be advertized," that since the receipt of the Queen's late letters of the 29th of August, directed, to me the Earl of Huntingdon, we have met with the Regent of Scotland and Lord Lindsay, and other their assistants, commissioners for Scotland, on the 12th and 13th of this instant, and conferred together for the redress of the late disorders committed at the Redswire the 7th of July last, the which chiefly, as we take it, consists of two parts; the one for the goods, hurt, and slaughters of the subjects, and the other the wrongful chasing, taking, and withholding as prisoners of the Queen's Warden and divers other gentlemen, and not suffering them to depart but under bond or promise of re-entry, as though it had been in the time of open hostility, which, as we declared, much touched the Queen's majesty in honour if the same should not be revenged or other ways salved to her majesty's contentation; and after long debate, to have her majesty satisfied, we concluded as in sundry articles herewith sent to your lordships may appear. And although, for the first part, we found the other commissioners as willing as we to have the offenders speedily punished, yet for that the same was to be done according to the treaty of peace, by the law of the Borders, and by the wardens of both realms, ourselves not having authority for that purpose, therefore, we thought it meet to be referred to be executed by special commissioners of both the realms, for the reasons and considerations ensuing.

Elizabeth.
1575.

(1) First, it was thought the wardens "to be as parties to the factes," and were much touched both in their own causes and for their friends.

(2) It was also feared the wardens at their meeting should hardly be able to execute justice without great stir and danger to both Borders, for that the facts and disorders touched so many evil men on both frontiers, and of the greatest surnames.

(3) A third and special cause was, for that the wardens have not used to do any execution for murder these forty years past and above, but ever referred the causes to the Princes; and yet the law is, that the murderer being convicted according to the law of the frontiers, he should be delivered to the warden where the slaughter was committed, and receive *ultimum supplicium*, which is taken to be death. But that law has been so long unexercised and out of experience that they cannot well put it in execution.

(4) Another cause is, for that by the law of the frontiers, the "assizers," as they call them, who are the juries to try the causes, be chosen of six Englishmen and six Scots, and that the Scots are only to find the offences done against England, and the English to present those against Scotland, and that, therefore, as well in respect of favour towards their countrymen, neighbours, friends, and kinsmen, and specially for fear and avoiding of deadly feud, which is common amongst them, it is thought little good or none could be done that way.

(5) And therefore, for these causes and divers others, we thought meet to refer to the tria[l] and execution of this great matter to be had before such sufficient commissioners of both realms as shall be appointed, to the intent the same should be well and severely done and executed with death of the offenders, and good recompense for all hurts and losses of goods sustained at that disorder. And to the intent the offenders should be known and not escape, we have, as privately as we could, enquired of their names, and have received accusation against thirteen several persons for the death of the six Englishmen who were slain at that affray, the which your lordships shall receive herewith in a note. We have delivered those names to the Regent to the intent they may be taken and brought before the commissioners to be appointed, to be tried and executed according to their demerits; the which we trust shall be to the terror of the evil and such like offenders, and to be an example for a great time to come.

For which purposes, if it may please your lordships to move the Queen's majesty with convenient speed to direct her commission to such commissioners as shall please her highness to join with like commissioners of Scotland for the causes and matters abovesaid, we have good hope that justice shall proceed according to her highness' contentation.

And for the second part, touching some amends for the taking and retaining of our warden and others as prisoners—upon that matter we find the takers to be men of so mean calling and base estates that they were not meet to be received, and therefore we thought good, for the Queen's honour, to have delivery made of some of better state and degree, which might be more to her majesty's contentation: and thereupon the Regent seeming very willing to satisfy her majesty by

Elizabeth.
1575. all the means he might, not only offered willingly to deliver to her majesty John Carmichael, his kinsman and servant, deputy keeper of Liddisdale, under the Earl of Angus, but also has delivered this day eight other gentlemen to remain as prisoners in England, where "it shall like her majesty," during her pleasure; whereof four to be of the name of Douglas, and four of the name of Carmichael, all gentlemen.

John Carmichael shall be with me the President until her majesty's pleasure be known what shall be done with him, and the other eight gentlemen be remaining here with me the Lord Hunsdon, in Berwick, until further knowledge of her highness' pleasure be signified.

Finally;—for that we have found the Regent and all the commissioners, his associates, to be much offended with the said late event, and showed themselves ever ready—and specially the Regent above all the rest—to satisfy the Queen's majesty in anything that reasonably should be demanded, their duties to the King only excepted, therefore we have thought it our duties in truth and equity to advertise your lordships thereof. For surely that our commission had served either to demand or receive, or seem content with anything before the Queen's majesty's pleasure known, we might, as we verily think, have received so large recompense as we now have long before this. But we neither durst receive their offers nor demand any certainty before we know her highness' full pleasure. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon; Hounsdon; Thomas Gargrave; Henry Gate; Rauff Rokeby; Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. No flyleaf or address. Notes in the margin in Walsingham's hand.*

Sept. 15. **198.** JOHN LIVINGSTON TO HIS WIFE.

C.P., vol. X. "Weilbelovit wyff, efter maist hertlie commendationes." Please write that I have received a letter from Gilbert Curll, the copy of which you shall receive within this letter, making mention of the Queen's majesty's mind towards me. Ride to my Lord Arbroath and my Lord Claud with all diligence and desire a letter of theirs of the Queen's majesty in my favour declaring that the "wrangus" report reported to them of me was "wrangouslie" invented, and was not of truth, "of the quhilk thay have tryit the contrar sensyne," and send to me with "possible haist": and also you shall desire a writing of my Lord Seton's for the same effect, and send [it] with a writing of your own to her grace, and show them the great hurt that I have for that cause, the which I never deserved at their hands; and this fail not to do, "putting" no doubt if I had their letters but I would be well answered of my silver that is "auchtand" me here. Paris.

½ *p. Copy.*

Inclosure with the same:—

(Gilbert Curll to John Livingston.)

It is not possible that you could have had a better friend than the Queen's majesty [of Scotland] herself, who was lother than any other to

Elizabeth.
1575. credit the many reports made of you since your "parting" from hence until the affirmation thereof by divers advertisements of sundry persons of quality, who, with your long silence, so moved her majesty against you, and consequently "did" the mouths of such here as have professed your friendship to their power, that for all the offers you have made in your late letters, without better testimony, I see no great appearance of change of the opinion conceived anent your behaviour, nor that her majesty will grant allowance of the wages which you ask. I pray God you may be able to prove your innocence to her majesty's full satisfaction. Sheffield Castle. 21st August, 1575.

⅓ *p. Copy.*

Sept. 18. **199.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Thanks him for his friendly remembrance of him. Received his letter and her majesty's of the 29th ult. at Berwick, on the 12th instant, being detained so long by the Lord President, he thinks, because he should before his taking leave of the Regent do some offices for the better preparing of the Regent to the good ending of the brabble. In his simple opinion her majesty's commissioners have done her such service that better could not have been done by any in this case. The day after he received her majesty's letters of revocation he took leave of the Regent, according to direction; and howbeit his grace seemed to be sorry for his return, yet he could not but think the causes so reasonable that her majesty could not well deny him so necessary a suit. He [the Regent] stands in hope that the Queen will send some other into Scotland, and in the meantime his grace said he would endeavour to omit no good occasion that might continue and increase the good amity between the realms, and willed him to assure her, and to do his most humble commendations of service to her. For all his haste he was stayed here by reason of a mischance, a horse having almost trod off the nail of the great toe, so that he has been cruelly pained and cannot well suffer any boot on his leg. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Killygrew.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 20. **200.** THE REGENT MORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

The late accident happening even as Mr. Killigrew came to Berwick has not only interrupted such other things as they had to deal in, but hindered and made slow the course of their letters "other to other," to his grief and misliking, having found at all times so friendly and comfortable advice therein, that nothing was more welcome to him, but now—and the rather [because] of the ambassador's [Killigrew] returning—prays him to renew his former "trade," and sometimes, as things come to his knowledge, to let him have some taste what their neighbours are doing in the world beside them. If he would know further of their conference and treaty, this gentleman, his cousin and servant, John Carmichael, is able to satisfy him; whom, because he was the principal on the ground when this trouble happened, he has directed to him to know the

Elizabeth.
1575. Queen's pleasure, and, if she wishes, to make demonstration of his own dealing as well that day as since he was employed on that charge. Has also some other servants of his at Berwick to abide her highness' pleasure. In that she thought her honour offended by the stay of her warden and other her subjects, the effect being answered according to the integrity of his meaning, it rests with her for their return. Must "employ" all his good lords and friends to be suitors to her majesty for the same end—not for his private respect only, but that this country may perceive in her majesty now, as before, a favourable and gracious dealing, since nothing is or shall be omitted that in reason or honour tends to her contentation, although he has found the proceeding at the Earl of Hundingdon's hands "large harder" than he looked for. Prays him to procure answer to some matters delivered before, and now of late also to Mr. Killigrew, as soon as opportunity can serve. Delivered some hawks for his use, but is doubtful whether they came to his hands or not. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Sept. 20. **201.** THE REGENT MORTON TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

His late departure happening sooner than he looked for, he had neither leisure nor remembrance to desire from him the answer and resolution of such notes as he delivered to him at his former departing from Aberdeen; howbeit, by divers letters from Mr. Secretary Walsingham he was put in assured hope thereof at his coming into Scotland. Desires that he may be resolved in writing in those things whereof he looked to have been answered by him by speech, the sum of which he has briefly noted and incloses herewith. Prays him to be mindful of them. Trusts he will let the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Randolph understand his honest meaning and good part towards his lordship, as he can bear record. Recommends the bearer, who is known to Killigrew, to his lawful favour. Thinks long to hear of his proceedings upon his return to Court. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

½ *p.* *Addressed:* "To the richt worshipfull my very loving freind M^r^ Henry Kyllegrew esquire." *Indorsed.*

Oct. 1. **202.** THE REGENT MORTON TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

Since my last writing to you there arrived here a Scottish ship from Dieppe, and in her some of the Scottish archers, and besides their report of the common news of the present state of France, agreeing in effect with the last occurrents I received from my Lord Governor of Berwick [Hunsdon], one of them, named Duncan Balfoure, declares to me that on the 16th of September last Monsieur d'Alençon, the King of France's brother, escaped out of Paris and departed toward Almany; which he says he had in Dieppe by report of one John Furrian, the English "poist," who waits upon the Queen's majesty's ambassador in Paris, on the 16th of this same month, who desired him to advertise me thereof at his arrival, that I might make you privy thereunto, thinking you had been here, because the same post could have no passage for himself. In another letter I

Elizabeth.
1575. find it written that they are advertised in France that England and Scotland "is drawand sum draucht" against France; which, although it have no great effect, yet would I not omit to let you understand our news. Further, I have by the same messengers found letters written from John Livingstoun, now being in France, one that served the Queen, our King's mother, to his wife, by the copy whereof you may perceive that there lacks not intelligence to and from her, and that "it is difficult to men to change their naturis"; whereof also I thought meet to give you warning, that you may understand as far as I do in this behalf, and as you shall see occasion, to remember that the greater care and vigilance be take thereanent. Since you departed I made a progress, whereof I will make you account. First, —from Dalkeith I was accompanied by the Lord Claud Hamilton and Sir James Hamilton to Linlithgow, and they departing from me there, the Lord Livingston and his friends met and "convoyit" me to the Torwood, where I found the Earl of Mar, the Earl Buchan, Lochleven, and other friends, who returned together to Stirling; and there, besides the comfortable time spent with the King's majesty, to my great rejoicing, I had good pastime of hunting in the park and otherwise, till my Lord of Montrose and the Laird of Tullibardine, Comptroller, coming hither, accompanied me the first night to Kincardine, my Lord of Montrose's house, from which, dining at Tullibardine on the morn, I was at night with my Lord of Rothes at Bambreich; and there being desired to be a witness to my Lord Ruthven's first son, I passed thither, being met by him, the Lord Drummond, and the Lord Oliphant, and so tarrying with him a day, returned by Lochleven to my house of Aberdore, and therefrom here to Edinburgh. I have made this journey as quietly accompanied as ever I travelled in my life, and never had better treatment nor contentment, praised be God. Whereof I thought good to certify you, that you may be the better able to answer the frequent bruits daily fallen to the contrary, whereof you heard not a few at your last being here, as though there were misliking and discontentment betwixt me and these noblemen; of whom, I thank God, I never had better friendship nor greater goodwill. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Regent.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Marginally noted.*

Oct. 4. **203.** THE REGENT MORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

I have directed the bearer hereof, Michael Sym, goldsmith, to London for some tools requisite in the "cunzehouse" and mint here, and for some little quantity of plate to my own use, and therefore I must "effectuuslie" desire and crave your favour and furtherance to procure licence to him as well for making of the tools and "werklwmes" as for buying and transporting of the plate, and that he may safely return here without stay or impediment to be used towards himself or those things that by licence and favour he shall be permitted to bring with him. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Regent.

Postscript.—I have also sent with the bearer some little rubies to be "tabled"; and amongst the rest of charges will pray you to send

Elizabeth.
1575. some servant of your own with the bearer to be present and see the condition with the craftsmen touching the working thereof. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Regent.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Oct. 11. **204.** BISHOP OF ROSS TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK [*sic*].

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 515. [*A letter in cipher, to which there is no key. Symbols are used for the names of persons and places. A letter sent by means of a boy is mentioned.*]

½ *p. Address in cipher, deciphered:* "Ros to Norfolke."

Oct. 12. **205.** MARY TO GREGORY XIII.

C.P., vol. X. Whereas in these most turbulent times, and especially owing to the daily perturbation of our affairs, we have been compelled to put off till this day the testimony of my respect to your holiness, at length having found the bishop of Ross, our subject, fleeing as it were to a sacred anchor after the diverse dangers of his life and fortune, we were unwilling longer to depart from our duty. We therefore armed him with this recommendation as with a picture of his misforture, with this distinction, in our name most humbly to kiss your holiness' feet, and to give testimony of our due obedience to the Roman see and the apostolic dignity, and a mind firm and intact in the orthodox religion; and lastly to render the greatest thanks for your benevolence to us, and for the remembrance which the most reverend Cardinal of Guise, our uncle, lately brought by letter. We therefore commit ourselves and all our affairs to your highness, holy father, humbly praying that you will think fit to foster with your clemency and to aid with your authority your devout daughter oppressed with so many and so great failures, but troubled rather to restore the religion that has been cast to the ground than to mend her own fortune, and that you will receive the bishop of Ross, a man loaded with many merits towards the Christian commonwealth, and adorned with holiness of life and uprightness of character, and innumerable excellent endowments of intellect, and an exile in the name of Christ when he falls at your knees, and will help him with your powers and will consider us as bound by a still narrower bond of benefits. And because I hope that your holiness will not fail our prayers in this matter I will not delay you with a longer oration. Sheffield.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Literae ad summum pontificem Gregorium xiij."

Oct. 14. **206.** [WALSINGHAM] TO THE REGENT MORTON.

Is glad his grace's doings in the end have manifoldly shown to the world how free he was from evil meaning or any intention to have done what might offend her majesty, or lead to any breach of the good amity between the two crowns, so necessarily to be continued for the benefit of both realms. Touching her majesty's satisfaction, his grace has already, by her own letters, received such assurance that he needs not to give any further testimony thereof. Hopes within a few days

Elizabeth.
1575. there will be order taken for Mr. John Carmichael's return, according to his request. Now that he is restored to her majesty's favour and good opinion he will not fail to satisfy his request touching the imparting to him from time to time of such news as they receive from France. Would there were like hope of good success of things in Holland as there is of the French affairs. The arrival of the Spanish fleet, which appeared on the coast of England on the 2nd of this month, and presently remains in the ports through contrary wind, he fears will greatly appal the Hollanders, being assailed as they are two ways. Humbly thanks him for the cast of falcons it pleased him to send him, though through some evil dealing they are by the way intercepted. Touching his memorial delivered to Mr. Killigrew, he will not fail to solicit her majesty's resolution.

1½ *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "1575. To the Regent the 14 of October."

Oct. 15. **207.** THE REGENT MORTON TO HENRY KILLIGREW.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 66. Since your departure I have made a progress, whereof I will make you account.

First;—from Dalkeith I was accompanied by the Lord Claud Hamilton and Sir James Hamilton of Linlithgow, and they departing from me there, the Lord Livingston and his friends met and conveyed me to the "torwod," where I found my Lord of Mar, the Earl of Buchan, Lochleven, and other friends, who returned together to Stirling; and there, besides the comfortable time spent with the King's majesty, to my great rejoicing, I had good pastime of hunting in the park and otherwise, while my Lord of Montrose and the Laird of Tullibardine, Comptroller, coming hither, accompanied me the first night to Kincardine, my Lord of Montrose's house. From which, dining at Tullibardine "on the morne," I was at night with my Lord of Rothes at Bambreich, and there, being desired to be a witness to my Lord Ruthven's first son, I passed thither, being met by him, the Lord Drummond, and the Lord Oliphant, and so tarrying with him a day, returned to Lochleven to my house of Aberdore, and therefrom here to Edinburgh. I have made this journey as quietly accompanied as ever I travelled in my life, and had never better treatment nor contentment, praised be God. Whereof I thought good to certify you, that you may be the better able to answer the frequent bruits daily sown to the contrary, whereof you heard not a few at your last being here, as though there were mistake or discontentment betwixt me and those noblemen, of whom, I thank God, I had never better friendship nor greater goodwill.

1 *p.* *Extract in the hand of (Burghley's clerk).* *In the margin:* "15 Octobr, 1575. Ex orig. from the Regent to Mr. Killigre."

Nov. 4. **208.** CAPTAIN COCKBURN TO BURGHLEY.

"My werie speciall guid lord, it is lang sen I have bene accustomat to writ to your guid lordship; and now gif I trowit my service or writtingis mycht be plesar to zour lordship ye suld have anew of yame. I dout not bot zour lordship is bettir adverteist of the estait heir nor I can writ. Had nocht zour guid officiaris, as my

* This document appears to be an extract from No. 202, but is wrongly dated.

Elizabeth.
1575. Lord of Huntlingtoun and Mr. Culingrew [Killigrew] and uyeris pacifeit the apperand trublis, Ingland Scotland at this present had bene furneissand uncowthis and newis to France and uther cuntreis, all sic as had nevir ane penny in thair purses, and all Papistis and irne schoue weiraris and all maill contentis that luikit for weir boith with zow and ws, prayeit be God, are disapoyntit for yai belevit suirlie it suld have past redding. Thir personis abovewritten lykis littell of Mr. Culingrew. Your gret men on zour Bordouris callit him bot ane lettre beirar and he was callit in Berwick with sic as desyrit stump stamp my 'lord basket maker.' Notyeles at sindrie tymes he hes done guid offices in this realme, and he is marvellous weill luiffiit with all sick as feires God and lovis peace. My lord Regentis grace lykis weill of him and nocht without caus, for he hes pacifeit mony materis heir afoir thay come to wors. In witnes of his wirkis, quhat panis, quhat travellis and expenssis he maid to haist the wynning of the Castell of Edinburgh, quhair it was thocht be mony that ressavit the quenis majesteis wagis that it was our sone win. Sum sayis that the army was keipit togiddir on hir majesteis chargeis eftir it was win. Weill, my guid lord, praysit be be God, all is in guid tune. I mene sic ane man as is belovit with my lord Regentis grace, and sic as feiris God and luifis peace, and is belovit with oure ministeris, and that kennis perfictlie all oure Papistis irne schoue weiraris, and yat trowis and belevis in wechis and warlayis—ane hie witche is ane warla. I say for me gif ze culd find out sic ane to spare to send heir schoirlie it wald serve for mekill and mair nor your lordship luikit for, for quhen materis is past redding it is evill to mend. My Lord Regentis grace dois guid justice: there is mony gret men heir with him at yis present. All greis weill praisit be God. My Lord of Angus beis mareit upoun the erll of Rothes dochter on the xv day of December. My guid Lord of Hunnisdane hangis all oure thevis. He takis als gret plesur to caus hang thevis as uyer men in halking and hunting. Thair hes bene ane slauchter heir of xv men of the erll of Mentethis be ane gentill man callit ye Laird of Lekkie upoun ane suddantie, bot it will mak na stimp stamp." Edinburgh. *Unsigned.*

Postscript.—"All sic as luikit for stimp stampt and belevit it suld have bene ane hant cant warld ar sorie that the Laird of Carmichell is cum home. The twelf of this moneth thair meitis at Kelso my Lord Ruthven, the Lord Hereis, the Justice Clerk, and Carmichell with my Lord Hunnisdane and your commissioners. My Lord Regentis grace passes to the Bordours ye xvj day of this moneth, and hes tane up baith horsmen and futemen to pass on the thevis."

1½ *pp.* *Addressed:* "To my verie speciall guid Lord my Lord Heiche thesaurer of Ingland." *Indorsed by Burghley:* "Captan Cockburn"; *and* (by Burghley's clerk).

Nov. 4. **209.** THE REGENT MORTON TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

Now I have "deliberate" to ride myself to the Borders with some power for suppressing the insolence of the thieves, of whom a great number have not ceased to make nightly incursions into England and Scotland continually since the Reidswyre. My mind is to

Elizabeth.
1575. be at Dumfries, God willing, the 16th of this month, and besides my own travail, which will not be a little "fashieux" and expensive, I have levied some force both of horsemen and footmen to leave behind me for suppressing of the fugitives, if any shall remain inobedient after my returning; so that I mean to leave nothing undone, lying in me, that may repress the thieves, disturbers of the peace, and continue the quietness and amity to the weal of both realms.

I have agreed to the meeting, before that day, at Fowlden, on either side, at the Reidswyre, and understanding that my Lord Governor of Berwick takes with him and Sir John Foster, Mr. Marshal of Berwick,* and John Selby, I have appointed the Lord Ruthven, Treasurer of Scotland, Sir James Hume of Coldenknowes, Warden of the East March, my cousin John Carmichael, and the Laird of Trabroun to meet them, who I hope will shortly bring things committed to their order to a good conclusion.

I have looked for some answer before now to the notes that I delivered to you; which answer I pray you heartily that I may have with the first [post], or your opinion when I shall look for the same. You advise me to send thither Mr. Nicholas Elphinstone, "quhairwith" having advised, I see no cause whereupon to direct him, but if you think his presence there requisite, I pray you for your opinion for what occasion you think I shall direct him, "seing I wold be laith that his cuming suld be erandles, or that he suld returne unexped in thay thingis quhairin I wer to employ him, in quhilk cais it wer bettir nor to direct him."

I have within these two days received a tale from my Lord Hunsdon of your hawks that were taken from your servant in Northumberland, which he advertises came into Scotland and were in the house of the Laird of of Hunthill in Teviotdale, beside Jedburgh. That matter, you may assure yourself, shall be tried, and if the offence shall be found with Scottish men they shall not escape punishment. If it be the fact of Englishmen I must remit it to the "memorie" of you and such as have received the injury. My lord governor† bids send the hawks to him, but if they be gotten I trust they shall tarry your own direction.

I think I have cause to thank you for Carmichael's speedy release; howbeit I have not heard of it from yourself. Her majesty, I perceive by her letters, has been moved to be satisfied with my proceedings for the contentation of her highness in honour, and to conceive good opinion of Carmichael, which I trust he will study from henceforth to deserve, aye better and better, and for my part I think never to be unmindful of her majesty's gracious and favourable dealing at this time.

I have written to Mr. Secretary Walsingham something of the robbing of our Scottish merchants this last "oulk," beside Belfurde, passing through on my lord governor's† passport, whereof I trust you shall have heard before my letter comes to your hands. The matter begins to break out already. "I wilbe laith to be ane accusair," but, in respect of the circumstances, the matter is strange. Our thieves are neither accustomed to war-corselets of harness nor

* Sir Robert Constable. † Hunsdon.

Elizabeth.
1575. "fedderis" in their hats. Howbeit, it has been said that our merchants' horses and purses went after your hawks.

I have also written something to my Lord High Treasurer anent the counterfeiters of our money on the Borders of England, and have sent the names of the authors and aiders of that trade, against which there is a special Act in the Queen's majesty's own reign. This comes on the examination of Lawrence Nicholaii, the Italian goldsmith, who dwelt in Berwick, who, by direction of the Council, was lately delivered to me after your departure. Of which matter I must pray you to put his lordship in mind, that by his good means some good order may be provided against the authors of such an unlawful and treasonable trade; especially that a pair of stamps for 30s. pieces Scots, remaining in Heisleside's hands, and such other coining irons and tools for our money as he has, may be gotten from him and delivered to such as I shall direct for them, so that the same be not further used hereafter; "quhairwith" I wish a concurrence in the punishment of such offenders of both the nations; for, although the making of our money is only as yet confessed, yet they pressed him to have wrought English coin. Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Your loving and assurit freind, James Regent."

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 70. Extracts from the same.

Nov. 10. **210.** MARGARET COUNTESS OF LENNOX TO MARY.

C.P., vol. X. "Yt may plese your majesti," I have received your token and mind both by your letter and other ways, much to my comfort, specially perceiving what zealous natural care your majesty has of our sweet and peerless jewel,* in Scotland, not little to my content. I have been no less fearful than careful as your majesty of him, that the wicked governor should not have power to "dowyll" to his person, whom God preserve from his enemies. No time I neglected, but presently, upon the receipt of your majesty's, the Court being far off, I sent our trusty, who had done so much as if myself had been there, both to understand the state present and for prevention of evil to come. He has dealt with such as both may and will have regard for our jewel's preservation, and will use a bridle to the wicked when need requires. I beseech your majesty fear not, but trust in God that all there shall be well. The treachery of your traitor is known better than before. I shall always play my part to your content, God willing, so that [it] may tend to both our comforts. I yield your majesty my most humble thanks for your good remembrance and bounty to our little daughter†—her who some day may serve your highness. Hackney. *Signed:* "Your majesti's most humble and loveying mothere and awn, M. L."

1⅔ *pp.* *Holograph.* *No address.* *Indorsed:* "The Countesse of Lennox to the Q. of Scotes."

* James VI. † Lady Arbella Stewart.

Elizabeth.
1575. Postscript to the same:—

(Elizabeth Countess of Lennox* to Mary.)

I most humbly thank your majesty that it has pleased your highness to remember me, your poor servant, both with a token and in my lady's grace's letter, which is not little to my comfort. I can but wish and pray God for your long and happy estate till time I may do your majesty better service, which I think long to do, and shall always be as ready thereto as any servant your majesty has, according as by duty I am bound. I beseech your highness' pardon these rude lines, and accept the good heart of the writer, who loves and honours your majesty unfeignedly. *Signed:* E. Lennox.

⅓ *p. Holograph. No address, &c.*

Nov. 18. **211.** SIR OWEN HOPTON TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X. Has sundry times examined Hamilton wherefore he was sent to Scotland. Has sent the interrogatories he ministered to him. Beseeches him to be especially good to those who have best deserved in confessing their faults, for if those who are obstinate that they will confess nothing may be as soon discharged as the others, it will, he fears, be a hard example for others hereafter. The Tower. *Signed:* Owyn Hopton.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Inclosure with the same:—

(Examination of Alexander Hamilton.)

16 November, 1575.—"Interogatories to be ministred to M^r^ Hamelton."

(1) Wherefore he was sent to Scotland about a year past? How long he tarried there, and with what persons of honour and credit he had conference besides the Regent? (3) What letters or messages he carried from the Queen of Scots or any other? (4) What he is further able to say touching those things whereof he has been already examined? wherein, if he does not declare a further truth, it will be a cause of his further punishment.

18 November, 1575.—"The answeres of M^r^ Alex^r^ Hammylton to the interrogatories above specified."

(1) He was not sent to Scotland; but his father being then sick sent a letter for him. Which letter came to his lord's† hands, who delivered the same to him. Sent the writing to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, desiring a passport to visit his father; which his honour granted, and he immediately went thither with a writing from his lord to the Regent.

(2) He departed from Handsworth on Michaelmas Day was twelve months, and the eighth day thereafter he came to the Regent by Dalkeith before he saw his father or any of his friends, and there he desired the Regent to try him of that late suspicion whereof he was accused by a Scottish boy. After his grace had conferred with him he caused him to ride to visit his father, and appointed him to

* Daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury. † Earl of Shrewsbury.

Elizabeth.
1575. return to his grace within twelve days; which he did. Whilst his grace took further trial of the suspicion he appointed him to go to the university of St. Andrews, where he continued deadly sick till January, and then returned to the Regent, who could find no matter at all against him. Moreover, he prayed the Regent to write to his lord to disburden him of his promise which Walsingham caused him to make, that he should return. Was content to remain in Scotland, but the Regent did not think that best, and sent him again to his lord with a letter. So he returned on the 7th of February to Rotherham [Roddram], where he tarried with his lord's servants whilst his lord sent for him. All which time he had no conference with any saving the Duke's grace [Chatelherault] and his sons, who were then at Hamilton, where his father dwelt, and also with Lord Livingston, to whom he spoke for certain hawks for his lord.

(3) Carried neither letter nor message from the Queen's majesty of Scotland to any person there, nor from them to her, for he was not permitted to come where her majesty is since Whitsuntide was twelve months. Neither from any other did he carry any letter or message.

(4) Has already said what in truth he can.

1½ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "1575, The examination of Alexander Hamilton taken by M[r] Lieutenant the 16 of November."

Nov. 22. **212.** WALSINGHAM TO THE REGENT MORTON.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 155. Received his letters of the 4th instant, by which he perceives he takes in very good part the imparting to him such foreign news as they receive from the Queen of England's ministers abroad, and are for sundry respects most necessary to be understood by his grace, supplying the place he does. According to his request, the Queen of England has given order that the wardens should assist him in clensing the frontiers and Borders of both realms of malefactors, whereby the common peace may be the better preserved.

Perceives by his letters to Mr. Killigrew that he stands in some doubt to send hither Mr. Nicholas Elphinstone, for that he [Morton] fears his voyage would be fruitless. Notwithstanding, he [Walsingham] and some of his grace's friends, who wish some sound knot of friendship to be knit between the two realms, cannot but encourage him to send him hither; not doubting but by the good direction he shall receive here from such as are affected to the said friendship touching the course of his negotiation, there will fall out such good effects thereof, that his grace, he hopes, will have no cause to repeat the sending of him hither. Could wish that he might be here about Christmas. The Court, at Windsor. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

⅔ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[Dec.] **213.** REQUESTS MADE BY MARY.

C.P., vol. X. "Memoire de la requeste faicte par la Royne d'Escosse, Douairiere de France, a la Royne d'angleterre sa bonne seur, en laquelle a prie le Roy treschristien dy voulloir intercedder de sa priere envers la dite Royne d'Angleterre comme amy commun pour obtenir ce que s'ensuict."

Elizabeth.
1575. (1) To command Monsieur de Mauvissière, his ambassador ordinary, and Monsieur De La Mothe Fénélon to make instance to the Queen of England to allow the Queen of Scotland, considering her continual indisposition, to go after Easter to the baths of Buxton. (2) To grant a passport to the Sieur de Lugerie, the Queen of Scotlands' premier doctor, together with an apothecary and another, to assist the Queen of Scotland. (3) To grant a passport for Mademoiselle de Rallay and an embroiderer to give more means to the Queen of Scotland to pass the time. (5) The Queen of Scotland begs the Queen of England to write to the Earl of Shrewsbury to send her to the baths [*&c., as above*].

1 *p. French. Indorsed:* "Memoire de la requeste faicte [par] la Royne d'Escosse."

Dec. 16. **214.** USURPATIONS BY LORD ROBERT STEWART.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 161. "Followis certane articles and informationis of the wrangus usurpatioun of the Kingis Majesties auctoritie and oppressioun committit be Lord Robert Stewart, fewar of Orknay and Zetland, as efter followis. The quhilk we tak in hand to prove. Quhilkis haill pointis and articles concernis the Kingis majestie in speciall."

First;—the said Lord Robert considering the manifest tyrannies, wrongs, and oppression done by him, his deputies, and servitors, of his causing, on the poor inhabitants of Orkney and Zetland, and fearing God's judgments and just punishment to be poured on him by means of some righteous Regent of Scotland, for subterfuge and to avoid punishment for his offences, directed to his master of household, Gawin Elphinstoun, and Henry Sinclair, his chamberlain, to the King of Denmark with express commission under his great seal and "handwritt" to render to the King the supremacy and dominion of Orkney and Zetland, as free as they were of old annexed to the crown of Denmark, and that upon such condition as in the said commisson was contained, which was done in 1572. According to which the said Gawin obtained for Lord Robert the said King's confirmation and gift of the said countries, and sent the same to him by Hans Corsman, "brevier," inclosed in a "bolt of Holene claith," and also sent one Lawrence Carnes to be "lawman," according to the said King's direction.

By inbringing of new laws and "consuetudis" forged from the laws of Norway, never before received in Orkney, and abrogating of the old laws and statutes of Scotland. Viz., as in inbringing of Lawrence Carnes, "lawman," directed by the King of Denmark at Lord Robert's suit, without licence of the King and Regent; in making a law in "swyne vritting," which will extend to the sum of 1500 dollars in one year, taken up in Zetland by Orkney. Another law that sisters should not be "lowsit of thair heid bull" and divers others, which cannot be denied.

By uptaking of the King's majesty's customs, tolls, and victuals of Zetland "but" commission, and not contained in his infeftment, which will exceed 500 angels yearly. In compelling the "doggar boittis" and other fishers of Scotland to pay great toll to him, "and takkis by auld use and want, viz., ilk boitt ane angell noble, ane hundreth fische and twa bollis salt." In usurping the office of

Elizabeth.
1575. admiralty, in apprehending, imprisoning, adjudging, justifying of alleged pirates, and uptaking of their escheated goods, and sitting upon all "sey faring actioun," as he did in "schippis taking" by his household men and his "feallis," viz. Patrick Blacater, John Hwme, Edward Blacater, Matthew Aikman, David Wittie, James Corsbie, David Cathcart, Henry Balfoure, Robert Stevinstoun and other pirates, of Englishmen, to the number of nine great ships laden with precious gear, which will extend to more than 100,000*l.*; and two English ships taken in Zetland, one of them kept as yet to his own commodity, the other, after she was spoiled of her whole goods, gear, and artillery, rendered again to the pirates, notwithstanding they were condemned as common pirates.

By partaking with the pirates in furnishing and "reking" them to the sea in piracy with men, victuals, and "invintioun," and receiving and maintaining of their goods and gear reft in their piracy, and giving his band of maintenance to the most part of the persons above-written, and others. In taking of the King's officers of arms and other executors of his majesty's letters and charges, and putting them in prison and captivity, as he did to William Coninghame.

By compelling the King's lieges to depart out of the country where they were born and dwelt, without any order of law, as he did to Mr. William Mowdy, Manis Mowdy, John Giffert, Walter Spens, Ola Sinclair of Brow and his bairns, William Sinclair, and others.

By directing of precepts, charges, and proclamations absolutely in his own name against the King's lieges, and giving sentences without trial or judicial cognition, and usurping of princely power in that behalf and in all others his "adois," and in special where he alleges himself to be "alstrie" lord and heritor of Orkney and Zetland as the King of Scotland is in his own realm, or the Queen of England, or the King of France, and makes his vaunt that in case he be put at by the King of Scots' authority he will put the whole country into the King of Denmark's hands.

In oppressing the King's lieges of Orkney and Zetland by compelling them to make him and his household, to the number of six or seven score, "bankettis and great cheir" at their own expenses. By making and setting of new "takkes and gresswmes" on the poor lieges, and compelling them to pay to him great sums of money far by the old order of the country, which will wreck the whole commons if some remedy be not put thereto. In compelling the "mort doe men" of the country to discharge and quit claim their heritage and possession to eschew his tyranny, as he did to Margaret Sinclair, Mr. Magnus Halcra, Oliver Sinclair of Estaquhy, William Sinclair of Garsettar, Margaret Ryd of Brugh, "Hew" Sinclair of Strolmen, and others. In appropriating the common moors and pastures of Orkney, common before to the whole country, to himself, whereby he means to oppress the country, and by way of "purprusioun" to escheat the whole "unthall" lands. In disposing of benefices of the country, vacant, at the King's gift, to such as he pleases, by his privy gift and provision, as he did in disponing the vicarages of St. Ola, Holme, Unststatsea, Nesting, Walls [Waus], and others. In stopping the burgesses of Kirkwall, being the King's free burgh, from being free, and their old liberties, and from buying skin, hide, butter, oil, and such wares in the country without his leave, and in making all such as he pleases

Elizabeth.
1575. to be free to use merchandise without the privilege of the burgh. In compelling beneficed men to set their benefices to him, otherwise to leave the country, as he did to Mr. Alexander Thomson "be striking of him be William Hwme suldart efter he come out of the pulpett," Mr. James Maxwell, and others. In usurping the office of justiciary without commission, he being but a simple sheriff, in judging of persons for old crimes, as theft, slaughter, and oppression; such as he did to William Wischert, "being deid ane zeir afoir his entres, condempnit him in effugie and confiscat his haill guidis and geir." In uptaking of the "wrak and watche" of the whole countries of Orkney and Zetland without commission, which will extend since his "entres" to better than 10,000 marks. In making of new acts and statutes by his own authority, that none should bring home boats to Zetland nor sell them but according to his act, "quhilk failzeing, to be in my lordis will"; and by reason that some of the countrymen had broken the aforesaid act, as he alleged, he took 24 score dollars from James Tait, "Barthill" Strang, David Scott. John Viddes, Henry Spens, and Peter Nisbit. In alteration of the old weigh of the "bismyre and pondler" of Orkney, by making the same the fifth part more than it was before—except the "beir pondler."

By taking and pursuing the King's free lieges out of their own houses under silence of night, and putting their persons in prison, besides the spoliation of their whole goods and gear, as he did to William Hacra, John Giffert, Mr. William Mowdie, Manis Mowdie, Mr. Thomas Benestoun, and others.

In usurpation of the King's authority by pardoning, remitting, and forgiving of condemned and convicted persons for recent slaughter, theft, piracy, and such capital crimes; as he did to John Sutherland, [ ] Strachan, John Millair, John Murray, in Zetland, Thomas Bayane, who slew one Patrick Windien in the lord's presence, at his last being in Zetland, the said Thomas being kept prisoner for six weeks was put at liberty and sent to Norway; and "siclike" for theft, Alexander Sinclair in Strommes, William Clowstane and others for piracy; Mr. John Hwme, James Corsbie, Alexander M^cCulloch, Alexander Murray, and many others pardoned for piracy.

By imprisoning and warding the King's lieges in the castles of Kirkwall and Hairdis without occasion or capital crime imputed to them, or trial; as he did to Mr. William Mowdie, Mr. Magnus Halcra, John Broun, James Bruce, Alexander Bruce, William Grote, "Hutcheoun" Crumettie, and many others. In stopping of all ferries and commanding by proclamation that none should be suffered to pass "but" his letter of licence and passport, in such sort that neither merchant nor countryman might pass or repass into Orkney and Zetland "but" his licence and writ, obtained by means or bribes. This act is "kepit" to this hour, that no complaints may pass to these parts.

In making of a law and statute that no man shall come out of Orkney and Zetland to complain of any wrong or oppression done in judgment or without, under pain of esheating of their whole lands, life, and goods. In compelling the countrymen to pay to him their "males, gresswmes, and restis," which the Comptroller had received from them in the King's and his mother's name; as Ola Sinclair and many others.

Elizabeth.
1575. In using of process of forfeiture upon dead men for capital crimes, and in escheating their lands and goods after their decease, as [if] he were King, by way of forfeiture; as he did to Sir James Sinclair in Zetland. In inbringing of Highland men and broken men to Orkney, who were old enemies and oppressors of the people before, and causing them to "sorne," oppress, and spoil the country, specially the isle of Gransay, and by stopping of countrymen to pursue them and put them off the land, alleging they were his own men and "feallis." By giving licence to men "to fecht singulair combattis"; as he did to one Ninian Dowgall and Alexander Belleman, George Wallace and William Culane, Michael Sinclair and Stephen Busbie, Gawin Elphinstoun and Patrick Clerk.

By compelling the assizemen to "fyle and clenge" persons accused at his pleasure, and if they refused, by "imputing" of his own household and domestic servants and soldiers on their assize, and so condemned innocent men at his private malice and desire; as he did to William Grahame, William Todrig, William Barres, and James Cowrons. In compelling the countrymen of Zetland to pay great composition for the alleged "resset" of Matthew Sinclair, not being at the horn, "attour" 500 dollars, viz., from Robert Wischeart, Walter Hill, Manis M Rethie, Ola Cumla, and Magnus Reid. In taking away "suckin" from the "auld unthall mylnis" of Orkney, "quhilkis wer observit of befoir unviolat."

By pronunciation of "wrangus," false judgments and sentences against the King's lieges, and causing his deputies thereafter to "reduce and retreat" the same; as he did to Andrew Mowat, Mr Robert Chene, and Andrew Hawick of Stratsa, and divers others, and by receiving from the said Andrew Mowat seven score of angel nobles and a chain of gold worth 40 angels; and from Mr. Robert Chene and Andrew Hawick 100 angels, and that by way of bribery for corrupting of justice.

As to the special points of oppression, reif, spoil, ejection, and such wrong dealings committed by the said lord, because the same concerns divers persons in particular, and not doubting but they will complain when it shall please the Regent's grace to give them place and free passage from Orkney and Zetland by sea and land—but the number of their complaints will be very large, odious, and fearful to be read—they refer the particulars thereof to be declared at length by the said persons, when it shall please the Regent by himself or his commissioners to take trial and inquisition in that behalf.

Item;—the said Lord Robert continuing in usurpation of the King's authority, and using both of the charges of admiralty and justiciary, caused a Court to be held at Skalloway Banks, in Zetland, on the [ ] day of June, 1574, and at the same "gart" call before him Gilbert M°Creith, David Leslie, James Leslie, Norman Leslie's brother, and Robert Trotter, who were "accusit and convict to the deathe" in the said Court for the spoliation of a ship of Emden, lying in the King's waters within Zetland, in the "parrochin" of Nesting, being driven in by storm "for lyff and deathe." Which ship the foresaid persons "buirdit" under silence of night and took forth of her 2000 Spanish "ryallis" or thereby, and a dozen "boltis" of Holand cloth, "and hir haill towis, ankeris, and saillis," putting the said men and ship to the sea in a great storm, "off quhome nane

Elizabeth.
1575. word wes gottin yerefter"; and the persons above written being convicted for this cruel deed, the said lord pardoned them "efter yai wer haldin twa houris at the gallous foote and ane tow about yer nek," and received from the said Gilbert therefor 1000 of the said rials and seven "boltis" of Holand cloth. Witness: John Hammyltoun; Arthur Sinclair; "Hew" Gordon; Walter Halcra; Henry Sinclair.

Item:—the said lord has "rasit the meill of fleshe" to 10*s*., whereas it was but 3*s* at his "entres" to Orkney, to the wreck of the whole country.

7¼ *pp. Indorsed*: "The first articles gevin aganis Lord Robart Stewart of Orknay." *Stained and torn.*

[Dec.] **215.** REQUESTS BY MARY.

C.P., vol. X. The Queen of Scotland begs the Queen her good sister to allow her to go to the baths at Buxton after Easter, and to grant one more master of the household and some gentleman to serve. Also Mademoiselle de Rallay to serve in the chamber, a valet de chambre, and an embroiderer to occupy her in doing something to pass her time.

⅓ *p. Indorsed:* "Pour la Royne d'Escosse."

Dec. 18. **216.** POINTS PROPOSED TO HENRY III. BY MARY.

C.P., vol. X. Memoir of the points proposed by the Bishop of Glasgow, councillor and ambassador ordinary of the Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, at the audience which he had of his most Christian majesty the 18th of December, 1575, to be given to Monsieur De La Mothe Fénélon on his journey into England.

Contains the same requests as Nos. 213 and 215.

1 *p. French. Indorsed:* "Memoire pour Monsieur De La Mothe Fénélon, pour la Rayne d'Escosse."

1575-6.
Jan. 9. **217.** [THE LAIRD OF KILSYTH] TO MONSIEUR PINART.

If their majesties shall resolve on that form of interview in private, which is offered to them, would it please him to have them consider such points as he has touched in his letter to the Queen mother, namely, that they intend to proceed therein in the most convenient and honourable fashion that their greatness and dignity may require, and that the other two points be agreed before he crosses the sea? However, if their majesties think it necessary to leave it till a fit time, he thinks it will be good to destroy the commercial affairs and some other kinds of obligations between these two realms, in order to thwart the practice of those who stongly insist that they send ambassadors of high quality from hence to the King of Spain. Sends the Countess of Montgomery's thanks for his goodwill, and her eldest daughter desires a passport, for she will not remain in England although there be [some] that desire to marry her.

⅔ *p. In Walsingham's hand. Part French. Indorsed:* "1575, Extract of letters intercepted, Kylsithe, Scoteland."

With No. 220.

Elizabeth.
1575-6. Jan. 12.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 72.

218. MONSIEUR MAUVISSIÈRE TO WALSINGHAM.

Fears he ever importunes him in all things. As occasions present themselves every day in this charge as much for the affairs and correspondences between these two commonwealths as for those of the Queen of Scotland, he has found no remedy but to use privately his courtesy, which he prays him to continue, and to believe that in his charge and in all other places where he shall have the means to employ himself for the continuation of what he has known in him, he will do it with all sincerity and with a good heart.

Begs him very affectionately to ask the Queen of England for a passport to let the Queen of Scots have four boxes of wearing apparel and clothes, which she has had made in France by her tailor, and other small articles of apparel proper and necessary for women, and two boxes of preserves, which her chancellor is sending her, and about fifty or sixty private letters as well from her relations, friends, and servants, as officers of her ambassador and others who manage her affairs, which have been brought to him to see them, and as he cannot put them into other hands than his, he begs him also to make the passport include two men servants of the tailor as far as Sheffield.

There is also a packet from Monsieur De La Mothe and a letter from the writer to the Queen of Scots, which are nothing but complimentary cards (cartes de complimens).

The Sieurs De La Mothe, De La Porte and he desire to confer with him and four other lords who shall be deputed to treat with them; and the news supervened as grievous as difficult to believe, they will be able to show him by proof that this should be a thing written without foundation; and that if it had been true, or that only there had been the least thing in the world, the Seurs De La Mothe and De La Porte being despatched thence with so mature a deliberation, their majesties* and the Duke† would have written them something to advertise them of the fact, or to answer to so bad news, which could well have been given to the English ambassador, and who would have had some reason not to scorn to write it. But it is quite credible also that God would wish them too much ill if there was anything in it. The same day that the messenger set out from Paris he brought him a letter from Monsieur Pinart and other friends of his, who do not make any mention of it, which makes him think that if there had been anything they would have informed him of it.

1½ *pp. French. Copy. At the head:* "From S[r] Castelneau to Secretayre Francis Walsingham."

Jan. 23. **219.** DIAL OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

"A Diall with a watche wherin upon the cover of the boxe opening over the houers was the figure"—(1) *The sun and stars, and on a scroll,* "Sa vertu m'atire"; (2) *A tree, underneath a skull,* "Pietas revocabit ab orco"; (3) *Diall of a watch on which the moon and stars and a castle are inscribed, and on a scroll,* "Que cecidere resurgant." "About the sides of the Diall"—*a mound surmounted with a tree, buildings and hills in the background; motto,* "Per vincula

* The King of France and Queen mother.
† François Duke of Alençon, afterwards Duke of Anjou.

Elizabeth.
1575-6. crescet," *with* "the armes of France and Scotland." *A palm-tree surmounted with a scroll and* "Ponderibus virtus innata resistet," *with* the arms of France and Scotland. *A castle and a hill, on the latter a shrub, and across the whole is a large* "W," *same arms, motto* "Ut superis visum." *Two castles with a flowering shrub between them; motto,* "Fructus calcata dat amplos"; *same arms.* "The botome of the Diall"; *a scroll with the motto,* "Ipsa sic lumen quod invidet aufert"; *underneath, an eclipse of the moon.*

2½ *pp. Neatly drawn in ink. Indorsed:* "Janu. 23, 1575. Devices about a Diall of the Q. of Scottes."

Cott. MSS. Calig., C. V., fol. 73. Copy of the same.

Feb. 7. **220.** [ ] TO MONSIEUR PINART.

Thought good to advertise him that he is in readiness to depart to Scotland. Continues of the same mind that he left him in, and shall declare the same when time serves elsewhere in his faithful service to "A." and him. Prays him to let him know his good estate. None will be readier than he to do him pleasure, yea, not the nearest friend he has in Scotland, as far as his presence may extend. Prove when he pleases. Has received writings from Scotland, and will let him know the estate thereof by a bearer who will shortly see him in matters which he will not write. Doubts not that he will forget to pursue the business that he spoke to him for, and hopes there needs no other request in that matter other than his lordship's self, for he will only write that cause to him, thinking he has no greater friend, although he has not yet deserved such houour at his hands. Thinks to make longer discourse with one who shortly will give credit written to him. London. *Signed:* "Ye wait wha."

1 *p. Indorsed with No. 217.*

Feb. 12. **221.** WALSINGHAM TO THE REGENT MORTON.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 165. Thanks him for his thankful accepting of his letters. He may assure himself that he will not fail from time to time to impart to him such occurrences as shall come to his hands, knowing how necessary it is for him to understand how things pass in other countries in this dangerous time, subject to so many evil and dangerous practices against the professors of the Gospel. Hopes their malice shall soon be bridled.

It has pleased God lately to bless the Prince of Orange with victory, as he will see by the inclosed occurrents. God make them thankful for the same, and kindle in them an earnest zeal to present their hearty prayes to Him in recommendation of this poor Prince, that he may serve for God's good instrument to the suppressing of God's enemies.

His grace had heard from the Queen of England, but that she is presently entertained with the consideration of the disordered state of Ireland. As soon as order is taken in that behalf her majesty means to grow to some resolution touching the answering of such things as were propounded by his grace, which he hopes will be to his satisfaction. London. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1575-6.
Feb. 26.

222. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE REGENT MORTON.

Understanding the great panes and care he has always taken to see justice done betwixt the subjects of England and Scotland in all complaints and injuries offered on both sides, whereby the peace of both countries has been and may be the best preserved, cannot but render to him their right hearty thanks, assuring him that they shall not fail to concur with him, and desire him to continue his former care and good disposition in such causes whereof they have been advertised from the Lords Wardens of her majesty's Borders, and especially by Lord Scrope. Notwithstanding, they have been informed that the Grames, on this side, who in time past have been at deadly feud with the Maxwells, on the other side, to the great trouble of both the realms, and since, by mediation, were made friends, and so continued thirteen or fourteen years, upon which agreement the Maxwells were content to suffer the Grames to pasture their cattle on the Scottish ground; which use has continued ever since by sufferance, perhaps, and agreement indeed, as the Maxwells cannot deny, rather [than] by any strict point of law—for, as they are given to understand, the law is to the contrary, and the Warden right to have the forfeit thereof—in this manner the Grames having since the time of the agreement used this liberty, about Christmas last, without any forewarning, as they say, Lord Maxwell's brother and divers with him, at the commandment (as it is thought) of Lord Maxwell, Lord Warden, have driven and carried away four score oxen, kine and sheep, and eight or ten horses and mares of the Grames, to their utter ruin. Forasmuch as the Grames, by the report of the Lord Warden, be at present civil people and content to live in order and quiet, and to be answerable to the law more than heretofore they were, have been moved to desire him to take some good order with Lord Maxwell that they may be restored to their goods again, to the intent that neither the old quarrels may be renewed nor any new begun, if Lord Maxwell shall not think meet that the Grames should use any longer to feed on the Scottish grounds, then they think it very reasonable that some open warning should be given to them to forbear; and if they then should attempt to do it, it might be on their own peril. But if no such thing has as yet been done (as it is said there was not), they think it very hard that after so long a time and friendly agreement any advantage should be taken on the sudden, whereby quarrels appear to be rather sought to be renewed than peace and friendship continued, and, therefore, earnestly desire him to take such order therein as he shall think best for the quiet of both the realms. Westminster.

1¾ *pp. Copy. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "26 Febru. 1575. M[inute] to the L. Regent of Scotland in the behalf of the Graymes."

Feb. 28.

223. SIR ROBERT CONSTABLE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 69.

The Regent lies at Edinburgh still, and has not "faished" yet his justice seat, as they call it there, which is not only for the determination of causes between party and party for trial of land, but also for execution of life and death for all kinds of offences, and, by report, the like execution was never done by any man that ever had rule in

Elizabeth.
1575-6. Scotland. How it is liked of in the country there is very little speech of it. It has continued this month, and in it has been also an assessment for money of the town of Edinburgh, which as yet is not granted. The common people of the town somewhat mislike of it; but it is thought it will take effect well enough.

When the Regent has finished these causes at Edinburgh he minds to come into Tividale, to Jedburgh, and there to lie a season for the punishment of such lewd and naughty persons as are troublesome to both the nations.

½ *p. Extract. In the hand of* (Burghley's clerk). *At the head:* "xxviij° Feb. 1575. Ex originali from the Marshall of Barwick Sir Ro. Constable to the Lords of the Counsell."

March 10. **224.** MARY TO THE SIEUR DOLU.

C.P., vol. X. Has learnt by his letters of the 14th and 15th ult. of his arrival at London, and by that of the 2nd instant of the refusal they have made for him to come to her and bring his accounts, and to inform her particularly of the administration of his charge. Desires to be informed of the duty he has done to the present time, wherewith, truly, she is not very content for several reasons. Writes to Mons. de Mauvissèire to beg the Queen of England to grant her his passport. Thinks that so just a request will not be denied. If they make difficulty he is to let her have by Hanniball the 1000 crowns which he has brought her, and the money for the wages of her officers who are about her, the acquittances and discharges for which she will send him with her estates, and full answer to all that which he has written to her, by Floreat, her "tapissier," desiring for that effect that he would leave his agent at London to receive her despatch, without her affairs being communicated to everyone, as generally happens when her letters pass through so many hands. As regards the money he sent to the hands of the late Cardinal of Lorraine, her uncle, and other parties who are bound to him in his preceding accounts, she does not intend to discharge him thereof as he has not cleared up hers.

Therefore, he is to think of some manner of rendering her so good proof of his duty in this matter, that instead of his complaining of the little recompense he says he has received in her service, she may not continue dissatisfied with the diminution of her revenue and the losses she has sustained by his negligence. Sheffield. *Signed:* Marie R.

Postscript.—Is not to fail to deliver to James Lauder, her *valet de chambre,* 200 livres for his pension for the past year ended in December, according to the office she has made where he is employed.

1 *p. French. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

March 12. **225.** MARY TO MONSIEUR DE MAUVISSIÈRE.

C.P., vol. X. Has learnt by his letters of the 15th of last month what it has pleased the Queen of England to grant her upon what he and Monsieur De La Mothe propounded to her for her by the commandment of the King of France, for which she feels very much obliged to both, and begs him to thank them, excusing her to them for not being able to write to them by reason of her indisposition, which increases from day to day, so that the sooner she can use the baths of Buxton it

Elizabeth.
1575-6. will be the better for her, and for this reason she asks her physician to use the best diligence he can to set out thither, and to resort to him as soon as he arrives at London to have leave to pass forthwith to her, assuring herself that he [Mauvissière] will aid him.

Nau lately told him of the state of her health, much impaired by a tertian fever, which still keeps her in great weakness. Has been troubled since with an extreme pain in her bad side, and on Friday last there befel her a catarrh on the face by taking the air the same day that she had taken medicine, which makes her again lie in bed now. But hopes that it will be nothing, and that she will be quite well in the spring, after she has bathed.

Is very sorry that her treasurer has not been able to obtain his passport to bring her his accounts, and to inform her of the administration of his charge and government of her dowry, being the only matter and negotiation that he has to treat with her. Begs him to speak again to the Queen of England on her behalf, and to press her to permit her to understand the state of her affairs either by her said treasurer or by his agent, it being necessary that one or the other come hither to receive her states, which she has deferred till their arrival, and to pay the wages of her officers who are with her. Assures herself that Mr. Walsingham will help if he considers how much it concerns her to know the order they keep in the management of her affairs, since she has reserved to herself the superintendence of them, without wishing to change one of her relations. Furthermore, she offers to negotiate only with him who shall come, in the presence of such as they shall wish to appoint for that effect, to avoid all suspicion, which cannot be great, it appears to her, in a person of such quality.

As regards Hannibal's passport, it has already been granted to her, and she thinks they will not now make any difficulty, seeing that he is coming in place of her tapistry-maker, who will set out as soon as the other has arrived.

His letters have been given to her very tardily, and she cannot but think that they have been retained at the Court, inasmuch as she has received [one] from Dolu of the 2nd instant in the same packet as was made anew. What she finds more strange is, that he should have received her last letter, of the 12th of February, with the present she sent to the Queen, her good sister, by those who lately accompanied her works, of which she has not had any news.

Hopes that this will be at his first commodity, and that he will send her by the same means that which her secretary has sent by her commandment. Thanks him for his news, and is very glad of the happy issue that they hope for the troubles of France. Requests him to make her affectionate commendations to Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, and his good friend Mr. Walsingham. Sheffield. *Signed:* Marie.

1¾ *pp. French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 15. **226.** ALEXANDER HAY TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

Since your passing to Cornwall we have not here heard from you nor understood of your return, howbeit I am assured your welfare is earnestly wished for by many honest men here. I declared to my Lord

Elizabeth.
1575-6. Lindsay the goodwill you bore to satisfy him in the errand wherewith he charged you, and that default was not in you of the non-expedition. He writes himself to you, although the letter be of an old date. You will answer it as you find time. As to the poor man's suit against my Lord Robert [Stewart], the time were very proper if any would take the pains to come and pursue it, for my Lord Robert is still in Edinburgh Castle, and no great hope of his speedy delivery. Mr. Nicholas Elphinstone was "anys at poynt of his directioun, wer not M^r^ Secretary Walsinghame thocht not the tyme fully convenient." His grace has since written to my Lord Governor of Berwick specially touching the matter of the false coin of both our sovereigns coined on the Borders of England. It is thought by some that the matter shall not be well tried if some of good judgment and authority be not sent either from the Court or from York to enquire of that pest, which is judged to be far proceeded, and many to be touched therewith in Northumberland. The Laird of Carmichael is in Teviotdale, occupied to entertain quietness. Many means, as we hear, are sought and laid out to trouble things; specially of late they of Tynedale have made an incursion upon my Lord of Angus's lands of Jedburgh forest, but nothing, I understand, will be attempted otherways than to seek redress by justice. Here, praised be God, there is no manner of alteration. The Regent's grace has continued at Edinburgh since he returned from Dumfries and is now at Dalkeith. My Lord of Argyll and sundry other noblemen have accompanied him this winter. The misliking and murmuring of Edinburgh is much qualified, for his grace of benevolence has superseded the "justice aer" till October. Adam Gordon is yet in the Castle of Blackness. If anything concerning religion be of late set out I will look for it by your good means. Edinburgh. *Signed:* A. Hay.

Postscript.—It has pleased Mr. Secretary Walsingham to write twice to me since he went into Cornwall, whereupon I have taken the boldness to direct these letters to him. Your worship may well assure him of my lawful service "liand" in my poor power. I must further burden your worship to "caus deliver" my letter to Mr. Straquhyn.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1576.
April 24. **227.** MARGARET COUNTESS OF LENNOX TO LORD RUTHVEN.

Takes no small comfort to hear of her sweet jewel, the King's majesty. This is the first she has written since her son's death. Has been persuaded by some friends here ere now to have sent to know how the state stands of the earldom of Lennox, becanse her son has left a daughter behind him. Desires advertisement from him whether his daughter be heritable to the land or not. Her husband made good assurance to her in dower for the most part of the lands of Lennox and Darnley. Prays him to procure and send her a perfect pedigree of the descent of the Earls of Lennox from the first of the house, with arms and matches in marriage, for she is about a monument which requires the help thereof. Hackney,

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "The coppy of her grace's letter to the Lorde Ruthen."

Elizabeth.
1576.
May 27.

228. THE REGENT MORTON TO BURGHLEY.

"Rycht honorable and my verie gude lord," it is now a long time since I heard anything from your lordship, neither had I great occasion to trouble you with my frequent letters, *etc.* Some things I moved to the Queen's majesty, partly by my own letters and partly by Mr. Henry Killigrew, her late ambassador here, whereanent as yet I have received no answer of her goodwill and pleasure, and therefore will "effectuuslie" pray your lordship to be a furtherer of the resolution of those points, and that I may be advertised thereof as soon as conveniently may be.

I am further to crave your lordship's favour in a matter wherewith I would be loth to "inquiet" you if otherwise I might have any reasonable order in it. The redress of the goods taken on either side at the uuhappy accident of the Reidswyre was appointed by the order of certain commissioners on either side, who met at Fowlden in November last, but the same as yet has not taken full effect, partly because the "billis" of Tynedale and Riddisdale are sworn to far greater quantity of goods than ever came into Scotland, and partly because sundry of the horses and goods taken, being brought to the place appointed for delivery, and offered to be rendered, were refused, "sic as wanted thame rather claming the hiech prices that they had sworne thame unto, nor the horsses and guidis thame selffis." Whereupon I travailed with Sir John Foster, Warden of the Middle March of England, for some "squair dred" anent that which "restit" on either side. But he excused himself, for that the agreement was not made by him as Warden, but by the order of commissioners. My suit is, therefore, that by your good means direction may pass either from the Queen's majesty or the Council to Sir John in this matter, that he take "a squair and summar" order for ending of the matter of redress of goods taken that day, unburdening me with anything further than came indeed within Scotland, and that the owners of the horses may be compelled to receive their own horses again, and not to "stand" in claiming the sworn prices where the principal goods are extant and ready to be delivered, *etc,*

"Howsone" the troubles in France and Flanders shall draw to any point I will look by your good means not only to be advertised, but advised thereanent, since both our States are subject to the self same injuries and malice.

Lastly;—I may not omit to give your lordship warning how I smell an intention of some new trouble by a "giving up," or defiance, as they term it, sent by Mr. Fenwick, in Northumberland, to the Rutherfords, Scottish men,—a dealing that seems to me over presumptuous for any subject where so good affection to continue unity remains betwixt our sovereigns and both the States; whereanent I pray your lordship to further such "tymous" order to be put that it may appear how far that dealing "mislikes" her majesty and your lordship, and that the attempter may find himself both admonished and corrected. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 81.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Extracts from the same.

Elizabeth.
1576. June 8.

229. COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X.

Is sorry she could not speak with him, by reason of her sudden departure, to have yielded hearty thanks for his so friendly dealing towards her, which, as she cannot forget, so she requires him to take this letter in good part, with assurance of her lord's goodwill and hers, as of any friends he has, if in anything they may stand him in stead.

Whereas her majesty's pleasure is that the Scottish Queen shall presently to Buxton, she requires him to procure a warrant for her lord's discharge in that behalf. Leicester House. *Signed:* E. Shrouesbury.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 20. **230.** THE REGENT MORTON TO BURGHLEY.

Last summer he sent for the bearer, Mr. George Halkett, conservator of the privileges of Scotland in Flanders, to come to Scotland for his [the Regent's] information concerning the state of their merchants "hanting" the Low Countries, whether he, having well satisfied him after his tarry in Scotland almost a year, returns to his charge. Finding the passage most sure through England, he has recommended him by his letter to the Queen of England for his passport, wherewith he prays that by his means the same may be furthered. The cause why he has appointed him to take journey that way, and that he so earnestly craves for his sure passage, is the desire he has for his safe and speedy return to Flanders as well for the matters concerning the whole estate of their merchants as for some particular things to his [the Regent's] own use. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

July 10. **231.** ATHOLL TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 132.

The Catholics in these parts are affected with no small sorrow. because their affairs cannot be brought to the desired end, for lack of auxiliary forces. Without foreign aid there is no hope of any good either for the glory of God or for the profit of him or his friends. All his friends expect some good hope by his aid from the place where he is.

½ *p. Latin. Extract.*

July 15. **232.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE REGENT MORTON.

Upon your letters sent to us not long since, touching the repair of the misorder committed at the Reedswire, wherein your lordship found some misliking in certain points, we wrote our letters forthwith to Sir John Foster, to whom the execution of that which was set down by the rest of the commissioners was committed, and earnestly requested him not only to cause all those doings to be ordered uprightly, but to use all other good offices that maintain and increase the amity betwixt both realms, and upon his coming hither now for certain his own affairs, we have called him before us to make answer

Elizabeth.
1576. to the particular points of your lordship's said letter. And first, touching the liberal swearing alleged to be on the English part, he answered that nothing was sworn but according to the order made by the commissioners at Foulden [Falloden], and affirmed in the presence of the Lord Warden, Sir Cuthbert Collengwood, John Heron of Chipchase, Robert Middleton of Belsay, and John Ogle [Ogwell] of Causey Park, esquires, who were appointed by your lordship to be at the affirmation of the said oath. And further, he says that her majesty's subjects found themselves no less aggrieved by the oaths of the inhabitants of Scotland, not only in their horses, but for their goods also that never came in English ground: and for the delivery of their horses, being another point of your lordship's letter, he affirms that the same was made in no other sort than was agreed on, and according to the indenture made by the commissioners at Foulden. As for that matter of Fenwick, charged to have written a letter of defiance, he says that, albeit he took some examinations there, until now, [on] his coming up, and upon the sight of the copy of Fenwick's letter, he dld not understand the truth of the matter. But finding it to be as it is, he adjudges it, and means that it shall be punished aocording to the laws and orders of the Borders in such cases provided, and so is he required by us. And yet, forasmuch as there appears an assurance to be broken on the other part, we think it very convenient, in good satisfaction of justice, that the offenders of that part should likewise receive punishment, the which we doubt not but your lordship will cause to be done accordingly. Sir John Foster, for his further excuse in that behalf, alleges that no notice was given by your lordship or the Warden of Scotland to the Warden of England of that matter, as in such cases there ought to be before there be any proceeding to punishment.

Finally;—as far as we can perceive, there is in Sir John Foster a good disposition to do all things that may be to the procuring, maintenance, and continuance of good order upon the Borders, and likewise of all good amity betwixt both realms. And whereas, in that he has dealt heretofore in these causes of the Redswire, he has been restrained to hold himself within the orders set down by the commissioners, yet now in respect of the establishment of good amity and the extinguishment of all causes of quarrel, he has given unto him more absolute commission to use all reasonable means that he can to compound and determine all causes of contention. For which purpose, if, before his coming home, it shall "like" your lordship to appoint a meeting of the Earl of Angus and him, or any other meet personage well inclined to maintain amity (as we understand the Earl is), he offers to be in readiness to accompany any such at any place that shall be thought meet, and to use his best endeavour for the final ending of all causes, and we doubt not but he will perform the same accordingly. St. James's.

3¼ *pp. Draft, with many corrections. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk): "15° July 1576. A m[inute] to the L. Regent of Scotland."

July 30. **233.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

C.P., vol. X. The good number of courtesies it has pleased you to bestow on me for some time renders me so much the more desirous to merit

Elizabeth.
1576. them in your regard, and if it is in my power to do anything that may be agreeable to you meanwhile, I cannot do less than give account of the benefit I have received, and hope to receive, as well by sojourn at the baths [Buxton], as by the continuation of the remedies which I intend to use in future to try to root out my illness, now a long time deep-rooted, thanking you affectionately for the permission it has pleased you to grant me for the apothecary's boy, who is here. So that, after God, I shall owe you obligation for the health with which it shall please God to dispose to me hereafter, whereof I have so long been destitute that I can scarcely persuade myself of recovering altogether. However, this bearer, my first physician, gives me great hope. I shall refer myself to his sufficiency to inform you more fully of the state he has found me in, and that wherein he leaves me, having given him charge to let you understand the desire I have to keep myself in your good grace, and to present you on my behalf with a casket and a light coiffure which I have caused to be made by one of those people who made the *devant de cotte* which it pleased you to receive lately. If its fashion pleases you, and you let me know, I will get him, at more leisure, to make more beautiful ones; and, moreover, not to leave the worker idle, whom it has pleased you to permit me, I should wish to have a pattern of one of your bodies with a high collar, if it would please you to have it sent, in order not to trouble you more hereafter. If I had found anything worthy of you amongst what has been recovered of the articles of my treasure, I would have undertaken to present it to you, but all has passed through so many and so bad hands that it is not worthy of falling into yours.

I have written before to Monsieur de Mauvissière, my good brother's ambassador, to intercede with you for my chamberlain's passport, whom I desire could come to me to render account of my affairs there. I pray you again herein, his journey being very necessary for the good of my affairs, which are in a bad enough state since the death of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and again by the conclusion of the peace in France, as you will have heard by my last. Sheffield.

3 *pp. French. Copy. In the hands of Mary and a secretary. Many corrections. Indorsed:* "Double de la lettre de la Royne a la Royne d'Angl. du peuultiesme de Juillet, 1576."

Aug. 1. **234.** JOHN HAMILTON TO [ ].

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 84. "My hertly commendations being remembrit." I received a letter of yours from this bearer, and another "of befoir" from Mr. Pye, wherein you make mention of another letter you sent to me "of befoir," the which I never received. Captain Halkeston has written to me from Paris of his proceedings concerning your business and our purpose. He finds no appearance to obtain any assurance of your demands, for such reasons as the ambassador of Scotland showed him, and as I have also showed this bearer in Captain Halkeston's letter. Notwithstanding, our ambassador finds the enterprise very good, and will do all that lies in him for the advancement of it. The captain goes down towards Normandy at the ambassador's command, and "speikis" Monsieur De La Millerie, vice-admiral, Monsieur

Elizabeth.
1576. Surlabos, governor of the New Haven,† and Monsieur Cicognes, governor of Dieppe, who will do all that the ambassador will desire them. So, being in Dieppe, the captain will suit by all means to "heiss" a good ship and "marinellis." He will "heiss ane at me" incontinent with his resolution of his affairs there. "Alwayis" I am minded to send to him the fourth day of this instant to know how he has done, and also for some particular affairs of my own. In the meantime I pray you be in good courage, for I hope in the Lord all "sell cum weill." There is nothing "uneble" to good stout hearts. Brussels. *Signed:* Jhone Hammylton.

¾ *p. No flyleaf or address. Underlined in parts.*

Aug. 18. **235.** THE REGENT MORTON TO BURGHLEY.

This old gentleman, Captain Cockburn, well known to your lordship, being "deliberat" to pass into France, and to visit the Court there by the way, I have thought good to send your lordship by him in these few lines my most hearty commendations. Presently "I am not to trouble" your lordship with any particular matter of my own, and for the state of the country here, remit it to the bearer's sufficiency to be declared unto your lordship. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Aug. 18. **236.** THE REGENT MORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

This bearer, not unknown to you, has taken purpose to pass into France at this present, and albeit I trust his old acquaintance with you is able to procure your favour towards his passage, yet I may not omit to recommend him to you, and therewithal render you thanks for the many and sundry pleasures that from time to time I receive at your hands in making me participant of the foreign affairs, for by you is all my intelligenee; and although I cannot acquit you with the like, yet shall I continue a goodwill to show you pleasure whenever I may see the occasion. The state of matters here I refer to the bearer's sufficiency. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Aug. 18. **237.** GREGORY XIII. TO MARY.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 85. Never ceases to think how he can render aid to her, her son, and Scotland, nor does he despair that the divine mercy will point out a way for her, having removed all the present difficulties, which are very great, and will not longer bear so great indignity.

¼ *p. Latin. Extract.*

[Aug.] **238.** COMPLAINTS AGAINST SIR JOHN FOSTER.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 157. "The causs quhairfor Sir John Foster, Wardane of the Middill Marche of England deserves to be depryvit from his charge."

* Havre.

Elizabeth.
1576. "The maner of Sir Johnne Forresteris strayte and undeutifull procedingis in the office of wardanrie of ye Middle Marche, and quhat hinder it wer to justice and danger to the peace and amytie betuix the realmes, gif he suld langer be continewed thairin."

It is well known both in England and Scotland that with the murder of the Earl of Murray, Regent, the "brek" of the peace was attempted, Farnyhurst and his accomplices riding with fire and sword within England. Which being repressed by the Earl of Sussex, Sir John entered into privy condition with Farnyhurst, who, continuing his rebellion and murdering the subjects of Jedburgh, because they refused to accompany him in his enterprise and conquest intended in England, was not only by law declared traitor in Parliament, but he and his fellows expelled trom Scotland by force. Sir John Foster not only received Farnyhurst and his accomplices, but avowed and maintained them in their wicked murders and attempts daily committed against the subjects of Scotland. This was not only done in the time of the public troubles in Scotland, but after he [Morton] had taken pains to establish the Warden and ordinary justice in the Middle March, and a Keeper in Liddisdale. Whereupon the matter was "meanit" to Sir John, and "complenit on" otherwise to the Queen of England and Council, till at last Farnyhurst himself was conveyed into France, leaving his accomplices in the Middle March of England. On his [Morton's] passing to the north country in August, 1574, he thought it convenient for the better rule of Liddisdale "to receve in suirtie" certain of the inhabitants thereof "maist bissy and troublus." Whereupon some "effrayed" escaped and were fugitive, raising fire in Scotland and commiting other "hanous attemptattis"; the authors whereof being first received within the west wardenry of England, on his motion to Lord Scrope and the Keeper of Bewcastle, meeting was "kepit" betwixt them and John Carmichael, deputy Keeper of Liddisdale, whereby their [the Scottish] fugitives of Liddisdaill were not only expelled the west wardenry, but such form of justice was agreed to and kept betwixt them as has not been for a long time. Being thus expelled the west wardenry, they were received and maintained within Sir John's charge, in the Middle March of England, and albeit he was earnestly desired for delivery of them and to agree to the pursuit of the rebels of both the realms, yet nothing followed all last winter. Which unwillingness in him to do justice and to keep meetings gave the fugitives boldness in March last to make incursion on the water of Rowe, and to break the house of James Turnbull of the "toure," and to take prisoners, who, with the horses and goods taken, were received in Tindale. Having written to Sir John, he promised presently to take order not only for setting of the Scottish men at liberty with horses and gear, but that he would bring them to be answerable at the day of "trew," and that he would make present proclamation that none of the fugitives should be received in his office. In April last he sent him a letter with certain articles by his servant, William Douglas, offering that if he would take on hand to apprehend the fugitive thieves of Scotland remaining in his charge, and deliver them to him, he would "caus tak" the fugitive thieves of England remaining in the Middle March of Scotland, and deliver them to him;

Elizabeth 1576. or if he would banish the Scottish thieves and "enter their resetters," he would cause him to be answered in like manner. In his answer he omits the point anent the fugitives, and, being urged by a new letter, wrote as "misknawing" the matter, desiring their names and the order of laws and treaties of peace to be observed. Renewed his offer to him, by John Carmichael, at the meeting at Halterburn in May. At which time he made a distinction betwixt the fugitives of Liddisdale who followed Farnyhurst and those of Liddisdale. But when Carmichael replied, that if he would make present delivery of those of Liddisdale or their "ressetteris," travail should be taken to make him [Morton] overlook the others for a while. Sir John appeared to like well of it, and having received the names of the Scottish fugitives, appointed a meeting to be kept betwixt his deputy, Sir George Heron, and Carmichael on the 26th of May last. Which meeting being kept, the receivers of the fugitives of both parties were delivered, namely, John Robsoun of Stonehouse, Englishman, and "Thome" Armstrong of the Manys, Scottish man. They also agreed to "speir, file and deliver" the receivers of the fugitives; and although Carmichael was content to have used the like order there touching the persons delivered for the said receipt as with Lord Scrope, yet Stonehouse and his fellows did not receive the condition. When Sir George Heron understood this he wrote to Carmichael that he was content he used them as pleased him, and that his band and his sums were discharged. After this Sir John travailed earnestly for release of Stonehouse on his band, offering to pay the bill, and said he had "avoidet" the fugitives who were on the head of Tyne. "He mettis him self on the vij of July at the Redswyre, haveing of befoir dischargeit Sir George Heroun for his sa furthwart proceding in the deliverie of Stanehous, quhome he rebuked thairfoir tantingly and displesantlie." He found fault with Mr. Fenwick of Wallingtoun for the plain answer given about the receipt of David Elliot, called "the carlinge," and offer of redress for his offences. He altered the form agreed on and that day practised betwixt them, refusing to make delivery for George Turnbull's, of Nowleyis, bill filed "on" young Harry Robsoun of the Fawstane. Shortly before the said meeting John Schaw and another of Farnyhurst's servants, who were partners in the murders of the King's good subjects, arriving at some port in the north parts of England from France, were received and entertained by Sir John Foster's order in Harbottle Castle. Of late Farnyhurst's wife and some of his servants have not only been received by Sir John within his charge, but are also conveyed by ship to France, the other rebels still remaining within his charge, notwithstanding the promises made to that effect.

3 *pp.* *In Morton's hand.* *Indorsed:* "The caussis quhy Sir Johnne Forester deservis to be deprivit from his charge."

Oct. 19. **239.** ALEXANDER HAY TO WALSINGHAM.

"Richt honorable," it was a long while after the date before your letter of the 24th of August came to my hands, because I happened, at the receipt of your packet, to be absent. For Mr. Thomas Smeton, it was your honour's letter that made him and me to be first acquainted, and according to your opinion of him, I take him to be a very honest man and well learned, and was very sorry at his "heirbeing" that he

Elizabeth.
1576. found so slender entertainment and welcoming, yet his virtue cannot but acquire unto him favour and livelihood, and when he shall come again into this country he shall not want my "pure" goodwill where I can anywise wish him well or stand him in stead.

As to the purpose of the Laird of Cesford and his friends the Carrs in Teviotdale to present themselves with overture of their service to the King our sovereign here, there passed such rumour here also, although it took no effect. Cesford has been here with the Regent travailing for favour to his men that are under the danger of the law for aiding and "recepting" the rebels that followed Farnyhurst, but he has not obtained his suit as yet. The Regent intends to be himself in Tiviedale now at Martinmas approaching to further the redress of "attemptates" and to settle such things as are now anywise disordered. Edinburgh. *Signed:* A. Hay.

Postscript.—Herewith are certain letters from myself and other friends, which I beseech your honour to cause be delivered as they are directed.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 6. **240.** THE REGENT MORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

These two young men, "scollers," named Mr. John Macgill and Mr. David Macgill, the sons of Mr. James Macgill, Clerk of the Register here, an official and ancient councillor in this State, be directed by their father to France and other parts beyond sea for attaining to further knowledge in letters and to visit foreign countries, thereby to be the more able to serve and profit their country and commonwealth honester, I must recommend them to your good favour, praying you heartily that by your good means they, with two or three other persons being in their company, may be furthered to a passport with such convenient expedition as may be, and that they be not impeded in the transporting of such horses as they bring with them forth of this country. Dalkeith. *Signed:* James Regent.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Nov. 29. **241.** THE REGENT MORTON TO [ ].

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 87. Being here at Jedburgh, in the bounds of our Middle March, where I have already remained twenty days occupied in the administration of justice to the King my sovereign's subjects, and providing for the best means that may continue the good peace and amity, I have "understand" of the good accord and agreement betwixt my Lord Scrope and my Lord Maxwell, Wardens of the West March, at their late meeting on the 22nd of this present November, "quhair" on both parts they have proceeded orderly and thoroughly to the delivery of the bills filled; which course, as most necessary, I will further to be continued to the best of my power, God willing. Some punishment "mon" be made on the "disorderit sort" of both the realms by justice, "quhilk makis even now the gretar nomber of outlawes, that withdrawing them from there obedience passes to the Harlaw woddes," and therefore without all doubt may do great mischief, and hardly be "persewit" and brought to obedience, and answer justice

Elizabeth.
1576. without some ordinary force on either side for some short time, specially now in the winter season; and my Lord Scrope, although he bears as great goodwill to repress their insolence as any nobleman, I think, "on lyff," yet that Border over which he has charge is well known to be "inhabite" by a very stubborn and disobedient people, greatly "hairtit" to unquietness, and therefore I cannot but earnestly wish, as also heartily desire you to be a suitor to the Queen's majesty that it may please her highness to grant some supply to entertain an ordinary force for my Lord Scrope for [ ],* which being employed in this service, I doubt not will do great good. And for my part, howbeit there can be no "inlaik" in my goodwill and readiness to concur, as has [appeared] and shall always appear, yet wanting ability to sustain the charges on this side, as her majesty is on the other, things remain "unexecute" that might greatly avail the common quietness of the Borders, which it lies also in her highness' hands to support, "and I traist quhat wer bestowit that way, namelie at this tyme, suld not prufe unfruitfully spent." Jedburgh. *Signed:* James Regent.

1 *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

242. Dowry of the Queen of Scots.

At the head:—"Le faict est tel."

C.P., vol. X. The Duchy of Touraine was assigned to her; a thing which was solemnly contracted between the King, her, and the Estates of her realm. Of which Duchy she was peacefully possessed till the year 1576, that by the covenants of the pacification and accord between the King and his brother the portion of the said Seigneur was augmented amongst other things by the said Duchy, to which she voluntarily consented for the desire she always had for the amity between those two Princes. In recompense for which it was accorded to give her the county of Vermandoys with the lands and villages of Senlys and Vittry (although it was notorious that the county was not of the value of the Duchy). Letters patent were drawn up, signed by the King's hand and sealed with his great seal. She entered into actual enjoyment of the revenue, *etc.*, according to the said letters. By a valuation made of the revenue it does not come again near to 3000 livres of Touraine. Then instead of giving compensation to the said Queen, some of the King's Privy Council, in the King's name, pass a contract for the alienation of the land of Senlys and the Duchy of Estampes to Madame de Montpensier, of whom the King had received some money. Although the King has always protested and assured the Queen's ambassador that he did not intend to do her wrong and prejudice, she has been dispossessed, and Madame de Montpensier put in actual possession by a Master of the Requests. Thus the Queen of Scots has been dispossessed without any consideration for her quality.

1¼ *pp.* *French.* *Indorsed:* "The Bishop of Glasco's note about the Scottish Queenes dowrey."

* Blank in the MS.

Elizabeth.
1576. **243.** NOTES BY [ ].

Cott. Galba C. V., fol. 263. When George Fitzwilliams was sent by him into Spain to obtain liberty for such Scotchmen as he had in captivity, the Duke of Feria and Secretary Sayas practised with him that he might be won to join with the rebels of the north. The principal end which is pretended in these things that be treated of is the service of God and the restitution of the Catholic faith. A ring was sent from the King of Spain to the Queen of Scots, and another from the Duke of Feria, wherein was written these "poyses." "Numeros complera ommes," and "Presentibus fruor meliora spero." Her majesty was content that Fitzwilliams should deliver both letters and rings to Queen Mary, who returned letters and a book of gold to the King from Queen Mary, wherein was written, "Absit michi gloriari," *etc.* By her majesty's [Queen of Scots] consent, sent Fitzwilliams to the King [of Spain] with answers to the Duke's [Feria] articles; whereupon the Duchess of Feria sent him her letter. The King sent again to Queen Mary a fair ruby in a ring, which the Queen's majesty has. Thinks the King's majesty wishes as much hurt as he can to her majesty [the Queen of England].

1⅔ *pp.*

1576-7.
Jan. 30. **244.** WALSINGHAM TO THE REGENT MORTON.

William Dod, John Bigges, and Ralph Radford, merchants of Westchester, were, in the time of your late Queen's government, now eleven years past, spoiled on the sea by one Whyte, a Scottish man, of goods to the value of 300*l.* English, and their cause being at that time recommended by her majesty here to the said Queen, order was then taken for the sale of their said goods, and the price thereof to remain in the custody of certain Scottish gentlemen, in whose hands the money is. Forasmuch as these men be honest, and in so great misery by reason of that spoil committed on them, that they have never since been able to make repair into that realm for their goods, he recommends their case to his grace, and prays that the men may be paid the said sum. For his favour to them he will be ready to help any of his nation in the like case to have justice ministered to him, as at present he is most careful to procure restitution of 14*l.* to be made to one Browne of that realm, spoiled by English pirates, and hopes to do the poor man the good he desires.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "1576. To the Regent's Grace the 30 of Januarie in the behalfe of certayne merchants of Westchester."

Feb. [26]. **245.** ELIZABETH TO THE REGENT MORTON.

"Right trusty and right welbeloved cousin," your letter directed to us, of the 1st instant, wherein you exhort us to take that way of counsel which is most necessary for this present perilous time, testifies to us the great care you have not only of the general cause of religion, but also of our person, whom you deem to be no less subject to the malice of the enemy abroad, than to the secret rancour of the evil affected at home, and therefore advise us to look to it in time, and

Elizabeth.
1576-7. to consider withal, though the malice of the enemy be not so openly professed against us in particular, as it is intended in general—which no whit lessens the peril, but rather increases it—by how much the enemy that lurks under a fair show of friendship is more dangerous than he that opens himself in apparent show; yet in case we do not seek by way of prevention to meet with their malicious purpose, we shall find the remedy more chargeable and the perils greater; of which your great and necessary care how good reason we have to make acceptation thereof, tending as it does to the preservation of our own person, the continuance of the quietness of our realm, and the upholding of the common cause of religion, we cannot but let you understand by these our letters, as also render to you our most hearty thanks for the same, assuring you that, as we conceive the perils to be no less than are notified by you to us, so we are not unmindful to do that which may tend to the prevention of the same, whereof we will not fail to give you knowledge as we shall proceed therein, considering how careful you show yourself to be for us and our realm, witnessed sufficiently not only by this action, which is of great moment, but also by the continued care and pains you have taken since your coming to that place in administration of justice, in the behalf of our subjects, and for the common quiet and tranquility of both these realms with such diligence and travail of your own person, that the like has not been performed by any of your predecessors these many years, whereof assure yourself we make that friendly account that to us in reason and honour appertains, which shall appear to you by the effects, when you shall have any just cause to make trial of your friendship.

1½ *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "M[inute] to the Regent from hir majestie the [ ] of Febr."

Cott. Calig. C. V., fol. 90. Copy of the same.

Feb. 26. **246.** WALSINGHAM TO THE REGENT MORTON.

His grace may see by her majesty's letters, which he sends herewith, in how good part she accepted his letter of the 5th instant to her. However she has been slow heretofore to answer some of his demands either concerning the King, his master, or himself in particular, yet he doubts not but his good and sound advice given her both for the safety of the common cause of religion (chiefly now shot against by the mighty and common enemies thereof) and of herself in particular, will be so regarded as he shall perceive his writing to this end has been effectual, and he may boldly say, since the receipt of his letter she has entered into a deeper care and consideration of the defence of her own realm and of her good neighbours, than at any time heretofore, to his remembrance.

For the state of the Low Countries, he may see by these advertisements he sends him how the States are dallied with and like to be abused by a long and colourable treaty for peace.

As for France, by the last occurrents from thence, which he incloses herewith, he may see in how bad terms things stand there for hope of any sound peace.

Spain, France, and the Pope no doubt concur and conspire in all

Elizabeth.
1576-7. things, and therefore the greater care should be had for a general combination between all Princes of the religion, at least to defend themselves, if not to invade their enemies.

1 *p.* *Draft.* *In Walsingham's hand.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "1576. To the Regent, the 26 of Febr."

March 20. **247.** PASSPORT FOR ROBERT COCKBURN, ETC.

Lansd. MSS., vol. 24, fol. 6. Passport for Robert Cockburn, master of the ship called the *Genet*, of Leith, and James Dayell, merchant, in the same ship, laden with salt, now rapairing to England. Leith.

½ *p.* *Copy.* *In Henry Killigrew's hand.* *Indorsed.*

1577. March 31. **248.** LORD SCROPE TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 93. I understand that Lord Maxwell, being of late returned from Edinburgh, upon certain particularities between him and the Laird [of] Johnstone for the failing of bills, minds determinately to give up his office of wardenry, and no further to exercise the same, saving only to discharge such bills as he has already indented for to me; the which being done, he will file no more bills. Whereof he certifies me by his letter which I received yesternight; whereby also he requires to meet with me for conference of our indents and to appoint a certain day for the discharge of the same. For which purpose I have agreed to meet his lordship one day in Easter week next, for that on the Monday following he intends to ride again towards Edinburgh to a convention. Of our proceedings at our meeting I shall not fail to advertise you.

½ *p.* *Extract.* *At the head, in the hand of* (Burghley's clerk): "ultimo Marcii, 1577. Ex originali from the Lord Scrope to Secretary Walsingham."

April 26. **249.** SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGAAM.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 95. Having received your letters of the 20th instant, [it is] much to my comfort to understand her majesty's good acceptance of my service, which has [been] and ever shall be most faithful, according to the trust her majesty reposes in me, and so most bound.

This Queen and her chancellor are daily occupied about her reckonings. When they will end, I know not. Mistress Seton has an old woman who is weary of her mistress, and she of her, who has been desirous a long while to depart into Scotland. Her husband is dead, and she alleges her undoing if she have not leave to return to her country. I think it best to suffer her to go with Alexander Scot. There is no danger in her practising.

Since Beton's departure hence, I find by sundry means he was the chiefest practiser about this Queen. He had a cousin here named "Arche" Beton, who for such dealing was put away from hence when she was restrained, and this her master of household [is] well acquainted with all his cousin's dealings.

Amongst some jars betwixt the French and Scots, they suspect him to be a too good Spaniard, considering this suspicion that is had betwixt this Queen and John de Austria.

Elizabeth.
1577. I thought it my part to advertise what I learn, and my opinion; which is, if any intelligence has been betwixt them, that Beton has been employed at this thing, and [is] a fit instrument to execute the same, both to carry from this Queen and bring again, having his passport so freely granted to go and come. I wish this may be looked to, and if it be thought good, it may be remedied in staying him that he return not hither again, but rather to permit some other less acquainted with their practices. It is like he will make haste to his love Seton, if she be not restrained.

I have been deceived in him. I took him to be quiet and simple—which falls out otherwise. Many other lewd parts I could declare—not worth the writing—as in giving nicknames to me and all my house, that they would talk of whom [it] pleased them, and not to be understood; which, since his going, has turned out to be the device of one of my servants. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

½ *pp. Holograph. The flyleaf has been cut off near the top. Indorsed.*

May 9. **250.** WALSINGHAM TO SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. X. Has received his letter of the 5th instant. Her majesty allows well of his purpose to remove for three weeks to Chatsworth, for airing his house of Sheffield. Her pleasure is that he forbear to remove before Monsieur Vergier be gone away, whose long abode her majesty marvels at, thinking that he would not have stayed above four or five days.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "1577. To the E. of Shrewsburie the 9 of May."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 99, b. Copy of the same.

May 31. **251.** THE REGENT MORTON TO BURGHLEY.

Having directed thither this honest man, Adam Foulartown, merchant of Edinburgh, with the complaints of our people spoiled by her majesty's subjects, I will not occupy your lordship with long letter in that which you will know otherwise by my letter to her majesty's self and by the bearer's complaints and information. I also think needless to persuade your lordship what were requisite to be provided and ordered in this behalf for punishment of the offenders, redress of our people scaithed, and forbearing of such misrule and unfriendly dealing hereafter, but will only at this time "effectuuslie" pray your lordship in this, as in all other things tending to the conservation of this good amity, to extend your favour and furtherance, and chiefly in appointing a "summar" form of cognition, and that certain execution and redress may follow on that which shall be determined, the like whereof shall well appear in my proceedings toward her majesty's subjects there. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Regent.

½ *p Addressed. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

June 25. **252.** WALSINGHAM TO SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. X. Incloses a letter jointly to himself and his wife from the Queen of England. Whereas his lordship in his letter of the 16th instant

Elizabeth.
1577. writes that hereafter he minds to have his warrant for his charges—diets to be monthly offered—he does not think that way so good for the despatch of the same, knowing right well her majesty's disposition to be such that willingly she would not be often troubled with the signature of bills, and therefore wishes him to continue the custom heretofore used, that is, every sixth month to get his warrant, for the speedy despatch whereof from time to time, as also for the half year past, he will do his best endeavour.

¾ *p. Draft. Indorsed:* "25 June, 1577. To the E. of Shrewsburie."

June. **253.** ELIZABETH TO THE EARL AND COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. X. Being given to understand from the Earl of Leicester how honourably he was lately received and used by the Countess, at Chatsworth, and how his diet is discharged by them at Buxton, she would do him great wrong, holding him in that place, if she should not let them know in how thankful sort she accepts the same at their hands, which she does not acknowledge to be done to him, but to herself, and therefore means to take the debt upon her and to acknowledge them both as creditors, provided they can be content to accept her as debtor: wherein is the danger, unless they cut off some part of his large allowance of diet, lest otherwise the debt thereby may grow to be so great that she shall not be able to discharge the same, and so become bankrupt. Thinks it well for the saving of her credit to prescribe to them a proportion of diet, which she means in no case they shall exceed! That is, to allow him by the day two ounces of flesh, referring the quality to themselves, and for his dinner the twentieth part of a part of a pint of wine to comfort his stomach, and as much of St. Anne's sacred water as he listeth; on festival days, as is fit for a man of his quality, she can be content that they enlarge his diet by allowing him for his dinner the shoulder of a wren, and for his supper a leg of the same, besides his ordinary ounces. The like proportion she means them to allow to her brother of Warwick, saving that she thinks it meet, in respect that his body is more replete than his brother's, that the wren's leg be abated, for that light suppers agree best with roulets of physic. Means that they shall inviolably observe this order, and so may they right well assure themselves of a most thankful debtor to so well-deserving creditors.

1½ *pp. Indorsed:* "June, 1577. M[inute] of her majesty's letter to the Erle and Countesse of Shrewsbury, of thanks for the good usage of my L. of Leicester."

July 19. **254.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 528. The estate of Scotland continues in good quiet, with general obedience to the King and Regent; in which case it is likely to remain during the government and welfare of the Regent. Atholl, Ruthven, Lindsay and others have confederated themselves by oath for maintenance of the King. They increase daily in number and power, and hope in the King's government, or by his disposition after their affection, to profit themselves and please their friends. They do not make show of any purpose of alteration of religion or government,

Elizabeth.
1577. and they esteem the Earl of Atholl as most apt either to succeed the Regent or to bear sway in the government of the King.

to Burghley

The Earls of Argyll and Atholl being long at variance, and thinking their discord to be fed and continued by a third, who they thought would have travailed their speedy agreement, purpose quietly to meet, and betwixt themselves and secret friends to end their debates. This purpose is drawn by sundry of the said confederates for maintenance of the King, to draw Argyll to that side, as well to increase their general strength as to remove all impediments out of the way of Atholl.

Lord Seton having obtained leave to pass into Flanders, is yet at home. It is thought that he has some errand thither to Don John; but on the doings of that person no sure building is founded.

Has long ago had in readiness a piece of lead for his lordship, minding to have sent the same in his own hoy, which betwixt Newcastle and this town by great tempest is either drowned with provisions for this pier, or else driven from this coast, for he has not heard of her these six weeks. Will by her or some other hasten to send it to him. The Regent purposes to send his lordship hawks, which he will see with safety conveyed to him. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

July 23. **255.** NICHOLAS ELPHINSTONE TO HENRY KILLIGREW.

Although Captain Cockburn has returned into this country, by whom I understand your present state to be good, and yourself to be in good health, yet I would be most glad to hear something of yourself, and how long you are to abide and make your resideuce near the Court, in case some of your friends here departed towards the Court. I have been with my Lord of Angus upon the West Marches of late, where his lordship and my Lord Scrope have agreed well, "and every one to other" made good redress. Yet not only for those frontiers, but for sundry other occasions her majesty must be persuaded to make some help to us, that we may be able to suppress all occasions that may tend to any alienation betwixt you and this realm. Holyrood House. *Signed:* N. Elphinstone.

Postscript.—I pray you heartily present my humble commendations of service to Sir Francis Walsingham, with whom I am not as yet so familiarly acquainted as my desire is to be, although I have been well treated in his house, accompanied with yourself and Mr. Randolphe.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

July 24. **256.** WALSINGHAM TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 529.

Your lordship will perceive by the inclosed from the Regent how much the subjects of Scotland are grieved with the daily spoils they sustain at English pirates' hands. This matter might have been helped with 200*l.* charges if it would have pleased her majesty to have set out one of her best ships. Surely, if there be no way of redress found out of hand, it cannot but breed an alienation of the goodwill of that nation, which imports her majesty as much almost as her cro[wn] is worth, if the state of things at home and abroad be rightly

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1577. looked on, especially considering her majesty's action . . . those who heretofore have with shedding of their blood procured her safety. . . . lese Scotland now that her enemies abroad grow strong and her friends stand on the brink of destruction is but a preparative to lose England. I am partly of the Regent's mind, that the spoils committed presently on the Scots proceed rather of practice than otherwise, and therefore the more . . . soon to be looked to.

The Regent seems to have a disposition to bestow some hawks upon your lordship and me, and therefore desires your servant may be appointed to receive them at Berwick. Stratford. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p. Holograph. No flyleaf or address. Injured by damp.*

July 25. **257.** THE REGENT MORTON TO [BURGHLEY].

"Richt honorable and my verie gude lord," I have presently written to the Queen's majesty touching the state of the Borders, and some "tymous" provision to be made for repressing of the disordered persons who cease not to give occasion of trouble, and in appearance shall be able to do greater harm as the nights grow longer, without by earnest letters and strait commandment from her majesty, and some forces also to be employed at the West March, their insolence be not "substantiouslie" repressed; the help of which matter I specially recommend to your lordship. Praying you heartily that by your favourable means I may understand her highness' pleasure and good mind upon my letters presently sent to her majesty. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Regent.

½ *p. No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 2. **258.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 102. Hawks sent by the Regent to Leicester and Walsingham, and Scottish falcons for Leicicester, Hunsdon, and Walsingham. Scottish bands in Holland. Suspicion of Captain Balfour. The Regent well affected to the Queen of England. Matters of religion. Lord Seton departed to the Spa. The Carrs at Edinburgh. Lord Maxwell continues in ward. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. No flyleaf or address. (Printed, Wright, vol. ii., p. 65).*

Aug. 2. **259.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 102. I received yesterday your packet to the Regent with a letter to myself for conveyance of hawks sent by his grace to my Lord of Leicester and yourself, and I have this day sent that packet to his grace.

The Regent has sent hither four casts of Scottish falcons, whereof two casts are to come to my Lord Leicester, one to my Lord Hunsdon, and another to yourself. All which I have sent forward by my own servant.

By former advertisements I have signified, by intelligence given me, that the colonel and captains of the Scottish bands in Holland, upon the "casshinge" of the same, were entertained with pension by Don John. I might, therefore, by the generality, suspect Captain Balfour

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1577. [Bawfowre] whom you call "Baford," late colonel of those bands, and also Molyns, whose name I suppose is Harratt. But finding the grace given to Balfour by her majesty, with your own good opinion signified of him in your last letter, I condemn my judgment towards him, and still continue in suspicion of Molyns. Their doings herein may most readily be discovered where they served, and here I will do my endeavour to sound and find out the same the best I can.

The Regent keeps good health, declaring himself well affected to follow her majesty's course in all fortunes. He is greatly disquieted by the incessant spoils on the seas, which might seem to be practised to break the amity of the realms. He has much to do to pacify the minds of that people, being greatly alienated and almost desperate of redress.

There is no further mention of matters of religion since my coming from thence; but matters lying over in misliking, and that nation not destitute of malcontents, there be some that wish change of government, which in the scarcity of fit heads to enterprise the same, is still like yet to be deferred.

The Lord Seton, with unaccustomed bravery, is departed towards "the Spawe" for his health. The favourers of their Queen say that opportunity well serves in these days to work her good; but they groan to find that proceed and prosper no better.

The Carres have been at Edinburgh, at a law day, to pursue the slaughter of a Carre slain by the Rotherfords and the Turnbulls, whom the Lord Angus seems to favour. But the matter is adjourned to a new day.

The Lord Maxwell continues in ward upon suspicion of intent [to] arise troubles on the Borders. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 3. **260.** MARY TO MONSIEUR LIGONS.

C P., vol. X. For answer to your letter of the 1st of May, I will pray you believe assuredly that I construed your former [letter] in no evil sense, but took the advice therein as coming from a faithful and affectionate friend of mine, to whom in many ways I think myself indebted.

Touching the earl, I give you thanks for advertising me of his necessity, and pray you to continue a friend to him, whom I make no less account of than of a very dear one to me, as shall prove if ever it pleases God to make my means extend to the same. I am sorry that ever he has had any occasion to mislike the Nortons, "but as I doo pres, echis gretnes and proximitie to them or any of the rest," even so I trust he has at length considered your remonstrance, that I could not have slipped the opportunity of that time by some way to show my remembering the earl, if I had received of them in my extreme need, and how desirous I was to acquit myself thereof, as most heartily I would towards every one to whom I am beholden, loving in no ways an ungrateful will. As soon as I may possibly ("conform" to your counsel) I shall make it appear of him to his support, being yet very low in means to this end, as I am certain you understand amongst my ministers there, and, in the meantime "sithe he hath accompanyed himself where he es" (out of the which, for jealousy in

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other parts, "I wishe he sold not his change)." I shall write that here in his recommendation which, I think, will take some effect to his contentment. And of the bruit between P. and me, if after mine of January you had showed the assurance you gave the earl in the contrary, as by this your last you do, I would not in the other have boasted to blame you, but have allowed (as presently) your circumspect and well considered answers therein, which, indeed, my intention was you should use no otherwise but in the same general terms only, and neither to him nor any other declare the particularity, as once I wrote inducing you thereunto. And albeit that P. minds, indeed, to catch two strings in his bow, as by my last, of the 12th of June, you have perceived, yet would I be loth (without the respect of my hazard) to lose any advantage I have to serve my turn of him, as he minds to do his of me. He has never yet in anywise "provoked" directly to have me in marriage, neither have I been forced to utter my liking therein. Sheffield Castle.

⅓ *p. Cipher. Deciphered. Indorsed.*

Aug. 3. **261.** MARY TO DOCTOR ALLEN COPE.

C.P., vol. X. The many good reports and multitude of rare virtues flowing in you, which long ago have made your name be known not only to me but to the greatest and everyone of good in christendom, have no less made me esteem your comfortable letter in this my affliction as a singular sign of some good to ensue thereupon, than most heartily to accept your godly and honest offers, in special your prayers at the holy altar, which I understand by the conveyer hereof * have this long time been used by you and such as are under your charge, of which I cannot better acquit myself than by mine daily to God for the strengthening and maintaining with His grace and Holy Spirit in all your designments tending to His glory unto the time it pleases Him to grant me means otherwise to aid and supply the achieving thereof, and to recognise your sincere affection towards me as I have goodwill. There is no particular joy, restitution or advancement on earth that I desire, saving only the relief of the Catholic Church and fortitude thereof to the universal flourishing aud re-establishment of her faith and religion, but specially in this poor isle. To which end, if it shall please Him to make me serve in anything. I do even now, as I have long before, dedicate and abandon my life into a thousand more torments, and all I have in this world thereunto, wishing no greater felicity and consolation than in that quarrel to leave the miseries of this wretched vale. In the meantime, considering the good which manifoldly I received since my arrival in this realm, as well by the wicked, who through persecution have made me, with God's grace, better acknowledge myself than before I could in prosperity, as by the good people who in my lowest extremity have given me comfort and relief, which binds me—without my natural inclination—in recompense, to wish weal to the whole, specially to the faithful, who have suffered with loss of lands and goods, and finally [been] banished —albeit with separation of their bodies—into strange countries. I wish their hearts not to be so far severed as, to my grief, I understand

* *Marginal note,* "Ligons."

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1577. they are divided into sundry factions; to the reunion and reconcilement of whom I have this long time been most desirous to interpone my credit. As yet I am in deliberation if by any means I may profit therein, and hereof—knowing your ability and the good opinion every one of them has of you—I have found no way so fit as to call to your help and to pray you, for God's sake and mine, to employ your travail in so good a work, and, if possible, in such a sort as may be brought to some good end; and if my name may serve therein in any way, to use it as you think needful, which I remit to your discretion, and I shall heartily allow and authorise you in the same. Sheffield Castle.

1¼ *pp. In the margin:* "The Q. of Scots to D. Allen Cope descifored by Mr Somers." *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 103. Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 554. Another copy of the same.

Aug. 3. **262.** MARY TO MR. MORGAN.

C. P., vol. X. Since my writing to you on the 12th of July, I received yours of the 26th of May, together with it Doctor Allen's cipher, and two others from Betoun, master of my household, and, "conforme" to your advice, have written to Doctor Allen anent the reconcilement of the divided of our nation. The letters he inclosed you may "cause convoye" as your means will serve. "I have yet heard nothing of George Moor's presenting in service to my host," albeit the Countess of Northumberland has thereof written to me as you do. I have answered her, and also given thanks to Sir Francis Inglefeld for his goodwill towards me, uttered to you, and I have taken order to give Mr. Shelly thanks, as you desire. The Lord Great Treasurer is now at Buxton in quiet manner. Sheffield Castle.

⅔ *p. Indorsed:* "3 Augusti 1577. The Q. of Scots to one Mr. Morgan."

Aug. 6. **263.** MONSIEUR NAU TO HIS BROTHER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 545. [*Extracts*].—Ceste lettre est en haste, mon frere, encores que je sois infinement presse de . . . n'ay voulu perdre ceste commodite . . . du premier office de Justice . . . la somme de douze cens escuz. Jay ung . . . premiere depeche en lettres ouvertes si je me puis avec cestecy. Ceste vous . . . lequel pourra journellement estre adverty de la vaccance, d'aultant quil assiste de veiller pour moy que ceste party ne meschappe. Si il se present quelque . . . de finance par dessus ladicte somme, je suis d'advis que vous parfournissiez . . . et me faciez scavoir combien il ya du proffiet a le revendre comme il seroit p . . . quand l'occasion sen presenteroit ou payer finance: autant en pourrey vous faire moindre que ladicte somme a la charge du surplus. Si ung office de justice vient, vous le mectrez au nom du dit—* si vous ne trouvez promptement, a qui vous en deffa . . . ung priz raisonable de

* Symbol.

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1577. lung et laultre de ne perdre point cest oportunité, et . . . avec levesque de Glasco et le chancelier Vergier, lors qu'il sera besoing a my faire plaisir, comme il . . . le moyen a cause de la, je veille tousjours apres la reserve qui m'a esté do . . . vous de l'estat de thresorier, et ay esperance de vaincre tous difficultez qui s . . . or pour bien a [?] manier votre faict.

Nous sommes tous engarbouillé par deca sur l'apprehension que ceulx de ce pays . . . querre. Sheffield.

Postscript.—Veilley pour moy pardela comme il . . . de vous en ceste captivité.

1 *p. French. Copy. Partly in cipher. Edge decayed.*

Aug. 12. **264.** SHREWSBURY TO BURGHLEY.

C.P., vol. X. Whereas it pleased God yesternight, a little before supper, to visit suddenly my dearest jewel under God, next to my sovereign, with mortality of sickness, and that it has pleased God to take that sweet babe from me—she surely was a favoured child—I thought it rather by myself than by common report you should understand it from me, though it nips me near. Yet the sore I have of God, and the dutiful care to discharge my duty and trust my mistress puts me in, make me, now she is gone, to put away needless care, and to look about me to that I am put in trust withal, and because I doubt my wife will show more folly than need requires, I pray your lordship write your letter to her, which I hope will greatly relieve her. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Aug. 14. **265.** SEIZURE OF SCOTTISH BARQUES.

Lansd. MSS., vol. 25, fol. 11. "Generall matters to prove the seazure lawfull."

No entry made at Beaumaris in the Queen's books of any part of the goods come to Chester. No custom paid there. No cocket or certificate made at Beaumaris to prove payment of custom. No bonds taken there.

No entry of barque, boat or goods by any officer at Chester. No warrant for discharge; no custom paid, or any wares rated before the seizure.

"To prove the same to be pirates."—The great barque is appointed for the wars, and has above twenty men aboard. No mention made in the charter-party of the great barque of any wares but rye and timber, whereas they had aboard wheat, wool, "checkers," halberds, and a greater quantity of rye and other wares unknown. No charter-party, name, master, owner or merchant of the little barque, nor any wares aboard her till they came to Beaumaris. The little barque being 9 tons burden was tied with a tow to the stem of the great barque, being only 40 tons burden, The seizure of Captain Thorneton, who said he had yielded one barque to Mr. Glaseor and kept the little one to himself. In the charter-party the merchant is to discharge the Scots of all troubles till they be ashore. The examination of the merchant is contrary in divers point.

1 *p. Indorsed:* "Articles to prove the seisure made by the Comptroller of Chester of the Scottishe barkes to be laufull."

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266. LEICESTER TO WALSINGHAM.

I have sent the Regent's letters again. Since my former letters I have talked with her majesty about that matter. I see she wishes all due redress and satisfaction to be had for the Regent, and conceiving with myself that it needs not much further to trouble her withal, but that we, by the authority we have, do send and take as good order in that case as we may possibly, both for satisfaction by restitution and apprehension of the offenders, if they be to be had, upon such information as you may get by Mr. Fullerton or otherwise, you may cause such direction to be given as shall be requisite.

Her majesty willed me to signify to you that she will have Mollyns deferred by your advice as long as may be, or he may depart hence, to see what may be discovered of his doings. Balfour she minded to use well, and his hour is now come to speak with her. *Signed:* R. Leicester.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Aug. 17.

267. SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X.

I herewith send you a packet from the Scottish Queen, and hereby must impart to you how it has pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy my only grandchild, son to Gilbert Talbott, my son, which by nature troubles me. Howbeit, I most willingly obey His will who took him, who only lent him without grudging thereat, but my wife (although she acknowledges no less) is not so well able to rule her passions, and has driven herself into such case by her continual weeping as is like to breed in her further inconvenience, and being desirous to prevent the same by my best persuasions (she being now at Chatsworth, and not able to come hither) I am desirous to go to her for a while, and to carry my charge with me also, if her majesty's pleasure stands therewith; wherein I am to pray you to move her highness, and to let me have notice. Hearty thanks for your occurrents. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

Postscript in Shrewsbury's hand:—I am driven to use the help of my man, for that I am troubled with some pain in my hand.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Aug. 21.

268. WALSINGHAM TO THE REGENT MORTON.

William Nutshawe, on his return to England, has made to me so great and good report of your honourable dealing towards him in his suit, that I cannot but think myself more bound to your grace for the same than for any other private man's cause I have at any time heretofore troubled you with; and though his said suit has not yet taken that good and full effect which he and his friends here looked for, by reason of the want of somewhat to be by him further showed before my lords and the rest of the Council in Scotland, as also to be done here in England by virtue of commission to be directed from you for the appearance of the Lord Robert Stewart in Southampton, there to hear as well the proofs on Nutshawe's behalf as to allege what he can to the disproof thereof, yet I doubt not but as soon as these things necessary first to be done shall be accomplished, there will ensue that

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1577. good end of the matter which is hoped for, and to that end I humbly crave the continuance of your favour towards him.

¾ *p. Draft. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "21 August, 1577. To the Regent's Grace."

Aug. 25. **269.** [THE REGENT MORTON] TO [SIR JOHN FOSTER].

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 530. By your letters of the 20th of August, and report of the gentleman, bearer thereof, I understand of your receipt of the Queen's majesty's letters touching remedy to be taken for the late attempts of the Fenwicks and Shaftoes in Lyddesdale, when one of the Elliots was slain. In your letter you make mention of one of the Robsons of Tindale who was slain, and no redress could be gotten by the officers of this realm, which he thinks might be an encouragement to them to seek revenge. To this I must answer you, that I wrote to the Queen's majesty, your sovereign. Whereupon I perceive you have received this late direction. But your comparison of the case does not agree. For, to be plain with you, I do not stand so much presently in suiting the redress of the slain man of Lyddesdale as I think the form of this dealing strange. It is no marvel to hear of a slaughter committed by thieves against thieves in stealing; following the redress of which slaughters has with small contradiction lain over continually from the warden's order to the meeting of commissioners. But in a time of so good peace and amity, that a number of English gentlemen who are not accustomed "in the trade of theves" should lie in an "ambusshement" in Scotland for the murder of the King my sovereign's subjects imports another manner of matter, whereanent I am desirous to understand your answer in writing by this bearer, what I may be assured of, and how far I may assure the King my sovereign's subjects to look for touching the keeping of the peace and quietness, and if you will assure me that they may safely live without invasion of Englishmen under your charge, and safely follow their goods wanting in the accustomed manner, unpursued for their lives; for if matters shall pass forward in this order new begun, neither dare Scotchmen follow into England nor Englishmen into Scotland; and what may succeed thereon, you may well consider. I have done hitherto what I could to keep quietness; whereof, if I had not been the more careful, our folks who were lately pursued are known "bent innowghe of their inclinacion to seeke theyr private revenge." "Alwese," till the receipt of your answer, I will still travail to the keeping of quietness on this side, notwithstanding the occasions given to the contrary. For the fugitives, indeed, I think it had been better for the common peace and quietness of both the realms that more had been hanged and banished long since.

Touching the note of your fugitives delivered to my Lord of Angus at Jedburgh [Jedworth], as you write, the same note was immediately delivered, as your own letter purports, to the warden of the March of this realm, yourself being present, now ten months past: and if there had been any default of a resolute answer and redress, I think it might have been long since craved and redressed, considering your often meeting with the said Warden since, and in case of his undutiful answer it might have been complained upon before this time to myself. But now I shall remember it, as I wish you to have

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1577. consideration of this bill of fugitives that I send you herewith inclosed, and especially of David Elliot [Elwet], called "the Carlinge," and John Elliot, called "the Todsfoit," fugitives of Scotland, plainly received among the Fenwicks and Shaftoes. With which purpose I will forbear longer to occupy you, but have directed the bearer hereof, William Douglas of Colebranspeth, my cousin and servant, to confer with you, and to report what to "lyppen" for at your hands. Holyrood House.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.*

Aug. 25. **270.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR WILLIAM DOUGLAS.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 531. "Memor of credit to William Douglas of Colebranspethe to be declared to my Lord Warden of the Myddle Marches of Englande, at Holyrodus the xxv[th] of August 1577."

You shall deliver our letters and let him understand that we have purposely directed you to return to us his resolute mind and answer what to "lyppen" upon touching the continuance of quietness and keeping of good neighbourhood, and how "we think not this example of the slaughter of Robsone to make this attempt in Lyddesdale," there being so great diversity in the form, and "of the apparente consequence," and that the matter cannot fail to induce further inconvenience if it be not quietly repaired, and men restrained from attempting the like; for not only in this, but other ways we found the new begun dealing hard, to have, "ambusshements" lying in our country, and no sure access to follow into England when true men's goods are reft and stolen by Englishmen. What shall be "lippned" to under his charge, and if on his word we may assure the King's subjects that they shall safely live without invasion by England under his charge, and safely follow their goods wanting in the accustomed manner, unpursued for their lives; for if matters thus continue, none dare follow either into Scotland or England. If my own care and goodwill had not been the greater, the Scotsmen who received the late injuries had been able enough to suit their private revenge before now.

Touching the receipt of fugitives, you shall deliver this note with their names. For the most part their receipt is in the West Marches; but being now to be pursued, they will seek refuge, we doubt not, within the bounds of his charge, and if it should be permitted it could not but fail both to frustrate her majesty's determination and ours. For this cause you shall earnestly require him to take heed hereto, *etc.*

1½ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "25° Augusti. Copy of the L. Regentes letre to the Warden of the Middle Marches."

Aug. **271.** LEICESTER TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 107. Lest you should think I were negligent in moving her majesty in those things I received from you, which concern her service, I thought good to let you know, although I have no sufficient answer yet to send her, how upon declaration of the Regent's letter to you, she seemed to be somewhat moved that she should be bound to give

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1577. restitution to every man, and that she had sent three ships to the seas, and with what charge we know; and her majesty a while continued rather increasing in this kind of mislike than otherwise, and so I forbear to press her further till I see a more convenient time, and then will get her further pleasure, and so write to you, only sending this in the meantime to let you know I was not unmindful thereof. And now am I greatly to thank you, good Mr. Secretary, for your great pains about my private cause, which of all the sins that ever I committed, I looked least to be charged with that fault Mr. Scott has touched me withal. But, as it cannot suffice that he be found a false lying varlet, so do I wish that he, being plainly known, be no further esteemed than such a knave deserves for making too many more such knaves by any little encouragement. But I fear there be too many of his profession even in the nearest company to the highest, and so downward to exercise their faculty, and being discovered, without good example made, will increase the number, I fear. You will not believe how particularly and craftily this knave has incensed her majesty to make her think he was neither the author nor chief doer in this slander, and how far he makes show to her of such a matter, indeed, to be in handling, reporting certain speeches of Hide's with Lord Dyer, which should tend to this effect, that Lord Dyer should cast out words that he knew a bag of money making to defend the suit [*etc. Matters relating to Scott's statement to Queen Elizabeth*].

Mr. Balfour [Baford] stays here to kiss her majesty's hand this evening. I have showed her your letters. She is hardly informed of the man. I fear she will be a little too plain with him. I have persuaded all I can. She might win him, and I hope she will in the end be brought to offer him a pension. *Signed:* R. Leycester.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Aug. 31. **271.** MARY TO THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW.

C.P., vol. X. This will be the third [letter] I have written since receiving your last by this secret way, and only to advertise you of the suspicions and jealousies which your journey to the baths has brought, and chiefly on the part of Walsingham, who, having been for a long time in apprehension of some sinister event in this kingdom, labours as far as he can to throw the cause of it on me, having started divers rumours as soon as you were sent by the King to Scotland, to negotiate the transfer of my son; and according to this invention the Earl of Huntingdon lately gave advice to the Earl of Shrewsbury that you had arrived there with an ambassador; that you were preparing soon to make a journey to Rome, and—the most apparent of all—that you were going expressly to the baths to approach Don John, and to treat with him of my marriage, and to take resolution in the practices and enterprises that he imagines are being treated of between the Pope, the King of France, the King of Spain, and myself, wishing above all to have them discovered, and that nothing will pass there of which he may not promptly have good news; but up till now, with all his artifice and subtlety, he has not known how to seize any opportunity sufficient to give faith and proof to his turbulent imagina-

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1577. tions, which I am sure hold him well in play, and he wlll not leave any stone unturned to surprise me if I leave anything for him to bite at. I do not know what advise he can have received on the contents of the last dispatch which has been sent me by the ordinary, suddenly after your return to Paris; but he has opened and read it even to the least letter, thinking to discover there, as he himself has said and written, that which he has not found, of which he makes certain, in spite of this, of being enlightened shortly, as of a matter of great importance. And on this account I desire much that your brother coming here may not have deposited upon himself any cyphers, fearing that he may be searched on the suspicion which wrongly they have conceived of him here.

I am surely advertised that Morton does worse than ever in Scotland, and principally against my good and faithful subjects, which makes me enter further in defiance of the overture which you have made me on his part for his reconciliation. Take care and proceed with him by firm speech as you have commenced, without going further than, at the same time, he himself will enter into the game.

As for George Douglas, I pray you to instantly secure the payment of what is assigned him in the Duchy of Chevreuse, advertising that which may be there for my service, and the credit that he has now near to my son, and of those who have him in keeping.

People wish to assure us here of the renewal of the troubles of France, and of the continuation of those in the Low Countries, wherein those of this country put their best hopes for the conservation of their repose and estate.

Some days ago I saw letters from the Duke Casimir to this Queen, upon whom he shows to depend entirely, giving her advice of some discord excited newly between the Lutherans and Calvinists, even in the country of the Count Palatine, his brother, who had been advised by the said Calvinists, and that on this he ought to make a general assembly in Germany of the principals of the one and the other opinion, where he prays her to intervene by some deputy on his behalf. And after one rather long discourse against the Catholics, sworn (thus he says) to their ruin, he offers all his means for the maintenance of their religion and defence of their confederates unworthily afflicted and pursued. Referring the additional [advice] to the bearer, to whom he gives credit, which you will impart to "p" and "q" to give to the King if they think good. And you will advertise them that many proposals have been reported here which are said to have been put forward by "p," of which Walsingham has tried to make his profit. He is, perhaps, the author of them.

I would not forget to remind you, and them also, of the choice of a successor to Monsieur de Mauvissière as a thing that I consider to import much the good of my affairs here. For I have not the means to negotiate more surely with my friends in this kingdom than by the ambassador of France, or him whom I should desire to appoint near to him, forasmuch as they cannot be constrained to render account of their actions and behaviour as those who are subjects, not daring on this accounnt to discover themselves, the one or the other.

Moreover, I receive daily so many complaints of the little diligence and duty of Dolu in the handling of my finances, and I hope from

Elizabeth.
1577. him so little comfort in necessity of my affairs, seeing the refusal he makes to advance one sou beyond the funds in his receipt, that I am determined to make use of him no longer, and am resolved to break with him, if he does not do better, as soon as I could find some one else worthy and sufficient in his place. On which do not fail to give me advice, as I have asked you in my last [letters]. And, nevertheless, do not make it known to anyone whatsoever, for fear that it should do wrong to my service.

"q" complains—and with just occasion—that it is eighteen months since he has received a single penny of his pension, not having other means to feed and support himself. I am very ill-content with the length of time that they keep various other parties that I have appointed. The treasurer gives no other reply to those who pursue him, than that they should cause themselves to be put upon the sale of office [Fr. *parties casuelles*], and that those deceive them who give them other commandments. Wherefore it is made apparent to me, that he only has regard for his private advantage.

I do not write anything of the affair of your brother, having remitted everything to his return, to see if, in his presence, we can do more than in his absence (which, as I understand by "d," Monsieur de Mauvissière, will not be long) who will keep me waiting by him for your news to inform you more fully of mine. Sheffield.

[*In the margin*] The rest is from Nau — her secretary. I thought to accompany the present with a portrait of her majesty, but the painter has been unable to perfect it before the departure of this despatch. It will be by the next. We are, to my great regret, very disturbed here by several impressions, from which I should wish, for my particular, to be well delivered. They have given me a new companion, who is called Maille, to assist here in the Council with Monsieur Chasteau; it is for them and for me to obey, as I shall do all my life, and I acknowledge myself obliged to it without failing in my duty in regard to anyone, and principally you. Assuring myself that you will always hold it agreeable according to the judgment you will form of that which I can do for your service, I kiss your hand very humbly. You can sufficiently comprehend how all things pass without it being necessary to write to you more fully about them.

My lord and brother, I pray you to send to my brother the treasurer one word inclosed herein, marked "d"; the other marked ——* is for Monsieur Le Maistre, to whom I recommend myself very humbly, and to you also.

3 *pp. French. Copy. Indorsed:* "August 31. Thextract of a ciffre from the Queene of Scotts to the Busshop of Glascso."

Aug. 31. **273.** MONSIEUR NAU TO HIS BROTHER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 546. The Queen of Scots is discontented with regard to her dowry and Dolu's service. It is necessary for him to speak to the Bishop of Glasgow and the chancellor De Vergier to help him with their recommendation. Is to obtain letters from all the Seigneurs of Guise in his favour, [and from] the Queen Mother and others of credit. Sheffield.

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1577. $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. French. Copy. Indorsed. Partly in cipher. Edge decayed.*

Sept. 2. **274.** SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. X. After my very hearty thanks for your friendly letters and Flemish news; I have thought good, upon those bruits of this lady's escape from me, to advertise her majesty that my vigilant care for her safety shall never diminish, but always increase, if it were possible, and that is all the gain I hope that ever the inventors are like to reap by them. I have not as yet removed with my charge. I am loth to trouble you any further, having no other matter of moment to impart, but heartily to desire you to excuse my evil favoured writing to the Queen's majesty, for by reason of a great ache which has vexed me in the wrist of my right hand a long time, I am able to write no better. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewsbury.

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

Sept. 3. **275.** ELIZABETH TO SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. X. Whereas we are advertised from sundry places beyond the seas of bruits sown there that the Queen, your charge, shall be escaped and at her liberty, and thereby great stirs and troubles fallen out, we thought meet to advertise you thereof to the end that you may carry a more heedful eye towards her. And forasmuch as both our cousin of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer have declared to us how that at their late being in those parts with you, conferring with them of your charge of the said Queen, you told them that you might a great deal better warrant her safe keeping if the manner of her keeping and usage towards her were remitted to your own direction, to do therein as you should see cause, either in restraining of her own person more or less, or removing from her such as you suspect to be evil in servants about her of her own family, we let you wit that as we cannot but much commend the care you well declare to have about this your charge—and likewise thank you for the same, so our pleasure is, and we authorise you henceforth to use your own discretion therein, as well as in restraining of the said Queen, as you shall see cause and think meet and expedient, as also in the removing altogether or of such restraining for a time from her all such persons that be about her as you find or suspect to be practisers and instruments for her to do evil offices; assuring ourself that as hitherto you have most carefully used yourself in this your charge, *etc.*, you will, having this further authority given you, use the same in such sort that these bruits given out abroad shall prove vain, and we and our whole realm acknowledge this benefit to proceed of your great and provident care.

$1\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Draft. Indorsed:* "1577. 3 September. Mynute from the Q. majeste to therle of Sherewsbury."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 109. Copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1577.
Sept. 6.

276. RICHARD BANNATYNE TO [THOMAS RANDOLPH].

A little after the death of that notable man of God, my good master, Mr. Knox, of good memory, I wrote you a letter declaring the effect of his death and manner thereof, which I delivered together with a little book which he wrote against one Tyrie, a Jesuit, to a servant of yours, called Pinkintoun or Pilstoun, but whether your worship received the same or not I never heard. And albeit that the death of that man of God was so notoriously known to all men that it was no small comfort to all who heard thereof, nevertheless there is one Mr. Archibald Hamilton, sometime a regent in the new college of St. Andrews, and also was a preacher to my Lord Duke [Chatelherault] when he was in France, and ministered to him the Lord's Table, has set forth a book entituled "De confusione Calvinianæ sectæ apud Scotos, ecclesiæ nomen ridicule usurpantis, dialogus," which is "repleit full" of such shameful impudent lies, especially of belying the death of sundry ministers, but, most of all, of that man of God, my master, that it is a wonder how Satan should have so bewitched the mind of any to have set forth in print such false lies. The title of his book sufficiently declares his apostasy, wherein he calls himself "Misoplanus ad catholicæ ecclesiæ gremium reversus"; and because I doubt whether the said blasphemous book be come to your hands, I have given to the bearer in writing so much thereof as the aspostate writes of my said master, beseeching your worship to "confer" the one with the other, whereby you will know the better his shameful lies; and if you have not my former letter, if you please, I shall send you the contents thereof, which I have yet reserved with other memorials of his, which, I doubt not, when they shall come to light, shall be sufficient to make that apostate's lies known to all men. If you have my said letter I would pray your worship, for such service as I were able to do you, to send me a copy thereof, because it is more perfect than the minute I have. The said book being declared to the King's grace, he marvelled that such a work should have been put forth by a Scotsman. One said, "quhat rekes, sir, it is ane Hammilton's work." His grace answered saying, "I luife him not so evill becaus he is an Hamiltoun as that I do becaus he is ane apostate." A greater praise to Mr. Knox and a more shame to himself and that surname he could not have done than the setting forth of that lying book, which is called but the work of a Hamilton, who before was "staynit" with treason, and now with aspostasy. It is no new thing to the children to follow the father's footsteps, for as Satan is a liar so his children cannot but lie, thinking thereby to deface the truth, but nothing sets forth truth more than lies, when they are "onis cum to knawledge"; and if ever I had thought that men had been so impudent as to have put forth such shameless untruths—for I suspect it is not done without the advice of others of that faction—the truth of that man of God's death should not now "to have bene to be opinlie knawin." But I trust God has done it to let the shameful doings of liars be known to their greater dishonour, and to the greater praise of him who is falsely belied, whose name otherwise would have come into greater oblivion, and therefore I doubt not God has done all for the best to His glory. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Richard Bannatyne, presently servant to my Lord Clerk of Register.

Elizabeth.
1577. Postscript.—"It will pleis zow sir," if Mr. Gudman be any time there, to make my hearty commendations to him, for I have not heard from him these three years now almost, albeit I have written ofttimes to him.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address. Indorsed by Randolph:* "Rycharde Banatin, servant to the Clerke of Register, who served Mr Knox at the tyme of his deathe."

[Sept.] **277.** EARLDOM OF LENNOX.

"For the douer of the Countesse of Lennox in Scotlande."
"To be entered in the booke of Scotland."

King Henry VIII. by his letters patent dated the 27th of June in the 36th year of his reign, gave commission to Sir Thomas Wryothsley, knight, Lord Chancellor, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, and Sir William Paget, Principal Secretary, to deal with the Earl of Lennox for the marriage of the Lady Margaret, now Countess of Lennox, as also for the assurance of certain the Earl's lands, in Scotland, for her dower.

The Earl of Lennox by his deed of covenant between him and the said commissioners bound himself to endow her of these parcels of land in Scotland, viz.—Glenforune, Ballorth, Arthinturleys, Crwkis, Inchenan, Craignelson, and Tarbolton, and bound himself and his heirs to do all such things from time to time as should be required by the King's majesty, his heirs and successors. By force of which covenants the heirs of the said Earl having the same lands are bound to perform the covenants by the law of Scotland, and if the said lands descend to the King, by their law the King is bound to perform the same covenants. The Countess of Lennox demanding her dower of the Regent of Scotland, he denies the same.

"The title of the inheritantes of the Earledome of Lennox to the Ladie Arbell, daughter to the Lorde Charles late Earle of Lennox."

After the death of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, the earldom descended to the King who now is; who, 8th April 1572, as well by the Earl of Mar, then Regent, as also by the consent of the State of Scotland, by an Act of Parliament, gave the same to the Lord Charles, late Earl of Lennox, and to his heirs for ever. After whose death the said earldom, by reason of the said gift, descended to the Lady Arbell, daughter and heir of the said Earl late deceased. The Regent [Morton] being requested to grant the wardship of the lands to her grace, not only denied the same, but also denied to allow the lady as heir to the earldom; so that the Regent will not permit her grace to deal with the earldom either in her own right as for her dower, or in right of the young lady, as tutrix or guardian to her.

1¼ *pp. Copy.*

Oct. 9. **278.** ROBERT BOWES TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 110. Understanding of the repair of this bearer, the Master of the Ordnance, to your lordship, I thought good to accompany him with my letter, which has been hitherto stayed for his coming.

Your lordship, I trust, understands by my letters and Captain

Elizabeth.
1577. Case, whom I moved especially to inform your lordship, all my doings and success in Scotland. Whereas, albeit those matters are for a season wrapped up, yet it is not unlikely that without wise handling, and with sore charge to her majesty, the fire will be readily kindled again. For, although the Regent and the best affected in religion and to the welfare of the King and realm presently embrace the amity with her majesty as a thing most profitable to them, yet many malcontents lie in wait to alter this course, casting in such practices as offer great peril in the same; and their natures so much delight in vanity of government and can with such cunning cover their purposes till good opportunity and ripeness occasion them to show them abroad to their own advantage, that I dare promise small assurance among them. The readiest way, in my opinion, to preserve the realm in quietness, with maintenance of this amity, is to appease and quench all the griefs bewixt the Regent and others of the realm, and by friendly reconcilement and union to make him gracious amongst them. For the which he must receive some apt lessons with gentleness from her majesty. But with the same he must also receive some comfort agreeable to his nature and disposition, as by your lordship's own knowledge and my said letters will sufficiently appear to your lordship.

This negotiation necessarily requires the labour of a very sufficient person; and although therein and in all things myself and my service are and shall be ever ready with most willing heart to obey and do her majesty's pleasure, yet to avoid the prejudice of the weighty cause threatened by my insufficiency, I am compelled to open my weakness to your good lordship, and humbly to require the same, for the benefit of the said cause, to work my deliverance. The lets that I have had in conveyance of some portion of lead that I prepared for your lordship much grieve me. It is ready and shall be conveyed to your lordship with all the speed I can. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 6. **279.** MARY TO THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW.

C.P., vol. X. [*Extracts. First line in cipher.*]

This first line contains nothing up to this mark "8," he repeats I kiss your hands, etc.

I shall answer by this to your letters of the ——* and that which I omitted of your preceding ones, not having had the leisure to satisfy them by my last. And to commence with the most important points, I shall say as to what you inform me about the affair which I have with the Pope, that I cannot in any way content myself with the little care and affection which I perceive his holiness has for the good of my affairs, being sufficiently hindered, as I hear, from elsewhere, by his own particular affairs, and [those] of his house. I pray you let him understand by the first commodity, that that which remains to me of my dower, as you can declare to him more particularly, is not sufficient for the maintenance of my domestic servants, and the

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1577. necessity of the banished English and Scotch, whom I am obliged to assist. If then he has any will to help me, you shall declare to him openly, beyond the particulars and circumstances which you have already proposed to him, that there is need to have ready money etc. in time, and I shall not attempt the transport of the person of the King, my son, knowing that I shall remain under the burden. I shall not mention the presents that it will be fitting to make to secure the help of, and recompense those who will throw themselves into it, nor the expenses of the transport, although they will be very considerable; but I should much like to provide for the inconveniences which may arise afterwards, as well in Scotland as this kingdom, where, if the goodwill which they have for me be not promptly aided and succoured, I should have no profit except the seeking of their ruin and mine. However, I wish to tell you that if he does not go another step, this will be the last entreaty that I shall make to him, and I shall keep to my first deliberation not to take my son out of Scotland, if I am not driven thereto to guarantee him out of the hands of his enemies, and out of the hands [*sic*], or by some innovation on this side. I only desire from your brother, after having had the answer to that which is above, if it does not succeed well, that you shall make greater instance and pursuit, and for the future, if something should happen to be treated on there, use the bishop of Ross, sooner than any other, in order not to give him any cause for any just discontent, after having had such particular information concerning my affairs, as when he was ambassador in this kingdom, and direct to him those whom you recognise as capable and of credit to aid him in my service, assuring myself that he will not refuse their assurance. I do not know whence you have had advice that the Pope had found the sum excessive which had been proposed to him by another way.

Thank very affectionately "p and q," communicating all which has passed in this matter, for the testimony which they have rendered to you of their goodwill towards me and my son, which I much esteem.

You may remember that which I heretofore sent you of the intelligence which they suspected to be between the most Christian King and the King of Spain. I have seen advice from their ambassador in the Low Countries, which conveys that the King of Spain (without one being able to sound in advance his designs, for that he communicates them less than ever to the greater part of those of his Council) is very much irritated and discontented with the practices of the estates of the Low Countries against his estate, and that generally all the lords of Flanders have a very bad opinion of ——* excusing themselves in the end as not being able at this time to endure more, which agrees with another advertisement upon some letters of Don John of Austria, that the rebels of the Low Countries have surprised and sent hither, by the which the said lord wrote to the King of Spain, his brother, that the repose of the Low Countries did not depend upon his subjects, but on the common intelligence which they had with this Queen, and on this account he had no means to assure himself of them but by making war upon her in her own country. For my part I can only see clearly herein by you and my said relations, but if one attempted something on this side

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1577. against the little appearance which I see, it would be very important to me to be promptly advertised to provide for my affairs, because upon the apprehensions which they have of a storm, I know that they have already suggested transporting me out of the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and out of this country, which they say is entirely devoted to me. Keep your eyes open, and do not let me be surprised, because sooner than confide my life to the Earl of Huntingdon or to the Earl of Bedford, and such other of my enemies, I will leave no stone unturned, thinking to put myself less in danger and to find more assurance.

You will thank particularly my cousin "q" for his remembrance of me, and if he speaks to you anew of the overtures which he has proposed to you for the regaining of my liberty, tell him that besides the small appearance there is of bringing them to effect, I shall be with difficulty persuaded to change the state in which I have lived since my widowhood. There remains nothing else but for me to inform you of my will upon the conference of my Lord Ogilvy with the Regent of Scotland and Balfour, wherein I shall tell you freely that you have proceeded very prudently and much to my liking. For, certainly, seeing the state in which my affairs are over here, it is much to be feared that this may be an invention of Walsingham and the others of his council, to sound the intention of the King and mine towards this realm, where they may well forsee that if we have anything to attempt, no better occasion could offer itself than severing them from Scotland, to get mixed up against themselves, as the French have sufficiently experienced in the past. And I know the Regent to be as dextrous at playing this double part as any traitor of his sort. But, on the other hand, when I consider the true resentment which he had in his conscience for the wrong which he has done me, the offences of the lords, the hatred of the people, their unjust behaviours, and other like causes which may make him fear for himself and his in the future, I am bound to think that, seeing the support which he has always hoped for from that side weakening and my son approaching the age to govern, they might well in earnest seek his surety, and try to effect it by the services which he might do during the time which remains to him of his regency. Also, I do not doubt that my son, being of age, will find much fault, and that all the good, true and native Scotchmen will put it before his eyes to have vengeance of it, seeing themselves almost subjects of England, of the which my relations wish him to declare his intention by letters, before entering further into this affair; and, nevertheless, to give faith to their words by their deportment contrary to the past, as by causing to cease the searches, pursuits, and tyrannies which they exercise every day against my faithful subjects, permitting those who ——* in Scotland to live there perceably, and to the others banished, whom he would be afraid to recall for fear of offending Scotland, to enjoy their goods at third hand. As to my rings, he sends you that which he can promptly recover or is in his charge by an inventory signed by his hand. And of the surplus which has gone astray, he sends a declaration according to the knowledge which he has of them, and the promise which he has made for them, by means whereof,

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1577. and by other like assurances one may afterwards demand more particularly, as well for myself as for the person of my son. You will promise him all assistance on your part, and give him in the name of my said relations, good hope, by the abolition of the past, to live in future as a faithful subject under my authority and the protection of France, whom I do not wish to enter into this treaty, except at my request and for his own respect, so that you take great care that he shall not seek again for the good favour of the King without your intercession, and that, that happening, you cause him to shut his ears. I do not think that the King will do otherwise. But I do not doubt that there are in his council some, who if they could hope to be able to fortify themselves in Scotland without me, would not refuse the chance if it presented itself. I am so little assured of the fidelity of Balfour by the proof that I have so often made of it, that I shall with difficulty assure myself either of his words or of his will when it shall be such that he cause you to know it, inasmuch as there is no stay. However, if he acquit himself worthily in regard to the Regent, and to that which he has promised you, he will not find less of sweetness, grace and readiness to pardon than the experience of the past has made him abuse.

I have written in the cipher of George Douglas, by the dispatch of Bordeaux, to the tutor Erskine and to Drumwhasil, whom you will take pains to keep in their good will, but take care that the affection which Drumwhasil bears to the house of Lennox does no wrong to his duty towards me, and principally for Monsieur D'Aubigné, to whom I will not trust myself in any way.

And with regard to the expense which it will be fitting to make for the conduct of these affairs, command, on my behalf, the treasurer Dolu to furnish it as occasion shall present, looking to you to take order therein for the good of my service.

The marriage of Magdaleine Livingston displeases me very much.

I have had advice that Alexander Scot, my officer of the pantry, who lately had permission to visit his relations in Scotland, has stopped there, contrary to the express promise which Walsingham has made for his return. Help him in what you can to this effect.

Remember to cause me to have by the first opportunity ——* as I commanded you, and you will assure Dolu on my behalf, that if he does not satisfy me thereof promptly, whatever excuse he may allege, I will keep my promise to him in revenge for his having failed me in his. I do not find him the same at Paris as at Sheffield. And to provide herein in good time, if I cannot hope for help from him in my necessity, as of my very own, as I am grateful to you for having told me, I desire that you obtain for me some man of substance, quality and sufficiency, for this charge, who may advance me by raising some considerable sum, if I require it, and whom necessity constrains me to change after the great patience I have had with Mons. Dolu, who, being over here, not being able to give me any reason for many things which I asked him concerning the management of my finances, was constrained for all excuse to confess to me that he had not been able to be at leisure for it, but had entrusted it to his clerk, as well by reason of his other charges as for some other occupations

* Symbol, for a sum of money.

Elizabeth.
1577. which he had had since the death of his wife. That is how I have been served.

Give 100 crowns to him who has drawn up the account of my troubles of which you wrote me. But although it was just as well to have it printed now to disprove the wicked libels which they sow on this side, and, nevertheless, to leave nothing to bite, you will keep a copy for me, and while waiting until I return it to you, you will have it translated into English, to have it printed together in the two languages.

I will finish with one point which I require of you, that is that upon all occurrences which you write to me principally, what shall be of importance, failing your presence here to consult with you upon them, you will send me freely and fully your advice and counsel, to help me to come to a more solid resolution, as is necessary. If it should happen also that access to me and news are restricted, you will be able (under feint of sending me some book) to write in white with interlines (alum seems to be the best or nut-gall). And although such artifices be very hazardous and vulgar, they will serve me in extreme necessity by way and conduct of the carrier of this place, who is not so closely observed but that among the other necessaries which he brings me, he can deliver to me safely that which one will write to me in this manner, without perceiving it himself. One can make use of linen or white taffeta. I forgot to tell you that you do not endeavour to send me the "Agnes Dei" and the chaplets which you have received from Rome to send to me. And that from the money made of the sale of offices you shall keep by you the sum of 1000*l.* to be by you distributed among the poor as occasion shall arise, principally English and Scotch, and to necessitous monasteries at your discretion. Sheffield. ——*

8⅔ *pp. French. Copy. Indorsed.* (*Extracts printed, Turnbull, p. 263.*)

Nov. 7. **280.** MARY TO THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW.

C P. vol. X. Since mine herewith inclosed, I have received those which your secretary wrote me in cipher by ——†, whom I pray you thank for his advertisements and offices which he has done me against the pursuits of the Sieur Moulins on the part of ——† for the person of my son. He does not know anything from thence of any near moving between the English and Scotch, as ——† told me was advertised; but from the coast on this side they are in great swing. Everyone reproaches me during such commodity for not helping my friends and confederates, to whom I have heretofore lent the name and strengthened the authority without any profit and advantage, and I shall not cease for that to resolve myself constantly in accordance with the will of God.

I have had certain advise that Monsieur de Mauvissière would shortly be recalled here. Work with my relations in this as you will be able that they give him some skilful and sufficient Catholic ambassador, and, if it is possible, a servant of my house, as successor, such an one I should regard the bishop of Maine; and by the same means that it may be permitted me to have a secretary at my service to negociate ——† with my friends; as I have formerly proposed. I am somewhat

* Symbol likely to be November. † Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1577. of opinion to appoint Arnault there, but I fear that he depends too much on Mornillier and Lymoges to be entirely faithful to me, as it is very important and necessary. You will have been able to prove him during his last journey to Flanders, and you will write me your advice by your first [letters], which I hope to receive by your brother, which will keep me from now making reply to his former ones, which you will assure me have been returned to me. Sheffield Castle.

In the margin: "This part is from her secretary to the B secretary, as it seemith."

My lord and brother, the cipher marked ——* is for Mr. Morgan, the second ——* is for Lirons, the third marked "d" is for my brother, the treasurer, to whom I pray you give it. I have kept awake all this night to dicipher your letters and others which were brought yesterday evening rather late. I kiss your hand and commit you to the keeping of God.

¾ *p. French. Copy. Indorsed:* "1577. Thextract of a Ciffre from the Q. of Scotts to the B. of Glasco."

[Nov.] **281.** PART OF A LETTER [FROM MARY].

C.P., vol. X. . . . to find there more assurance.

You have heard what the voyage of ——* here has put into the hands of my friends and enemies, but above all the great ——* has conceived of it an extreme jealousy. And as much to recover my goodwill as to undeceive me as to the practices of ——* that many have judged to circumvent me, some of his confidents have wished to make me believe that he journeyed here expressly. I gave him fair words, making him understand the estimation in which I held his virtue and fidelity to the good of this kingdom, having always known him so whole-hearted in that which depended upon him, and in the service of his mistress, that whosoever should succeed her in right would find him in the like goodwill. And for my particular, I did not hope for anything less than a good man and very serviceable to his country, whatever previous enmity and bad opinion that he might have formerly had, that I was not a good English woman, the contrary to which I made appear to him by the part and interest that I pretended to have. This language has marvellously pleased him by the demonstration that he has made of it, only requiring to assure himself of me against the faction of his enemies, since that of Hertford, to which he has been suspected to belong, is to-day almost outside the rank. In any case the voyages and investigations of such persons will serve as an example in respect of many to ——* more than my service.

⅔ *p. French. Indorsed by Burghley:* "Extract out of a lettre of the Scottish Quene."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 92. Copy of the same.

Dec. 25. **282.** THOMAS MORGAN TO THE COUNTESS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

C.P., vol. X. Before the receipt of your letters of the 9th of October and the 22nd of November last, specifying your carefulness of me, I was

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1577. moved by an old friend of mine to go with him next spring into Spain, as I wrote to you already. I promised him that, having ——* favour and commendation in my company, I would go with him, and thereupon wrote ——* for license, not thinking that your ladyship had so great a respect to my poor estate, as evidently it appears you have. I expect ——* pleasure for answer to my letters, before the receipt whereof I would be loth to trouble ——* upon this occasion, at present, and especially in a matter that only concerns my own particular, and nothing else, and yet I will not forget to acknowledge to ——* how greatly you mind to tender my well-doing for Ll. sake. But whatsoever I receive from ——* that tends to the allowance of that journey, I am like to give over the same upon the comfort that you give me, if I may satisfy my said friend, and that he urge me not with my promise to go with him. I do not perceive to whom you wish me to procure myself recommended in those parts. Wherefore, if it shall please your ladyship to let me understand your mind therein, I trust to find the personages in your letters "remembred" ready to write for me. If I should deal with the Queen of Scots for her letters I may stay too long expecting the same, and, peradventure, I shall require her letters to such as her majesty will not write to; and, besides, there are (upon some letters of her majesty directed to my Lord Seton, to Flanders), some of her best servants in England discovered, and thereby now forced to come, as they say, to take part of my banishment, which does not a little grieve me, for the duty I bear the one, and the friendship I bear the other. Whose coming I expect, and may not from thence stir for any respect until his coming. You must retain this to yourself until you hear more. The Lord Seton should have gone into England, but the deciphering of the letters has altered the matter, and he will be here shortly, unless the States stay him or send him into England. If ——* will yet frame himself to serve in the place you know, "he shall comme in tyme of service"; whereof I pray you think earnestly of such another instrument in those parts for that purpose.

On St. Andrew's even last Mr. Coppéley was created a knight and also a baron by this King. About six days past he took his journey to Spain, and left his wife here with my Lady Morley. Mr. Copley here pretended to be altogether for the service of my mistress the Queen of Scots. I had not many words with him, but he demanded of me at our first conference what I heard of your ladyship. Upon which occasions I confessed my goodwill and duty that I bear you, and so with good words of you he made an end. But I marvelled upon what occasions he was moved to minister that speech to me at the first meeting, and thought I would "remember" the same to you. Amongst other letters from Rome directed hither to my Lord [bishop of] Rosse's man, I saw these directed to your ladyship, and perceiving that he had no means to send the same so speedily as he desired, I took them into my hands to abide such opportunity as should be offered for the conveying thereof to you. "M.", whom I honour, wishes to have a copy of the alphabets between us, which he may more surely receive from you than from me, and, as I perceive by him, the letters that come from hence be always opened, or at the least carry a great suspicion

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1577. thereof. Mr. Copley gave me some encouragement to go with him into Spain, but I cannot remove hence until I understand more of the state of my friend now in trouble. The way between him and me is far. There is one Melvin, a Scottish man, gone of late from hence to serve the Queen of Scots in Mr. Beton's place. He is a heretic at present, but the said Queen has some hope to recover him in that point. Mr. Slingsby's son and heir is lately arrived here for the attainment of the French tongue. The persecution in England for religion was never more vehement. Good old Mr. Roper is dead; our Lady "assoyle" his soul. The poor afflicted Catholics shall lack his liberal alms.

2¾ *pp. Cipher, deciphered. Indorsed:* "Frome Paris, 25 Decemb. Thomas Morgan to the Cowntesse of Northumberlande."

Dec. **283.** ELIZABETH TO ATHOLL.

We are very sorry to understand of some unkindness and disagreeing between you and the Regent, and albeit the report thereof has not gotten full credit with us, yet considering—in this dangerous time especially, full of so many sinister practices—what peril might come to that State upon never so small an occasion of disagreeing and jar between such personages as you both are, we cannot, for the great and special care we have always had and have that perfect quiet might be continued and kept in that your realm, but greatly doubt the contrary, wherefore we do with all our heart wish and desire that all occasions of misliking between you and the Regent, if any such are, might be removed, and instead thereof a perfect and sincere goodwill and agreement established between you, for the furtherance whereof we have thought good to send this bearer, Robert Bowes, purposely, for a time, to reside in that realm to negotiate and travail there in our name with you and others with all the good offices he may be able to do, that such an amity and accord may be maintained among you, all the nobility and principal members of that realm, as in these froward times is most to be wished for both these crowns; praying you to give firm credit to our said servant. And so, good cousin, we pray God to have you in his blessed keeping. Windsor Castle.

1½ *pp. Draft. Indorsed:* "The Queen's majestie to the Erle of Athole,—December, 1577. About the matter between him and the Regent."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 113. Copy of the same.

284. NOBILITY IN SCOTLAND.

"The presente estate of the nobilitie in Scotland."

Lord Robert Stewart, base son of King James V., governs in Orkney by his four servants or deputies. His [*sic*] is presently in ward in Linlithgow, under band. He married the Earl of Cassillis's sister. In religion he pretends to be a Protestant. He favours the King, but would be content with alteration. Is very poor and of no great judgment, party or friendship.

The Earls of Caithness and Sutherland govern in these two counties. The Earl of Caithness is a Sinclair, about 60 years of age,

Elizabeth.
1577. in religion very near to a Papist, and of great party in those two shires, as chief by inheritance, with great force and oppression of late. He married his daughter to the Earl of Erroll, a man of like conditions to himself. He little cares either what religion or authority he uses, but wholly follows his own profit, making always fair weather with those in authority, and bestowing oftentimes liberal gifts for the same. Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, a Gordon, about the age of 35 years, and sister's son to the Earl of Lennox, is a good Protestant, favours the King, and is his near kinsman. Is but poor, and much oppressed by Caithness, wholly governed by his wife, and of no great party. He married the Earl of Huntly's sister, who was first married to the Earl of Bothwell, and afterwards divorced upon contract with the Scottish Queen.

Lord Lovat, a Frazer, being within age, is now in the tuition of the Earl of Atholl, his grandfather by his mother.

The Earl of Argyll and Campbell possesses the county of Moray in the right of his wife, and he by himself is a good Protestant, a whole favourer of the King, rich, and of great possessions, party, and friendship. He is much advised by his wife, but his friends have great hope and expectation of better proof in her. He is especially well liked of by all that are about the King. If the contentions betwixt him and Atholl were ended he would be of the faction that profess to maintain the Steward against the Hamiltons. His lands coast much on Ireland.

The Earl of Huntly, a Gordon, about 15 years in the tuition of the Regent. There is good hope of his good proof. His mother was daughter to the Duke of Hamilton. Adam Gordon, his uncle, continues still under bond in Galloway.

Lord Forbes of the ilk, a Forbes, is a Protestant and favourer of the King, of no great substance nor party, for he is in deadly feud with the Gordons, and is chiefly assisted by the tenants of the Earl of Mar, dwelling nigh the Forbeses' land.

The Earl Marishal, a Keith, a Protestant, a favourer of all present authorities. He is very rich, but he and his uncle's children are subject to great infirmities and sickness. He married the Earl of Huntly's sister.

The Earls of Crawford, Buchan, and Erroll, and the Lords Gray, Glammis, and Ogilvy inhabit in Angus. The Earl of Crawford is a Lindsay, young and suspected in religion, and otherwise of good friends, but of no substance or judgment. The Earl Buchan is a Douglas: he is a Protestant, a favourer of the King, of no great party in that shire, but otherwise well friended, and much of his possessions is mortgaged. The Earl of Erroll is before declared in the person of Caithness. Lord Gray is sheriff there. He is suspected in religion, a favourer of the Queen, and of no great substance. Lord Glammis is Chancellor of Scotland, a good Protestant, and a favourer of the King; he is holden very wise and discreet, wealthy, but of no party or favour. Of late he has had conference with the Lord of Arbroath for marriage with his sister, the Lady Cassillis, widow, and the Earl is fallen into some suspicion with those who stand against the Hamiltons.

The Earls of Atholl and Montrose, and the Lords Ruthven, Drummond, Oliphant, Methven, and Innermeath dwell in the counties

Elizabeth.
1577. of Perth and Stratherne. The Earl of Atholl, a Steward, of the age of 45 years, is a Papist, and chiefly by his wife's means, for many hope that he will be hereafter a Protestant when occasion for the wealth of his country shall serve. He greatly favours the King, and is the chief of all the confederates for the maintenance of the King. He is rich, of great possessions, party, and friendship, and is accounted subtle and wise. The Earl of Montrose, a Grayme, of the age of 28 years, is a Protestant, a favourer of the King, rich, and of good friends and party. He married Lord Drummond's sister, cousin german to Lord Ruthven. Lord Flemming's friends much depend on him, because they are cousins german. Lord Ruthven is sheriff there, and High Treasurer of Scotland. He is a good Protestant and a favourer of the King. He is wise, valiant, and of good wealth, and great party and friends. He is principal associate of those against the Hamiltons. Lord Drummond of the ilk; Lord Oliphant of the ilk; Lords Innermeath, a Steward, and Methven, within age; these four depend wholly on Lord Ruthven.

The Earl of Rothes, Lord Lindsay, and Lord Sinclair, with many substantial gentlemen, dwell in the county of Fife. The Earl of Rothes is a Leslie, of the age of 48 years, in religion suspected, yet thought to favour the King, rich, and of great friends and party, is given to quietness, and comes seldom to Court. He was once thought to be of great enterprise, but now deals little. His daughter is married to the Earl of Angus, and he married Lord Rothes' sister [*sic*].

Lord Lindsay of the ilk is a great Protestant and favourer of the King; one of the new confederates for the maintenance of the King. Lord Sinclair of the ilk, a Protestant and favourer of the King. The Earls of Mar and Menteith, Lords Livingston and Elphinstoun inhabit the county of Stirling. The Earl of Mar is an Erskine; the Earl of Mentieth a Grayme, within age. Lord Livingston about 57 years, a Papist and favourer of the Queen, as the most part of that barony is. He is of small substance and like judgment. Lord Elphinstoun of the ilk is suspected in religion and a favourer of the Queen.

Lord Claud Hamilton, third son of the Duke; sheriff of Clydesdale. This county is divided into two parts, viz., the over-ward and the nether-ward. The over-ward is possessed by the Earl of Angus. The nether-ward is ruled by the Hamiltons, the Duke's sons, and their friends. It is the wealthiest shire in all Scotland. The Hamiltons are Protestants, but favourers of the Queen; because they have no surety in that realm without her returning, they seek for change, for thereon depends their safety.

Lord Sempill, an infant.

The Earl of Lennox is chief in Lennox, which is now destitute of a ruler. All the Barons and gentlemen there are great favourers of the King and extreme enemies to the Hamiltons.

The Earl of Glencairn, a Cunningham, of the age of 48 years, presently governs most in Lennox. He is a Protestant and a favourer of the King, notwithstanding his mother was the Duke's sister. He is of good wealth, friends and party.

The Earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, and Glencairn, Lords Boyd, Ogilvy, Bargany, Cathcart, and the chief of Slire dwell in the counties of Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham. The Earl of Cassillis, a Kenedy, within age and in the tuition of Lord Glammis. His whole surname

Elizabeth.
1577. depend on his father's brother, whom they have chosen and stirred up against Lord Glammis, so that Lord Glammis cannot now come into the country without the aid of Lord Boyd, and for the better strengthening of Lord Glammis it is intended that Arbroath shall marry the sister of Glammis. Lord Boyd, of the ilk, in religion suspected, and a favourer of the Queen. He is wealthy, wise, and of great friends and party. Is in special favour with the Regent. The said barons Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham greatly depend on Lord Boyd, because the most part of them think him to be a great favourer of the Queen.

Lords Maxwell and Herries rule in the counties of Galloway, Nidisdale, and Annerdale: also the Lairds of Drumlanrig, Lochinvar, Garlis, and Johnston inhabit there. Lord Maxwell having "Luth" [? lately] given up in the west wardenry, is a malcontent, a Protestant, but suspected to be a favourer of the Queen; and Lord Herries, Lochinvar, and Garlis are the like, yet Herries is now in favour with the Regent. The Earl of Angus is lieutenant in the north, and thereby appoints deputy Wardens, and has assigned for his deputies the Lairds of Johnston and Applegarth. The Earls of Angus, Morton, and Bothwell [Boudwel], and Lords Seton, Yester, Hume, Borthwick, and Saltoun inhabit in the counties of Lothian, Mere, and Tindale. The Earl of Angus, a Douglas, is young, a Protestant, favourer of the King, and of very great power, party, and friendship, especially in the south parts bordering towards England. The Earl of Morton is now Regent. The Earl of Bothwell is the son of Lord John Stewart, base son of King James V., and within age. Lord Seton is a Papist, yet pretends to favour the King's regiment, but he is vehemently suspected. He sought earnestly to have been admitted one of the confederates for maintenance of the King, but he could not be received. He and his eldest son have been, and intend to pass shortly into Flanders, not without suspicion of some secret purpose. Sir James Hume, Laird of Coldenknowes, is Warden of the East Marches of Scotland, a man well qualified, and favourer of the King.

The Laird of Cesford, a Carr, is Warden of the Middle Marches "by East the streat," a Protestant and whole favourer of the King. He is in great disquiet with many surnames, and can hardly execute his office as appertains.

Sundry principal officers in Scotland.

Lord Ruthven, Lord Treasurer.
Lord Glammis, Lord Chancellor.
The Earl of Argyll, Chief Justice and Earl Marshal by inheritance.
The Earl of Erroll, Constable by inheritance.
Lord Fleming, Chamberlain by inheritance, and now forfeited.
The Abbot of Dunfermline, Secretary.
Mr. George Buchanan, Privy Seal.

3¼ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Nobility of Scotland, and how they stand affected, anno 1577."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 104 Copy of the same.

285. Peers of Scotland.

Hamilton, Duke of Chatelherault and Earl of Arran.—The Earl of Arran, Lord Hamilton, sheriff of Lanark [Lymerik], by inheritance,

Elizabeth.
1577. called Hamilton, descended from a gentleman called Hamilton, who for slaughter of John Spencer, "familiar" to Edward II., fled into Scotland, tenderly received by King Robert Bruce, and got the lands of Claidzowe, in Clydesdale, "now in good number of people called Hamiltones, and there be in the King's blood." His chief houses be the Castles of Hamilton and Draffen, in Clidesdale, Kyn[eill] and Abercorn, in Lothian [Brotheame], and the castle of Arran in that isle. The surname wasted by adhering to the late Queen Mary. These have matched with the Earls of Argyll, Lennox, Huntly, and Lord Hume. In controversy now with the house of Lennox.

Gordon, Earl of Huntly.—The Earl of Huntly and Lord Gordon. His first original was from Sir John Gordon, knight. His principal lands lie in the north of Scotland. His chief house, now called Strabogie, is in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen. Of the same surname are descended the Earl of Sutherland and many other gentlemen. Of great power and of most revenue of any Earl in that land. In manner thought the good man of the North. He is descended of the house of Drummond on the mother's side.

"Camel," Earl of Argyll.—The Earl of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorne, Justice General of Scotland, and Master of the Household to the King, all by inheritance. Is called by the French speech Campbell, *i.e.* fair field. His country, separated in manner from the main land, full of mountains and fresh water "boighes." His people speak Irish. He is regal within himself, and has his Justice Clerk, of great power and revenue. He has of his surname great men of revenue, as the Lairds of Auchinbrek, Ardkinlas, sheriff of Ayr, Glenurquhart, Corswell, and of late the Knights of Cawlder and Lundie. His chief houses, Inverary, Dunoon, Castle Carrick, and Castle Campbell.

Keith, Earl Marishal.—Descended from a young man of that surname who slew Camus [Chunus], Prince of Norway, got land in Lothian of King Malcolm II., and for the continuance of their valiant deeds to that crown they are now Earls Marishal of Scotland by inheritance, their chief residence and lands being in the north of Scotland. His principal house is called Dunotter. He is in alliance and friendship with the Earl of Huntly and the Creichtons. This man, now Earl, is very religious and of great substance.

Douglas, Earl of Angus.—Descended from Sir James Douglas, called the [good] knight, who went with the heart of the King [*sic*] into the Holy Land, and for that these give the bloody heart in their arms. He is the first Earl of Scotland and carries the crown before the King in Parliament. These be men of great power, kindred and friendship, very noble, and of great stomach and courage.

Stewart, Earl of Lennox.—Earl of Lennox and Lord Darnley, called Sheriff of Dumbarton by inheritance. Descended "with" the Kings of Scotland, taking now their claim of the second personage of that land from the sister of James III., Lady Hamilton, as most lawful by descent. The late Earl was Matthew, who was Regent. It is now descended to Lady Arbella, born in England. The chief houses are Crookston [Crukiston] and Inchenane, in the sheriffdom of Renfrew.

Kenedy, Earl of Cassillis;— lying with his friends of the same surname on the west sea, upon the country of Carrick, a stewardry and parcel of the sheriffdom of Ayr. There are of the same name in that country, and descended of his house, sundry lords and gentlemen,

Elizabeth.
1577. whereof the Lairds of Bargany and Blaquhhey are of little less living than the earl himself. His chief houses are Cassillis and Demitres, four miles from the bridge of Doon. The people's speech is mingled with the English and Irish—not far from Carrickfergus.

Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn.—Came first out of England for killing Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Men of fair lands and of great power; from which earls are descended the Lairds of Glengarnok, Caprington, Robertland, Cunninghamhead, Halkheade, Craganes, Ladyland, Montgreene, and Drumquhassill, Captain of Dumbarton, men of great living. He is well and faithfully served by them. They live for the most part in Cunningham, nigh to Eglinton. They be always in friendship and partakers with the Earls of Lennox. This earl's chief houses are Kilmawse [Kilmaurs], in Cunningham, Finleston on the side of Clyde, the Castle of Kilmarnock, and Glencairn in Nithsdale.

Hepburn, Earl Bothwell.—Earl Bothwell, Lord Creichton and Hailes, sheriff of Berwick, Admiral of Scotland by inheritance. His original came from England, and was advanced by the service of the Earl of March in Scotland. He was of good power aud great revenue, hurt by the father of the last earl having sundry gentlemen of his surname of fair livings, especially the Knight of Waughton [Wawghton], and Rickarton, and the house of the best [last] Master of Hailes. This last James, Earl Bothwell, for his disordered life and murder of the King, was exiled into Denmark, where he miserably died. His houses were the castles of Hailes and Creichton in Lothian.

Stewart, Earl of Atholl.—Walter Stewart, Earl of Atholl, son to King Robert II., by Eufemia, his first wife, who, pretending right to the crown and conspiring the slaughter of James I., was slain and attainted; since that time newly erected and created of the same surname. The people of their country for the most part speak Irish. It joins with the country of Mairnes on the Angus side.

Graham, Earl of Montrose.—His chiefest house of habitation is called Kintarne, in Stratherne, in the sheriffdom of Perth, under the mountains between Stirling and St. Johnstone. He has another castle, called the Castle and Barony of Mouldok [Mugdock]. He is an earl of small power, having but few gentlemen of his surname, except the Laird of Fintray, in the Lennox. His revenues are not great, yet he is a man civil and given to quiet.

Montgomery, Earl of Eglinton.—His chief house is Eglinton. He has another castle, called Ardrossan, standing on the west seas foreanenst the Isle of Bute. There are of his surname the heirs of Montgomery, knight, Hesilhead, and the Laird of Gyffane [Giffen]; of which house the Count Montgomery, in France, is descended. They be of stomach, stout and hardy enemies sometimes to the houses of Glencairn and Boyd.

Lindsay, Earl of Crawford.—James Lindsaye, Lord Glenesk, was made Earl of Crawford by King Robert II. He had in heritage 21 baronies, the most part in Angus.

Gordon, Earl of Sutherland.—Descended of the house of Huntly. This Earl is of good power.

Douglas, Earl of Morton, Lord of Dalkeith.—Descended from the good Sir James Douglas, knight, of whose surname have been five several earls, viz., Douglas, Angus, Wigton, Murray, and Morton.

Elizabeth.
1577. There be extant only Angus and Morton. They have been men most noble and valiant in this land, ever defenders of their country and Kings, as of King David Bruce, James II. [of] the Stewarts, as now partly appears by James, Earl of Morton, now Regent of Scotland, a prudent and politic defender of James VI. These, for good service done to former Princes, have their lands regal. Their chief houses be the castle of Mor[ton], in Nithisdale, Dalkeith in Lothian, and Aberdore in Fife.

Sinclair, Earl of Orkney.—The "armes" of the Earl of Orkney were possessed sometimes by the Sinclairs, afterwards they came to the crown, lately given to James, Earl of Bothwell, and now are again annexed to the crown.

Stewart, Earl of Buchan.—The earldom of Buchan was given first by James I. to George, Earl of March, and 400 marks yearly pension forth of the earldom of March, after his attainder. Afterwards the same earldom was given to John Stewart, son to Robert, Duke of Albany, who was governor of Scotland. The same John was sent with an army to France, and for his valiant deeds was made Constable of that realm: slain by the Duke of Bedford, Regent of England. His chief house, called Owghter [Auchter] house, is in Angus, beside Dundee, and now the earldom is descended to a daughter.

Hay, Earl of Erroll.—Constable of Scotland by inheritance. Descended from a base countryman of that surname who was in a battle fought by King Kenneth against the Danes with his two sons, and plough yokes in their hands, and in a strait returned the Scots to battle, and overthrew the army of Danes. In reward he got all the lands betwixt the river of Tay and Erroll, being six miles in length and four in breadth, and of the best lands in Scotland, in the Carse of Gowrye, where wheat grows. His house is called Arrell [Errol] four miles from "Dreder" [Dundee] and his greatest rooms and habitation are in Buchan. "The yoke above his crest and 3 red sheilds in a field of silver." [*In the copy*—"His crest is a plough, his armes silver 3 escocheons gules."] They have been "counterpanes" [companions] in friendship and power to the Earls of Huntly. Slanes is their chiefest house in Buchan.

Leslie, Earl of Rothes.—The Earl of Rothes, Lord Leslie. His chief house, called Banbreight [Ballinbreich], stands on Leslie Green, not far from Falkland. He is descended of the house of Glenesk, and gives the ["three" *in the copy*] buckles called "bruches" in gold upon a bar of silver, as from that house. He hath many gentlemen of his surname in the north of Scotland, by which means he and they be always joined together in friendship with the Earls of Huntly. This man's brother, called Norman, Lord Leslie, for the slaughter of the late Cardinal of St. Andrews, was banished into England, and afterwards slain in France,—a valiant and worthy gentlemen.

Sinclair, Earl of Caithness.—Farthest northward of all Scotland, next Orkney. A man of no great living; of a good power in his country.

Earl of Murray.—The earldom of Murray was possessed by Earl Thomas Randoll, sister's son to the Bruce, and by his son John Randoll; afterwards by the Dunbars and Murrays; then by the Douglases, and, reverting to the crown, was given to James Stewart, base son to

Elizabeth.
1577. James IV., slain at Flodden. Being again in the crown, James Stewart, base son to James V., was created Earl of the same, being first Earl of Mar, whose right name hereafter shall appear. He was made Regent of Scotland; a man godly, of wisdom, liberality, and stomach—too good for that land—being barbarously slain.

Graham, Earl of Menteith.—Now decaying in living, and of no great power. Their chief dwelling is in St. Johnstone. His chief house and dwelling, called the Inch, lies within a fresh water loch called Inchmahome, two miles from the head of the Forth, above Stirling.

Erskine, Lord Erskine.—A baron of great fidelity to the crown. Sheriff of Stirlingshire by inheritance, Captain of the Castle of Stirling, and commonly keepers of their Princes in their minority. He has very few landed men of his surname, yet of good power by his friends and alliances within that shire. This lord is now, for his good service, created Earl of Mar.

Livingston, Lord Livingston—An ancient baron. His chief house, called the Castle of Callendar, lies 17 miles from Edinburgh. Of his surname are the Lairds of Kilsyth, in the Lennox, and Dynypace, in Stirlingshire. The living is hurt by adhering to the late Scottish Queen's party.

Fleming, Lord Fleming.—Descended from Robert Fleming, who, for his good service at the battle of Bannockburn, was rewarded with the lands of "Tumernald" [Cumbernauld], 24 miles from Edinburgh, by King Robert Bruce. These lands have a chase of red deer and wild white kine. He is Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, Sheriff of Tweeddale, called Peebles. He has another house at Biggar [Begger]. He has few gentlemen of his surname of any effect, save the Laird of Boghall, who was Captain of Dumbarton. His living is hurt by adhering to the opinion of the late Queen Mary. He is of the French faction, and has a brother Grand Prior in France, and base brother to the King.

Hay, Lord Yester.—Descended from the house of Erroll, Constable of Scotland. His chief house, called Yester, within four miles of Haddington, was taken in the wars of Edward VI. by the last Lord Gray. There be but few gentlemen of that house saving Mr. John Hay and the Laird of Allowe [Jellowe]. His power not great; of good living.

Drummond, Lord Drummond.—Descended from Sir John Drummond of Stubhall, knight, whose daughter Robert, the third of the Stewarts, married; their chief house, called Drymen [Drymmen], stands on Stratherne. There are of that surname the Lairds of Innerpeffray, "Harne" [Carno], Drummond, and others; not of great power; a surname subtle and of cruel stomach, as appeared by the burying of seventy Murrays, their neighbours, in one church. The women of that house have been fair, commonly "lemmans*" to the Kings of that land—as to James IV. and V.

Oliphant, Lord Oliphant.—Descended of the Lairds of Aberdawgie. His house, called Dupplin, lies in Stratherne, on the water of Erne, where Edward Balliol, assisted by Edward III., King of England, and with 8000 men only, overthrew the most part of the nobles of

* "Paramours" in the copy.

Elizabeth.
1577. Scotland, and made himself King,—called to this day the battle of Dupplin. This baron is not of great revenue, but what he has be good lands and profitable. There are few gentlemen of his surname, and so of small power, yet a house very loyal to the State of Scotland; accounted no orators in their words, yet not fools in their deeds. They do not "surmount" in their alliances, but are content with their worshipful neighbours. Their house lies two miles on this side St. Johnstone.

Rosse, Lord Rosse of Hakket Melville. Rosse by surname; descended from Hugh Rosse, whose son, Walter, was Earl of Rosse. His chief house, called Halkhead, lies five miles from Glasgow. He has another house beside Dalkeith, called "Mailvile." They have been men of good stomach and hardy; their power and living not great; assistant and allies ever to the house of Lennox. This house is now decsended to a daughter.

Ruthven, Lord Ruthven.—Sheriff of Perth. His chief house, called Ruthven, is within two miles of St. Johnstone. A baron of good living. The house of Ruthven have always been loyal and hardy men: not many of their surname, but of good power by their friends and alliances.

Maxwell, Lord Maxwell.—Their forefathers came into Scotland with Edgar and Margaret, his sister, who was married to King Malcolme Cammore. They were advanced to sundry lands in Niddisdale on the West Marches of Scotland; they have sundry gentlemen of their surname, are altogether Wardens of the West Marches, their house is Carlaverock, altogether overthrown by the Earl of Sussex, lieutenant for the Queen of England. They have a house in Dumfries and the house of Twine, above Kirkcudbright. Their power and living is great.

Somervell, Lord Somervell.—Their residence is in Clydesdale. Of that house are descended the "heires" of Sir John Somervell of Canethim, the Laird of Plane, in Stirlingshire, and other gentlemen. They be hardy men, of alliance with the Earls of Angus, dependers on that surname, and not addicted to the Hamiltons, their neighbours, but rather enemies in heart. A nobleman of pretty living, his power not great.

Seton, Lord Seton.—Descended from Sir Alexander Seton, who kept Berwick in the days of Edward III. Their surname came with King Malcolme Cammor forth of England, and for their good services and loyalty were made barons. Their chief house, called Seton, stands in Lothian. A man of not great living, but very good lands that he has. They have been altogether of the French faction, and advanced by pension dearly bought. The last married a French woman; he has been hurt by assisting the late Queen of Scots.

Hume, Lord Hume.—Descended from the Lords of Stamford, in England. They have been long Wardens of the East Marches of Scotland. They have been Lord Chamberlains of Scotland, and of great power. The lords have not of late been accounted wise, yet hardy, and by improvidence lost sundry claims; now almost ruined for the part of their late Queen.

Borthwick, Lord Borthwick.—Lord Borthwick came to Margaret, wife of King Malcolme Cammore, forth of Hungary. Their chief house, called the castle of Borthwick, stands eigth miles from Edin-

Elizabeth.
1577. burgh,—a house ever loyal to the Estate, just in all promises, a hater of thieves, much given to quietness, religious, and hardy.

Boyd, Lord Boyd.—His predecessor, being lord, was attainted in the days of James III. of the Stewarts, more upon malice of Court than for any lawful desert, as appeared by the sudden death of Lord Gray, then Chief Justice, upon appellation of the said lord, in giving the sentence. This man's father, called Robert Boyd, was created Lord Boyd by James, Earl of Arran, being governor, and got the chief house, called the Castle of Kilmarnock, and all the land appertaining thereto, lying beside Kilmawse [Kilmaurs], in Cunningham. This man is wise, honest, and of very good religion. He matched his son with the sheriff of Ayr, and so of good force. A surname of right hardy men.

Stewart, Lord Innermeath.—Descended of the Stewarts of Lorne and Atholl. Their chief house, called Innermeath, lies in Stratherne, six miles south from St. Johnstone. Men of no great power, of indifferent living, not great undertakers, but quiet in their country. They are allied with a daughter of the Captain of Falkland, called Beaton.

Herries, Lord Herries of Terregles.—The Lord Terregles, whose surname was Herries. The house and lands descended to daughters lately. John Maxwell, second son to Robert, Lord Maxwell, deceased, and uncle to this Lord Maxwell, married the eldest daughter of Herries, and compounding with the rest was created baron, and now called Lord Herries. He is of good revenue.

Sinclair, Lord Sinclair.—Descended of the Earls of Orkney and Caithness, and of the same surname. His chief house, called "Ravynsnes," lies on the seaside nigh the town of Dysart, in Fife. He has the most part of his lands in Orkney: of indifferent living, and no great force in these parts of Scotland. Their ancestors came forth of France.

Sempill, Lord Sempill.—Is sheriff by inheritance of the sheriffdom called the Barony of Renfrew, lying on the south side of Clyde from Glasgow to beyond Southerne, being 28 miles in length, a very proper country. His chief houses, lying in the same sheriffdom, are Castle Sempill, a very fair house, but lately defaced, the house of Laven, and the Castle of Southenen, with a house new builded in Paisley. This man was adherent to the lords at the apprehension of the late Queen Mary, and of that side. They be allied with the Earls of Eglinton, and have sometimes been in controversy with the Cunninghams, and overmatched with that surname. Men sufficient hardy; their living not great, and of late hurt.

The Lord Uchiltrie, called Stewart, descended from the house of Lennox. This man's father was Lord Avendale, which was his ancient house, and very noble, descended from Andrew, Lord Avendale, Chancellor of Scotland. He married the Earl of Arran's sister, and because Avendale joins with Hamilton, he exchanged with Sir James Hamilton, the earl's base son, for the lands of Uchiltrie. There have been worthy men of that house, as the late Lord Methven, James Stewart, Captain of Downe, and Robert Stewart—slain with the Prince of Condé in France—brother to this lord, who is a man of most zealous religion.

Creichton, Lord Creichton.—The Lord Creichton or Santher [Sanquhar] called Creichton. Came forth of Hungary with Edgar and his Queen into Scotland in the time of Malcolme Cammore. Sheriffs

Elizabeth.
1577. of Nythisdale by inheritance. Their chief house, called Santher [Sanquhar] Castle, stands at the head of that shire. There be many great gentlemen of that surname, and of good power, as the knights of Fyndrawght in the north, Straighurdie, Nynian Creichton of Culybuk [Bellibuk], the Laird of Nawghten, some time Captain of Edinburgh Castle. There is an old grudge betwixt the Douglases and that surname for slaughter of the Earl of Douglas in the time of James II.

Lord Lindsay of the Byres, in Lothian, is descended from the house of Crawford. He is now Sheriff of Fife. A man of indifferent living, no great power of himself, nor yet many of his surname from that house. This man is hardy, and has been loyal to the Estate, and very constant.

Stewart, Lord Methven.—Henry Stewart, the first thereof, brother to the late Andrew, Lord Avendale, and husband to the late Queen Margaret of Scotland, who purchased the lands of that barony and gave them to him and his heirs, was created baron and Lord Methven by James I., her son, and made Master of the Ordnance and Sheriff of Linlithgow by inheritance. His house lies in the sheriffdom of Perth, above St. Johnstone. After the slaughter of the Earl of Lennox, late Regent, whom he dearly loved, he passed to France, and there died, and has a young son to succeed. They be of noble blood, very religious and valiant.

The Lord Forbois (Forbes), of the same surname. At their beginning they were called Boys, and for their good services got sundry lands in the Mearnes by the gift of King Robert Bruce. Afterwards, for killing a bear, they were called Forbes, and got their arms; of whom this lord is descended, and many other gentlemen of that surname. A man of good power and living. They have been enemies to the Earls of Huntly, whom they have manfully withstood, considering their greatness.

The Lord Salton and Rothemay, by name Abernethy. They descended from Sir David Abernethy, sister's son to King Robert Bruce, who was called the "Flower of Chevalrie" for his great acts done against the Turks. This baron has been ever loyal, without spot, since their first creation, and very valiant. His house, called Salton, beside Haddington, stands in Lothian, but his chief house and continual residence, called Rothiemay, is in the north—a palace very fair. He is of good power and living. Albeit Huntly, his neighbour, has much rapined the house, yet they have strictly withstood them by their great friendship and wealth, and have lived always in great love and quiet with the Earls of Murray and other barons in the north. Honest in religion.

Lord Gray; of the same surname. Andrew Gray, his forefather, came with James, the first King of that name, of the Stewarts, at his redemption, forth of England. He got sundry good lands in Gowrie and Angus. By their good service they became Barons. They be Sheriffs of Angus, or Forfar, being the head town of the shire, by inheritance. Their chief house, called Fowlis, stands in the Carse of Gowrie, four miles westward from Dundee. Broughty Crag, his inheritance, was lately in English possession. They have sundry gentlemen of their surname, and of good power, men hardy and of good religion.

The Lord Elphinstone (of the same surname) was created baron by James IV., slain at Flodden; married an English gentlewoman, called

Elizabeth.
1577. Barley, who came into Scotland with Queen Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry VII., and got on her the last Lord Elphinstone. The house, called Elphinstoun, lies on the east of Stirling towards Forth river. There is of that surname the Laird of Henderston, in the same shire. Of no great power and living. Allied with, and depending on Lord Erskine, now Earl of Mar.

Lord Glammis;—descended from John Lyon, first made secretary to the Earl of Crawford, and after "familiar" to Robert II., the first King of the Stewarts; was made Chancellor, married his daughter, Elizabeth, got the Glammis and many rich lands in Angus, and created baron. He gave them the arms of Scotland with the tressure, saving they should bear 3 lions in a black field. [*In the margin*, arg. a lyon rampt. in a double tressure flory azure]. The first lord was slain by the Earl of Crawford. Their chief house, Glammis, lies in Angus. Of greatest revenue of any baron in Scotland.

Lord Cathcart (of the same surname). His chief house, called Cathcart, stands two miles south from Glasgow. He is decayed both in living and surname.

Lord Lovat, called "Fresell," whose surname came from Hungary. His lands and residence lie towards Loughwheavor, far north. Created baron in the days of James, the second of the Stewarts. The last lord with all his kin and friends, saving one boy to succeed, were slain in the 27th year of Henry VIII. by the Clan Ranald, a mischievous surname in the Isles, valiantly "foughten." This baron is of good living and power in the north, allied with and a dependent on the Earl of Huntly: a surname esteemed honest, and very hardy.

Lord Ogilvy (of the same surname) is descended from Alexander Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus, slain by the power of Donald of the Isles in a sore conflict called the battle of Harlaw, in the reign of James I. Afterwards, for their good services, they were created barons. Men of good living; and from that house are descended Sir Walter Ogilvy, knight, Sheriff of Banff, the Knight of "Fynnator," both men of good living in the north, and sundry other gentlemen. They be men of fair complexion, wise and civil, and of good power.

The Lord Carlisle (of that surname); an ancient baron, but now decayed in living and power. Their house, called "Therthrowell" [Torthorwald], built of a strong and thick wall, stands on the foot of Nythisdale. They be now only "appendauntes," with their small power, on Lord Maxwell and such as be Wardens for the time.

The Lord of the Isles of Skye and Lewis, called M^{c}Cloud, of good power and living in his country, but of small power to bring to the south of Scotland to "armie royall," and so not much to be esteemed. They be very obedient to the Estate.

The Lord of the Isles, of the surname Macdonell or "Maktane." For their greatness, unstable loyalty, and often incursions on the main land of Scotland, and difficult to bring to obedience, King Robert Bruce inhibited in his last will never to make a Lord of the Isles; and therefore they have been sundry times attainted, lastly by James IV., who put the principal of them to death on the Borough Muir of Edinburgh. Of late one was created, who joined with Matthew, Earl of Lennox, in the service of King Henry VIII., and died in Ireland. There are none now but the children of James Macdonell and Charlie Bowe, a "concourser" in Ireland.

Elizabeth.
1577. The Lord of Lorne.—A country adjoining to Argyll, and was not long ago the lands of the Crown, and inhabited by the best of Stewarts, called the Stewarts of Lorne; whereof be now but a few, and yet valiant. These lands and lordship be now the inheritance of the Earl of Argyll.

27 *pp. Stained and faded.*

286. Peers of Scotland

[*A document similar to No. 284, the language being slightly altered.*]

15 *pp.*

287. Anonymous Letter.

C.P., vol. X. That he did not wish to send this cipher in by "Wilem" nor by l'Esselar, inasmuch as, being too suspected, he feared that they might be searched.

That someone of the attendants of my lord Shrewsbury has got my said lord into trouble, having reported to her majesty that the Queen of Scotland had said or written to someone, that the said lord had promised her that, should the death of the Queen happen, he would put the crown on the head of the Queen of Scotland.

The Queen of Scotland said that she would be very sorry to be in another place than in this kingdom, forasmuch as she had here a great number of friends and servants, and, upon that, people said, that the Queen, speaking of the Queen of Scotland, had said that she was ill. The said Queen of Scotland had replied that she was better than the Queen, and that she knew well that the Queen was subject to a failure of the heart which returned every month, so that the Queen of Scotland was hoping a better fortune in this country.

That the said attendant had shown a letter of the Queen of Scotland.

The Earl of Shrewsbury had increased the suspicion that they had of her, by having asked that the suite should be augmented even by two women of the chamber. That he had been advertised of the above from high quarters, and seeing that there is need, that she should write to her majesty letters, very straightforward, which will contain that they have spread reports of him contrary to the truth, and that she was kindly disposed to him (with several long proposals which were the entire project of one letter).

Her friends that she has here advise her not to speak in any way whatsoever of the estate, neither of the life and health of this Princess, not even to the late queen, her mother, were she living, forasmuch as it would be dangerous,—that she would find it ill for her person.

The parliament is to hold after Easter; she will not fail then of being well succoured by her friends in France.

Peace has lasted in her kingdom for some time.

Adam Gordon has been welcomed in France and well treated.

This cipher remained by reason of the refusal of leave to Vassel.

The Queen no longer suspects the Earl of Shrewsbury, as he knows from a good quarter. On the 28th of December was despatched one of the attendants of the Earl of Shrewsbury to spy on the words and

Elizabeth.
1577. all other actions of the Queen of Scotland, but he will not return without being punished.

That the Queen of Scotland had no longer fear of a disturbance, for it was no longer spoken of, and that she is no longer troubled about anything, but that she would not appear to acknowledge it.

The uncle of the Earl of Argyll has promised to be faithful to the Queen of Scotland.

That they have not allowed to go to the Earl of Shrewsbury two young men of Mestier, sent by the President of Tours, forasmuch as the youngest resembled the Queen of Scotland.

Gartelai has excused himself from the promises that he has made to some of the lords of this kingdom, and promises to be faithful to the Queen of Scotland until death.

That she does not fear anything that may be revealed from here, and that the deed of Rolson has not been conducted wisely, so that they have not perceived from whence the advertisement came.

Quelsai goes to Scotland, who shows himself to be a good subject.

The Prince of Scotland is well.

The Earl of Argyll is discontented that the Regent has preferred another to the state of Chancellor.

The castle of Hume with another has been rendered to the Earl of Morton, but they hope that for money that they will be remitted into the hands of Lord Hume.

There has been an enterprise discovered at Rochelle, which has aimed to bring about a disturbance in France; but all has passed, for the Sieur de St. Sulpice has gone there, who has appeased everything.

Those of Lanquedoc still hold out, but the King will soon get the better of them.

1⅔ *pp.* *French Copy.* *Indorsed.*

288. Charges Against Mary.

C.P., vol. VIII. "Matters wherewith the Queen of Scottes is to bee chardged."

(1) Taking the arms and title of England. (2) Refusing to ratify the treaty at Edinburgh. (3) Practising a marriage with Lord Darnley. (4) Her practice for marriage with the Duke of Norfolk without her majesty's privity. (This appears by the bishop of Rosse's book called "A Brief Discourse or Apology," fol. 10, where he declares that being confronted with Barker, who was the only secret means between the Duke and him, and finding by him that all the chiefest matters were confessed and the Queen his mistress' letters laid open before him, namely the discourse deciphered, with many other letters in cipher and some out of cipher, *etc.*, the said bishop, when he saw no other remedy but to yield thereunto, did yet determine with himself to bear all the burden he might, and to excuse all purposes contained in the said discourse so far as was possible.) (5) Her procuring of the rebellion in the north. (This may be proved by sundry messages to and fro between her and the Earl of Northumberland by one John Livingston, a Scot, Thomas Bishop and his son). 2. By this, that one Oswald Wilkinson was sent to the Spanish ambassador by the Bishop of Rosse, to whom he was directed to procure money and men for the rebellion.) (5) Her relieving the rebels after they fled out of the realm. (This appears by certain examinations of the

Elizabeth.
1577. bishop of Rosse, 26th October, 1571, that when the English rebels were fled into Scotland the said bishop wrote that they should go into Flanders, and there provision should be made for them; and so they did, and the Pope sent them 12,000 crowns by her procurement; which sum was distributed amongst them in Flanders, where they remained under the King of Spain's protection. This appears also by it,—that the rebels at their first flying into Scotland were relieved by her friends only. And it is further confirmed by an apology written by the bishop of Rosse (fol. 4) touching his proceedings in the said Queen's affairs, as also by a relation of the bishop of Rosse's employment in Germany, whither he was sent to deal with the Princes, *etc.*, as by an extract of the same is to be seen.) (7) Her procuring by her ministers foreign Princes to invade this realm. (This appears first by letters of one John Hamilton to her, dated at "Bruels," 6 July, 1574, wherein it appears that he was a principal practicer and instrument for her delivery, intended by way of invasion through a complot of the Pope and other Princes, that he was to go to Spain, and otherwise to be employed in those affairs—as is to be gathered by the said letters—chiefly by her direction, *etc.* Further, it appears by her own letters to the bishop of Glasgow, written in cipher, dated 6 November, 1577, wherein she shows herself to be grieved with the Pope for deferring the means of her deliverance, *etc.*; that he should give the French King to understand by the means of her cousins how easy the attempt would then be, by reason of a division happened amongst the nobility, so that the Princes their neighbours needed not to fear any matter on this side, where they might with very small forces trouble them very sore, all the Catholics being so forward in the matter that the wagging of a finger would put them into the field. This may be proved also by the bishop of Ross' employment in Germany. The employment of John Hamilton appears further by the Bishop of Ross' examinations, where it is said that Hamilton brought a message from the Duke of Alva to the said Queen, that when anything was attempted for her he would put his hand to it, for so he had commandment from the King his master. This is also most apparent by the copy of a most despiteful letter written with her own hand, written as well to the English as the Scottish banished men, deciphered by Mr. Somer, which begins thus: "If ever Prince, *etc.*" Besides, this matter is confessed by the bishop of Ross in a book entitled, "A discourse of his proceedings of the Scottish Queen's affaires in England, *etc.*," fol. 2; where it is mentioned that the Queen his mistress willed him to persuade the Duke of Norfolk to confer with Ridolfi, and by his advice to instruct him of all her affairs in the best sort to be declared to the Princes, with such likelihood that thereby they might be persuaded to employ their forces for her relief; where is also showed how Ridolfi had received 12,000 crowns and delivered them to the Englishmen in Flanders, being part of the 100,000 crowns the Pope had given order to be furnished for the intended invasion. Harwich was named to be the place of entrance. They should relieve the Queen of Scots and set forward such other affair as they should think best.)

4½ *pp. In the hand of Burghley's clerk. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1577.

289. QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 543.

"Degrees."—The surest has been thought to have her condemned as a common enemy to this State. The second, to return her to the Regent, with certainty that there she should be condemned and receive justice. The third is to devise that she may newly affirm her son's estate; and therein all ways to be thought on how that may be done with assurances to continue. Wherein many things are to be considered, though there be no certainty, but probability.

Upon suit to be made for her by the French King, or such like; to be answered, that without the State of Scotland may continue as it does, her restitution will but breed a civil war there, and thereof, consequently, this realm must suffer danger; for it is certain that the rebels will take her part, and they prevailing, England must needs suffer troubles by them; and therefore without she will assent voluntarily thereto, it cannot be granted to have her delivered.

The means to continue Scotland in the quiet state is to confirm the King's estate by her act, by Parliament in Scotland, by oaths and hostages of such as have adhered to her. Also, that the French King and the Queen's majesty enter into league to defend the King and to maintain his estate against all who shall impeach it.

The last mean is to have her kept in better surety than she is, and then, if any forcible attempt shall be made or practised for her delivey, the Queen of England then may soon remedy the same.

1⅛ *pp.* *In Burghley's hand.*

290. EARLDOM OF LENNOX.

"For the dower of the Countesse of Lennox in Scotlande."

Harl. MSS., 289, fol. 196.

King Henry VIII. by letters patent dated 26 June in the 36th year of his reign gave commission to Sir Thomas Wryothesley, knight, and others for the marriage of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, as also for the assurance of certain of the Earl's lands in Scotland for her dower. The Earl of Lennox by deed bound himself to endow her with certain lands. The Countess of Lennox demanding her dower of the Regent, he denied the same.

"The tytle of the enherytance of the Erledome of Lennox to the Lady Arbell," *etc.*

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

291. EARLDOM OF LENNOX.

Harl. MSS., 289, fol. 200.

"The Regentes objecteions agaynste the right of the dower."—The covenant was made in England, and the Earl was banished. Clauses against the common weal of Scotland. No seisin given. The Earl gave the earldom to Henry, Lord Darnley before the marriage of the Queen.

"The Regentes objections agaynste the ryght of the Lady Arbell to the erledome of Lennox."—The gift by the Earl of Mar, then Regent, may be revoked by the King. As the earldom is in demand between the Lady Arbell and D'Aubigné, the Regent is not willing to determine the same. She is within age. If the Regent should allow of

Elizabeth.
1577-8. the same, and the King hereafter should mislike, how should the Regent discharge himself?

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Notes in the margin.*

Jan. 12. **292.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Harl. MSS., 6992, fol. 90. Her majesty is now fully [resolved to send] you into Scotland. For that the colour of your going thither is chiefly to visit the King and to convey a present to him, I pray you see if you can find any fit thing to be bought at London meet for his years and state. Some rare rapier or dagger were in my opinion the fittest present. To send him a jewel, unless it be of great price or very rare for workmanship —whereunto her majesty, I fear, will not be brought—[we]re but a scorn. Hampton Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 25. **293** SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XI. Entreats him to deliver the inclosed letter to the Earl of Leicester. Troubles him with these few lines not being at more leisure by taking of physic. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewsbury.

½ *p.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

[Jan.] **294.** MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY.

Scotland.—To send one to the King, and to have several letters to the King, the Regent, and to some other of the principals of the nobility; to show the Queen of England's desire to know of the King's health and to wish quietness in the realm; to offer her favour, counsel, and assistance to establish and increase the King's estate in quietness; to procure knowledge of the negotiation of the French or any others tending to alienate the minds of any in Scotland from the devotion to England; to learn what were requisite to be done by her majesty to prevent the practices of the contrary, and to give hope of her assenting to further the same.

Upon return of answer hereto her majesty will not spare any reasonable charges to assure that realm to her, and to prevent and withstand all contrary attempts.

It is good to search out particularly what is meant and practised concerning the marriage of the young King, and what disposition is thought to be in himself either concerning his own marriage, or concerning his disposition towards his mother.

1 *p.* *In Burghley's hand.*

Jan. 30. **295.** INSTRUCTIONS TO THOMAS RANDOLPH SENT INTO SCOTLAND.

"Instructions given to oure servant Thomas Randolphe, esquer, *etc.*, sent into Scotland to the King and the Regent, 30 Jannu. 1577."

To let the Regent know the great desire she has to be informed by him [Randolph], as an eye-witness, of the King's good health, and of his great towardliness in learning and other princely and rare parts she hears he is indued with; also to let him know her further pleasure touching certain things propounded to him by her servant Bowes.

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1577-8. On his repair to the King, after the delivery of her letters to him, he shall with all good words and speeches meet for his years and quality, express the comfort and great contentation she receives from the report she hears generally of his great towardliness, from whom she looks to receive (in respect of the care she has always had to preserve him and his realm in quiet, with no less zeal and affection than if he had been her own natural son) all good friendship and neighbourhood as a thing pertaining to honour, and gratuity to show himself thankful for the same.

Thinks it meet, at his being with the King, to deal by persuasions with such as are chief about him and have best credit with him to nourish a good opinion in him towards her for her careful and motherly dealing towards him for the sustentation of him and his dominions, whereof they have been eye-witnesses, and have largely tasted of the benefit of her doings in maintaining the quiet state of Scotland and the preservation of them in that liberty which they presently enjoy. For if it be well considered how the States of young Princes in the time of their minority are subject to invasions, civil dissensions, and other disorders, whereby ensue ofttimes such dangerous consequences, it shall then appear that if he had not had so friendly and good a neighbour as her, it might be he should ere this have tasted of some part of the inconveniences which Princes' young years draw with them; and therefore as good servants who duly regard the honour of their master, they should do well to put him in mind of her friendly dealing towards him, and to persuade him hereafter, in the years of his ripe understanding, to render her the fruit of that good amity which she has performed towards him and his kingdom in these his younger years.

After he has found how the Regent is affected towards her, is to let him know such matters as she delivered to him by speech, and thought meet to be recommended to him.

Whereas she has already, by her servant Bowes, interposed herself to mediate a reconciliation between the Regent and the Earls of Argyll and Atholl, he shall also persuade him in her name to have an especial care to grow to speedy composition with them, considering the inconvenience that is likely to ensue by their breaking out into further heats upon that occasion is such as carries with it not only the quiet of that State, which he ought so much the more to tender, because he is the head and principal governor thereof under the King, but also a manifest trouble to her own realm, a matter she ought carefully to avoid, and therefore cannot but recommend good union among themselves. If he finds in him a disposition to prosecute the matter in all extremity against them, he shall then let him plainly understand that she, seeing the peril that may ensue, whereby foreign forces will be drawn into that realm, will make herself a party against him in case he shall proceed in so violent a determination, especially seeing she does not wish the matter otherwise compounded, but that there shall be due regard had to the place and quality he holds, whereby he may not be had in contempt.

[*In the margin;*—"Added post signationem."] And because the quiet state of Ireland is oft infested by such disquiet members of the same, who, to maintain their particular quarrels, call to the subjects of the out isles of Scotland, which are under the jurisdiction and

Elizabeth.
1577-8. authority of the Earl of Argyll, she thinks it meet that he pray the Regent to take order that none of the inhabitants of the out isles be suffered to have any intelligence with the disordered persons and rebels of Ireland, nor pass over to them by way of succour, nor yield any aid whatsoever. As she looks to receive assurance from him that he will yield her due satisfaction, so shall he find her ready at all times to show herself thankful for the same.

Is to communicate these instructions to her servant Bowes, who is to impart to him such matters as he has negotiated there, that upon conference had together they may deal accordingly for the better furtherance of her present service. Because she cannot so reasonably determine upon every particular point which, peradventure, the necessity of that her service shall require, as she committed such particularities to the wisdom and direction of Bowes, so in like sort she refers the same to them both to take such course in these things—which she cannot precisely set down for want of good intelligence of all necessary circumstances—as they shall see to be best for her service.

As occasion may be offered, upon conference had with them about the King, and others, touching the Regent's carrying himself in his government, if it be not answerable to the hope they conceived and wish for the benefit of Scotland, is to exhort him in her name to have regard to it, acquainting him with such dislikes as shall come to his notice, and deal earnestly with him from her to have a care to satisfy the well affected therein, and to bear himself so that no discontentment may grow to the better sort; whereupon may in all likelihood depend the quiet and disquiet of that State, the decline whereof she would be very sorry should grow by any means or behaviour of his.

Is to recommend Lady Lennox's causes to the Regent to be considered of, as in law and equity may be thought fit, in which she hopes he will be answerable to the care she has to right the subjects of Scotland who have sustained any loss by any of hers.

4 *pp.* *Fair Copy.* *At the head:* "Elizabeth R."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 140. Original of the same. Dated Jan. 31st.

Jan. 31. **296.** ELIZABETH TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXVI., fol. 6. Sends him 2000*l.* which, with the consent of the bearer, Thomas Randolph, and by the advice of others whom he shall find best affected to her in Scotland, he is to bestow in way of pension upon such of that realm as he shall find meetest to be entertained for her service. Hampton Court.

¾ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* "Pensions from England to be distributed in Scotland by Sir [*sic*] T. Randolph—2000*l.*"

Feb. 4. **297.** EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER WRITTEN AT LONDON.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 135. That comet, which had not been long seen, filled the Queen and her followers with great fear: for meantime she laboured with a very burdensome disease, so that from day to day she vomited blood in the greatest abundance. Hence the Anlic sectaries, taking the opportunity

Elizabeth.
1577-8. of protecting themselves, advised the Queen that the council of the three orders should, on the last day of February, give judgment that, to the prejudice of the Queen of Scots (by whom they fear the restitution of the Catholic religion) by consent of the three orders the power be granted to Queen Elizabeth of making in her will whom she pleased heir to the kingdom, as had been previously granted to Henry VIII.

Therefore, that a great quantity of money might be exacted in aid of Flanders and of the sectaries, according to the Queen's will, the sectaries decreed to urge the Queen to nominate in her will the Earl of Huntingdon, "Roberti affinem sororium," as heir, because he is a bold advocate of the Calvinist sect, and a very sharp persecutor of the Catholics: which nomination Robert and his followers favour much. On the contrary, the Catholics, the heirs, *consanquinei*, and relations of the Duke of Norfolk and of other peers, who have suffered much for the defence of the Queen of Scotland, strive to hinder it with all their strength.

¾ *p. Latin. Copy.*

Feb. 4. **298.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Harl. MSS., 6992, fol. 93. Received advertisement of the overthrow of the "States Campe." Now her masejty will not stick at money, considering how much it stands her upon to assure Scotland to her. Hampton Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed. (Printed, Wright, vol. ii., p. 76.)*

Feb. 7. **299** INSTRUCTIONS TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Whereas in her former instructions given to her servant Bowes, she willed him, as of himself, to let the Regent know that he had heard of an offer made by himself of a mutual contract of amity to be concluded between the two realms for the common defence of the same against foreign attempts, according to a memorial given by the Regent to Henry Killigrew in 1573, and she understands by Killigrew's letters to her Secretary that he has made some overture thereof,—her pleasure is that he proceed in the same motion, to further it by all the best means he can, dealing therein as well jointly with Bowes as severally by himself, in such manner as to him shall seem best for the advancement of her service. Thinks good to take that course according to the Regent's former motion, that the amity may rather be desired by them than sought for by her.

½ *p. At the head:* "This article was added the 7th of Feb. 1577."

Feb. **300.** INSTRUCTIONS BY ELIZABETH FOR SHREWSBURY AND SIR HENRY NEVILL.

C.P., vol. XI. "Instructions for our right trusty and right welbeloved cosin and counsellour the Erle of Shrewsbury, and welbeloved servant Sir Henry Nevell, knight."

Forasmuch as she finds it very necessary to have the Queen of Scots removed further from the north parts, she has made choice of Sir Henry Nevill to assist the Earl of Shrewsbury in the execution of her

Elizabeth.
1577-8. determination in manner following.—On his way to Sheffield, where the Queen of Scots now is, he shall resort to the Earl of Huntingdon's house in Leicestershire, called Ashby, and give order to such as have the charge thereof that it be forthwith put in readiness to receive and lodge a great personage and his company, covering the matter by his good discretion, so that it may not be known for whom it is made ready. Is then speedily to repair to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and deliver her letters and communicate these her instructions to him, carrying himself so that it may not appear to the Queen of Scots or to any of hers that he has arrived there for this purpose, until she shall be told it by the Earl of Shrewsbury. The Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Henry are to confer together for the order to be observed for removing her; which she would have to be performed as follows. —(1) The Earl of Shrewsbury shall show the Queen of Scots her letter and pray her to dispose of her things that she may depart thence according to her express order and commandment. Would have no stay made in the removing of her above one day after the arrival of Sir Henry Nevill; in which time there may be horse litter or coach and horses provided, sufficient for her and her train, and also carriages for her stuff—or, at least the principal stuff, and the rest to follow if all cannot go together; and a convenient number of the Earl of Shrewsbury's servants to attend on them. In case he thinks his own companies will not be sufficient, then he may supply the want by sending her letter directed for that purpose to the sheriffs of Derby, Notts, and Leicester to assist him. Are so to direct their way from Sheffield to Ashby that the Queen of Scots may be lodged every night in gentlemen's houses of best strength, and lie most aptly for the conveyance of her to the place appointed. The owners of those houses are to forbear from coming near her, but to absent themselves for the time of her being there, and to leave only such persons in their houses as may deliver and take charge of such necessaries as are to be used for the time. The Earl is to write to the owners by some discreet and secret persons to be sent a little before to make all things ready for her. For the safety of the Queen and avoiding of access to her, and especially at night, he is to appoint a convenient number of his servants, and also some of the gentlemen assistants, who shall meet them by the way, to watch in and about the said houses, and to cause strong watch to be kept in the towns and villages near about by the officers and inhabitants of the places: for which purpose Sir Henry Nevill shall have with him commandment to all officers and others to be aiding to him in all things herein requisite. For avoiding of resort of people near to her, they are to have special care that, as much as possibly they can, they do not lodge her in any good town or great borough, or convey her through any such, or by any common high-faring ways; but in case they be constrained to pass through any such, that at least it be not on the market day or holiday, and that they give order to stay the concourse of people about her.

Item;—when they shall approach within one day's journey of Ashby they may send some of theirs wherein they best trust thither before with the Queen of Scots' necessary officers and some skilful person to see that the same house be prepared as Sir Henry Nevill appointed, and that the Queen of Scots' lodging may be put in that order that is meet, and her servants accommodated within the wards

Elizabeth.
1577-8. of the same; wherein the earl can give good direction by example of his own. Are to have good regard for lodgings for the warders who are to attend by day and watch by night. Refers her diet by the way and provisions to be made at Ashby to the earl's consideration. Sir Henry Nevill is to have a sum of money with him to defray expenses. When they have settled her at Ashby in charge of Sir Henry and Henry Knowles the elder, the Earl of Shrewsbury is to repair to her. Charges Sir Henry Nevill and the rest joined with him in this her service, as they will continue in her favour and acquit this her special trust in them, to have a special regard that none other than her own household and ordinary servants have any access to the said Queen, nor that any strangers do the like with any of her servants. They are also to have a watchful eye to intercept any letters. If she delivers them any letters to be sent to her or to France for her own ordinary affairs, they are to send them to one of her principal secretaries. Are to signify to her with speed what day they depart from Sheffield, and of the way they intend to carry her, at what gentlemen's houses they resolve to lodge her, how many day's journey they mind to make of it, and of their arrival at Ashby.

3½ *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

Feb. **301.** ELIZABETH TO THE SHERIFFS OF NOTTINGHAM, DERBY, AND LEICESTER.
C.P., Vol. XI.

Whereas she has appointed a charge of great importance to be done by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Henry Nevill, knight, for the better performing whereof they may have occasion to use their assistance, they are forthwith to yield them aid if they by their letter or messenger require it.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy. Indorsed.*

Feb. **302.** ELIZABETH TO SHREWSBURY.
C.P., Vol. XI.

Whereas we have fully resolved to remove our cousin the Queen of Scots from your house, and to have her brought to another nearer to us by you and Sir Henry Nevill, knight, whom we now send to you for that purpose, our will is that you shall signify the same to her on receipt hereof, and take special order with her—all excuses set apart—that she shall remove from Sheffield the next day after such signification. You shall assure her from us we have ordered that, besides your own companies, good troops of gentlemen and others are laid upon and near the passages, where some shall meet you, and shall further have that regard to her good usage and safety which is meet.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy. Indorsed.*

Feb. 21. **303.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.
Harl. MSS., 6992, fol. 95.

Incloses advertisements concerning the Low Countries. After he has had conference with Mr. Bowes and by him shall be thoroughly informed of all things, who will also acquaint him with what he has now written to him, fears he shall deal with one whom he is to hold as a wolf by the ear. Therefore, after he has, upon conference with Mr Bowes, well sounded him, is to advertise hither in what good or bad

Elizabeth.
1577-8. terms he finds him, that accordingly deliberation may be had here and direction given to him. Whether this man, whom he is to hold so hardly and dangerously, stands upright with the Queen of England or wavers, or be clean fallen away, he [Randolph] is the most apt and likely man to continue him in good course or to reduce him to the right way, and therefore, knowing as he does how necessary the amity between these two crowns is, and how requisite a person this man—held now somewhat doubtful—is for the preservation of the same, though he wishes him to write speedily and largely how he finds him disposed, yet he would not that he himself make any haste to return hither, but rather tarry there till some league of amity be concluded. Hampton Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—Sends his commendations to his nephew, Mr. Alexander Hay, and Mr. Nicholas Elphinstone. In no case salute Captain Colborne, who is deciphered to be a "Marianiste."

1 *p.* *The last part holograph of Walsingham. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. **304.** ELIZABETH TO SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. XI. For certain special and important causes—wherewith this bearer, Sir Henry Nevill, knight, shall acquaint you in part, and the rest at your coming to us we will impart to you—we have fully resolved to have the Queen of Scots removed, and for that purpose we have now sent him to you, as well (besides these our letters) to impart to you our pleasure and determination, as also in your company to attend on the said Queen to the place which we have appointed for her, as you shall further understand by the instructions which we have given to you and to him under our hand for your proceeding in this behalf, which we will and require you to perform effectually.

1 *p.* *Broadsheet. Copy. Indorsed.*

Feb. 28. **305.** THOMAS RANDOLPH AND ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6992, fol. 97. Randolph arrived at Edinburgh on the 25th instant. Audience was granted to them both the next day after dinner. Randolph declared the cause of her majesty sending him. Inclose the King's answer. The King signified by Alexander Hay that he would have some talk with Randolph apart on Saturday following, this being Thursday. It is not unknown to them of what nature this people are—loth to obey, and ready upon occasion to mislike. Misliking there is of the Regent for his covetous humour and strait dealing. Suspicion there is that underhand, for his private affections, he nourishes discords. The Earls of Argyll and Atholl being lately reconciled have linked to them some personages of the house of Mar to favour their faction. Edinburgh.

4⅓ *pp.* *Draft in Randolph's hand. Indorsed.* (*Extract printed, Wright, vol. ii., p. 78.*)

March. **306.** WALSINGHAM TO SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. XI. Whereas he desired to repair to the Queen of England's presence in respect only of the earnest zeal and affection he has to do his duty

Elizabeth.
1577-8. to her, she has willed him to tell him that as she concurs in like good affection to see him, so she cannot but greatly allow and commend his desire in this behalf. Howbeit, weighing well how necessary in sundry respects his abode in the country is for the custody of the Scottish Queen, she wishes, before she licenses him to repair up hither, to know what he has resolved for the safe custody of the Queen of Scots during the time of his absence, a matter of the greatest importance to herself.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "March, 1577. To the Erle of Shrewsburie in her majesties' name."

March 8. **307.** THE REGENT MORTON TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND'S AMBASSADORS.

Harl. MSS. 289, fol. 206. Having lately received a letter from the King's majesty, I have sent the Laird of Whittingham, bearer hereof, with the answer thereof, and to receive your good advice in his proceeding, whom you may well credit. Holyrood House.

¼ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

March 9. **308.** JAMES VI. TO MORTON.

Harl. MSS. 4637c., fol. 80. Informs him that he has accepted the government of Scotland upon himself. Stirling Castle.

⅔ *p. Copy.*

March 9. **309.** THOMAS RANDOLPH AND ROBERT BOWES TO THE REGENT MORTON.*

Harl. MSS. 289, fol. 206. Have received his letter and the copy of the King of Scots' letter to him with his answer thereto. Being nothing privy to the sending of his letter to the King, nor knowing on what ground his grace was moved to make the offer in the same expressed, they cannot persuade him to any other purpose "than to your grace was before considered, and shall seeme to be expedient for the common welfare of this isle and your grace's owne benefite"; wishing earnestly, that having offered thus far, he would now advisedly provide and forsee that the several parts of his letter for the preservation of the King's person, the maintenance of his estate, *etc.*, may be carefully established. Stirling.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed with No. 306.*

March 10. **310.** PROCLAMATION BY JAMES VI.

Harl. MSS. 289, fol. 207. Having beside him a good number of his nobility, has thought necessary to advise with them concerning the best ways for preservation of his person and maintenance of peace in Scotland, like to be dissolved by the troubles which arise through the misliking that many have of the regiment in the person of the Earl of Morton, who was willing to demit the same. After long conference, perceiving all to remit the choice to his own judgment, he has declared in their pres-

* In answer to No. 307.

Elizabeth.
1577-8. ence that he accepts the burden of the administration on himself. Stirling.

¾ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Ib., fol. 208. Another copy of the same.

March 11. **311.** MORTON TO JAMES VI.

Harl. MSS. 4637c., fol. 80, b. Has received his letter. Understands his resolution to take the government into his own hands, which he is well satisfied with, and will ever continue most ready to do him all the faithful service by counsel and otherwise that lies in his possibility. Edinburgh.

½ *p.* *Copy.*

March 13. **312.** JAMES VI. TO MORTON.

Harl. MSS. 4673c., fol. 80, b. By his answer received understands his readiness to satisfy him. Has caused the matter of his exoneration to be considered by the nobility and Councillors here convened. Stirling Castle.

½ *p.* *Copy.*

March 13. **313.** DEMISSION OF THE REGENCY.

Harl. MSS. 4637c, fol. 81. "Memoir of credits committit be ws to oure traist cousengis and counsalowris Johnne Lord Glammis our Chancellair, Williame Lord Ruthven oure thesaurair and Johnne Lord Hereis to comunicat to our richt traist cousing James erle of Mortoun, Lord of Dalkeith, oure late Regent. At oure castell of Strivling, the xiij day of Marche, 1577."

To report in how good part he has received his good affection to him with the demission of his charge. Minds always to use him as his good cousin and councillor. Are to require delivery of Edinburgh Castle. The King allows his exoneration and discharge. His houses are in great decay, which want he looks to receive from the earl. Matters touching the Borders. The state of coining house and work of coining to be inquired into.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

[March.] **314.** THE REGENT MORTON'S OFFER TO JAMES VI.

Harl. MSS. 289, fol. 204. His meaning in his declaration was, that when it should please his highness to take the regiment into his own hands, he would most willingly and readily demit the same to him, craving only, before the same be done, he may propone to him and his nobility, to be convened for that end, three things:—

(1) That good order may be taken towards the governing and preservation of his highness' person, the order of his house, officers, and servants, and the handling of the revenues of his crown.

(2) That the peace with England may be observed during his minority, for the danger that a war may bring not only to his own realm and people, but to his right and "entres" to the succession of the crown of England.

(3) Good order to be taken for quietness in his realm by

Elizabeth.
1577-8. "contenynge" of the broken men of the Highlands and Borders, by whom the State is commonly troubled, under obedience to the laws.

(4) If the nobility and Estates shall find that he has truly served him in this charge, that then he may have his highness' discharge of the same by advice of his Parliament.

⅔ *p Copy. Indorsed.*

March 13. **315** ANSWER OF THE EARL OF MORTON.

Harl. MSS. 4637c, fol. 81, b.

"Memoir of the answeris gevin be James, Erle of Mortoun, Lord of Dalkeith, late Regent to our soverane Lord to the credite committit be his hienes to ye rycht noble and mychtie lordis Johnne Lord Glammis, Chancellair, Williame Lord Ruthuen thes' and Johnne Lord Hereis to communicat to the said Erle. Daitit at Striviling Castel the xiij day of Marche, 1577."

Upon report made to him in how good part the King has received his demission, *etc.*, he renders him most humble thanks. Will deliver the Castle of Edinburgh. The jewels are kept in the castle, and being esteemed of great "avale," requests that they be received with the castle. Desires the King to have consideration of the good service done to his highness by his brother George Douglas of Porkheid, captain of the said castle. Desires the King to call to remembrance that he received the charge and government in a very troublous time, the charge whereof could not be borne without great disbursing, there being nothing in the beginning whereon that necessity might be supported, unless he had advanced of his own substance. The troubles being pacified he has paid the debts. His majesty's houses are now in better case than they were at the beginning of his regiment, and his rent is now in good order. Nevertheless, he will not spare to bestow on his majesty, at his desire, whatsoever he has. The wardenry of the West Marches, the keeping of Liddisdale, and the wardenry of the Middle Marche "bewest the strete" shall be surrendered into his highness' hands.

1⅔ *pp. Copy.*

March 16. **316.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH AND ROBERT BOWES.

Harl. MSS. 6992, fol. 100.

Deposing of the Regent. The amity between Scotland and England. The cause of religion. The Court. *Signed:* Fra Walsyngham.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. (Printed, Wright, vol. ii., p. 79.)*

March 16. **317.** MORTON TO JAMES VI.

Harl. MSS. 4637c, fol. 81, b.

Acknowledges his letter of the 13th instant. Requests that his discharge may be delivered to his cousin, Mr Thomas Lyoun of Baldwehy, bearer hereof, as was promised. Has given a direct answer to the other matters proponed by the lords in his name. Dalkeith.

⅓ *p. Copy.*

Elizabeth.
1577-8. **318.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

March 16. By your letters of the last of January and declaration of Thomas Randolph we understand your good liking and joy conceived of the
Harl. MSS., 289, fol. 209. general report made of our inclination to true religion and other princely qualities, assuring us of that succour and great goodwill on your part towards us, with all good effects of friendship and amity which the nearness of our blood craves. As our petition to God is to make us able to satisfy your expectation and hope conceived of us, and that the latter season of our years may in effect answer our by-past education, so render we unto you, dearest sister, our right hearty thanks for your loving remembrance and pleasant token sent us, being to us most acceptable and welcome in your respect, of whose entire love and affection we have had so good experience by so many proofs of your friendship and carefulness shown for the preservation of us and our estate in our tender age, that you may be well assured of a thankful and loving mind in us therefore, still meaning by all good offices of friendship and good neighbourhood to deserve your love and favour to be continued towards us hereafter. Namely, since by advice of our nobility and estates and the voluntary demission of our cousin and late Regent, the Earl of Morton, we have accepted the government of our realm to be administrated by ourself from this forth, with advice of our Council, wherein our first care, next God, shall be to entertain the good amity betwixt us, and that our officers shall answer yours for good rule of the Borders. Stirling.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy. Indorsed.*

March 17. **319.** SHREWSBURY TO ELIZABETH.

C.P., vol. XI. Is credibly advertised that of late great bruits have been given out that there is want of due respect to his charge here, and that he is too much at the devotion of the Queen of Scots, and so the less to be trusted therein, and thereupon some consideration was thought meet to be had for disposing of her otherwhere out of his custody, to his most dishonour and disgrace with her majesty. Supposing these bruits come to her, he presumes not to excuse himself, but to be cleared thereof by her own just judgment. Prays God for it on his knees that she, his only sovereign lady and mistress, who is the wisest and noblest Queen on earth, and in all excellent gifts and virtues of body and mind without comparison, far above any earthly creature, is the only judge of his service, and so of whatsoever can be said against him. Then, may it please her, although to answer somewhat for himself is a part of his duty, and may be looked for at his hands, lest his silence, perhaps, in common opinion might breed suspicion, what need he to fear any disgrace at all, who has now full ten years served her truly and faithfully in this charge? No person can touch him with the least spot of infidelity or with want of the greatest care that appertains to the guard of his charge, for which he has always in his choosing given straitest order both with people attending her for that purpose and others secretly in places next adjoining round about him, so that she is still forthcoming, as choosing most doubtful times when greatest attempts were for her—not so kept by hap or chance as some have given out, but as is meetest for her best service, when her

Elizabeth.
1577-8. liberty was sought and enterprised he stood sword in hand. Before he parts with her otherwise than may stand with her majesty's pleasure, he will lay her life to gage if she puts it to so nigh proof, and if he keeps her not safe at her majesty's commandment and so present her to her in her proper person, alive or otherwise, let her majesty give him the reward of a traitor. Thanks her for her message sent by his son Gilbert, that he should not credit bruits. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley.*

March 18. **320.** ELIZABETH TO THOMAS RANDOLPH AND ROBERT BOWES.

Harl. MSS. 289, fol. 210.

The advertisement we received by your last letters of the alteration fallen ont in that realm contrary to our expectation, has not a little astonished us, considering the assurance given by some of the principal actors, a thing well known to you, Bowes, that no such innovation and change should ensue without our privity. Wherefore we think it meet that you let the principal workers of the alteration understand—especially the Earls of Atholl and Angus—that we cannot think ourself soundly dealt withal, as our care of the preservation of the King their sovereign and the continuance of that realm in good quiet deserved, and to one of our place and calling appertained, wherein we neither spared our treasure nor the effusion of our subjects' blood—a thing better known to them than thankfully remembered, as these late proceedings manifestly show, to our great dishonour, especially seeing the acceptation of the regency was wrought by us, the Regent, then Earl of Morton, being induced thereunto at our only instance and persuasion, wherein he made no small difficulty, considering the dangerousness of those times and the treasons and treacheries that had been wrought to his predecessors; and therefore, to have him removed without our privity, we cannot otherwise conceive of it but as an injury done to ourself, whom they might have been pleased to have made acquainted with intentions and causes moving them thereunto, if by no other means, yet by you our ministers being in the self place where they consulted about it, and sent from us only for that purpose, whereof they were not ignorant, for the singular care we had to the quiet state of that country, and especially to the compounding and making up of those differences that were between the Regent and the said two earls, wherein, as we intended great good and honour towards them particularly, if they duly look into the matter, so they cannot but acknowledge themselves to have made a very dishonourable recompense for the care we have both of their private welfare and of the general preservation of that realm, *etc.* And for that it is likely that in excuse of their doings they will charge the said Regent with misgovernment, you shall in that case declare to them that if they had acquainted us therewithal, we would have been a means either by persuasion to have drawn him to have reformed the errors of his government, or yielded our consent to the removing of him, *etc.* If, notwithstanding this declaration, you shall manifestly perceive they have waded so far in this matter that it is not to receive remedy, and that in case we should seem to show ourself absolute and peremptory in condoning this their dealing, it might draw them—as doubtful of our favour—to run another course, and so to seek another

Elizabeth.
1577-8. party in France, then you shall let them understand that if the King's years were fit for government, nothing could so much content us as to have him enter into the use of his authority; but being doubtful that, under the colour of advancing his government and the displacing of the Regent, some other thing may be meant, neither good for the King nor that realm, we know not what to think of such kind of sudden alteration. Notwithstanding, *etc.*, we cannot—being loth utterly either to condemn or abandon them—but advise them to have due regard principally to these things, first, the preservation of the young King, secondly, to good unity among themselves, and lastly, to have care to continue good amity with us and our realm.

For the first, the principal matter rests in placing good and faithful ministers about him and in removing persons suspected. For the second, we know no so ready way as to compound the differences between the two earls and late Regent, who being reconciled with the said earls, we cannot but advise the King to use him as a principal Councillor in respect of his quality and experience. For the last, the only mean to keep unity is to bridle and keep under by due execution of justice the loose and insolent persons of the Borders, wherein, if they shall duly follow the Regent's advice or example, we doubt nothing of the continuance of the good accord betwixt us.

Our further pleasure is that you do your endeavour to search out the bottom of this alteration, and learn as you may what either France or the Scottish Queen have wrought therein: and for the better maintenance of good unity between us and that crown, you shall take care there may be made chief of such to be Councillors for the direction of this new government under the King as may be well affected to our crown.

We think it meet you, Bowes, should declare to those whom you made yourself assured of through the good speeches and other assurances they delivered to you of sincere meaning, that we look to be satisfied from them, as to them appertains in credit, why they did not perform that they assured you of; which was, that they would be stays of any such alteration.

Having found the late Regent so good an instrument for the conservation of the common peace, and so well devoted to do anything that with duty he might to our contentment, we should do him great wrong in this his declining state in case he should not receive some message of comfort from us, and therefore you shall signify to him, that as we were not friend to his fortune, but to his person, in respect of the rare parts fit for government we always noted in him, and the constant affection he showed by effects to bear towards us, so we cannot in this his change of seat but assure him in our behalf of that constant goodwill and favour towards him as appertains to gratitude and the true magnanimity of the place and quality we hold. Greenwich.

3 *pp. Copy. Addressed.*

March. **321.** DISCHARGE OF THE EARL OF MORTON.

Harl, MSS. 289, fol. 205. "The heades whereunto the Lordes commissioners hes to bringe our right trustie coussynge therle of Morton's answer."

Elizabeth.
1577-8. For avoiding of the present grudge standing betwixt the Earl of Morton and some of his nobility and others, and for the better quietness and tranquillity of the realm, the King has taken government upon himself.

Lest delay of time and continuance of the Earl's present government might, perhaps, breed further grudge and greater inconvenience, they are to desire him that he, according to his own offer, sent to him by the Earl of Angus and others, as also according to his own declaration to him by tongue, which he has already accepted, with all convenient speed send his declararation in writing of his obedience and allowance thereof, to the effect his whole subjects may understand his goodwill toward the preservation of his person and the quietness of the realm, and that hereafter he cease from any further administration or execution of the regency.

The King cannot but take in very good part his desire touching the surety of his person, the observation of the peace with England, and the quietness of Scotland, and will endeavour to the uttermost of his power to do all the good offices that in him lie that may tend to that effect.

Are to declare, as regards the Earl's surety, that he will provide such sufficient discharge as he may in reason require, and for this effect they are to desire him to send the form thereof, that he may the better deliberate what ought to be done therein by advice of his Council.

"As toward the answer of Quhittingeames lettre, we remitt the declaracion thereof to your selfes accordyne to our informacion."

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "1577. Instructions for the Lord Chanceller of Scotland and Lord Herris sent to the Erle of Morton in discharge of his regencye, 20 Eliz."

March 18. **322.** INSTRUCTIONS BY JAMES VI. TO THE EARL OF ROTHES, ETC., TO BE DECLARED TO THE EARL OF MORTON.

Harl. MSS 4637c, fol. 82, b.

"Instructionis to oure traist cousingis and counsalouris Andro Erle of Rothes, Lord Leslie, Williame Lord Ruthuen oure thesaurair, and Johnne Lord Hereis to be declarit in oure name to oure richt traist cousing and counsaloure the Erle of Mortoun our lait Regent: at our castell of Striviling the xviij day of Marche, 1577."

To let him understand in how good part he has accepted his answer and offer to deliver Edinburgh Castle. Sends a form of discharge for the castle, jewels, *etc.* To the effect that the matter may take speedy end they are to desire him to send some here instructed to confer and conclude upon anything they do not "resolve" him, that all occasion of longer delay may be removed.

Because there is action of hostility already entered betwixt the inhabitants of Edinburgh and the keepers of Edinburgh Castle under the Earl of Morton, in case they find him "direct and plain" to render the said castle on the receipt of his security and discharge, they are to cause an abstinence from all further pursuit taken betwixt the town and castle, to endure till such time as they think the security may be returned and the delivery made, provided that no more soldiers or other persons enter into the castle, nor further victualling thereof to

Elizabeth.
1577-8. be, saving for fresh meat. Remits the time for delivery of the castle to their discretion.

1¼ *pp.* *Copy.*

March 18. **323.** SECRET INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EARL OF ROTHES, ETC., BY JAMES VI.

Harl. MSS. 4637c, fol. 83. "Secreit instructioun to our traist cousingis and counsalouris Andro Erle of Rothes, Lord Leslie, William Lord Ruthuen our thes[r] and Johnne Lord Hereis to be declarit in our name to oure richt traist cousing and counsalour the Erle of Mortoun our late Regent. At our castell of Striviling the xviii day of Marche, 1577."

If the form of our discharge with the promise of our nobility and Estates for ratification thereof does not satisfy him, as in reason it should, that all excuse of his delay may be set apart, you shall at last, upon his agreeing to render our said castle with expedition, promise not only to deliver to him the exonerations and discharges subscribed by ourself and under our great seal, but also the band and promise of our nobility and Estates conjunctly, that they shall move us not only to the ratification and approbation of the said exonerations and discharges in our next Parliament, and at our lawful and perfect age, but also that they shall stand bound as cautioner for us that we and our successors shall duly fulfil to the earl, his executors, assigns, and successors all the exonerations, discharges, and promises under the pain of 500,000*l.*

¼ *p.* *Copy.*

March 19. **324.** JAMES VI. TO MORTON.

Harl. MSS. 4637c, fol. 82, b. Has considered his letter and understands his credit committed to his late Chancellor, now resting with God, his Treasurer, and Lord Hereis, by whom he looked to have received the substance and form of such surety as he thought reasonable to require for his discharge of Edinburgh Castle, his jewels, movables, and munition being therein; but seeing it comes not, and that delay herein imports great inconveniences, has thought meet to cause the form of his surety to be made here and returned to him by the Earl of Rothes, his Treasurer, and Lord Hereis; whereanent he desires him to resolve with expedition for avoiding of the greater inconveniences that this delay may breed. Stirling Castle.

¼ *p.* *Copy.*

[March.] **325.** DEMISSION OF THE REGENCY.

Harl. MSS. 4637c, fol. 60. "The discours of the dimission of the Governament be the Erle of Mortoun late Regent and the Kingis majesteis acceptatioun of the same in his awin persoun, contenyng the formes of the lettres, messages and suirteis past betuix his hienes and the said Erle."

35½ *pp.* *Copy.*

Elizabeth.
1577-8. March 20. **326.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO [HENRY KILLIGREW].

"All the divels in hell are sturringe and in greate rage in this countrye." The Regent is discharged, the country broken, the Chancellor slain by the Earl of Crawford, four killed of the town out of the Castle, and yet they are in hope of some good quietness by the great wisdom of the Earl of Morton. There goes an ambassador to her majesty shortly from hence. Knows not yet who, but Sandie Hay, is his companion. It behoves him [Randolph] to be there before him, and therefore he departs shortly. Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Thomas o del niente."

1 *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

1578.
March 28. **327.** INVENTORY OF JEWELS, ETC., IN EDINBURGH CASTLE.

Harl. MSS. 4637c, fol. 142.

"The inventair of the jewellis, plenisshingis, clething, artaillierie and munitioun being within the castell of Edinburgh pertenyng to our soverane Lord and his hienes derrest moder, begun within the said castell the xxvj day of Marche the zeir of God, j^{m}vc., threscoir auchtene zeirs and gevin up be the honorable George Douglas of Parkheid, Captane of the said Castell, Williame Douglas of Glenbervie and George Auchinleck of Balmarino commissionaris to ane rycht noble and mychty Lord James Erll of Mortoun Lord of Dalkeith lait Regent to our soverane Lord his realme and liegis conjunctlie and severallie constitute be his lettres under his subscriptioun and signat off the dait Dalkeith the xxiiij day of Marche instant, to the rycht noble and mychtie Lordis Williame Lord Ruthven thesaurair to our soverane Lord and Patrik Lord Lindsay of the Byris his hienes commissionaris conjunctlie specialie constitute for resset of the said inventair, jewellis, movables and munitioun yerin contenit by his hienes lettres of commissioun subscryvit be his Majesties hand and under his greit sele off the dait att his castell of Striviling the xxiij day of Marche instant."

The inventory includes:—

"Claithis of estait"; "beddis"; "tapesserie"; "buird claythis; cusheonis, chayris and stuillis"; "tymmer beddis and uther tymmer werk, mattis and palzeessis, coddis and bousterris, scheites and uther leinning clathis"; "claith of gold, silver, and silk," &c.; "gownes, vaskenis, skirtis, slevis, doublettis, vailles, vardingallis, clokis"; "hudis, quaiffis, collaris and rabbatis, oritzettis, naipkenis, camyng clathis and coveris of nicht geir, hoiss, schoun and gluiffis"; "buikis"; "artaillierie."

27 *pp.* *In a Scottish hand.*

[March.] **328.** FUNERAL OF MARGARET, COUNTESS OF LENNOX.

[*Gives the following pedigree with the arms of each marriage.*]

James, Earl of Angus—Daughter of Robert, King of Scots; William, Earl of Angus—Daughter of the Earl of Orkney, Lord Sinclair; George, Earl of Angus—Daughter of Sibbald, Lord of Balgony, in Fife; Archibald, Earl of Angus—Daughter of the Lord Boyd, Earl of Arran; George, son and heir of—Daughter of the Lord

Elizabeth.
1578. Drummond; Archibald, Earl of Angus—Margaret, Queen of Scots, sister to King Henry the eighth—Margaret, Countess of Lennox.

"The proceding at the funerall of the Countesse of Lenox."

First;—two yeomen conductors with black staves.
Item;—the priests and clerks.
Item;—the poor women.
Item;—the great banner borne by a knight.
Item;—gentlemen mourners in gowns, whereof the defunct's servants to proceed foremost.
Item;—the chaplains to the defunct.
Item;—the secretaries.
Item;—the executors.
Item;—the preacher alone.
Item;—the steward, treasurer, and comptroller.
Item;—Clarencieulx.
Item;—Garter, having on each side of him a gentleman hincher.
Item;—the corpse borne by eight gentlemen.
Item;—four barons, assistants to the body.
Item;—six heralds bearing the six banner rolls above the corpse.
Item;—two gentlemen ushers.
Item;—the principal mourner assisted by the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester.
Item;—a baroness to bear the train, assisted by the defunct's chamberlain.
Item;—the ten other mourners.
Item;—all other ladies and gentlemen according to their degrees.
Item;—two yeoman ushers in their coats.
Item;—the yeomen of the household.
Item;—all other yeomen, wearing black.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed by Burghley*:—"Funerall for the Lady Lennox, 1578."

[1578.] **329.** Earl of Arran to [Thomas Randolph].

"Me lord and gossop"; since our "valking" yesternight divers rumours have come to my ears from England and this country's Borders, which all tend to nothing else but to "impedite" the suits of this good work to maintain Christian amity. Surely on my part it shall obtain no place. I know the like is used by wicked organs "in the opposite," as yesternight you showed me. It is a thing proper to all envious of well doing to "impedeit" every work which God approves. This is the "elyk"* to that which yesternight you showed me; which, as I find now the opposite, I will consider the former with their intention. God Almighty disclose these with their "desemettis," and grant us His grace to travel forth, not caring for these impedients which the devil has at all times used. *Signed:* Arrane.

½ *p.* *Addressed:* "To me Lord and gossip me Lord ambassaddour for the quenis majestie off Ingland." *Wafer signet.* *No flyleaf.*

* Elike = alike, equal.

Elizabeth. 1578. [March.] **330.** JOHN GRAHAME OF HALZARD TO [THOMAS RANDOLPH].

Has heard that he is to depart hastily from this country, and, not knowing his "dyatt," has thought it expedient to learn the same, that he may address himself to speak with him ere his departure. Desired his host, Robert Gourley, to have signified his diet after his return from Court, and, since he has failed, has directed this letter to learn the same from himself. Halzards. *Signed:* Jhon Grahame of Halzards.

½ *p. Addressd:* "To the rycht honorabill my lord embassadour for the Quenes majestie off Ingland." *No flyleaf.*

March 28. **331.** MORTON TO BURGHLEY.

My intention was to have answered your letter of the 18th of February sooner, and the credit of Mr. Randolphe, the Queen's majesty's ambassador, as specially and directly as was possible, if the power of the government here had longer continued in my hands. But seeing, since his arrival here, as I doubt not he has amply advertised, and now can report by speech, the King's highness, by advice of such noblemen and others as were about him, "acceptit" the regiment here into his own hands, and that I have willingly and obediently dimitted the same, there rests not now in me that ability to do the good whereunto I was always disposed and inclined during the "quhile" that I bore the charge; and yet your lordship may be well assured that there is no subject of this nation of my degree that shall more earnestly wish, and with greater care, to my power, procure the increase and continuance of the good amity betwixt our sovereigns, and the concord of the two nations within this isle to withstand with united consent the malice that both are subject to, as I have desired her majesty's ambassador to declare to your lordship; who also is not ignorant in what case the realm was when I accepted the regiment, and how I have rendered the same to his highness in better "cais," praised be God. Dalkeith. *Signed:* Mortoun.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

April 10. **332.** ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 130.

The Queen of England having been informed that a certain armed fleet of ships is being made ready in various parts of France, has asked the King to dissolve it on account of the treaty and friendship between them, and he altogether abandon the cause of the Queen of Scotland, asserting that she had attempted some things not only to the prejudice of the State and crown of the said Elizabeth, but also had built plots even for her life. But the King answered with strong and constant mind, and honourably, in favour of the Queen of Scotland, that he could not abandon her cause in so great dangers.

The Duke of Guise hearing himself accused as the author of this preparation, sharply answered the speaker, that he hoped that the Queen of England would iu a short time be compelled to give a reason for her actions, and hoped that she would treat the Queen of Scotland

Elizabeth.
1578. more kindly, if she wished to turn aside the hatred and unfriendliness of many Princes.

⅔ *p. Latin. Copy.*

[April.] **333.** [ ] TO WALSINGHAM.

I cannot attain, neither dare I directly demand the knowledge of that discoverer, but I gather assuredly, both by himself and his secretary, that he is a Scot, and conversant with the earls. He has with all speed advertised the same into France, requiring with all celerity that a signification thereof may be made into Scotland, intending thereby much the rather to "insinuate" the King and his utterly to become French, and refuse her majesty of England. He hopes that if the King of Scots be not now suddenly overtaken there shall presently be admitted an ambassador for France into Scotland, to and from whom he pretends direct intelligence. He expects other advertisements from the foresaid Scot. He assures me now—and never before—of the entire intention and absolute proceeding of his King against the Protestants, his subjects. He intends speedily, with all aggravation, to advertise Mr. Rogers's going into Germany, with the circumstances. I ever feel by him that the French are very desirous to pick some quarrel to her majesty, and that "he will aggravate the leaste to the moste." He is much discontent with the many hindrances offered him in the obtaining of a horse within the city, wherein it seems to me convenient that your honour somewhat mitigated. I think it necessary that Sir Philip Sidney entertain me, and I follow him, some while before his departure, else it will not seem, after he is gone, that I serve him at all. I expect in all what your honour shall think convenient.

1¼ *pp. No address or indorsement. Two seals with motto:* "Les blame if sure."

[April.] **334.** [ ] TO WALSINGHAM.

Mr. Blounte departing, most humbly recommended himself, his service, and business depending here to your honour's remembrance. The ambassador understanding of the repair of certain French out of Germany, their secret conference with her majesty and your honour, "and theyr importaunce to bee mony to supplye the rutters for the King of Navar," is desirous to know the certainty; also what Mr. William Knowls has recovered out of Scotland. If your honour wills that I found him for the King his master's determination concerning her majesty's motion of reconciliation with her subjects, whereof I guess he has [received], or shall shortly receive answer, may it please your honour to advertise me. I think it convenient that your honour appointed me a livery, that I might the more conveniently have recourse to you for determination of what shall be requisite.

⅓ *p. No address, etc. In the same hand as No. 333.*

April. **335.** JAMES VI. TO THE EMPEROR RODOLPH II.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 167. Requests him to protect James Adair, his subject who has deter-

Elizabeth.
1578. mined to set our for Vienna for the purpose of collecting certain debts and recovering his goods. Stirling.

½ *p. Latin. Copy. Indorsed.*

April 28. **336.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 567. About 6 o'clock on Saturday morning last* the Earl of Mar accompanied by the abbots of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth and their servants, ordinarily lodged in Stirling Castle, went to the Castle gate with pretence to go a hunting, and finding there the Master [of Mar] and his servants, the abbots called the Master aside, charging him that he had much abused the Earl of Mar, his nephew, and far overseen himself in withholding the custody of the King and castle. The Master, after reasonable excuse made, found that they pressed to possess the keys and command the piece, and reaching to himself a halberd, his servants came to assist him. Dryburgh and some with him stayed the Master. Cambuskenneth and his complices assaulted the rest, where Buchanan, one of the Master's men, was sore hurt.

After the fray was pacified the Master and the abbots withdrew themselves to the hall to debate the matter, and Argyll, being then in bed, rose speedily and came with a small number to the hall, where, hearing that the Master and the abbots were in quiet communication, he retired to his chamber, and arming himself he assembled his servants, who, with the Master, were able to have overmatched the others. But the master being then fully satisfied, Argyll was likewise soon after appeased, and then yielding possession for the earl they agreed at length to remove thence and draw to concord, specially to satisfy the King, who, as is reported, was in great fear of the tumult and tore his hair, saying the Master was slain, and, as he is informed, his grace by night has been so discouraged by this means that in his sleep he is therewith greatly disquieted.

After all this was ended, the Earls of Argyll and Marr, the master, the two abbots, and Mr. Buchanan advertised the Scottish Council by their letters of this accident, declaring that the parties were well reconciled, and persuaded the Council to proceed forwards in the course determined for the government, as [though] no such matter had happened.

Argyll departed out of the castle, and he is now gone to levy his forces, meaning to return within two days at the farthest.

In this uproar the eldest son of the master was so crushed in the throng that he died the next day. The Master is fallen into vehement disease, with danger of his life.

On the coming of the said letters from Stirling on Saturday, about 9 in the "afternone," the Council assembled, and after some hot humours digested, they despatched Montrose that night to Stirling to learn and certify to them the true state of the matter, to persuade quietness about the King's person, and to continue this present government established till the next parliament. Montrose, after long abode at Lord Livingston's house, came to Stirling the next day, and was received into the castle. He puts the Council in good hope that the matter is well pacified, and that this government shall not by this

* 27th.

Elizabeth.
1578. accident be impeached. Whereupon the most part of this Council, pretending to have the King's letters commanding their repair to him, are departed this day towards Stirling. But what shall ensue hereof is greatly doubted.

Lochleven, being speedily advertised of the doings of the abbots, came the same day to Stirling, and with some difficulty—as outwardly was showed—was let into the castle with one servant, whom presently he returned to Lochleven to the Earl of Morton, and himself remains still in the castle.

The Earl of Morton, upon the first advertisement, came to Lochleven, despatched his servant to the Earl of Angus to put all his friends and forces in readiness on an hour's warning, and many noblemen, being friends to these two earls, have done the like. Nevertheless, they show no force or assembly as yet.

The Lords of the Council have likewise levied all their power, drawing some part with all possible speed towards Stirling, and leaving the residue in readiness upon warning.

Some be of opinion that the Council will be readily received and welcomed to the King and to all the castle without further change, and many think that by the means of the abbots the King shall cause them to retire themselves to their own houses till his pleasure be further known; and in case they disobey the same, then to lay siege and take the castle, that then the King will cause the Earl of Morton and other nobles to levy their power within the realm to raise the siege and rescue his person from their violence.

Whatsoever shall fall out of these swelling seas does not yet appear, but he thinks verily that within two or three days it will burst into some open matter, discovering sufficiently the purposes intended; wherein to his power he will seek to quench all violent rages, and persuade unity and concord amongst them, which, if this sudden chance had not happened, might easily have taken place. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Torn.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 115. Copy of the same.

April 30. **337.** MARY TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 130. From all that you have lately written to me I do not find any argument for adding anything to my former letters that may require more ample treating, especially in the heads of great moment. Namely, in what you write has been attempted by the Pope, and is to be executed by the most potent Catholic Princes for the restitution of the Catholic faith in this isle.

That, indeed, which those six hundred desperate men with Thomas Studæus their leader show to be by no means leaning upon a solid foundation. Nor is that slow and extremely difficult determination of the pontiff to ask for a sum of money for so pious and necessary a cause as for the transportation of my son less proved to me, which could have brought the greatest utility to the whole Christian commonweal, as I wrote to you in my former letters. But I have determined to add this one thing to my former statements, that I may render you secure, that through the opportunity of this new

Elizabeth.
1578. change in Scotland, which I doubt not you have understood, I have so noticed the great love and regard of my son (whom may God preserve in safety) and at the same time the goodwill of all those who are his counsellors or have care of him, that provided sufficient care be taken of him, I shall be able to dispose not only of him but of all the rest according to the judgment of my mind. So that in respect of the grave and imminent danger in which the Prince my son is, and considering the daily plots which are taken in hand by the Queen herself with the aid of most corrupt traitors, that he may at some time come into her hands, or at any rate that they may try to deprive him of life, I have determined that he be transported as quickly as may be into the hands and custody of my relations in Lorraine, where he shall remain, if by any means I can manage this, *etc.* And because of this matter neither of the most powerful princes will have any just cause of offence, nor will that queen sieze the opportunity of more cruelly persecuting the Catholics or myself! But on the contrary I am entirely persuaded that after my son has been in some more safe place from which he cannot be extracted by her, and where he will be able to be more ready and prepared to approach her according to our will, when time shall have made it possible, then when she sees that she profits nothing and cannot obtain her desires, while she wishes to deprive me of life, she will doubtless begin to show herself more gracious to me and the Catholics. And all these things (kissing his feet most devoutly and humbly in my name) you will signify to the same, and will certainly affirm that nothing is wanting to bring all these things to the desired end save his help and aid, and that this can be done too in a short time and without any difficulty, and since it seems expedient to his holiness that he be brought back with his nuntio (who is delaying at Paris on this matter), I will take care that he has the fullest information on every point.

1½ *pp. French. Copy.*

[April 30.] **338.** MARY TO THE DUKE OF BAVARIA.

C.P., vol. XI. Most serene lord. From the letters of the bishop of Ross, our agent at Rome, I have often learnt of the benevolence of your highness. I thought it undoubtedly my part to show your highness that I recognise your goodness and that I owe you very much on that account. For although many other things intervene when the laws of relationship and even the bond of affinity has come very near, yet there is nothing which more binds me to you than your benefit and zeal towards those who suffer exile on account of their religion. Wherefore I tender you the greatest thanks, because in the business of the Scottish monasteries you wished to favour them and to relieve their want and need. Since, indeed, the monastery of Ratisbon, which is under the rule of your highness, has been legitimately provided for by the chief priest Ninian Winzet, doctor of theology, my confessor, him I commend strongly to your highness as especially dear to me. Ninian himself will recognise your patronage, and will always obey you in affairs of any sort, and will serve the will of your highness.

⅓ *p. Latin. Copy.*

Elizabeth.
1578. [April 30.]

339. MARY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF MAYENCE.

C.P., vol. XI.

Most illustrious prince. Whereas I had complete confidence that your highness would in no place have failed the cause of my Scots, when once you had determined upon the justice of the matter, owing to the constant and most honourable fame of your name, yet I thought that I ought to take care to set forth and command the whole matter to you in my letter also. There are in Germany very ancient Scottish monasteries, and Scotsmen are wont and ought to rule them and be educated in them, according to the will and prescript of the founders. These were possessed by the Scots for a very long space of time, but then were held by others, contrary to all equity. For if neither the inviolable will of the founders nor long possession can keep them, Christan piety ought certainly to keep them, which demands that the Scottish Catholics, who for the church of God and for faith towards me are exiles from their country, be helped and relieved. This I earnestly entreat of your highness, that when the cause is known, which shall be set forth to you at greater length, you will be pleased to favour this notice, which deserves very well, and to protect it with some authority. Some of these monasteries are at present vacant under the rule of your highness, and there are not wanting among the Scots many good and worthy men, worthy of such a gift—it will be very pleasing to me that your highness should have them delivered to the Scots. I shall be very much indebted to your highness on that account, and meantime I will ask God that I may be able at some time to show some sign of my will towards you, as you will learn more often from the Bishop of Ross, who is in charge of this business there.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Latin. Copy.*

[April 30.]

340. MARY TO THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

C.P., vol. XI.

When the news reached me of the death of Ferdinand of most blessed memory, father of your sacred majesty, I grieved deeply for him, as I ought, but still more for the fate of the Christian commonweal which had been deprived at so unlucky a time of such a Prince as he who, freed from the fetters of the body, has soared to heaven and joined himself with those divine minds. The general consolation soothed my grief and caused me the greatest joy that your majesty should succeed your father, who would not only tread in your father's footsteps, but would also emulate the glory of your ancestors. If my affairs had so permitted, I would at once have sent to your majesty both letters and messengers as witnesses of these my feelings. But now since an opportunity is given me of making a request of your majesty, I will set it forth in a few words. There are certain monasteries in Germany, founded in favour of the Scots on the law and condition that in them Scotsmen should be educated, and that Scots should be set at the head of the same places: that right was retained by the men of our race in very long possession, then taken by others on account of the absence of Scots. I earnestly entreat of your sacred majesty that you will preserve this right for the Scots, and command that those who are suffering exile and other extreme evils for the Catholic religion and for their faith to me be received into the monasteries which have been empty under your rule and sway. And

Elizabeth.
1578. especially I commend to you Ninian Winzet, doctor of theology, my confessor, by whom the monastery of Ratisbon was not so long since provided for.

½ *p.* *Latin.* *Copy.*

[May.] **341.** ARTICLES TO BE PREFERRED TO JAMES VI.

"A coppie of the Articles delivered by the Earles of Argile, Atholl and other Lords at Edenburghe to be preferred to the King by the Lord Lindsey."

To desire the King that the Parliament may be holden in the town, and not in the Castle, which is a novelty, and done since our departing from his majesty by our advice. To speak to his majesty touching the proclamation last made, and to reason with him upon the form thereof, and upon the meaning of the same. To declare to his majesty concerning the fortifying of the Lady Mary's house, the steeple, and the town, which is dangerous to noblemen coming there. Request that all such fortifying of the town may be discharged, and that the Parliament may be holden in freedom and liberty, in the Tolbooth of the town, like as they looked for at their departure from his majesty, and as they think most honourable for his majesty and profitable for his subjects; which being done they will address themselves in all obedience to the setting forth of his majesty's service. Touching the King's letter to the Master of Mar for his jewels, sword, crown, and sceptre, they think the like discharge should be given to him and his cautioners as was given to the Earl of Morton, and that any of the nobility who be cautioners for the Earl of Morton may also be relieved.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

May 12. **342.** ANSWER BY JAMES VI. TO ARTICLES.

"Answers to the headdes propounded to us by owre trustie cossen the L. Lindsey; at Strivilinge Castel the xij of Maie 1578."

Thinks there is no place more meet for holding of his Parliament than the great hall within his Castle of Stirling—the present state being considered—seeing he is yet of tender years and has sundry enemies, the Tolbooth of Stirling being ruinous, and that it is not meet to commit himself in such dangerous time. Cannot alter the place appointed. This is not meant to induce a preparative that his Parliament shall be hereafter holden in castles. All noblemen and others having vote in Parliament shall have free access to him; there shall be no fortification of the town or other parts, except only the appointing of certain numbers of townsmen and others to be guard, that all things be in good order, as has been used in times past; so that they may be assured he will be as careful as he can that they and all other his subjects coming thither shall be in surety under his protection. The Lady Mary's house shall be no more hurtful to any now than it has been in times past. They shall find him as careful of their sureties as of his own.

Concerning the proclamation.—Truly, if they had been with him he would have been glad of their advice; but, lest the simple people

Elizabeth.
1578. might be moved suddenly to give credit, he could not do less, with the advice of his Council and nobility present, than to direct out the same in such form as it is, which he doubts not they like well enough, seeing it is only meant for envious persons, raisers of bruits tending to sedition, whom he is assured they mislike as far as he does, as the coming to him will the better testify.

Concerning the jewels.—He wrote to the Master of Mar before, showing that he was desirous to see them, that he might use so many for the ornament of his person, at his Parliament, as should be thought good, and if he retained them, sufficient discharge to be made in Parliament. Thinks strange that such discharge should be sought before security be found. the Act not being yet returned to be regranted, and therefore in refusal he finds himself evil handled.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.*

May 20. **343.** ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF MORTON.

S.P. Dom., Eliz., vol. XLV., p. 45. As nothing that has lately happened in the government of Scotland has been more displeasant to her than the appearance of the discord between him and others of the nobility, because from such a root no good could have sprung either to the King, the realm, or themselves who were parties, so has not one thing fallen out more to her contentation than the opinion of a reconciliation among such as already pretend to deserve that good liking that she has settled towards them, among whom she must confess he has made hitherto the best experience, who, the time of his public government, has showed all friendly affection to herself, and has not omitted any good office to maintain the amity between the King of Scots and her, whereof now this benefit grows, that the ceasing of his authority neither determines nor lessens her assured friendship towards him, which she sees cause daily to increase by such reports as have been made to her by her servant at his return, confirmed also by letters daily received from her servant Bowes; by whom, and by other circumstances, she notes the constant continuance of his friendly devotion to her. It rests, therefore, that she show herself friend to his person, and not to his fortune, the increase or decay whereof can work no alteration in her towards him. Nevertheless, she cannot but remind him how great a wrong he will offer to the King, the realm, and his majesty's well affected friends if he shall make himself more private than shall stand with his highness' pleasure, to whom she has written in his favour, and, indeed, hopes that he will not yield to be "unfurnished" of a Councillor of so great experience, se well devoted to himself, and so able to do good for the public benifit of that realm; in regare whereof she will employ all good means to his majesty and the nobility for the using of his service, wherein she doubts not but he will discharge his duty to God and to his majesty with his accustomed fidelity and sufficiency.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

[May 20.] **344.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

S.P. Dom. Eliz., vol. XLV., fol. 50. "Right highe and mightie Prince, our dearest brother and cosin"; the great care which we always have had for the preservation

Elizabeth.
1578. of your person makes us often very inquisitive of your health and safety, wherein we were not only fully satisfied by our servant Randolph at his return from Scotland, but received also singular contentment by the report he made to us of your rare towardliness and show of princely virtues above the expectation of your tender years; to the which our servant Bowes has lately added his knowledge as well of your love and brotherly affection to our person as of your inclination to maintain the well continued amity between us, our realms, and people. These reports both increase our love and confirm it in such sort that we weigh the success of your affairs as our own, being grieved when we hear any likelihood of your troubles, and glad again when they be wisely prevented and suppressed, as, namely, in these late controversies between so great personages, your highness' subjects, we are glad of the hope conceived of a sound composition, and shall be better satisfied when we hear that the mediators have finished that good wook that is of so great importance and consequence to your majesty and your State; in conclusion whereof we cannot better express our care over you than by way of advice, to wish that you would call the Earl of Morton to be joined with the rest of your well chosen Councillors, as one that for his great experience in government and his former care of your person, and for the preservation of that realm in quiet, has made good demonstration of his fidelity and devotion towards you. The consideration hereof and of greater matters may be committed to your majesty's judgment, notwithstanding your tender years, which promises a hope of further perfection hereafter, whereof none can reap more cententation than we, who for the nearness of affinity and vicinity are to be daily partaker of those well grounded virtues which we pray God to increase and multiply in you, to whom we commit your majesty, etc., —not doubting but if you shall like to use his service in place fit for his calling, you shall find such fruit by proof thereof as shall give you just cause hereafter to thank us for this our advice and motion, the same proceeding chiefly of the love we bear you and desire we have for your well doing. And so praying you from time to time to credit that which this bearer, our servant, shall say to you from us, whom we mean shall reside there with you for the better entertaining of good amity between our two realms, we commit you to God's good protection.

1⅛ *pp.* *Copy.*

May 20. **345.** ELIZABETH TO ARGYLL.

S.P. Dom. Eliz., vol. XLV., fol. 51. Has been advertised from her servant Bowes how well he is devoted to the maintenance of the amity between the King and her, which she accepts in so thankful part that she finds herself bound in honour to show him the contentment she receives thereby.

Whereas, to her great grief, she has found that among personages of the best estate in Scotland, and best able to serve the King, and no less well affected to the amity between their two crowns, there has been cause of difference and contention, which by mediation of persons of quality are growing to some friendly composition—especially between the Earl of Morton and him—she therefore prays him, foreseeing the evident mischief that is likely to ensue by the continuance

Elizabeth.
1578. of the disagreement between persons of their quality, in the nonage of the young Prince, that if anything offensive either remains or may be revived between him and the earl, or other of the nobility, they will use her minister in Scotland as a mediator to take away all causes of further unkindness, and for confirmation of a perfect reconciliation, which she has good hope will take good effect, she could wish him to be a mean to the King and the rest of the nobility for the calling of the Earl of Morton about him as a Councillor; wherein, besides that he shall discharge that office of a Christian nobleman by yielding the fruits of true reconcilement, he shall by furtherance thereof greatly advance the King's service, he being a man so sufficient for government as he is, whereof he has made sufficient trial. Prays him to give credit to her servant Bowes in such things as he shall deliver to him touching such slanderous bruits as have lately come to her ears, whereunto she gives no credit.

¾ *p.* *Copy.*

May 20. **346.** ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF MAR.

S.P Dom. Eliz., vol. XLV., fol. 51. In such advertisements as have lately come from her servant Bowes, now resident in Scotland, she has been informed that he has many ways discovered his good affection towards her, to the strengthening and maintenance of the amity between the King and her, in requital whereof she has thought good to let him know her thankful acceptation of her goodwill in that behalf. It was not strange to her to hear the report thereof, because in this and other good offices of constant friendship he but follows or begins where the good earl his father left, who in his life deserved well of her, and thereby planted in her an honourable opinion of his dealing which she is ready to translate to himself with a willing mind effectually to requite it as occasion may serve; only this one thing she must remind him of, that, since the custody of the person of the King is now committed to him, he be jealous over him and have a especial respect for his safety, whereof he shall make best proof if he foresee to call to his assistance in that charge none but such as be free from faction, and be soundly affected in religion, for under such a guard he may be assured to yield an honourable reckoning both of his life and manners. This is sufficient to declare her tender care of his majesty's person, and her thankful account of his lordship's well intended friendship. The rest he shall learn hereafter from Bowes, to whom she prays him to give credit.

½ *p.* *Copy.*

May 30. **347.** WALSINGHAM TO SHREWSBURY.

S.P. Dom. Eliz., vol. XLV., p. 22. Whereas he perceives by his letter of the 22nd instant that the Queen of Scots' embroiderer's wife has repaired to Sheffield with her child, desiring to have access to her, and that his lordship has forborne to yield thereto before he might know her majesty's pleasure,—this is to signify to him that, notwithstanding any earnestness the embroiderer's wife could use towards her majesty for obtaining her consent thereto, or by procuring the French ambassador to solicit also in like sort for the same, her majesty will not be drawn to

Elizabeth.
1578. condescend to her request in any respect, but thinks it a matter very strange she should be so much importuned therewith. Wherefore his lordship shall do very well not to permit her to have any speech with the said Queen, but to return her hither with as convenient speed as he may. Greenwich.

⅓ *p.* *Copy.*

[May.] **348.** MALCONTENTS IN SCOTLAND.

"The malecontentes in Scotlande at this presente."

The Earl of Atholl, who is said to seek leave to go to the Spa for his health, because his business, though he be Chancellor, at home goes not well. This Earls' Court is very great, and all by Papists who wholly follow him, as also the malcontents and such as wear iron shoes. The Earls of Argyll, Montrose, Caithness, Huntly (who is dead), his brother and friends, and Menteith—whose right name is Grimme. The Hamilton's, Lords Ogilvy, Gray, Livingston, and Lindsay—who is become colonel of the malcontents. Mr. George Buchanan, in respect of Morton coming again into the King's favour. Mr. James Macgill, Clerk of the Register, who is wise, and can be sick at all conventions; but can, notwithstanding, give stark counsel to have it furthered and be himself partaker thereof. The bishop of Orkney, who is also Abbot of Holyrood House. Lord Herries. The Abbot of Newbottle. The bishop of Caithness, who is Prior of St. Andrews, and shall at this next Parliament be made Earl of Lennox and marry the Earl of Atholl's daughter, a very fair young widow, called the Lady Lovat, not above 24 years; howbeit he is past three score. The Carrs, with many other barons adjoining to them. The Master of Mar, and the Laird of Drumwhasell.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

[May.] **349.** BIENCONTENTS IN SCOTLAND.

"The biencontentes at this presente in Scotlande."

The Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, the Abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dunfermline, the Earls of Angus, Mar, Rothes, Glenclairn, Bothwell, Eglinton, Lords Boyd, Elphinstone, Sinclair, and Tullibardine, and the Abbot of Dryburgh.

The Parliament begins the 15th of July in Edinburgh town, and after to be continued at Stirling Castle, where the King is; whither the malcontents say they will not go, and the King says they shall, *etc.*, or else, *etc.*

⅔ *p.* *Copy.*

[May.] **350.** FORCES IN SCOTLAND.

"Articles uppon the dissolvinge of the forces in Scotlande."

That all forces dissolve immediately after the King's proclamation, the men of war with their ensigns folded and undisplayed. The forces being dissolved, the Earl of Angus shall immediately give up his lieutenancy, which lasts but for the King's will only. The gentlemen of the Earl of Argyll's company to the number of 30 or 40 shall

Elizabeth.
1578. have access to his majesty's presence. The Earl of Atholl's company may safely pass home by Stirling bridge, but none to come within the town saving 30 or 40 gentlemen, who may also have access to see the King. None in their returning shall do injury to the country folks, or take any of their cattle or goods but with their goodwill, and that for ready payment; for whom their lords and masters shall be answerable. All prisoners, horse and armour taken shall be set at liberty and restored. If the Laird of Cesford's servant's horse was taken in the "Barrow More" by any that served in this action for the King, the horse shall be restored; otherwise let the restitution be suited by order of law. "The Provost of Edenboroughe warde shalbe discharged that hee maie returne home."

1 *p.* *Copy.*

[May.] **351.** THE EARL OF MORTON.

"Votes with the Erle of Morton to be of the King's Counsell."

Bishops.—St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Murray. Earls.—Angus, Mar, Glencairn, and Rothes. Abbots.—Dunfermline, Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, Kilwining, Inchaffray [Inchechafferne], Crossraguel ["Corrons"]. Lords.—Oliphant, Ruthven, Sinclair, Ochiltree, and Cathcart. Boroughs.—Dundee, St. Johnstone, Glasgow, and Ayr. Tullibardine, Comptroller; Master of Forbes. 25.

"Votes against the Erle of Moorton."

Bishops.—Caithness, Dunkeld, Orkney, Brechin. Earls.—Argyll, Atholl, Montrose, Caithness. Abbots.—Newbottle, St. Combe. Lords.—Lindsay, Seton, Herries, Maxwell, Ogilvy, Innermeath, Gray. Boroughs.—Edinburgh, Stirling, St. Andrews, Montrose, Aberdeen. Mr. George Buchanan, Privy Seal. 23.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 557. Another copy of the same.

June 8. **352.** [MARY] TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 131, b. The Queen of England persecutes the Catholics with greater hate than before, and publicly says that she abhors the sight of them, and on the day she sees a Catholic she openly professes that she is ill both in mind and body.

¼ *p.* *Latin.* *Extract.*

June 9. **353.** MARY TO EDMUND ANGIER.

Eg. MSS., 1875, fol. 363. Has received his letter with great consolation. Hopes for his prayers and those of his holy company. Since his charity is extended to console a poor prisoner afflicted for her sins, entreats him when he has the commodity to continue to mingle in his letters some share of his salutary and holy consolation and admonition to stir up the spirit grieved with adversity at the knowledge of its offences. If he would do so much for her as to frame a little ordinance (institution) or rule of prayers which shall be more proper to be said on solemn days and times of great necessity, beyond the ordinary, to be more uniformly

Elizabeth.
1578. presented to God by her small family assembled, he will be doing a work of piety, having none here from whom they are able to have counsel. Sheffield. *Signed:* Marie R.

1 *p.* *French.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[June.] **354.** COUNCILLORS IN SCOTLAND.

"The names of the Councellors as these be at this presente in Scotlande, and how theie be well or evill affected to or against the amety with England."

The Earl of Atholl, Chancellor; the Earls of Argyll, Montrose, Caithness; Lords Lindsay and Herries; the Abbot of Newbottle.—evil affected.

The Earl of Morton came in by her majesty's request and mediation to the grief of all the malcontents; Lord Ruthven, Treasurer; the Abbot of Dunfermline, Secretary; the Abbot of Cambuskenneth; Mr. George Buchanan. 14.

The Bishops of Caithness and Orkney, "neuters." The Laird of Tullibardine, Comptroller. Mr. James Macgill, Clerk of Register. These two be accounted extrordinary Councillors, serving to sign letters for any of the former Councillors being absent.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

June 14. **355.** PHILIP II. TO THE BISHOP OT ROSS.

C.P., vol. XI. Reverend father in Christ, sincerely beloved by us. Both your letter given to us on the 14th of February and the history of Scottish affairs inclosed with the same letter were pleasing to us not only on account of the honourable purpose which you set before yourself in writing it—by which you try to kindle with famous examples the minds of your countrymen to imitating the glory of their ancestors in upholding the Roman Catholic religion—but also on account of the origin of your race traced back, as you say, to the Spaniards, which we willingly favour, returning as it were to its source, and persevering in the love of it, especially to you endowed with this dignity, and so well composing a history of your time. Go on, therefore, in the zeal in which you have begun, and all the labour you expend on the affairs either of your country or of your Queen, our dearest sister, be persuaded that it will be as pleasing to us as if it had been expended on our affairs. Also your private affairs shall be cared for by us, as you shall learn more fully from John Zunica, our ambassador there. Segovia.

⅛ *p.* *Latin.* . *Copy.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 131, b. Extract from the same.

June 17. **356.** INSTRUCTIONS BY JAMES VI. TO THE COMMENDATOR OF DUNFERMLINE.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 169. "Instructiones to oure trusty and weilbelovit counsaloure Robert, Commendater of Dunfermling, oure principal secretar and ambassadoure directit be ws with avise of oure Previe Counsale to oure dearest suster and cousine the

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1578.

quene of England. At oure castell of Striveling the xvij day of Junij, 1578."

Having gotten audience of the Queen of England and presented his letter to her with his most hearty and loving commendations, is to excuse his long delay in sending to visit and salute her on his behalf all this time since he accepted the government of his realm in his own person, the cause whereof "wer sum lettis and impedimentis daylie occurringe"; namely, in certain things that necessarily "behuvit" to be appointed and provided in Scotland for the quieting thereof and avoiding of such dangers as were feared to fall out to the peril and "unsuretie" of his person and estate, but now, praised be God, that being in effect done, and his nobility amongst whom there then rested any grudge or misliking being reconciled and together with him, he thought it not meet any longer to delay.

The first and chief cause of his message being to present to the Queen of England his most hearty thanks for the great favour and goodwill which now he finds and understands she has ever borne to his person and estate since his birth and coronation, moved thereto by Almighty God, through that union that is betwixt them in the profession of his religion and true worship, he acknowledges what amity and conjunction this ground ought to work and daily works amongst such as fear God, besides the proximity of their blood and the nearness of their habitation, placed together in this isle from the rest of the continent, and specially subject, for the respect of their religion and amity, to the malice of such as disdain and injure this godly union voluntarily continued by God's providence for His true religion's cause for twenty years, which none of his ancestors, for any worldly commodity, were able so long to preserve unshaken. Is desirous to study how the benefit of the present peace in the unity of religion may be continued to his posterity. For this effect has specially and expressly directed him, authorised for ratification and confirmation of the peace and amity contracted in the first year of her reign betwixt her commissioners, of the one part, and the commissioners of the Queen, his mother, on the other part. Which, although it has been well observed, has not been renewed and confirmed since his coronation. The same is now meet and convenient to be done in respeet of his accepting of the government of Scotland in his own person, that it may be a terror to his unnatural and disloyal subjects of both the realms in the former age. Therefore, is to require the Queen of England to appoint her commissioners to convene and treat with him [Dunfermline] upon the confirmation of the said peace.

Is to assure her of his hearty goodwill to entertain this good amity in all offices of good neighbourhood, as in causing justice to be ministered and redress made on the Borders, letting her understand how acceptable the good concurrence of her wardens is to him in entertaining of the public peace and keeping of the disordered people in obedience. Some things of late have been attempted at the Middle and West Marches, which he shall desire to be reformed with speed, lest the delay encourage the disordered people on both sides to attempt something further inordinately. Cannot complain of any "inlaik" of goodwill in Lord Hunsdon's deputy at the East March,

Elizabeth.
1578. where he finds nothing but good rule meant. At the West March Lord Scrope has always done his duty honourably and sincerely; but the power of the disordered subjects of England being great within his charge through the "allye" and daily conversation betwixt them and his disordered subjects at that West March, makes both more licentious and bent on all occasions to do mischief. In April certain Englishmen came within Scotland and joined in action of blood and hostility with some of his subjects of Annerdale, who fell into contention for private quarrels among themselves, who should be severely punished for the example's cause. Is to travail that commandment may be sent to Lord Scrope for this effect. At the Middle March, the grudge and misliking borne for that which unfortunately happened at the Reidswyre has moved sundry spoils and disorders to be attempted of late, and the ordinary mean for following the "tread" for recovery of true men's goods dare not be used for fear of the deadly feud. Wherefore it were convenient that all misliking on both parts there might be friendly accorded by commandment from the Queen of England to such as have best will and skill to deal in such matters, and he will cause such as shall be thought expedient to confer and join with them to the same end. His good mind also to cause all her subjects complaining of injuries received at the hands of any of his lieges shall continue till her subjects "plenteous" shall find themselves satisfied by justice and redress, with as great expedition as if the matters were properly his, and there shall be no difference betwixt them and his own subjects in respect of justice; the like whereof he earnestly craves may be shown to his people having their suits long depending in England and long prosecuted by Adam Fullertoun, "Maister" John Provand, John Achesoun, Thomas Broun of Irvine, and others his subjects for spoils of their goods at the hands of her subjects exercising piracy. Is to deal earnestly with the Queen and Council that these "langsum" suits may now receive such direct answer as may be to the satisfaction of his subjects grieved for the want of their goods, and that some sure order may be provided that his subjects shall not be further spoiled by any Englishmen in time coming, as of late as well his own subjects as "Esterlingis" repairing to Scotland have been "pilleit" at the mouth of the Firth, the same year, by English pirates.

Is to enquire the state and order of his dearest grandmother's the Countess of Lennox's will, who were her executors and intromittors with her jewels, plate, and movables; what order is taken for the payment of her creditors, *etc.* Is to inquire the state of the living and rents which she and his grandfather, her husband, were infeft in within England, and being instructed of his right thereto in succession, is to crave of the Queen and her Council that the same may be preserved to him. To the furtherance whereof, "ze may be zoure self or sic as ze pleis appoint, speik with sum of oure grandmotheris servandes that wer previe and skilfull in hir effaires as ze ryde up throw Zorkschire, or at Londoun for zoure bettir informatioun," before passing to the Court. If the Queen condescends to satisfy his request in this behalf, he is to be well advised of the form and order of the acceptation of this right in his person, that it imports nothing prejudicial to his honour and the liberty of his crown of Scotland; but that such securities may be made thereof as his progenitors

Elizabeth.
1578. "quhilkis of auld broukit and possest the land of Cummerland, Northumberland and Huntingdon." If difficulty be made of the grant of those lands to him in that order, and the Queen of England shall seem to remit the matter to be decided according to the laws of England, rather than that the matter be cast off on that head, after he has essayed what he may move her and her Council to, is in the end to be content with a sequestration of the rents and profits of those lands till he has commodity to prosecute his right by order of law, the person in whose hands it should be sequestrated being of his nomination, and having warrant to answer him for the rents, to be employed for sustaining a guard to attend on his person, which also at convenient times might serve to help to repress the disordered people inhabiting the Borders.

Having received reasonable satisfaction in this head, if he shall be required to enter with the Queen of England into some further league for mutual defence in case of sudden invasion, in respect of the common malice borne against them both, or for the suppressing of domestical sedition and rebellion within either of their realms for religion's cause, to endure as long as both the Princes live, is frankly to assure her and all others of his goodwill to join in mutual defeuce, and is, therefore, to desire them to give him the conditions of the league and contract which they would wish. If they do this willingly, he has but to consider the same and to reason with such as shall deal with him in this behalf how he might probably like or mislike their overtures. If they require the like of him, he will be content that he will be sincere, direct, and plain.

Seeing the practices of the pope, it were most requisite that the Queen of England and he should take heed of the remedies granted by God for the continuing of His blessing to their posterities. He would not that the scope of the league should "intend" to the hurt or offence of any; but that the confederates, professors of the true religion, be not oppressed by the wrongful violence of the pope of Rome and his favourers for the cause of religion. To this effect, in case any force of strangers happens to arise in Scotland, the Queen of England, being required by him, shall send force into Scotland to resist them. The Queen of England shall never enter into any contract or league with any foreign Princes wherein the state of the true religion, the King, his realm, nobility, and subjects shall not be comprehended; and the like for his part to be accorded to, For which causes he will support her forces coming into Scotland for his relief, *etc.* He will be enemy to all foreign people or his own disloyal subjects who shall show themselves enemies against her for the cause of religion. In case England shall be invaded he will furnish men for defence of the same. The form of the treaty being thus drawn, he is to defer all conclusion thereof till he returns the form thereof to the King, that it may be considered before the dissolution of his Parliament. Is to enquire whether the succession to the crown of England is to be treated in the Parliament. Is to be careful to have intelligence at what point matters stand betwixt the Queen of England, and France, Spain or the Low Countries, whether their actions tend to treaty or hostility, and what thing is likely to be attempted by force this year. *Signed:* James R.

5½ *pp.* *Stained by damp.*

Elizabeth.
1578.
June 17.

357. EARLDOM OF LENNOX.

Revocation of the grant of the earldom of Lennox to Lord Charles Stewart by James VI., and grant of the same to Lord Robert Stewart.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 576.

3 *pp.* *Copy.* *Notes in the margin in Burghley's hand.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 187.

Another copy of the same.

June 18. **358.** ELECTION OF AN AMBASSADOR TO ELIZABETH.

"The names of all the Counsellors presente at the resolution of thelection of th'abbot of Dunfermlinge to be sent in ambassadge to the Q. majestie of Englande with their votes in the same 18 June 1578."

[For] Earls.—Morton, Angus, Mar, Glencairn, Eglinton.
Lord Ruthven. Bishop of Caithness.
Abbots.—Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth.
Mr. George Buchanan, Privy Seal.

[Against] Earls.—Argyll, Montrose, Caithness.
Lords.—Lindsay, Innermeath.
Abbot.—Peyrey.

"Atholl Chancellor voted not but asked the votes."

Thanks to the Queen of England for the favour and goodwill showed to the King since his birth.

To conserve and renew the peace.

To declare the good justice received at the hands of the English Wardens at the East and West Marches, and of some trouble at the Middle.

The good mind to see the English subjects' complaint redressed by justice, and to crave some end in the matter pursued by Adam Fullerton and others of his nation.

To enquire as to the King's right in succession to the lands of Lord and Lady Lennox, and to suit the same as shall be thought convenient; also the state of her latter will.

If further league shall be required in respect of the malice borne to both the Princes and nations for religion's cause, to treat therein.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 557, b.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

Another copy of the same.

July 1. **359.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"Right excellente, right highe and mightie Princes our deerest sister and cossen, in our hartiest maner wee commende us unto you." By your friendly and comfortable letter of the 28th of May, delivered to us by your servant Mr. Robert Bowes, your ambassador here resident, we understand the continuance of your great care and natural love towards us, and the grief which you conceive at any of our troubles happened through the controversies amongst some of the principals of our nobility and Councillors; for all which we render you our right hearty thanks, intending, as you have friendly advised us, to see the occasions of their differences compounded and taken away, we have already called the Earl of Morton and made him to be joined with the rest of our Councillors, hoping to find the same fidelity and devotion in him towards us as you write of, according to the proof given by him of the

Elizabeth.
1578. same in our young age, which will not pass out of our favourable remembrance, the rather for your good opinion conceived of him.

We have at sundry times had conference with your said ambassador, whose abiding here is acceptable to us, as we find his travail indeed serving to good purpose. We intend now very shortly to let you know our mind and goodwill more specially by one of our Council, having thought meet in the mean season thus to certify you by this bearer, Captain Cockburn, whose desire having been this long time to visit you, and, as commodity may serve, to travail for his living in France, we thought expedient thus to write. Stirling Castle.

1 *p. Copy.*

July 7. **360.** LORDS JOHN AND CLAUD HAMILTON TO ELIZABETH.

It has pleased her in extending her goodness to their banished father to show him great relief and pleasure in England, binding him thereby and all his posterity to render her most humble thanks. She has not spared this her accustomed bounty even to them, his children, for which they humbly thank her. It is no small part of her goodwill that they have enjoyed the benefit of the pacification which it has pleased her to set amongst the inhabitants of Scotland, which has been a ready means to continue peace amongst them. She may remember what heads were reserved to her further deliberation, the resoultion whereof they doubt not shall be according to her wonted clemency. Yet seeing the whisperings of certain particulars now present about the King their sovereign, which may withdraw his affection from them. and acknowledging how much available her letters shall be to keep them in his majesty's favour, they implore her favour in this behalf, that they may obtain her favourable declaration of the aforesaid heads, as also her letter to his Council to continue his goodwill towards them, who will not spare their lives to do his majesty faithful and obedient service. If it pleases her to grant this at present, she shall bind them to do her all lawful service whensoever it shall please her to employ them. Have informed the bearer of their mind, which he is to declare to her at more length. Hamilton Castle.

1¼ *pp. Copy.*

July 9. **361.** MORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Nothing grieved me more at the despatch of my Lord Dunfermline than to understand you [were] absent from Court, and that he should be destitute of your goodwill and favour to his expedition at this time; but Mr. Bowes, her majesty's ambassador here resident, in our conference relieved me greatly of that doubt, letting me understand your carefulness for the same purpose in advising our ambassador to address himself to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain* for the better knowledge of her highness' mind, and obtaining of the more speedy despatch of his legation, for the which most heartily I thank you; and as I have followed herein your good advice, so wish I of God that your own

* Sir Thomas Heneage.

Elizabeth.
1578. return may be speedy, to the weal and furtherance of her highness' service and your own contentment. I need neither to recommend the present messenger nor his message more specially, but commit them to your accustomed favour. Stirling Castle. *Signed;* Mortoun.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

July 10. **362.** MARY TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 131, b. It increases my fear when I consider that the difference is great between the desperate attempts of those men who as exiles from their country and deprived of all their goods were the authors and inciters to some daring effort, and the attempts of most potent Princes who as much for the sake of avenging their own private wrongs as for the public cause of religion, will easily allow 300,000 or 400,000 crowns to be endangered, for they will suffer nothing worse.

¼ *p. Latin. Extract.*

July 16. **363.** THE KING'S COUNCIL AND LORDS OF ARTICLES.

"Names of the King's ordenarie Counsell established by Acte of Parlament."

Earls of Morton, Argyll, Lennox, Rothes, Eglinton, Glencairn, Buchan. Lords Ruthven, Cathcart, Ochiltree. Abbots.—Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth.

Officers of the ordinary Council, when they be present.—Atholl, Lord Chancellor; Ruthven, Lord Treasurer; Tullibardine, Comptroller; Dunfermline, Secretary; Mr. George Buchanan, Privy Seal; Mr. Bellindine, Justice Clerk; Mr. James Macgill, Clerk Register.

"The nomber to attende dailie and to subscribe with the King, with like orders requisite to be established not resolved."

"Names of the Lords of the Articles in the parlamente at Strivlinge, 16 July, 1578."

Bishops and prelates.—The bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow. Aberdeen, and Murray; the Abbots of Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, Culross,* and "Glenleisse" [Glenluce].

The Earls of Morton, Angus, Lennox, and Eglinton.

Lords Ruthven, Treasurer, Boyd, and Ochiltree.

Commissioners for boroughs.—Edinburgh, Dundee, St. Johnstone, Glasgow, Stirling, Aberdeen, and Kirkcudbright.

1 *p. Copy.*

July 22. **364.** REQUEST BY MARY FOR PASSPORTS.

C.P., vol. XI. Memorial of the servants and officers for whom the Queen of Queen of Scots, Dowager of France, requests the Queen of England, her good sister and cousin, to grant her passports.

First:—That it may be permitted to the deputy of her treasurer Dolu or another of her officers in France that she will send, or to the brother of the Sieur du Verger, her chancellor, to bring her hither

* Alexander Colvill.

Elizabeth.
1578. the two thousand crowns that they have agreed to send her every year for her expense, and the wages of her officers who actually serve her in this captivity, her majesty and all her house, being in such necessity that they have not wherewith to furnish, at the least common expense as is fitting for them to do here.

That without augmenting the old number of the said servants and officers, she may summon new ones in place of those she has set free, and is constrained in part to allow some [to go], by their great age, long and continual maladies, and the bad treatment that they receive in this prison.

In the place of the Sieur du Castil, physician to her majesty, aged 80 years, and very weakly, who desires to retire to France to provide for his affairs, such other of the same profession as he shall be advised.

A serving gentleman, who, with Mr. Andrew Melvil, or in his default, as may happen by illness or otherwise, can honourably serve her majesty.

In the place of Mademoiselle de Raley,—aged 70 years, or more, much troubled by a great catarrh which has kept her in bed since Easter, and for this reason, although to her great regret. she has decided to retire—the daughter of the Laird of Farnyhurst, aged only 13 or 14 years, so that as much by her age as her sex they cannot have any suspicion of her, and the said Queen of England could by this courtesy and gratification oblige the said Laird of Fairnyherst and those who belong to him.

An officer of the kitchen in exchange for the squire of her majesty's kitchen, who has asked for his leave, and in place of his wife and daughter a chamber maid; her majesty has only two, who are at present ill, and she cannot do without them, as may easily be judged, without extreme discomfort.

That Alexander Scot, groom of the pantry, being at present in Scotland by the permission of Mr. Walsingham, may return to the service of her majesty as has been promised, and in default of him that her said majesty may have another "officer of the pantry" which she has lacked for more than a year.

The departure of the abovesaid altogether, and the voyage of those who will come in their place, is not of so great importance and suspicion to the Queen of England and the gentlemen of her Council as if they departed one after the other, forasmuch as it would necessitate five or six consecutive voyages in place of one which will suffice now, if the above is agreed to; of which her majesty cannot omit, nor delay to make instant request and pursuit. Made at the manor of Sheffield.

1½ *pp.* *French.* *Indorsed:* "A memoriall of the Q. of Scottes requeste for pasport to be graunted to certen of her servantes and officers."

July 23. **365.** ROBERT BOWES TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 559. Received his letters of the 11th instant on the 21st at 7 o'clock in the afternoon, together with another from the Countess of Shrewsbury. Before the receipt hereof, and after the decease of the Countess of Lennox, the King with the advice of the late Council had revoked his former grant made of the earldom of Lennox and lordship of

Elizabeth.
1578. Darnley to the Lord Charles, his uncle, and the heirs of his body, and promised the same to the bishop of Caithness and the heirs males of his body. Since that time the King by his letters patent has granted the said earldom and lordship to the said bishop and his heirs males of his body; and on Wednesday last the bishop was created Earl of Lennox in the parliament house. The next day the Lords of the Articles resolved to confirm the King's grant made to the bishop. According to his lordship's direction, has put the King in memory of his former grant to Lord Charles and the confirmation of the same by Act of Parliament made in the Earl of Morton's regency, approving this earldom and lordship to be descended to the Lady Arbell, right earnestly praying, therefore, that the infant, being so nigh in blood to the Queen of England and to his grace, and inheritable by his own grant and Act of Parliament, may enjoy the inheritance thus lawfully granted and established in her father, without any revocation in his minority. *etc.*

Has likewise moved the Earl of Morton and the Council to persuade the King, and also dealt with them and the Lords of Articles to stay the Act of Parliament for confirmation of the King's grant to the bishop.

It was answered, that notwithstanding the King's several grants and Acts of Parliament executed in the King's minority, he may by the laws of Scotland revoke both the first and second graHt, and lawfully retain in his own hands or otherwise dispose these possessions as best pleases him. But is referred to the further consideration of this parliament and of the King and Council for more resolute answer, which he attends, and will diligently solicit to the best effect he can, doubting very much by the sight of the dispositions appearing, and of the matter thus far proceeded, that the success will not be to his lordship's liking or to the great benefit of the young lady. Wherein he will further do what it shall please his lordship for the pursuit hereof or for other recompense to be demanded for the same—which he thinks may be the more easily obtained.

Has written in this behalf to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury. Begs him to impart his doings to the Secretaries. Whereas the Laird of Drumquhassel, receiver of the revenues of the earldom of Lennox, is presently charged to render account for all the rents and profits since the death of the Earl of Lennox, lately deceased, the greatest portion whereof appertains to the executors of the Countess of Lennox, has, therefore, called for the same, finding such way opened to him therein that he trusts, on his lordship's letter to the King or the Earl of Morton, a good part of the same may be obtained for that lady, as a duty belonging to the said executors, or to the lady in right of her father.

Yesterday morning the Earl of Montrose, commanded by the King to keep his lodging, departed towards his own house without licence, giving occasion of great suspicion of hasty troubles to ensue thereon, which he trusts shall, nevertheless, be turned for a time to no such effect as is generally expected.

Lord Lindsay, remaining still at commandment, was this day with the King, and will be shortly remitted with his favour.

The King having written to the Earl of Argyll signifying that of especial liking he had chosen him to be one of his Secret Council,

Elizabeth
1578. and therefore has willed him to repair to his grace, the Earl, giving due thanks, agreed to accept the place. Nevertheless, he neither came nor showed any certainty of the time of coming. Therefore, has written to the Earl to haste him hither, trusting that he will not long defer the same, which will readily break the confederacy and quench the fire of sudden sedition greatly doubted to arise hastily in Scotland.

The Earls of Atholl and Caithness, as it is said, are passed over the water, so that it is likely that the dark cloud threatening a stormy shower is dissolving gently into small drops, promising a calm. Which, notwithstanding, falling for a season to some dissembled quietness, may, without timely providence, burst into a greater rage than it could at this present. But this wise Council established, and the watching eye of him who most narrowly is touched with the danger, will, he trusts, prevent the danger. Stirling. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 30. **366.** DEMANDS OF THE COMMENDATOR OF DUNFERMLINE.

"The demand of the Commendatour of Dunfermling, ambassadour from the Kynge of Scottes."

(1) That, seeing the dangers of the present time and the pretences of the Pope and his favourers, under pretext of the feigned authority usurped by him over all Princes and monarchs for abolishing of that true religion which the same Princes and monarchs have embraced and by law approved within their kingdoms, and in respect of the tyranny intended by execution of the decrees of the bloody Council of Trent against the professors of God's true religion over all Christendom, it were most requisite that the Queen of England and the King of Scots, being Princes nearest to each other by blood and habitation, possessing the two kingdoms in this island, she should take heed to the remedies granted by God for the continuing of this his blessing to her posterity, and for the tranquillity of her own estate and her subjects.

(2) There is no more sure conjunction in league than amongst them that profess one religion, and the present occasion in that respect not to be omitted.

(3) The scope of the league they would not should "intend" to the hurt or offence of any, but that the confederates and professors of the true religion be not oppressed by the wrongful violence of the Pope of Rome and his favourers for the said cause.

The answer of the Queen's majesty by the advice of her Council.

To the first, second, and third.—The contents thereof are very reasonable, and her majesty will be careful on her part, as she trusts the King on his part, with the advice of his Council, will be to foresee the withstanding of the dangers therein mentioned.

(4) To that effect, in case any force of strangers happens to arrive in Scotland, that her majesty being required by the King of Scots shall send force into Scotland to resist them at her charges; so that, the danger being resisted in the beginning, her dominions may be in surety from all pursuit at that hand.

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1578.

[*Answer*]. Her majesty has heretofore, to her great charges and hazard of her people, many times yielded such help as is required in this article, and upon assured hope to find "gratuitie" in the King and States of that country, will, upon such like cases of invasion, do the like for the preservation of the King and his country.

(5) That her majesty shall never transact nor enter into any contract or league with any foreign Prince wherein the state of true religion, the King of Scotland, his realm, nobility, and subjects shall not be comprehended; and the like for his part shall be accorded to.

[*Answer*]. In any contract that her majesty shall make with any foreign Prince she will always comprehend the King and his realm.

(6) For which causes he shall support her majesty's force coming into Scotland for his relief and comfort against whatsoever strangers or his own disloyal subjects, if any shall happen to be their partakers, with horsemen, footmen, and victuals, by sea and land, and so shall continue with the forces of his good subjects in case of foreign pursuit and insurrection within his realm, or with fewer number, as shall be thought requisite, to accompany her forces and munition at the assieging of any strength, or to resist other foreign or Scottish power that might pretend to rescue the strengths assieged by her forces.

[*Answer*]. Her majesty likes well of the contents of this article to be assured of the King's forces to assist her power that shall come into Scotland for defence thereof, thinking it reasonable that the forces on the King's part should also continue in their assistance of the English power as long as the English power shall have cause to abide there for defence or aid of the King, and that there be always some convenient hostages delivered into England, to continue there during the abode of the English power for the more comfort of the English that shall enter into Scotland.

(7) The King of Scots shall be enemy to all such foreign people or his own disloyal subjects as shall any ways show themselves enemies against the Queen of England or her dominions for the cause of religion.

[*Answer*]. Her majesty accepts the offer in good part.

(8) In case England shall at any time be invaded, the King of Scots shall furnish such number of men as his realm may forbear to pass at the Queen of England's charges to any part of England for defence of the same; and in case the invasion shall be at the north "ewestit"[1] Borders of Scotland the King shall convene his whole forces at his own charges to join with the power of England for the defence thereof; which shall continue on the fields in that quarrel as long as they were wont to do for defence of his realm at the command of his progenitors in any times bygone. The same contract to endure during the lifetime of both their majesties.

[*Answer*]. The Queen of England accepts this offer in yielding such power as Scotland may forbear to serve in any part of England in case of invasion; yielding to them from the time of their entry such wages as she shall allow to her own men of war being of like condition. And for the aid to be given in case of invasion in the north upon the charges of Scotland, her majesty accepts it also, though upon aid to be given on her part, she sees all the charge is to be

[1] Towards.

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1578. borne by herself, which she doubts not but the King will and has cause to accept for the greatest benefit that "worldlye" can be given him.

To be added.—Considering her majesty has at all times of necessity aided the King and his realm wholly at her own great charges, and is contented hereafter upon any like accident to do the like, she thinks it very reasonable that the King and his three Estates now, during the King's minority, should give her good assurance not to treat with any foreign Prince either concerning the King's marriage or his removal out of the kingdom, or for making or renewing of any treaty or league without her majesty be thereof made privy, and as the person that is the King's dearest friend, cousin, and next neighbour, to give her assent thereto, wherein her majesty will always have regard to advise, and allow of that which shall be most beneficial for the King, his realm, and continuance of peace and concord betwixt her majesty and him, and their countries.

2½ *pp.* *Indorsed.* "xxx July 1578. The demands of the Lord of Dunfermling, and hir majesty's answere."

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 173. Copy of the same.

July 30. **367.** ANSWER BY ELIZABETH.

Copy of the answers by the Queen of England to the demands in No. 366.

July 30. **368.** ANSWER TO THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADOR.

"Answer to suche partes of a writinge entituled the somme of that whilke the ambassadors hathe declared as ar requisite."

Lord Scrope shall be commanded to punish such as did anything contrary to the peace in the late quarrel in Annandale.

Item:—Sir John Foster also is warned to govern himself on the Middle Marches, so that if on the part of Scotland redress be made to England for the late spoils there committed, there shall be no occasion offered by him or any within his rule to renew any offence against Scotland; and if things shall not be there compounded before the coming of Lord Hunsdon to Berwick, his lordship shall have authority to treat thereof with such as shall be authorised by the King.

Item:—the complaints made against pirates have been heard and prosecuted to have redress as far forth as the time could suffer; and after her majesty's return from the progress, when her Council may be near London, and her Court of the Admiralty shall have opportunity to expedite the same, all manner of favour shall be showed for relief of the complainants, as if they were her majesty's own subjects. Her majesty has done justice upon all offenders, saving only one named Callice, whom her majesty meant very earnestly also to have had executed by death; but the Earl of Morton when he was Regent made earnest suit for his pardon, which only at his instance was granted, and yet the friends of the offender sought means to give to one of Scotland, a complainant, 500*l.* sterling.

Item:—for the matter concerning the lands of the late Countess of Lennox, her majesty has forborne to yield to the suit of the friends of

Elizabeth.
1578. the young lady named Arbella, the only daughter and heir of the late Earl of Lennox, who allege that by the laws of England the said Lord Charles was next heir to his mother, and so his daughter now heir to him; which she has done upon regard had to the King of Scots, "for that without satisfying him on pretence that on his behalf might be made to be the next heir to that land," and to that end her majesty has sequestered the profits of those lands into the charge of the Treasurer of England, Master of the Wards, to be hereafter answered as he shall upon further inquisition find the same ought to come by the order of the laws of England, by which all lands belonging to any subject ought to be ordered. And for the evidence pertaining to those lands, there is none but two letters patent, the one from King Henry VIII., and the other from Queen Mary, by which the lands were given to Matthew, Earl of Lennox, and his wife, and the heirs of their two bodies; which are extant of record in the Chancery at London. And for her testament, though she made one, and appointed her executors, yet she died in so great debt, and her goods so far unable to answer the same, that the Queen's majesty of natural favour, pity, and honour to her cousin, bestowed the charges of all her funerals, which were as honourably done as could belong to her degree, to the intent that her goods might serve to pay her debts, which her majesty is informed cannot be performed; and therefore suit is made as well to relieve the creditors, who are many, as to be a help to the young lady that such goods as were due in Scotland to Matthew, late Earl of Lennox, and to his wife, in respect of the profits of the said earldom remaining in the hands of divers in Scotland, there might be a princely regard had by the King and his Council that the same might be duly called for and answered to the use of the will and testament. Her majesty finds it very strange that any disposition should be intended of the earldom to any other to the prejudice of the young lady, only daughter and heir of Charles, late Earl of Lennox, who had that estate assured to him and his heirs of his body generally; whereof it is great reason, for justice sake, that the King be made privy, that by ignorance he be not counselled to do any open wrong to an infant, a lady, and one of his next cousins in blood.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "30 Julie 1578. The answer to the summe of that which was declared to her majestie by the Scottishe Ambassador."

Copy of the same.

July 30. **369.** NEGOTIATION OF THE ABBOT OF DUNFERMLINE.

On Friday, the 25th of July, 1578, had audience, first of the Queen's majesty, and then of the Council, at Sir Ralph Sadleir's house; and first, after putting the King's letter to her, declared to her and the Council the matters committed to him, That day he took his leave and passed to his lodging, at Ware. On the 26th was certified of the Queen's removing that day to Audley End [Inne], in Essex, and that he should be provided with lodging near the Court; whereunto he addressed himself the same day, and lay that night at Saffron Walden. On Sunday he had some intelligence that the Queen and Council said that the matters propounded by him were somewhat

Elizabeth.
1578. general, and therefore was advised to give the same in writing if he looked to be answered in writing and specially; and even as he had desire to have a good and speedy despatch, so, to be plain and let her majesty understand that it was not so much for any suit of Lord and Lady Lennex's lands that he was directed to her highness, as to signify the good affection of the King of Scots toward her majesty, and to be in assured and firm amity with her.

On the 28th, in the morning, having drawn up the sum of that which he had declared and had to say to her majesty and the Council, the rather to obtain thereupon some answer in writing, he sent the same to some of the Council whom he esteemed most friendly; the effect whereof follow:—

"The somme of that which I have declared and have to saie unto your majestie and your honorable Counsell on the behalf of your deerest cossen my sovereigne Lord consisteth of these heades."

First;—has presented to her majesty most hearty thanks for the great favour, care, and goodwill which his highness finds and understands that her majesty has always borne to his person since his birth and coronation, moved thereto principally, he doubts not, by Almighty God, through that union which is between their two majesties in the profession of the true religion, acknowledging for his part what amity and conjunction the same ought to work, and daily works among such as fear God, besides the proximity of their blood and nearness of their habitations, joined and placed together by His divine providence in this island, and subject, for the said respect of the same true religion and their present amity, to the malice of such as disdain and envy this godly union voluntarily continued by God's goodness for his true religion's cause since the beginning of her majesty's reign, which none of her ancestors were able so long to preserve unshaken and cast in doubt.

Is authorised to treat upon the ratification and confirmation of the peace and amity contracted in the first year of her reign betwixt her commissioners and the commissioners of the Queen, the King's mother, then reigning and being joined in marriage with Francis II., then King of France, in such form as has passed between her progenitors before. In respect that the same peace has not been ratified since the King's coronation, and that now he has accepted the government of his realm in his own person, and such ratification presently appears necessary, as well for the terror of the disordered subjects inhabiting the Borders as that the foreign adversary whatsoever. seeing the continutnce of their amity, may find no place to dissever them. There has been hearty goodwill by the King to entertain this good peace and amity in causing justice to be executed and redress made at the Borders, and the good occurrence of her majesty's wardens in preserving the public peace and keeping the disordered people in obedience is acceptable to his highness. Has been commanded to pray her that Lord Hunsdon and Lord Scrope may receive her special thanks, and that Lord Scrope might be commanded to punish such of her subjects within his charge as in April last entered into action of blood and hostility with certain of the King of Scots' subjects in Annandale; also, that by some good order all misliking between the subjects on both parts, at the Middle Marches, might be friendly accorded by commandment from her majesty to such as have

Elizabeth.
1578. best will, ability, and skill to deal in such matters, with whom the King of Scots, will cause others of like quality to concur and join, wherethrough means of following the trade in recovery of true men's goods may be used without fear of deadly feud, and that there may be public meetings kept, as before the accident at the "Tridswire."

The King of Scots' good mind is to cause all her subjects complaining for injuries received at the hands of any of his lieges to have redress. Assures her that in respect of justice there shall be no difference between her subjects and his own, and earnestly craves, therefore, that the like may be showed to his people having their suits depending in England, and prosecuting for a long time past by Adam Fulerton for the merchandise spoiled in general, and particularly by Mr. John Pervande, John Ashsonn of Eder, Thomas Browne of Irwinge, David Endeanch of Aberdeen and others of Scotland for the spoil of their goods and other outrages sustained at the hands of her majesty's subjects exercising piracy, to the great hazard and undoing of sundry honest men, earnest lovers of the amity betwixt the two nations. His petition is that their longsome suits and the execution of a decree obtained long since by Archibald Graham of Edinburgh against some in Northumberland may now receive such direct answer and end as may be to the comfort and satisfaction of his subjects, and that some sure and substantial order might be provided that they shall not be further spoiled by Englishmen in time coming, as of late this same year sundry Scotsmen and "Easterlinges" repairing to Scotland have been spoiled and made prey of at the mouth of the Firth, and, in effect, within the King's own waters by certain English pirates. Requests that the King of Scots may have the lands and living in England sometime appertaining to the Earl of Lennox and the Lady Margaret, his wife, now falling to his highness by just title of order and lawful suecessson. Requests that he may have inspection of the principal evidences and writings pertaining to the Earl and Countess of Lennox, or of the records and registers wherein the same are contained, and that he may also know the state of her will and testament, *etc.*

Being sent for on the said 28th day of July he passed to the Court and dined, and in the afternoon had long conference with the Queen of England and sundry of the Council; and because she made difficulty to grant to the King of Scots the land and living in England sometime appertaining to his grandfather and grandmother, the Earl and Countess of Lennox, seeming to remit his suit to the decision of the laws of England, by which some meant to debar him from his right, through occasion of his birth in Scotland, he showed that, as his highness undoubtedly looked for more friendly dealing at the hands of the Queen, to whom he is so dear, although his right and interest were far more slender than they are, so he [the King] doubts not but whatsoever default and lack by rigour of law might appear through the place of his birth, her majesty of her special favour towards his highness, in consideration of the nearness of their blood, by her amity, will supply it, enabling him to succeed, the pretence of his foreign birth notwithstanding, seeing her majesty is ofttimes accustomed, as her ancestors have likewise been, to grant that favour not only to some of her own subjects born in the parts beyond the sea, but to some mere strangers, and that the King his master is not the

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1578. first born in Scotland nor the first Scottish King who has succeeded to lands in England, as by the English and Scottish histories might well appear, "respecting" that this objection of foreign birth could have no place against the Countess of Lennox, his grandmother, nor the King's father, her son, both born in England, if they were alive. Wherefore his highness would never think that her majesty —who otherwise has been so careful and favourable a mother to him—will in this point suffer him to be frustrate of his right by the rigour of any such law, wherein, although there were default, yet might she very well supply that which seems to lack in him, by her special favour and royal authority. But because this persuasion availed nothing, and that she still made difficulty to suffer the King to have his right presently by ordinary succession, alleging, besides other reasons, the lands to be now in ward, and that her favour showed in this case might touch others whom it were not meet to offend at this time.

In the end he came to this, that it should appear that the King did not suit her in anything tending to her offence, that he could be content, in his majesty's name (but without prejudice of his right) that the rents and profits of the same lands be sequestered till the King might have commodity to prosecute his right by order of law, the person into whose hands the same should be sequestered being of the King's nomination, to whom he trusts her majesty, in the meantime, will give private warrant and direction to answer him for the same rents and profits during the time of the sequestration, to be employed for a guard to wait on his person, which also may serve to repress the disordered people inhabiting the Borders, for the better rule thereof. Showed to the Queen and Council at sundry times by conference and writing the causes that should move her to be beneficial to the King.

"Causes that should move the Queen's majestie to bee beneficiall to the King my soveraigne."

Trusts her majesty is sufficiently informed of the King's estate and his rents. It is certain the King's revenues are not well able to sustain his estate. He has accepted the government of the realm in his own person, and will shortly be abroad; before which time the state of his household must be erected, and it will also be most requisite that he have a guard continually to wait on his person, chosen from able, men affectionate to his preservation and service, seeing that there remain in the realm men who have dipped in the blood of his parents and dearest kinsfolk, who by his lack have great hope of worldly commodity, and other factious persons in whose hands it were right perilous for him to fall, being slenderly accompanied; and of necessity he must have that which will sustain this charge by friendly support, which he cannot have such occasion to sue from any other Prince as from her majesty. The more favourable her majesty shows herself at this time to the King of Scots the more shall she procure his kindly affection and grateful mind towards her, she will thereby acquire the continuance of the goodwill of all his faithful subjects, and put silence to the adversaries, who cease not to persuade that her highness bears him only goodwill in words, and would make it appear that there was more advantage for him to seek other maintenance and friendship; which practices would, therefore, be prevented now whilst he of him-

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1578. self is so well affected towards her, and before he goes abroad, where the evil willers shall have indifferent access and opportunity to persuade him otherwise, as easily they may do, finding him then in need, and the mean to help the matter then cut off from such as have always loved the amity, in case her highness defers the showing of her favour towads him at this time.

It is to be regarded that the charges lie now in his own person, and he has entered into the government empty-handed; the daily disbursing is great and the importance small by reason of the troubles and divided minds as well on the Borders as in some place in the country; seditions and practices will be moved to disturb this amity, and charges must be bestowed to repress the same. There is also provision to be made of plate and movables for the King's house, and his house must be repaired. But the chief cause to move her majesty to this support is to sustain his guard for the better preservation of his own person and suppressing the insolence of borderers and others.

All this being heard, the Queen and Council thought to be advised with. Falling into talk with him upon the ratification of the peace, which he propounded amongst the rest, it was thought by them as a thing that needed not, seeing the peace stood in force and was well enough observed. Was still urged to declare what further he had to say, alleging what he spoke to be general, and of no consequence, and that there was nothing propounded to the Queen by him equivalent to that favour and goodwill that she had shown to the King and realm of Scotland, seeing that in his defence she had not only spent her treasure, but the blood of her subjects; for the which he gave her majesty hearty thanks on his majesty's behalf. Being advertised that he should neither get answer in any other purpose, nor despatch, till it might appear whereunto he would come in this point of further amity, he showed her majesty the King's goodwill to acquit her former favour and goodwill if either she or her realm should have the like occasion by foreign invasion or repressing of domestic forces for religion's cause, and that he would be no less ready to join and concur in so good a cause, and therefore it might please her to cause to be given him the heads and conditions of such league and contract as she should wish to pass between their majesties, upon consideration of the same he would accordingly answer it. Whereupon, spending some time in speech, because he saw her dealings tending to some delay, and that they appeared not to be resolute, to the effect that he might know what indeed might be listened to, he gave a note of the form and conditions of the league and further amity, according to his instructions, in form following. [*Copy of the demands contained in No. 366.*]

Which overtures were advised upon all day on Tuesday, and on Wednesday he was willed to be at the Court after dinner to receive his despatch and take his leave of her majesty: where he first had conference with the Council, and then with the Queen herself, and his answer given him by speech, in this form:—

"Answere to such partes of a writing intituled the somme of that which thambassador had declared as are requisite. [*Copy of No. 366. Then follows a copy of the answers to No. 368.*]

13½ *pp. Indorsed:* "The Abbot of Dunfermling's negotiation, anno 1578." *Stained and torn.*

Elizabeth. 1578. Copy of part of the same.

Another copy of the same in a later hand.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 118. Another copy of the same.

Aug. 2. **370.** SHREWSBURY TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 561. My very good lord, I and my wife have received answer out of Scotland from Mr. Bowes, which here inclosed I have sent to your lordship, whereby the more fully you may understand how that King and late Council there are determined altogether to defeat our little Arbella of her right to the earldom of Lennox and lordship of Darnley; and as we both acknowledge ourselves greatly beholden to your lordship for your most favourable letters to Mr. Bowes, which have procured this his wise and friendly dealing, still we heartily pray your lordship to continue a patron to the infant by earnest intercession to her majesty for her; and unless her highness would vouchsafe her gracious letters in most earnest sort to that King on her little ward's behalf, and her commandment to Mr. Bowes to follow the matter effectually, we cannot but be in some despair of the prevailing herein—against conscience and equity, as we take it. For, if the worst chance, it seems to me that King cannot revoke his first gift done in his minority before he comes to lawful years; and that it would please your lordship to bestow your own letters particularly to whomsoever you think it needful, and to Mr. Bowes to the former effect. The bishop of Caithness, to whom it seems that the King has granted the earldom, is a very old man, sickly, and without a child, and I cannot but think this is only compassed for him to the end D'Aubigné, in France, being his next heir male should succeed him; for I well remember that the Duke of Guise and D'Aumane have written sundry letters to the Scottish Queen in D'Aubigné's behalf, with assurance of D'Aubigné's favour to her; whereby it appears that this is wrought out of France. Besides, I have heard my wife say that old Lord Lennox told her long ago of this D'Aubigné's seeking to prevent the infant, which I will leave to her highness' consideration, upon your lordship informing her thereof, we having no other hope but wholly in her majesty, ever being assured of your care and help to better effect than particularly we can entreat. And whereas Mr. Bowes writes of some hope for the recovery of the receipts of the land, forasmuch as the old Lady Lennox before her death said that she was yearly satisfied for all that was due to her son Charles, late Earl of Lennox, we will not seek further for so small a matter. Chatsworth. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury, E. Shrouesbury.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 2. **371.** ATHOLL, ARGYLL, MONTROSE, AND LORD MAXWELL TO LORD GRAY.

Eg. MSS., 1818 fol. 62. We doubt not but your lordship remembers the great occasion that moved the King's majesty to accept the government on his highness' own person, which was a universal misliking by all estates of the late Regent's government, and fearing now greater to fall out under the colour and pretence of the King's grace's name and majesty

Elizabeth.
1578. "instantlie detenit" by such as make his highness' name to serve them to pursuing their own particular quarrels and cruel affections. We have here assembled ourselves in Edinburgh, intending, by God's grace, with the assistance of all his majesty's dutiful subjects to crave by all means possible his highness . . . , wherethrough his majesty, with advice of his . . . and discipline thereof established, the weal and quietness of the country procured, which heretofore by the craft of . . . persons has been marvellously hindered; and to this effect we heartily pray your lordship that you will meet us substantially accompanied "in feir of weir," at Edinburgh, on the 7th day of August instant, as your lordship will . . . you of your duty to our sovereign Lord the King's majesty, . . . acceptable office to our native country, and win the benediction of the oppressed lieges, notwithstanding any proclamation or charge directed forth in the contrary, which we will assure your lordship was sinistrously and surreptitiously "purchessit" by menacing his grace, to satisfy their ungodly appetites. Thus far we thought good to write to your lordship, that you be not ignorant of matters, not doubting but you will agree to the premises. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Atholl; Argyll; Montrois; Maxwell.

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

Aug. 13. **372.** DUKE OF BAVARIA TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

C.P., vol. XL. Reverend father in Christ, *etc.* When it was brought to us in the month of May, at the baths [Thermæ], which we were then using, and so obtained a suitable time which could be given it, we did not cease until we had read the whole through, and it so pleased us that not only do we congratulate the Scottish nation on this its most worthy herald, but we also desired to be able to read other writings of this nature which appear from time to time with like dignity and utility. For these commentaries certainly have what a history should have above all else, the greatest desire for truth and perspicuity; and so we shall not repent having read it; and now they are in that place with us which your Queen wished should be given them, and we lovingly render her thanks for this her regard and goodwill. But it is uncertain whether we should admire more the constancy of the Queen than her piety in this state of her fortune. This, indeed, will add a new labour at some time to the work of your reverence, that so great an example of her sex and time may not be unknown to the world, while in the first a miracle is manifest, in the other the greatest impiety coupled with enormous crime cannot fail to commend and increase the dignity of the blessed heroine. For merits which are gained in innocence are more revered. God, who deserts not his own and sees every action, be present with blessing to her, and restore her with profit and glory. Abbot Ninian [Winzet] we ever deservedly love for his piety and prudence. We could wish that what in those parts goes to waste with many peeple might be added to him; for so religion would be increased and there would not be so many grave scandals. Leonsperg.

⅛ *p.* *Latin.* *Copy.*

Elizabeth. 1578. Aug. 13 and 14.

373. ARTICLES BETWEEN JAMES VI. AND THE LORDS OF SCOTLAND.

For the tender love he bears to all his subjects, foreseeing the wreck and calamity with which his realm shall be afflicted if the present division and apparent troubles be suffered further to proceed, therefore, with the advice of the Lords of his Secret Council, at the earnest travails of his dearest sister and cousin the Queen of England, he declares and ordains (1) that the hostility shall without any delay cease, and all forces be dissolved, except some bands of horsemen already received upon his charges; which bands he wills shall be only employed for the quietness of his Borders and other his affairs, and not against the lords at Linlithgow or any of their adherents in this later action. (2) Forasmuch as he is thoroughly persuaded that the lords convened at Edinburgh take arms for the love and tender affection they bear to him, he accepts and allows the same since the 10th of June last as good service done, and all the parties and adherents in the same are accepted by him as good servants and subjects. (3) Wills that the Earl of Argyll shall remain with his Council and be lodged in Stirling Castle with the like number as any other nobleman is lodged therein, saving the Earl of Mar, who has the custody thereof. (4) The Earl of Argyll shall have the like access to him and to his ear as any other nobleman about him. (5) Wills that the Earl of Montrose and Lord Lindsay shall be added to his Council, as two of the three appointed by the late Act of Parliament; and the third to be nominated when he thinks time. (6) Will call to him eight noblemen, with the advice of the Queen of England, and by their assistance, before the 1st of May next, will take order for the reconciliation of his nobility and ending their troubles. (7) The keepers of Edinburgh and Dumbarton shall retain the custody and possession of the same till he, with the advice of the eight noblemen, has given order in the cause of the nobility, on condition that the same be made before the 1st of May. (8) All noblemen, barons, and gentlemen coming to him to do their dutiful service and good offices shall be admitted to his presence and free speech. (9) The Laird of Drumquhasill shall be released from his horning, to the effect he may make his accounts and return to his charge. "Gyven under our signet and subscrivit be us with avise of the Lordis of our secreit counsale present at our castle of Strivelynge the xijth day of August, and of our reigne the twelfth yeare, 1578."

"At Strivelynge castell the xiiijth of August, 1579."

That all forces dissolve immediately after the King's proclamation, the men of war with their ensigns folded. The forces being dissolved, the Earl of Angus shall immediately give up his lieutenancy, which lasts but for the King's will only [*etc. as in No. 350*].

2 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Aug. 1578. Articles agreed uppon in Scotland betwene the King and the Lords."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 127. Copy of the same.

Aug. 15. **374.** ELIZABETH COUNTESS OF LENNOX TO BURGHLEY.

Lansd. MSS., XXVII., fol. 9. Thanks him for his continual goodness to her and her little one. Assures him that the earldom of Lennox was granted to her late

Elizabeth.
1578. husband and the heirs of his body. Newgate Street. *Signed:* E. Lennox.

¾ *p. Holograph Addressed. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk). (*Printed, Ellis, 1827, vol. iii., p. 58.*)

Aug. 19. **375** HUNSDON TO [LEICESTER].

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 563. My very good lord, I will not trouble your lordship with any long discourse of these matters of Scotland, but refer your lordship to Mr. Bowes' letter which I send to Mr. Secretary herewith, as also to the articles of agreement, which I send your lordship also.

By the way, as I was coming hitherward, I received a letter from Mr. Bowes of the great likelihood of their going together by the ears, having both their forces assembled to great numbers. Whereupon I wrote presently to him to let the lords of the King's side understand of the Queen's majesty's good favour towards them, and of her majesty's intention for the preservation of the King in maintaining all those who [adhere] to his part, as also that he should declare to the Laird of Cesford, Sir James Hume (wardens of Tiviedale and the Merse), and to all the gentlemen in their company, who were a very great party on that side, and most furiously bent against Morton, that if they did not presently retire with all their forces, and be content to put their causes to the Queen's majesty, that I would presently set fire in their houses at their backs. Which letter, I perceive by Mr. Bowes, came in good time; for, as it greatly encouraged the King's side, coming in the very instant of doing good, so it made the other side yield sooner than they would have done. So that now the lords who were against the King seek to depend wholly upon her majesty, especially the wardens and gentlemen of Tiviedale and the Merse, insomuch that the King's side call them Englishmen, because they refer themselves and their causes to her majesty. Truly, my lord, if they had met together it had been so bloody a day as would not have been quenched in Scotland these many years, and only stayed by the great diligence and extreme travail of Mr. Bowes, who deserves great commendation for the same.

There are coming up to her majesty from the Scottish King five casts of fair falcons, which I have directed to be delivered to your lordship, praying your lordship to bestow one of them on Lord North, and another on my Lord Howard, if her majesty or your lordship do not otherwise bestow them. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

Postscript.—My good lord, persuade her majesty to send the King some token of remembrance. It will do great good.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed:* "To my verie good Lorde therle of Lesistere, Master of hir majeste's Horse, and of hir majeste's moste honnorable Preyvie Counsell." *Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same.

(Copy of No. 373.)

Aug. 19. **376.** HUNSDON TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 129. Incloses a letter from Mr. Bowes. Malice of the lords. They of the Merse made themselves a standard of blue "sarcenett," and on it

Elizabeth.
1578. a child painted within a grate, with this speech out of his mouth, "Lyberty I crave and cannott hyt have." They seemed to answer under it, "Eyther you shall have hytt or we will dey for ytt." So that, though their malice to Morton was the quarrel indeed, yet they "made" the detaining of the King was their colour. The Queen's majesty has now both the sides at her devotion, and the party of Atholl and Argyll [are] more in show than the King's side; for the King's side terms the others Englishmen, because they were contented to put their whole causes to her majesty, and the other lords being required by Mr. Bowes to do the like, Morton utterly refused the same, saying that the King and his Council would end them. But if Mr Bowes' earnest travail and some other means had not taken place it was very like that Morton had been heard instead, for although the King's side were something more in number, yet were the others better chosen men, far better horsed and armed, and, besides, few of them but either for their own causes or their friends' bear Morton a deadly hatred, and so were desirous of revenge, which was but in few of the King's side against any of the other lords.

The King has sent her majesty five casts of falcons. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1 *p. Holograph. No flyleaf or addrees.* (*Printed, Wright, vol. ii., p. 91.*)

Aug. 19. **377**. REQUESTS BY THE LORDS AT EDINBURGH.

"Requestes made by the Lords at Edenburghe and sent to Mr. Robert Bowes to procuer answer, for the better expedition of the reconciliacion of the nobiletie according to th'accordes concluded xix August, 1578."

(1) Desire that all officers dispossessed of their offices since the 10th of June last be repossessed in their offices acoording to their titles, and in special Mr. Mark Carre, the Lord of Newbottle's son, Master of the King's Requests, and William Cunningham, son to the Laird of Drumwhassel, to his office of valet of the King's chamber.

(2) They cannot alter the meeting of the noblemen to be at any other place or day but at Edinburgh, on the last day of November next, because it was first so spoken, and the place is most convenient to be in Edinburgh. As to the nomination of the noblemen, because it is long to the day, they cannot presently name four, as it may fortune some of them to be absent; therefore they nominate the Earls of Montrose and Caithness, Lords Lindsay, Maxwell, Herries, Ogilvy, and Innermeath, the Abbot of Newbottle, and the Lairds of Bargenny and Drumwhassel.

(3) It is to be understood that in the first article they mean the whole disobeyers of the proclamation to be their friends and favourers, and so in nowise to be called for disobeying thereof.

(4) To remember the King's licence for one of theirs to pass into England, and that the man's name be left out.

(5) That the letter this day sent to their lordships for relaxation of Drumwhassel from the horn and discharging of his escheat be gotten, subscribed by the King, and hastened hither to them.

Elizabeth.
1578. (6) That the commissioner of Stirling, who is charged not to come within twelve miles of Stirling, have liberty and free access to repair there.

1¼ *pp.* *Copy.*

Aug. **378.** ANSWERS OF THE KING AND COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

"The answers of the King and Counsell to the requestes aforesaide."

(1) Mark Car and William Cunningham are removable at the King's pleasure; wherein his grace having determined his will intends not to alter the same. Touching the disobeyers of the late proclamation, reasonable answer shall be made upon conference with the lords themselves, and knowledge of their reasons; wherein it is thought strange that the same lords demand this thing, being so prejudicial to the King.

(2) That the King will accept four noblemen to be named by the lords, and place them in the number of the eight; which eight he will call to him to meet at Stirling on the 20th of September next, and will give warning by proclamation that all having actions and griefs fallen by occasion of these troubles may give the same before his highness and eight aforesaid, that order may be taken for reconciliation and union of the whole nobility. If the said lords refuse or defer, the King intends then without delay to call to him such eight noblemen as he shall think most able, not tarrying longer for the lords' commendation of any; and having made proclamation, then, by the advice of the Queen of England and the assistance of the said eight noblemen, take order for the reconciliation of the nobility, and will notify to the Queen of England and other Christian Princes, and to all his own good subjects his care to accomplish all things agreed with such expedition as may best serve for the public quietness of his realm, which cannot but fall into danger, the reconciliation being protracted.

(3) The third article is answered in the first.

(4) The King will grant licence for the passage of the man upon knowledge of the person and matter to be sent to the Queen of England, and upon good liking of the same. Drumwhassel is already released, to the effect he shall make his appearance, but his escheat being disposed by the King cannot be discharged. The commissioner of Stirling is already admitted to Stirling according to this request.

2 *pp.* *Copy.*

Aug. **379.** DEMANDS PROPOUNDED TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND, AND HER ANSWERS.

"Demandes propounded by the erles to her majestie."

First:—if any injury be offered to the earls, their dependers, and followers, that her majesty would first, by mediation, travail to help it, and if that will not serve, then her majesty by other means to protect them.

Answer:—The earls continuing their loyal devotion towards the King, as she hopes they will, her majesty then promises, in case of

Elizabeth.
1578. oppression to procure redress by way of mediation, or otherwise to protect them.

Secondly:—that the same Council that was established before the last Parliament might be chosen and continued until the King came to his full age.

[*Answer.*]—Seeing the Council that now is is by Parliament established, it will not only be thought hard but unreasonable to alter the same.

Thirdly:—that the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton may remain during the King's minority in the hands of those keepers who presently possess them.

[*Answer.*]—This matter being referred to the consideration of the eight noblemen, as appears by the seventh article of the proclamation published the 15th of August, her majesty hopes that such order will be taken by them therein as shall be best for the King's service and their contentment. Otherwise, that not taking effect, her majesty will so deal therein as shall be to their satisfaction, so far forth as may stand with her honour and the King's surety.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

Sept. 6. **380.** ALBERT DUKE OF BAVARIA TO MARY.

C.P., vol. XI. Most serene Princess, our dearest cousin, *etc.* If he [the bishop of Ross] had brought that much awaited message which we have long hoped for with the greatest desire, concerning the liberation of your royal highness, he could then have added nothing to our true joy. But we pray from our heart that God by some good fortune will shortly change your most unhappy state, which we see must now be borne with patience and moderation. But we prefer that our action rather than our letter should bear witness to our regard and goodwill towards the reverend Lord [bishop] of Ross and all other Catholic subjects of your royal highness.

This we wish you to be persuaded of, that we will never fail you in anything where we can well and opportunely do anything either for the bishop [of Ross] and Abbot Ninian [Winzet] or any other catholic of the Scottish nation, for the love of your royal highness; inasmuch as we think that we of our piety owe this for the old benefit conferred in plainting and promoting the Christian religion throughout our provinces and almost the whole of Germany. Castle of Bunckhusium.

$\frac{1}{8}$ *p.* *Latin.* *Copy.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 132. Extract from the same.

Sept. 10. **381.** SHREWSBURY TO BURGHLEY.

C.P., vol. XI. Has received his most friendly letter by this bearer, his fellow, Gasken, and surely it comforts him greatly to hear from so noble and dear a friend. Burghley may no less assure himself of him than of his dearest friend. Thanks him for his occurrents. Assures him that he is very seldom advertised from the Court of news, yet he craves to be made privy to anything for the better discharging of his duty to her majesty. The Countess of Shrewsbury, as one who thinks herself

Elizabeth.
1578. greatly beholden to him, desires to be most heartily commended to him and his wife. Is glad to hear he has passed over this summer without any great annoyance of their enemy the gout. Chatsworth. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed.*

Sept. 12. **382.** RENÉ DE LORRAINE, DUCHESS OF BAVARIA, TO MARY.

C.P., vol. XI. Madam, the return of the bishop of Ross on his journey from Rome through this country has been the cause that I have had the contentment to learn from him particularly as well of your estate as also of your deportment. This has been as agreeable to me to hear as any things the most desirable that could happen to me in this world, assuring you that my joy would be much increased if with your good deportment your liberty and deliverance had been confirmed besides. I hope in God that even as He who never forsook anyone in affliction will likewise visit you with His grace, so that we shall soon have the good fortune to hear news, so much desired, of your early liberty. This I pray God to grant and give you forthwith, as daily I make prayers and orisons to Him.

As regards this, that it has pleased you to thank me by the said bishop for the endeavour I have made for the abbey of Ratisbon, I can assure you, madam, that I am very sorry not to have the authority and means for such efficiency (de telle efficasse) which could declare to you the affection that I have to render you greater service in matters of greater consequence, which shall never be spared in all that presents itself for your service. Munich.

$\frac{1}{8}$ *p.* *French.* *Copy.*

Sept. 15. **383.** EMBASSAGE TO SCOTLAND.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 175. "The thre heades proponit be the Englishe ambassadour to the Counsell, 15 Sept, 1578, and ansuer thereto."

(1) His advertisement received from the Queen of England and her Council of their great contentment at the appeasing of the late trouble here, and their desire to see a perfection therein, which may proceed by the following forth of the execution of the late accord, in nominating of the eight noblemen, whom her majesty wishes may be indifferent, apt, and of the most able to do good in the matter, showing that in any case wherein her advice might be thought requisite for the better pacification of the troubles, she would gladly give the same, and to that effect send to the King of Scots the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, and some others of good quality to further the appeasing of the said troubles, or otherwise if it shall please his highness to direct commissioners to the Queen of England, she would call her whole Council and, by them advised, would give the best advice she could for the final appeasing of the troubles, as far as might be to the contentment of all men, but chiefly for the King's weal and commodity.

(2) How Lord Hunsdon and Sir John Foster meeting at Berwick, and Lord Scrope concurring with them, have thought good that the wardens shall meet oft and make delivery for all attempts on both Borders.

Elizabeth.
1578.

(3) His report of the complaint of the lords for some things, albeit done by them against the accord, as in their displacing the Laird of Coldingknowes from the charge of wardenry of the East March.

The King of Scots thanks the Queen of England for her goodwill to further the pacification of the trouble in his realm, and has been desirous to nominate noblemen most able to do good in the matter of the reconciliation of the nobility for the actions and griefs among them, as he trusts the four of his own choice are. The other four of the ten nominated by them, his highness chose himself, as seeming most apt. If there be any of them more meet, will he accept them? If there be any matter wherein his highness' advice is necessarily required, his highness will crave the Queen of England's advice.

1½ *p.* *Draft.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Stained by damp.*

Sept. 27. **384.** BISHOP OF ROSS TO THE CARDINAL OF COMO.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 132, b.

Setting out hence through Germany, I saluted the Archduke Ferdinand, *etc.* Then when I presented myself to the Duke of Bavaria and exhibited to him his holiness' brief, and explained the other causes of my coming, and especially that of the Queen my lady, *etc.*, his highness took his holiness' brief, with a cheerful air, and declared that he was ready to expose everything for the restitution and propagation of Catholic religion, nor to spare the risk of his life, and to defend the cause of the Queen, my lady, and the affairs of the rest of our nation, and to prosecute them with all grace and favour.

In my second audience before his imperial majesty, when I had expounded the chief heads of the state of the Queen of Scotland, and —I will not say—the strongest reasons for her captivity (for there can be none among them), but rather the very slight causes, the very great hope also of her delivery, and the entire state of our realm, and the very great love of the Prince towards his dearest mother, and last of all, not so much the hope of succession to the realm of England as the line of succeeding, and all the rights of the Queen gained by the common desire of her predecessors, the Emperor's mind began to be so moved therein, and the recounting of all of them was so pleasing to him, that he said that he was bound with so great a desire and zeal for knowing these things that he most greatly desired that all these things be set down in writing in such order as I could expound them, in order that he might retain them more easily, and that he might be able readily to interpose his authority to help and sustain those things which preserve the cause of so pious a Queen, and I afterwards asked him, in the event of the Queen of England's death, to maintain the part of the Queen of Scotland, the lawful heir, and to accompany the Prince of Scotland, her son, with love and kindness: which the Emperor there frankly promised, and that when an opportunity was offered, he would not be found wanting.

1¼ *pp.* *Latin.* *Copy.*

[1578.] [Oct.] **385.** BISHOP OF ROSS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF TRÈVES.

Cott. Calig. C. V., fol. 133.

The Emperor asked him to set down in writing the state of the Queen of Scotland, his lady. When he had done this, the Emperor

Elizabeth.
1578. promised freely to embrace so pious and holy a cause with his favour, grace, and authority, and to preserve her right to the realm of England after the death of Elizabeth.

½ *p. Latin. Extract.*

Oct. 6. **386.** MARY TO MONSIEUR DE MAUVISSIÈRE.

Cott. Calig. C. V., fol. 136. I received yesterday, at Chatsworth, your last [letter] of the 28th ultimo, and having learnt by it the refusal of the passport for the *commis* of my treasury, I would not fail as soon as I arrived at this place to beg you by this line to again make instance to him that the said *commis* be permitted to find another person than him to come to me, being able to inform me of the state of my affairs and of the charge of his master, and also to pay my officers' wages on receiving the acquittances, and to account with everyone. If then it is denied you, my intention is that the servant granted to Nau, my secretary, by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who has promised me to write presently for his passport to Mr. Wilson, be charged by you for the wages of my said officers and all other things which you shall have to send me, causing him to set out as diligently as you possibly can, in order not to let these poor people be kept longer, who are in great necessity.

As regards the other passports, the said earl has again assured me that he found them very reasonable, and that which you send me being showed to him, he told me half in a rage at seeing himself reproached, and swore that he had written exactly and plainly according to his conscience and the knowledge that he had of the necessity in which I am, without which he would not have feared to refuse me those commodities frankly and at once, nor did he care to undertake for me that which he should have written, if he had had other intention. But that, for his particular, this change of officers did not concern him in anything, since he could render good account of those who shall be in his charge, whoever they may be. Therefore I beg you to continue the suit which you have begun to make, so that my old physician's nephew can come to seek him here, in order to take the charge and management. I hope to receive in two days or sooner the works which you have caused to be delivered to the carrier, and my treasurer's papers, and when I have seen them I shall forward the answer to all the last despatches which you have sent me, in order to let you have it the quickest that I can. Manor of Sheffield. *Signed:* Marie R.

1 *p. French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 10. **387.** RODOLPH II. EMPEROR OF GERMANY TO MARY.

C.P., vol. XI. Most serene Princess, cousin, and our dearest sister, your ambassador John, bishop of Ross, has delivered to us your letter dated 30th of April, and faithfully related what your highness wished to be expressed to us by him. Which things, since for the most part they pertain to the good wishes of your highness towards us (about which we were always fully persuaded) and also the grief for the death of the Emperor Maximilian, our most revered father, of august memory, we with benevolent and grateful mind except as a testimony of mutual regard.

Elizabeth.
1578. As your highness will easily infer, that misfortune could not fail to be most painful. But as we had to submit to the divine will, against which we would strive in vain, so we trust that your highness is not forgetful of the human lot in those things also which do not happen according to your desire, in the hope that your highness will enjoy a happier state of affairs. Whilst with sincere affection we greatly desire this for your highness, in the other matters which the aforesaid ambassador of your highness laid before us, we refer ourself to him, willingly delivering to him what remains of our fraternal benevolence and regard. Prague.

⅛ *p. Latin. Copy.*

[Oct.] **388.** STATE OF SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 134. The King and all the nobles who now adhere to him honour the Queen of Scotland with the greatest love, and it is decreed that ambassadors be sent into England to procure the Queen's liberty on certain conditions. The Queen of England exhorts the Scots to preserve the wonted peace and not to receive a foreign soldier in their territory. When the Prince of Scotland's whole mind depends on the will of his mother, there is very great hope of the Queen of Scots' liberty, and that the Catholic religion will be restored.

½ *p. Latin. Extract.*

Oct. **389.** BISHOP OF ROSS' AUDIENCE WITH RODOLPH II.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 134. (1) Touching the state of the Queen of Scotland, who now enjoys a little freer air on account of the fear of her son and the peers of Scotland. (2) The causes of her captivity, viz., religion and the title of England. (3) The hope of her delivery by reason of the conditions to be offered by her son and the peers of Scotland to the Queen of England. (4) Touching the state of the realm. Two Regents killed, one after the other; the third seized with fear of sudden death. The fourth deprived and removed. The Prince now chooses peers partly Catholic. Hope of restoring the Queen to liberty and the Catholic. (5) Undoubted hope of the succession of England. (6) That a libel be offered to the Emperor containing the whole lineage of the Queen of England's succession, with a history of all the competitors and the arguments of the adversaries. (7) Also, that a true and natural portrait of each be shown, that he may see each of the two princes as it were face to face. (8) Let the Emperor be asked to sue for the Queen, and on the death of Elizabeth to uphold justice and right. (9) Let supplication be had for the restitution of the monasteries in Germany. (10) For the goodwill and love of the King of Spain towards the Queen of Scots. (11) For the hope of further friendship and affinity. (12) For the King of Scots' daughter married to the Duke of Austria, as is contained in the new chronicles.

1 *p. Latin. Copy.*

Nov. 3. **390.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 137. The return of this bearer to your lordship being made known to me, is sufficient cause for me to accompany him with these presents,

Elizabeth.
1578. to testify the memory of my duty, and to present myself and service to your lordship's direction and commandment.

By my common letters to the Lords of her majesty's Council the weltering estate of this realm, that now attends but a tide for a new alteration of this Court, will appear to your lordship, and how necessary it is in this change approaching, and in the confederacies presently knitting, to get some hold for her majesty among them, I have before by my letters aforesaid exhibited to good consideration, and "eftsoones" recommended the same to your lordship's particular regard, knowing that your lordship will have especial care seasonably to provide and use the best means therein. Albeit my long delay, beyond duty, condemns me of unthankful forgetfulness in sending some lead promised to your lordship, yet holding it better rather to do "something and late, than nothing or never," I have, therefore, presumed to send a piece of that which, against my will, I have thus long deferred. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Nov. 9. **391.** SECRETARY WILSON TO [LEICESTER].

Cott. Galba C. VI., fol. 112. Informs him that the meeting on the Border betwixt the wardens of England and Scotland for controversies and disorders to be ended, is put off by the King of Scots from the 8th instant till the 5th of December, which is much misliked by the English Wardens. Richmond. *Signed:* Tho. Wilson.

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

Nov. 21. **392.** MARY TO FATHER EDMUND [ANGIER].

C.P., vol. XI. Mr. Edmund, your last letters, full of good advice, salutary counsel, and learned instructions, have brought me very great consolation in this captivity, as much for coming from you, whom I have always esteemed and honoured, as for the profit from them, which will remain with me, serving as a mirror or picture to represent to me daily before my eyes the defect of my actions and the grace required for the accomplishment of the work for which I hope my just and merciful God has kept me here in the hands and under the persecution of His principal enemies. I pray with all my heart that this may be for the glory and augmentation of His Church, rather than for any particular contentment which I could apprehend from it; the continuation of my adversities having enough made me forget the taste of such worldly enjoyment, as to search for the true cure of my wrongs in the life and death of His Son our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ; and then still more resolved than ever to follow by means of His grace the path that He has traced for me going to the Cross, of the which I consider myself very happy to be able to bear my share in this world, in order to inherit that which He has acquired for me in His eternal kingdom, too great and inestimable, at the price of the heaping up that one could have of all the human felicities, gathered together and separated from the pains and hardships with which they are accompanied. I should think to do wrong to your knowledge and profession if I extend more in this discourse, which I

Elizabeth.
1578. finish by praying God, Mr. Edmund, that he may have you in his worthy keeping. Manor of Sheffield in England, 1578.

Postscript.—I pray you let me know your news from time to time, according to your commodity.

1 *p. French. Draft. Indorsed:* "Dispatched 21st Nov., 1878. The Scottish Queen to Father Edmond."

Nov. 24. **393.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 138 It may please your honour; I have received your several letters of the 1st, 4th, and 7th of this month, together with a note of the three articles or heads proponed to me by the Earl of Caithness, in the name of the rest of the lords, whereunto Mr. Secretary Wilson by his letters of the 27th of June last, had sufficiently signified to me her majesty's pleasure in the same, and which I likewise made known to the lords. Wherein, albeit they were not fully satisfied, yet, because they were in purpose to send an especial gentleman to her majesty, and intended to commend that course, among others, to his credit, they deferred to call on me herein until they saw the despatch of their said messenger delayed beyond their expectation, and seeking both to have her majesty's support to be assured to them in the articles preferred, with such promise and terms as might fully satisfy them, and also to yield to her highness such surety on their own behalf as should make sure the performance of their promises offered, and that they thought, as I conjecture, that her majesty would accompany her grant of aid with some liberality; therefore, they urged me again to seek her majesty's pleasure to be with certainty resolved and signified to them, occasioning me hereby, for their better satisfaction, to renew the matter, as appears by my former [letters], trusting that my recommendation of the same to new consideration, upon sight of the estate here and my care to be directed for her majesty's best service shall be favourably accepted.

I have upon apt occasion dealt with them that I might leave them all in good devotion to her majesty, according to their former offers, and so far prevailed that outwardly they pretend to be well pleased. Nevertheless, feeling that some principal part of their desire and hope remains not fully satisfied, I have, according to your direction, with general terms, put them in comfort of support in case of necessity, and so left them in as good mind as I could. Yet I doubt what liberal offers of other Princes may work in their bare estates, overcharged with late expenses, especially when they shall see that they may make a profitable market, and I fear that no great inwardness shall be found in them when they find her majesty's liberality coming slowly to those who "use not often at the fayrest call to stowpe to empty lure." All which I refer to better consideration.

The Earl of Argyll has showed me what bands have been betwixt his ancestors "Doneyll" and others in Ireland, whereby a yearly pension was assured to the Earls of Argyll for the aids given and suffered to come into Ireland. All which he has refused, and, for her majesty's pleasure, will still forbear to accept the same or deal with the Irish in prejudice of any of her majesty's subjects or service.

Elizabeth.
1578. I have dealt with the Earl of Morton in like sort as I have done with the others, seeking to continue his good devotion to her majesty, as the man in whom her majesty reposes chief trust; and I have left him also contented in outward appearance. But yet I know that he still thinks his long service is overlooked.

Because the merchants have not called on me, as verily I looked that they should, and used to do, I have passed over that matter in silence.

Before I moved the King for the restitution of the Lord Fleming, the Earl of Morton and others had so persuaded his grace that he was pleased to restore him to his possessions at the next Parliament. Nevertheless, I so commended the same to the King in her majesty's name, and in the behalf of the Earl of Montrose, that the earl thinks himself much beholden to her majesty, and rests at her highness' devotion. All which I did with the privity and good liking of the Earl of Morton.

That her majesty is pleased to license me to return home upon the end of this treaty for concord, which is now done, I most humbly thank her highness, and according thereto I have already taken leave of the King to depart, attending only the receipt of his grace's letters, which I looked to have received before this time, and I have put myself in readiness upon receipt of it to repair to Berwick with all expedition to make the pay presently due to that garrison; and being desirous to see her majesty for my comfort after this service, and both to make known to her highness my doings and success here, with signification of the present estate and condition of things, and also to the duties of my office in my accounts to be rendered the next term, I right humbly pray you to be mean to her majesty for my leave to make my repair to the Court.

The order taken for the Borders and the agreement of eight noblemen appointed to mediate all griefs among the nobility, to refer the determination of all the said variances to the judgment of the States to be convened on the 15th of January next, according to my former advertisements, will appear to you by my present letters to the Lords of her majesty's Council. All others I refer to the next. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Dec. **394.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

Add. MSS., 33,531, fol. 179. It is "hevelie compleynit" to him by his subject, Nicholas Woodward [Vdwart], merchant of Edinburgh, and Thomas Urquhart, of Leith, master of a little barque thereof, called *The gift of God*, that an English pirate of the burden of 45 or 50 tons has spoiled them of their clothing, money, and all they had, and threatened to cast them overboard, as they had been, indeed, if the prayers of Scottish gentlewomen had not saved their lives. Desires her to make earnest search to be made for this so heinous attempt, that the wounded hearts of his subects may be "mitigat." Stirling.

1 *p.* *Draft.* *Indorsed.*

395. PRACTICES AGAINST THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

C.P. vol. XI. "An abstracte of matters wherby the Scottish Queen may be

Elizabeth.
1578. charged to have attempted some practises against her majestie's estate."

Out of certain heads of a memorial given by the Scottish Queen to the bishop of Ross, being sent to the pope. That she hoped there were many of the English nobility of her party; for that they all, especially the Catholics, moved through the right of her title, openly pretended that when the time served and their help was necessary, they would wholly stick to her, knowing that by her only means the Catholic religion was to be restored in England: that she desired nothing so much as to have the Catholic religion established through this whole isle: that being desirous by the pope's means to have letters written in her favour from other foreign Princes to the Queen of England, she uses these words, "Quanquam tantæ injuriæ Catholicæ principi irrogatæ, impunitæ, videtur in omnium Catholicorum principum dedecus cedere; ut qui lege conscientiæ tenentur omes injurias vindictare; quanto magis illas, atque tanto tempore quasi reliquorum omnium principum contempta authoritate sint inflictæ"? *etc.*: that in her name he should recommend to the Pope the rebels of the north and others escaped, especially Stuckley, who might serve in time as fit instruments for the execution of the intended interprise. Out of letters written by her in cipher to the bishop of Ross: that whereas he had advertised her that the pope had attempted somewhat which was to be put in execution by the greatest Princes for restoring the Catholic faith in this island, she thought that matter had no good ground, as well in respect of the rash attempt in hand by Stuckley with a few desperate persons, as also for that she perceived the pope was hardly brought to provide any convenient sum of money for the advancement of so godly and necessary a cause for all Christendom as was the transportation of her son, whom she would have remain with her cousins the Guises, in Lorraine: that for effecting her desire, he should let the Pope understand that there wanted only his help, and that she would give order that his nuntio at Paris should be further informed touching those causes.

In like letters from her to the bishop of Ross are these words: "Tempus enim instare videtur, ubi multis visum est, ut citius forsan, quam expectavimus etiam status hujus regni mutatio contingat. Nam ista regina est valetudinaria, et omnium sermone effertur, illam gravi ethica laborare, nec posse diu vivere: id quod etiam medici intimi secreto significarunt, et multi nobiles incipiunt sese in gratiam mei insinuare, *etc.* Quare opto ut cum nobilibus Angliæ, ubicunque illos inveneris tractos; ut amicos suos in mei favorem sollicitent, ut meas partes sequantur. Sed si nostri in Scotia agant partes suas, nihil est in hac causa timendum."

Out of a letter written by her to the said bishop, 10th July, 1578: —"Auget timorem dum cogito magnam esse differentiam inter desperatos conatus eorum hominum, qui exules et patria sua et omnibus bonis exuti authores sunt et hortatores ad audiendum aliquid: et inter conatus potentissimorum istorum principum qui tam suas privatas injurias ulciscendi gratia, quam ob publicam religionis causam 3 aut 400,000 coronatorum facile periclitari, sinent gravius enim nihil patientur."

1¼ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Matters against the Sc. Qu. ext. out of the booke brought out of Germanye by Haller. 1578."

Copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1578.

396. Earldom of Lennox.

Harl. MSS. 289, fol. 202.

The Queen of England wrote twice to the Regent in the behalf of Margaret, Countess of Lennox. The Regent's answer was that there were doubts in law. Request for the Lady Arbell. The Regent's answer. By the death of her father the earldom falls into the King's hands. Thomas Randolph to deal with the Regent therein. Drumquhassel has 2600 marks in his hands for a wood that was sold.

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

[1578.] **397.** Nobility of Scotland.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 133.

"Catalogus Nobilium Scotiæ et hæreticorum.

Comites Catholici.—Atholl, Huntly, Eglinton, Fuvolia, Caithness, Cassillis, Crawford, Menteith.

Domini qui "milordi" dicuntur, catholici:—Ogilvy, Maxwell, Seton, Oliphant, Cesford, Borthwick, Gray, Sempill, Drumwhasell, Fleming, Elphinstone, Adam Gordon, Claud Hamilton.

Comites fautores Reginæ, neque multum pertinaces in Calviniana secta:—Argyll, Montrose, Rothes, Sutherland, Ross (Rothalia), Marishal, Murray, John Earl of Arran, Abbot of Arbroath [*sic*].

"Milordi" fautores Reginæ neque multum pertinaces in secta Calviniana:—Livingston, Fleming, Hume, Lindsay, Thraquart, Innermeath, Erroll, Saltoun, Lovat, Sinclair, Roshacquart, Cathcart.

Comites magis pertinaces in religione:—Angus, Morton, Glencairn, Buchan, Methven, Glammis, "Fortiasius," Saltoun, Lovat, Ochiltrie, Cathcart, Boyd [*sic*].

"Milordi" pertinaces in sua secta:—Lindsay, Ruthven.

Episcopi hæretici:—Orkney, Satsaerensis.

Vacant et possidentur ab hæreticis ministris:—St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Murray, Brechin, Galloway, the Isles, Lismore.

Episcopi Catholici:—Archbishop of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Ross.

Abbates omnes fere et commendatitii sunt conjugati; nonnulli tamen sunt cutholici. Nobiles autem, barones et equites partim sunt catholici, partim hæretici, sed pauci sunt valde pertinaces in Calviniana secta, quia tædio quodadmodo sunt affecti ministrorum propter eorum insolentiam, et ita novam optant habere mutationem. Civitates præcipue profitentur Calvinianam sectam, sed in singulis multi sunt cives catholici et viri boni.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* *Copy.*

1578-9.
Jan. 2.

398. Answers by Mary.

C.P., vol. XI.

For reply on the part of the Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, to that which the Earl of Shrewsbury has communicated and made known by express commandment of the Queen of England. First:—the Queen of Scotland thanks very affectionately the said Queen of England, her good sister and cousin, for that, following the steps by her formerly taken for the explanation of the last difficulties occurring between their two majesties, it has pleased her at last to declare the occasions and foundation of the same, estimating it to be

Elizabeth.
1578-9. the most sure, prompt, and expedient means to abolish all suspicions, jealousies, distrusts, and discontentment which might arise on one part and the other, and to anticipate those who are procuring underhand some alteration in the duty of their strait kinship and good friendship.

Which the said Queen of Scotland has so much at heart, that for that only respect, resigning that position to which God has caused her to be born, she has always desired to make her behaviour in this kingdom agreeable to the said Queen her good sister, and to represent it to her sincerely, according to the truth, while her enemies have wished to disguise it by calumnies and imposture, so that by the impunity of the previous [calumnies] it has at last come to pass; her said enemies having wished to charge her with divers intrigues with foreign princes, without that in their pursuits of the verification of the same anything could have succeeded, except the wrong and unworthy treatment offered to the said Queen, and since, to confirm and cover it [they produce] an extract, made by hand according to their imaginations, from the letters, which they pretend to have been written in the name of the same Queen, which she absolutely denies. And as before she has several times sent to the Queen her said good sister, protesting anew that nothing of the sort will ever be written by her or by her commandment, neither with any foreign Prince has she carried on any intrigue of consequence, and contrary to the welfare and peace of this State; offering, moreover, if it pleases the said Queen her good sister, to show her the original, which has been presented to her to the said letters, to convince her of its falseness, contrary to that which she has been given to understand. And, however, for the satisfaction of that, which the said Lord Shrewsbury has touched upon concerning the treatment offered to the said Queen, his charge, alleging that good words could not efface the bad effects, and that the thrower of the stone is the cause of the wrong that arises therefrom, she wishes going further to maintain that in all the contents of the said extract, even if it were hers, she cannot find any foundation or just occasion for the said treatment, and still less anything sufficient to give credit to that which they have wished to impose on her.

She quite realises having had more than sufficient occasion to behave otherwise than she has done, if the hope of returning in time to good understanding and perfect friendship with the said Queen her good sister, being so nearly related, and the respect that she has for the good and prosperity of this country, considered by her as other than foreign, had not helped to maintain her in the resolution that she has made, to bear to that end the continuation of such adversities, tending only to its conservation; in such a way that, not putting, as one usually says, the plough before the oxen, when one other of her quality and of her spirit, invited by like treatment to let it go, would be less held to it, it would only be necessary to ascribe to the said treatment that which it would have drawn, as by force, after itself, and not to the contrary.

But to the end to declare her integrity on each article of the said extract, she prays the said Queen of England her good sister, and the gentlemen of her Council to consider of the negotiation put forward with the Pope could be formed on the general terms of the first article, which shows sufficiently to have only arisen from suspicion,

Elizabeth.
1578-9. under which this chimera ought to be better formed by all its parts, to the end to show that on this side nothing has passed to the prejudice of this realm.

As for the most Christian King, the said Queen of Scotland regards and considers him as so good an ally, and common friend of the said Queen her good sister, and of herself, that any overture tending to a rupture or division between those three would not be well received by him, as also on her part she has never been advised and informed otherwise.

But inasmuch as the said Queen her good sister could sufficiently make clear by Monsieur de Mauvissière the intention of the said most Christian King, if they wished to charge him by this article, she will not make any particular response thereto, further than she feels obliged by the ancient confederation of their kingdoms, and the close alliance of their persons, even by his good offices, when she has need of it in this captivity, all favour being lacking to her here.

Furthermore, no doubt her relations and her principal servants in France, as the Archbishop of Glasgow, understanding only by common rumours the restriction of her liberty, cause of her indisposition, and the oppositions of her enemies, without that it has been permitted them to visit her as often as they have made request, are only working by all means to help her in such necessity. But if anything is passing there to the prejudice of the said Queen of England, to which the Queen of Scotland cannot reply, for not having any communication and knowledge, she offers nevertheless, on being informed, to cause everything to cease, and so to provide therein, that the said Queen her good sister will remain satisfied and content.

By the third article, the said Queen of Scotland avows the necessity of her affairs to be such (the only wealth she has remaining being her dower in France) that often she has been constrained to make similar reply to her faithful subjects and others who would require a gift of her, but not as she has been distorted in favour of those named in the said article, who, although it was so, it appears by the said extract, have been refused all support. The said Queen of Scotland does not wish to forget to say by the way, that, peradventure, she would have far better profited to the common welfare of this isle, than by being in prison, if these rebels had been as little maintained and assisted as those on this side have been by her, their behaviour and past communi cations having shown enough the little share that she had with them

As for Seigneur Guarras, the said Queen of Scotland presumes him [to be] so honest a personage, by the charge in which they say he has been employed, that he would not wish to make use of her name against her wish, and without her knowledge, and in case he had done it, that which she cannot think, she would disavow it. And can the King, his master, testify whether she has treated with him of any other negotiation concerning this realm since, for the deliverance of some Englishmen, she was required to write to him with permission of the said Queen her good sister? And to the end not to leave room for the least suspicion, which could remain from that which is above, the said Queen of Scotland prays very affectionately the said Queen of England her good sister to believe, notwithstanding everything passed, that she bears to her in her heart the same respect, duty, and entire

Elizabeth.
1578-9. affection that she would bear to her own eldest sister, and holds the great grandeur and prosperity of this kingdom in no less recommendation than of her own State, so that it is impossible that she can be induced to lend her ear to the enemies of the same, and for the future is firmly resolved to accommodate herself, as near as she can, in reason, to everything that the said Queen her good sister can justly desire of her, for the great surety and repose of her country, so that she shall know by effect, if she thinks well to cause her to understand them by some personage of credit or other means as she shall advise, recommending her her treatment in this behalf and that of the Prince, her son, in Scotland.

2 *pp. French. Closely written. Indorsed:* "The Queen of Scots answere to those thinges wherewith she was charged from her majesty out of her owne letters and others, for evill intentions against the State of England, received the 2 Jan, 1578."

Jan. 2. **399.** REPLIES TO MARY'S ANSWERS.

C.P., vol. XI. (1) After denial of the letter to be hers or written by her consent or knowledge, she says that the first article is insufficient and proves nothing against her: the words are these; "Car encores qu'en apparance il demonstre et promet veiller sur ceste isle, et ceux que Dieu a appelez pour y commander, je n'ay troune en effect, etc." The words imply that some Prince is called of God to rule over this isle, for whose sake He has a watchful care over it, and if there be any other called besides her majesty, then her majesty is not in rightful possession of it, for she detains that which another is called to. Where she says that she has small regard to her own surety and to such inconveniences as she is like to fall into in this captivity, so that she may procure "le salut de mon filz et des catoliques de ceste isle," so greatly she is affected to her majesty that she will procure, to her own hurt, all the food she can to her majesty's enemies; yet these are but general words.

(2) As for the point alleged out of the same letter, wherein she encourages the Princes, her majesty's neighbours, to make some attempt on this State by reason of the great divisions that are among the nobles and commons, she puts off the answer to the French ambassador to answer for his master's sincere intention towards her majesty The words are these: "de sorte que les roys voysins ne doyuent maintenant redoubter aucun dainger du coste de deça ou avec peu de forces ilz donneroynt beaucoup d'empeschement, si les affaires leur permettoynt y attendre. Les volontes de tous les Catoliques et une grande partie des anciens heretiques en despit des Puritains y estant tellement disposees qu'avec le bout du doit on les pousseroyt en campaigne." What disposition the French [King] might be of upon this intelligence given him, is not demanded, but whether she did not write this; and therefore she is to answer it, and not the ambassador.

(3) For relieving her majesty's rebels, she shifts off with this answer: that considering her poor estate and the great instance made to her for divers reliefs, she was constrained to answer then that her ability stretched no further than for her own household affairs and certain of her subjects and others. Wherein is not demanded what she meant,

Elizabeth.
1578-9. but whether she had not written so. It is to be observed how her own conscience convinces her in the rehearsal of the words; for whereas in her letter the words are these, "et la nccessite des Angloys et Escossoys bannis," in her answer she minces them in this sort, "a ses fidelles subjects et aultres qui requeroynt quelque don d'elle." But the very tenour of her letter witnesses that this answer is but a shift, the scope whereof is to desire assistance of the pope. [*Quotation from her letter follows.*]

(4) Touching Guarras' letter, she presumes so much on the man's honesty that he would not abuse her name. But because his words are these, "y carta de la Reyna d'Escocia ruega mucho a s. m. el tenerse mucha cuenta de los desterrados, y especialmente del Conde de Westmerland"; wherein he touches that he received a letter from her to that effect, and he is yet in indurance,—the truth of it may be taken by his confession, and so his honesty and her credit are balanced together.

(5) As for her own words in her letter to Ligons wherein she testifies the great affection she bears to Westmorland, she is content to pass that over in silence, because she has no meet colour presently tempered for it.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 10. **400.** FREDERIC II., KING OF DENMARK, TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. MSS., Nero B. III., fol. 229. Has heard of some contention which has arisen between the Queens of England and Scotland. Offers to intercede. Coldinga.

6 *pp.* *Latin.* *Copy.*

Jan. 18. **401.** MARY TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 134, b. Is not able to write suitably of her state now, because the suspicions and machinations of her enemies never were sharper, and never were less occasions given by her.

$\frac{1}{8}$ *p.* *Latin.* *At the head:* "Ex literis Reginæ Scotiæ ad Episcopum Rossensem; postscriptum manu propria."

March 15. **402.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Cott. Titus, B. II., fol. 190. Cannot forget that at her request and for her sake he has made Robert Melville taste of his favour, so far forth that thereby he is spared to do him good service when it may please him to make proof; wbich he will be the better able to perform, if by his favour and liberality he may be restored to means to execute it conformable to his goodwill, by means of his favour, in restoring him to his former living, and to that purpose she right heartily and earnestly prays him, and to bind the poor gentleman to remain all the rest of his life his most bounden dutiful subject, to be mindful of him with speedy effect. Westminster Palace.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p.* *Broadsheet.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.* *Torn.*

1579.
March 27. **403.** AGREEMENT BETWEEN LORD SCROPE AND LORD HERRIES.

Cott. Calig., B. IX., fol. 7, b. "The agrement betwene the L. Wardens of the Westmerches of England and Scotlande."

Elizabeth.
1579. Shall meet and keep a day of March at Greatnoekirk on the 28th of April next. On the morrow to repair to the Debateable Land. From thence to repair to Harlowe with horsemen and footmen to pursue fugitives. Attempts and slaughters shall be redressed.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

March 29. **404.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 149. At the last convention, at Stirling, the King by his minority revoked his former grant of the earldom of Lennox, given to the bishop of Caithness, and in recompense thereof gave to the said late earl, then absent, the earldom of March. Afterwards the King made Monsieur d'Aubigny Earl of Lennox, giving to him that earldom and the custody of the castle of Dumbarton, which d'Aubigny has left in the keeping of the Laird of Drumquhassel. D'Aubigny is also called to be one of the Secret Council, and carries the sway in Court.

By the small assembly at this convention it is adjourned to the 10th of April next, at Stirling; and because it is suspected that the Earl of Morton held sundry noblemen back with himself, therefore the King will write more earnestly for general appearance at the next, and that party at Stirling are bent to solicit all their friends to the same, where it will appear what weather shall follow these "gloming" clouds.

The griefs betwixt the Earls of Morton and Argyll will increase.

The agreement betwixt the Earls of Morton and Angus takes no full effect. The poisoning of Atholl is meant to be brought again into question and trial, and sundry are of opinion that the matter shall be discovered.

The Earl of Morton and many with him earnestly withstand the return of Sir Thomas Carre to Scotland, and it is found strange that d'Aubigny, being so near in blood to the King, should advance the calling home of him who was present at the slaughter of the King's grandfather and his uncle.

1¼ *pp.* *Copy.* (*Printed, Wright, vol. ii., p. 96.*)

Cott. Julius, F. VI., fol. 46. Copy of the same.

[March.] **405.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR WALSINGHAM'S SECRETARY.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 143. "Instructions upon which Tomson, Secretary Walsingham's man, should conferre with the Italian at Boloigne."

(1) What Shadell was, and what practices he had.

(2) What Jacomo Boncompanio is, and what the matter was that he and Shadell should have repeated here for him.

(3) Who they were with whom he had most conference, and whom he acquainted with the death of the said Shadell, and expected and received from him their further pleasure.

(4) Who that Gregorie Romaine is, of whom he speaks, and what the letters were he received from him to deliver to some parties of the imprisoned, and who that party imprisoned is.

(5) What other noblemen of France there are with whom he had conference in former matters.

(6) To whom he delivered the packet he brought from Gregorie,

Elizabeth.
1579. and what was contained therein, and with how many and whom he had conference at his being here.

(7) What things he is able to reveal touching her majesty's State.

"Thompson's proceedinge with the Italien at Boloigne."

After delivery of my message to him from her majesty, with usual compliments, and also the view of your honour's letter in his chamber, in part, he uttered to me as great discontentment as at the first, and for the self same cause, seeking some other small pretences of offence out of the letter, as that her majesty should be angry with him, and your honour should account him a mercenary—that he was accounted no better of, *etc.* The matter he delivered to me was that there was an invasion intended against her majesty, practised by the pope and his adherents; the chief conduct of the enterprise was committed to Jacomo Boncompanio, lieutenant of the church of Rome, and castellan of the castle of St. Angelo; that the matter was ripe and ready to be put in execution when he should say it was time, that he was now presently to return to Rome to report to the pope in what state he finds matters here at the delivery of the packet he brought hither in February last; that, therefore, if her majesty could like to accept of his service, he would deliver the principal conspirator, Jacomo Boncompanio into her hands; that their intention by this interview was not only to deprive her majesty of the crown, but of her life also, in the same sort as the Lady Jane [Grey] went before; that this conspiracy has great favourers in the realm, whom he would likewise particularly note out to her majesty with such manifest proofs that they shall not gainsay it; that if they have not burned them, the pope's letters shall be found about them; that he will discover the party to whom he delivered the Pope's packet of letters, all which were signed with the letter H. intending thereby his Christian name, which is Hugo, and not his pontifical name, which is Gregorie; that in France there are six principal conspirators; which six are not several persons, but several houses, whereof the Duke of Guise and his whole house make but one; that he is now presently gone to the Duke of Guise. He desires that howsoever her majesty pleases to accept of the advertisement or not, it may be kept secret, *etc.* One great occasion that moves him to discover the practice of the pope and his adherents is their base and abject using of him. He desired me to recommend this petition of his very earnestly to her majesty, to wit, that she would be careful of her own preservation and such others about her as are her best servants.

4¼ *pp.* *Copy.*

April 15. **406.** ELIZABETH TO LORD HERRIES.

Being amply advertised from Lord Scrope, Lord Warden of the Marches, of the good offices, earnest endeavour, and pains he used in the charge there committed to him in the administration of justice, and repressing and punishing, on his side, the disorders of those that seek to disturb the peace between Scotland and England, she gives him her hearty thanks for the same, and commends his wide consideration herein, and as, in her opinion, he can do no greater service to his King and country than this, so she doubts not but he

Elizabeth. 1579. will persevere in the same; assuring him that she has commanded her wardens on the Borders to use the like correspondency on their parts, to the end that thereby peace may not only continue, but be more established. Westminster Palace.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* "xv° Aprilis 1579. To the Lord Herys of Scotlande, from the Quenes majestie."

May 14. **407**. OCCURRENCES IN SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 155. On the 4th of May, Hamilton Castle was besieged by the Earls of Morton and Angus, Lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Cathcart, and the Master of Glencairn. There are in the house 50 able men. The house is well garnished with armour and weapon, and furnished with victuals for a year.

The Hamiltons have been openly with Lords Maxwell and Herries. Arbroath has embarked at Kirkcudbright for France, but Claud continues quietly in Scotland. Lord Herries is sent by the Hamiltons to the King to offer to yield the houses of Hamilton and Draffen, provided that the captains thereof to be appointed may be Stewarts, etc., neither Douglas nor Boyd. They offer also to leave the realm on condition that they may enjoy their livings.

Captain Crawford is hurt in the foot, two soldiers slain, and divers hurt with shot out of the house. This siege is to be continued by quarterage. Morton and the others now present there are to return in short time, and Argyll, Atholl, Montrose, and others shall succeed and enter. Before they come home there will be news. The Earl of Lennox is to be lieutenant-general in Scotland during these wars, and Argyll shall be Chancellor. But no sudden resolution is like to ensue in either of them. On the 12th instant two cannons, a batard and a moyen were sent out of Edinhurgh Castle towards Hamilton. Other ordnance is sent from Stirling and Dumbarton, and the town of Edinburgh have sent 200 men with the ordnance. It is looked that the Hamiltons will seek support from the Queen of England, because she has been the author of the general pacification in Scotland. Six earls, besides sundry lords and barons with other gentlemen, have subscribed to pursue the murder of the Earl of Atholl. If the Earl of Huntly be not already departed to France on his licence, he is like to be restrained. The Earl of Angus intends to hold in his journey to France. Lord Seton and his three sons are charged under pain of treason to enter into ward in Brechin Castle, where they all are, except Lord Seton, who repaired to Stirling to mitigate this charge. It is thought that the Chevalier de Bucca, besides the outward show that he brought to the King, had either privy direction or quiet traffic to be intended with some favourers of the Queen Mother [of Scotland] to the King of Scots. Lord Seton was charged before to bring in Robert Bruce, servant to the bishop of Glasgow, who Seton affirmed had not been in his company long before. Bruce is now declared rebel and enemy to the King of Scots. It is commanded by open proclamation that no passenger should be received into any ship or vessel to be carried out of the realm, notwithstanding any licence for the same; and by the same proclamation all such licences granted are disallowed.

Elizabeth. 1579. There is a conventical of Atholl's friends to be holden on the 15th instant at Dunkeld, where Argyll is looked for; but he is more like to be absent. Captain Ninian Cockburn died on the 6th instant.

2 *pp.* *Copy.*

May 24. **408.** OCCURRENCES IN SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 156. The Castles of Hamilton and Draffen, seeing the ordnance to approach on the 15th of May, offered composition and to render on the conditions following;—that they within might have remission for all faults done before that day, except the murder of the King and two Regents, and that for those crimes they might remain unaccused for fifteen days next after their coming forth of the house; that they might depart with bag and baggage. The Abbot of Dryburgh returned with these articles from the camp to the King, who resolutely denied all the conditions, affirming that it was not honourable for a Prince to deal with his rebels in such manner, and thus the offences of those men ought not to receive any form of indent. Lord Ruthven also was sent afterwards from Hamilton to persuade the King to more clemency; wherein he could not prevail to get other grace or answer of the King, than that if they would yield simply, he would, perhaps, show favour to such as he thought worthy, and it is thought that the Earl of Morton by secret messages procured the King thus to deal with them.

On the 19th of May the house of Hamilton was rendered simply, and the Earl of Morton carried the prisoners taken therein to Stirling, where he was honourably received by the King, who oftentimes had said openly that no nobleman's service in Scotland was to be compared to Morton's. Whereupon no small offence is conceived by sundry hearing the same. Captain Crawford with his band still remains at Hamilton to rase and cast down the same.

The keepers of Draffen abandoned the house in the night, and young Sir James Hamilton and a gentleman of the King's remain in the house there, which is to be rased.

There is a Convention of the nobility begun at Stirling on the 23rd of this month. It is thought Lord Maxwell, the Provost of Edinburgh, and other of the associates at Falkirk will be committed to ward. It is like that Montrose will join in friendship with Morton.

At the conventicle at Dunkeld Sir James Balfour's case was held so desperate that none would meddle therewith. He has quietly departed to the north, intending, as some think, to pass to France; but others are of opinion that he would seek to persuade the Gordons that their estates and condition are no better than the Hamiltons'. All which matters will be prevented. The Earl of Arran is brought to Linlithgow and left there in the custody of Captain Lammey. His mother and Lord David Hamilton are likewise to be brought to Linlithgow. These prisoners following, taken at Hamilton, are to "thoyle" an assize at Stirling on the 25th instant for the slaughters of the Earls of Murray and Lennox, viz.:—Arthur Merington, late captain of Hamilton, David his son, Laird of Sillerton, Arthur [Hamilton] of Bothwelhaugh, brother to him who slew the Earl of Murray, and he who held James Hamilton's stirrup after he had killed the Earl of Murray.

James Douglas, son of the Earl of Morton, seeks earnestly the life of

Elizabeth.
1579. Arthur Hamilton of Bothwelhaugh, and the Earls of Mar and Buchan and the Laird of Lochleven travail also for the same, saying that the lives of ten of the best of the Hamiltons is but a small recompense for the loss of the Earl of Murray.

Lord Seton and his three sons are removed from Brechin to St. Andrews, where they remain prisoners. There is no tumultuous commotion seen in Scotland at present, yet the privy whisperings threaten some trouble hastily to arrive.

2 *pp.* *Copy.*

Juue 1. **409**. ADVERTISEMENT FROM SCOTLAND.

There was an Act of Privy Council made that the two houses of Draffin and Hamilton should be demolished, but Morton has stayed the same. The Countess of Argyll is suiting the Earl of Atholl in marriage to her daughter. "What that means you know." Albeit the Lords of Falkirk have lost a man, yet their friendship remains one together. Arthur Hamilton and the company that were taken with him are to be justified this Saturday by the Council. The Parliament is to be holden the 10th of September next in Edinburgh, and it is already concluded in Council, by the King's own advice, that his majesty shall come thither to it; for which cause the workmen are repairing the abbey of Holyrood House with glass and other necessaries. The Earls of Atholl and Montrose are appointed to appear before the Council the 15th instant to hear trial taken concerning the poisoning of their father. For that effect all the mediciners, surgeons, and apothecaries are charged to be there the same day. Proclamation was made in Jedburgh on the 25th of May and in Selkirk on Thursday next after, that no Scotsman should tryst with any Englishman without the licence of the Warden, and that any Englishman entering Scotland without the Warden's leave, or else that he be commended, shall be taken and used as a prisoner. On Saturday last, in Kelso market, divers Englishmen were taken, and their goods taken from them.

¾ *p.* *Indorsed:* "Advertisments from Scotland primo Junii 1579."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 157. Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 159. Another copy of the same.

June 3. **410**. INTELLIGENCE FROM SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 590. Of the prisoners taken at Hamilton six were brought to Stirling and examined if they were culpable of the murder of the King's father and two Regents. Arthur Hamilton of Meertoun, captain of Hamilton Castle, both now and when Sir William Drury was there, being found guilty on his own confession, suffered on the 30th of May. The remaining five denying, are committed to several prisons till further trial.

The castles of Hamilton and Draffen are appointed to be rased. Captain Crawford remains at Hamilton, and "is furthwardlie procedit" in that work. The other castle should be demolished by young Sir James Hamilton.

It is uncertain what is become of Arbroath and Claud Hamilton,

Elizabeth.
1579. "but maist apparent that Arbroth lurkis in Galloway or Carrik," and Claud in Lothian. Some report them to be passed into England, and some to France.

The Earl of Arran and his brother David are in the palace of Linlithgow as yet. Some think their "remaning" shall be in Falkland; but the order is not yet directed. The Duchess, his mother, lies at Kynneill, accompanied by her daughter, who was Countess of Eglinton.

No other disposition is made of the Earl of Arran's lands, nor of the abbeys of Arbroath and Paisley, but all left in the Treasurer's hands. The King has suspended the making of grants and promises till after the Parliament to be holden at Edinburgh on the 20th of October. The Estates shall convene here, at Stirling, on the 4th of August, to consult upon the King's convoy and provisions.

The doctors and surgeons who were present at the opening of the Earl of Atholl are written for to be at Stirling on the 15th of June, and likewise sundry of the Council, to be examined on the bruit of the poisoning.

The Earl of Argyll has pressed for the chancellorship; but the disposition of the same is deferred till the Parliament time.

There is no great speech presently for the apprehension of any, but a proclamation that who shall take and present any fugitives for the murders shall have in reward their livings. None are appointed to be "persequuted" but the Hamiltons and their followers.

No process is now "led" against Sir James Balfour, "nor it neidis not," for he stands forfeited for the murder of the King's father. It is credibly reported that he is away, and took ship on Wednesday last.

The ordnance that came forth of Edinburgh Castle is returned to the same again. There are present about the King the Earls of Argyll, Lennox, and Buchan, Lord Ruthven, the Earl of Mar, and his cousins Lords Ochiltree and Cathcart. There is mention presently of the Earl of Angus passing to France; but by his appearance that journey is stayed.

Lord Seton and his sons were appointed to remain in ward at St. Andrews; but upon sureties to be found they are licensed to return to Lothian.

There is no alteration of government about the King; but it is like that they of the surname of Stewart shall have chief place and greatest credit, as specially James Stewart, son to Lord Ochiltree.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Occurrances from Alexander Hay iij Junii 1579."

June 23. **411.** NICHOLAS ERRINGTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 588. Received his letter of the 18th of May for the conduction of Mons. Nau, secretary to the Scottish Queen, to the Scottish Court, which accordingly he has done. Notwithstanding their coming to the Scottish King's Court, there was none would take knowledge of his coming, which he [Nau] found very strange, looking rather to have been met by some of quality on the way than so cold a suit. Was glad at his request to make his way to have presence of the King, which he procured with some travail. The Council sent to

Elizabeth.
1579. him two gentlemen to demand his affairs and [*the cause af his*] coming to Scotland. He answered that he was come from the Scottish Queen to visit her son. It was answered that they knew none such; but if he came to the King with direction from the Queen his mother, they thought he should be welcome. But if he would not acknowledge the King, they were not to deal with him any further. He alleged that he used such terms as his mistress commanded, thinking that there would have been no difficulty between the mother and the son. But he craved his answer; which was promised. The King and Council being advertised of the manner of his direction sent to him the next day, that if he had no other language to speak than yet they perceived, the King's pleasure was that he should presently avoid the country, "and to gyve thankes unto the gentleman that was his conductour, that he wase not maid understand of his fault and presomption to enter the countrye not acknowledgeing a King." He offered, rather than he would depart without having his presence, he would, for his particular, acknowledge him King. But that "wold not tayke place." So that, taking very unquiet rest for that night, and "tayking advice of his pillowe," requested him to solicit his cause to have presence, offering to acknowledge him King in his mistress' name. Which he did, but in nowise would be heard; but willed to content himself with his answer, and so returned discontented, without presence of the King or any of the Council, or delivery of his tokens. Perceives that he had two letters, one in French and the other in Italian; the one directed to her dear and well beloved son in Scotland, the other to her dear and well beloved son the Prince of Scotland. The first he confessed to have, but not that the title of which was Prince. He is returned to Berwick, and this day takes his journey to the Queen of Scots. He seems to think the Queen of England and all other Princes will be offended with their doings in that case.

Confesses that he was careful of his mistress' promise made to the Queen of England for doing or speaking with any during his abode there, as there were few or none who pressed to speak with him, except some poor men, who had been servants of no value, for such wages and pensions as had not been paid by her treasurer.

Sends herewith some occurrents of Scotland. Berwick. *Signed:* Nicholas Arington.

2¾ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 3. **412.** JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Richt trustie and richt weilbelovit cousing, we greit zow hertlie weill." We have directed this bearer, James Murray, our trusty servant, to our dearest sister, the Queen your sovereign; for some matters of ours, whereunto we doubt not you will not only be made privy, "bot zour advise with the first in answer used." We pray you therefore "effectuuslie" to further him to her good answer and speedy despatch, according to the credit and place you bear, and to the good affection which you have always shown to the entertainment of the good amity betwixt us. Stirling Castle. *Signed:* James R.

¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk). *No flyleaf.*

Elizabeth.
1579. July 12.

413. LORD HUME'S OFFERS TO THE KING OF SCOTS.

"The offers of the Lord Hume to the Kinge and the Lord Regent's grace, referred to letres from the Lord and Ladie Hume to her majestie."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 161.

First:—is willing to confess his offence and defection from the King of Scots' obedience, and to recognise dutiful obedient service and obey him and his Regent faithfully, as becomes a most humble and obedient subject, and to find caution under such pains as the Regent and Council think expedient.

Item:—offered the marriage of his eldest son to be bestowed on any of the Regent's friends that he shall think expedient, he to be delivered to his grace and brought up till the completing of the marriage. Also offered the marriage of his eldest daughter to any of the Regent's sons, or any of his kin, surname, and friends he shall think convenient.

Item:—offered for the full restitution of his lands and living 10,000*l.* of Scotland. [*With conditions as to payment.*] Will do all that lies in his power for the amendment of his offence.

1½ *pp. Copy.*

July 21. **414.** INVENTORY OF THINGS SENT TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 163.

Inventory of accounts, watches, papers, rolls, and other necessaries sent in the box delivered to Jacques de Senlis, valet of the Queen of Scots' dowry of France, to take into England or to cause her majesty to have.

Copies of accounts rendered by the treasurer Dolu for the years 1572 and 1573 bound in parchment. Accounts of casual parcels not bound, rendered by the said treasurer for the year 1563. A chased watch and an alarm-clock gilt and trimmed, with its case, which cost forty-eight crowns. Another chased watch which cost fifteen crowns. Two "garnitturez," one of lace. *Item*:—another of lace. A packet wherein are letters written to her majesty [the Queen of Scots], with her answer and declaration. A packet wherein are the letters, requests, and supplications to her majesty as well from some of her officers as others. Letters written to her domestic officers. A long packet wherein are the precés of a consultation. A request presented to the grand council to have postponment for six months to advertise her of the state of a process. Paris. *Signed:* Du Verger.

2 *pp. French. Indorsed:* "An inventorie of stuff sent to the Q. of Scottes by Du Vergir."

[July.] **415.** REQUEST TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

"Mr James Murries request to her majestie."

Since the departure of Mr. Robert Bowes, late ambassador in Scotland, the King of Scots has daily looked for the return of her mind and direction toward the state of the Borders, where sundry things stand presently questionable, remaining undecided between the wardens, which hinder on both sides. At the East Marches there has been no "daie of treue" kept since December, upon occasion of the earnest seeking of a bill to be filed upon certain honest men, the King

Elizabeth.
1579. of Scots' subjects, for the alleged receipt of a fugitive, although not near the time of the committing of any wrongful actual deed, a matter thought most hard to the best experienced borderers of Scotland to be brought in practice, and in reason not to be craved of his highness' officers, nor of reason to be yielded to by him.

The King's Warden of the Middle Marches has made delivery there for the slaughter of George Foster to the deputy warden of the East Marches of England, but is refused delivery for the slaughter of some of the King's subjects; upon which occasion further meetings and redress are left off at the East and Middle Marches to the encouragement of the wicked subjects of the realms to fall into present disorder if some present remedy be not provided. Therefore the King has thought meet to inform her thereof, and to require that undelayed remedy may be provided. Craves for judgment in the matter of the merchants of Scotland.

1⅓ *pp.* *Copy.*

July 28. **416.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

"Right highe, right excellent and mightie Prince, our deerest brother and cossen"; we have heard what your servant Mr. James Murray, lately sent to us, had to deliver us in your name for the Border causes, to whom we have made such answer therein that we assure ourself you shall have cause to rest contented therewith, by which we doubt not but that it shall appear to you that there has been no default in our ministers of the Borders to see due execution of the ancient ordinances taken heretofore for the maintenance of the public peace, to the mutual benefit of both realms. And because it seems that the differences depending between the ministers of both Borders are such that they cannot well be determined without commission, we have declared our full mind to your said servant in that behalf. And whereas he moved us in like sort for support to be yielded to you in case of distress, as well against foreign as civil attempts either against your person or State, as we have at all times had special regard to the preservation of your State and person, *etc.*, so you may right well assure yourself we will not desist from these good offices whensoever you shall be occasioned to make trial of the great good affection we bear as well to your crown as to the preservation of your person, of whose well doing we are no less careful than of our own. Greenwich.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

[July 29.] **417.** THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND'S ANSWER TO MR. JAMES MURRAY.

"The Queenes majesty's answer to certen pointes propounded by M[r] James Murrie on the behalfe of the King his sovereigne."

Her majesty carrying a continual care to preserve common peace and quietness on the Borders, upon order accorded that every warden within his whole charge should yield redress and make delivery of all offences past and arising in either realm, has from time to time

Elizabeth.
1579. commanded her Wardens and ministers of the Borders to see due execution of the same, in hope the like execution should have been done by the King's ministers in Scotland. But, upon questions falling out in a bill of late preferred for receipt of a fugitive, the "daies of trewes" in the East Marches have been stayed since December, giving her majesty just occasion to think the same strange, and differing from the order prescribed, seeing the ordinary course of the law appears to warrant the demand in the bill, and the manner of trial craved in the same as holden lawful. Nevertheless, her majesty is pleased that the question in variance be deferred to the decision of special commissioners from either realm.

For the great outrage done in the slaughter of George Foster, her majesty looks that the King, according to his letters, will command indilate delivery to be made of other actual and principal offenders filed in that bill; and her meaning is thereon to give order to make semblable delivery for slaughter of any of his subjects upon any bill exhibited and filed orderly, according to the course of the laws. Thinks it strange either to demand delivery for any slaughter before the bill thereof be filed, and yet to stay and surcease the meeting of the Wardens in the Middle Marches upon so slender a cause, adventuring thereby right great inconveniences to ensue thereon.

For remedy of all these griefs, and that timely redress may be made for slaughter, "refes," and attempts done, and hereafter to be done, her majesty is pleased to assign sufficient persons to join in commission with others to be named by the King, to meet at such time and place as the King shall appoint. Wherein her majesty looks for speedy advertisement of his resolution, as also to know the quality of the said persons.

Her majesty's Warden of the Middle Marches has lately made delivery to the opposite Warden of sundry bills of great value upon promise to have been satisfied for others. During these four years past the inhabitants of Liddisdale, in Scotland, committed great offences, and have not answered for any part thereof, notwithstanding the same had been oftentimes promised by the King and Council, and called for at every meeting. By this late stay of the meeting of the Wardens—founded on the slender cause expressed—the whole cause of justice is delayed, and her majesty's subjects right grievously prejudiced. Touching the request for support; as her majesty has heretofore been ready to yield assistance from time to time—tendering nothing more than the safety of the good King, her brother—so will she hereafter be most ready to assist him as well against home as foreign enemies; and to that purpose she minds shortly to despatch the Lord Governor of Berwick* to Scotland as well to visit the King as to be informed of his necessity either of present or future support. As for the merchants' causes which have been followed and solicited here by Mr. Fullerton, the King's agent, forasmuch as there is answer given in writing to him, her majesty thinks it needless to make any further repetition of the same.

2⅓ *pp.* *Copy.*

Eg. MSS., 1818, fol. 63. Original of the same.

Another copy of part of the same. [*With No. 447.*]

* Hunsdon.

Elizabeth.
1579.
[Aug.]

418. ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

What order we have taken in these causes which you commended to us by your servant Fullerton will appear to you by that our Council has delivered to him in writing. If that good has not come thereof as we desired, and may be to your contentment, it is to be imputed to the looseness of the time, and not to any want of will in us to see that satisfaction done to your subjects which in equity and right is to be ministered to them. The great affection we bear to you, and the like care we have to entertain good amity between our realms and subjects, make these effects in us, not being affected in like sort to any the Princes our neighbours or their subjects as to you and yours; who, notwithstanding, have no just cause to complain of want of justice on our part in that behalf. But when corruptions are so general in these ages, no marvel if our wills cannot have their effects, nor good ordinances that success that is projected. These are the inconveniences that the wars of France and the Low Countries have cast us into—which the pretended necessity of Rochelle and Flushing have brought to this rankness. We have [laboured] and do labour by rooting up to amend them, and if provident care may work any redress, the fruits of our good meaning will appear to the desire and to the benefit of both our subjects.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

[Aug.]

419. THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND TO THE COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

By the return of Mr. Adam Fullerton, appointed from the King of Scots to solicit the causes of his subjects damnified by certain English pirates, they shall know at large the proceedings of the Queen of England, as well by the ordinary course of law as by other extraordinary means, towards the satisfying of his said subjects for loss and damages sustained by them. And albeit it has not taken that good effect which her majesty and they desired, by reason of the iniquity and malice of the time, through the civil wars in the dominions of her neighbours, which have drawn many of the subjects of England to enter into the services of other Princes, and by those means, under their licences, have committed great spoils without difference or respect of any nation, not sparing her majesty's own subjects, which she, notwithstanding sundry good orders taken, could not so fully provide for as was to have been hoped,—yet Fullerton may justly report to them the great care and extraordinary favour that has been used in England towards their nation, the like whereof has not been extended to the subjects of any other Prince; which they desire might be made known to the subjects of Scotland, to the end that upon any unnecessary discontentment by them to be conceived (not having such ample satisfaction for their losses as they expected) they enter not into any particular revenge by spoiling of any of her subjects, which, not prevented, might kindle some further disliking between their two sovereigns and the subjects of both realms than were for each other's safety, considering how greatly they are maligned and hated by the enemies of their religion, who might make profit of such a disunion. The Queen of England, therefore, to avoid all

Elizabeth.
1579. offences that might diminish the amity, and for preventing of the like disorders to be committed by pirates in time to come, has, with the advice of her Privy Council, given general order for the restraining of nourishers and maintainers of pirates; which shall be duly executed by severely punishing the transgressors, that no just cause of complaint shall, she trusts, be hereafter offered to the subjects of the King of Scots; who, she doubts not, will take like order in Scotland. Commend Fullerton's care, diligence, and dexterity during the time of his stay in England.

1¾ *pp.* *Copy.* *At the head:* "A lettre from the Lords to the counsell of Scotlande by M^r^. Fullerton."

Aug. 17. **420.** [ ] TO MONSIEUR DE MAUVISIÈRE.

C.P., vol. XI. Monsieur, although I ought to fear to trouble and importune you among the great and important occupations with which you are daily employed, yet I should fail in the obligation that I am under to you by the share that you have been pleased to give me in your news; and after having humbly thanked you, I will tell you that, thanks be to God, the Queen my mistress has not any occasion for worry and discontentment in regard to the Prince, her son, all those who for some years past have had the honour of approaching his excellency, being able to render sufficient testimony of his duty, entire affection, and obedience towards the Queen his mother; also her majesty has not any doubt of it, consoling herself with that which the Earl of Morton and those who are at his devotion make daily appear to be the depth of their intention, as well for the death of the Earl of Athol and the rigorous pursuit that is made of the ruin of all the Hamiltons as for the close captivity in which they keep this poor young Prince with menaces and at very great hazard of his life, if he makes any demonstration of wishing to resent their past offences; and, nevertheless, they make use of his name, and strive to make him appear, and be considered cruel and unnatural, principally towards the Queen his mother, to assure their impunity. I regret that it is not permitted to me to exonerate you freely therefrom, and the gentlemen of the Council there, or at least for their writing in this fashion I cannot exempt them from the suspicion that one has of them, whatever protestations that they have made to you to the contrary, there being too great appearance and probable arguments to judge of them sinisterly in comparing the present with the past, in such sort that the Queen of England not intervening for the preservation of my said lord the Prince from between the hands of his enemies, seeing the authority and credit that she or hers have with them, there is no doubt that the blame will rest on her throughout Christendom if any misadventure happens, not for having consented to it, which it would never occur to me to imagine, but for enduring and seeing done that which she could and ought to have hindered. I am very pleased that M. Walsyngham has spoken to you of it so sincerely, inasmuch as the Queen my mistress would be justly offended, if by a secret despatch he had traversed the effect of this visitation, as the rumour has run, and as some Scotchmen have wished to allege, excusing themselves from the refusal that was made to me.

Elizabeth.
1579. I esteem him as a personage so straightforward and honourable that he would not wish to proceed in that way, nor so unworthily against a poor Queen and no prisoner, on an occasion so recommendable, and that to clear himself he will work for the consent to the last request of the Queen my mistress, according to his duty towards his. Good could issue therefrom to all this island, of which I would have commenced to give him proof, if I had had the honour to be admitted to the presence of his excellent majesty. In conclusion, monsieur, those who favour the party by them set on foot, the son against the mother, and who, of the two, give their adhesion to the first, have not done anything for him when they have refused to hear me, losing the occasion that they will not recover, peradventure, for a long time, for having in good part that which they labour to maintain, and will never have by force. And their common enemies, both of whom work by such means to separate them and to divide them will make as little profit thereby, being only able to reap from it the danger in which he finds himself who attempts to break a tree in two pieces. The friendship and mutual affection [of the Queen] and of monseigneur her son, is no less strong, quick, and constrained as much by the blood which renders them one as by infinite obligations born with them. And in my opinion I consider the one so wise and the other of so good a disposition that they will never leave room between them for a third, especially their common enemy. As for that which concerns my private affairs in this voyage, I have learnt long since that the mariner discharging his charge according to the rules of his art and foreseeing what is required, cannot be blamed if his vessel does not arrive at the port, nor even if it is broken or otherwise suffers shipwreck, the conduct, and not the event, depending upon his experience. I will not say, as the ancient Greek upon this proposition, that to row in a vessel damaged and broken is more dangerous, difficult and doubtful of success than in a sound one which in full sail steers of itself to the port. But I shall be well assured upon the testimony that the others will render of it, and have done in this voyage faithfully and exactly all that I have been commanded, and have been able to serve for the contentment and satisfaction of those who have interest in it, and peradventure more than the humour of those with whom I have intercourse could bear, although I would not wish "*cum ratione insanire.*" I thank very humbly M. Walsyngham for his goodwill towards me, and the evidence that he has given you, desiring more than ever to have this honour of conferring with him some time in your presence. This will be when it pleases him. I send you a letter from Monsieur de Virger which was found in his packet for you, and those that her majesty has written to my Lord the Cardinal of Ferara for your abbey of St. Pierre, with which you will receive, if you please, my very humble recommendation in praying God to give you, monsieur, long and happy life.

2¾ *pp. French. Copy. Indorsed:* "Minutez. M. de Mauvissière du xvij^me^ Aoust, 1579."

Aug. 18. **421.** THE ABBOT OF DUNFERMLINE TO WALSINGHAM.

"A lettre from the Abbot of Dunfermling to M^r^ Secretarie Walsingham, for the staie of appointing commissioners

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untill the comminge thither of the Lord Governor of Barwick."

Whereas by the Queen of England's answer to the King of Scots by James Murray, amongst other matters, she declared her pleasure that for remedy of the griefs on the Borders she will assign persons to join in commission with others to be named by his highness, the King and his Council are very well contented therewith, and will gladly resolve and certify her presently. But, understanding her purpose to despatch the Lord Governor of Berwick shortly to visit the King, he would, as well in the nomination of his commissioners as in appointing of the time and place, have the advice of the said Lord Governor on his coming to Scotland, for the special interest and knowledge he has in those matters. Stirling Castle.

1 *p. Copy.*

Sept. 5. **422.** MARY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 166.

Monsieur de Walsyngham, as with your duty to the Queen my good sister and cousin, your mistress, you have always shown that you wish to bestow on me all the good services that you can in order to keep me in her good grace, and to represent to her the sincerity of my behaviour to her, therefore I shall address myself privately to you to complain of the delay that I find in the conveying of the letters which I wrote some time ago to the said Queen, my good sister, touching the estate of my son, her god-son, which, I venture to say, do not concern him less than myself. And forasmuch as, from whatever side the fault comes, you are better able to remedy it than any other, I will refer myself to your good discretion, and pray you affectionately to testify for my part to the said Queen, my good sister, according to what I write to her presently, the entire and good affection that I have for her affairs, and the desire that I have to please her in all that shall concern her quietness and particular contentment, whereof she and all my lords of her Council may be confidently assured and receive sufficient proof if anyone should wish to put forward the contrary, and hoping that you will always employ me as a good friend for truth. I shall await from you and by your means some good and favourable answer to my last remonstrance. Sheffield. *Signed:* Marie R.

1½ *pp. French. Holograph. Addressed.*

[1579.] Sept. 5. **423.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig., B. VI., fol. 207.

Has written to her divers times since the journey her servant made to Scotland, as much to warn her of the barbarous villainy of her traitorous and rebel subjects as the strait captivity in which they detain her poor child. Requires her favour and support herein. Reminds her of the miserable state of the mother and child. Requests her to deliver him from the danger of this unhappy Morton.

2 *pp. French. Copy.*

Sept. 13. **424.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Being given to understand that the receiving and harbouring of Lord Claud Hamilton, lately fled out of Scotland to Sir John Foster,

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1579. was there very ill taken, and being careful to avoid all occasion that may breed unkindness or mislike between them, she would not omit to despatch this bearer to let him understand that, though the receiving of Lord Claud was a matter done without her knowledge, yet when she entered into consideration that if he had withdrawn himself into some other Prince's country, not so well affected to him [the King], he might have been used as an instrument to disquiet his estate, which was the only cause that moved Sir John to receive him, as he affirms, she could not greatly blame him, otherwise than that the same was done without her privity, for that it appeared his meaning in detaining him in England was void of malice, as this bearer shall more amply declare, as also what, in her opinion, were fit to be done in the cause of Lord Claud and his brother, as well in respect of the quietness of the King's estate as of the maintenance of her honour, being by way of promise, as it were, engaged to them for their safety, unless it may be proved that they have done somewhat since the time of the pacification to the contravention thereof. Greenwich.

1 *p.* *Copy.* [*With No. 429.*]

Sept. 13. **425.** ELIZABETH TO MORTON.

Having presently occasion to despatch this bearer to Scotland to remove the mislike there conceived for the harbouring of Lord Claud Hamilton by Sir John Foster, as loth there should grow any jealousy or unkindness between the King of Scots and her, and knowing that there is no man in that realm more inclined to continue the good union and intelligence between their two countries, nor better able to give advice to the King in his causes of importance, she has willed him to repair to him, and to acquaint him with the substance of the negotiation she has committed to his charge, and also to let him understand how much it stands upon her honour to become a mediator for the Hamiltons, unless it be proved that they have broken the articles they were bound to observe in 1572, when she employed her servant Killigrew in Scotland, whereunto she hopes he will, therefore, yield all the lawful furtherance he may.

¾ *p.* *Copy.* [*With No. 430.*]

Copy of vol. iv., No. 561, 23rd Feb. 1572, Killigrew's promise, with the same.

Sept. 14. **426.** ELIZABETH TO CAPTAIN ERRINGTON.

Whereas she has occasion presently to use his service in Scotland for the matters contained in the instructions which he shall herewith receive, her pleasure is he shall forthwith put himself in readiness and repair thither to perform the same, and that he advertise her or her principal Secretary therein. Is thoroughly to inform himself of the state of Scotland, whether there be any speech or likelihood of the King's marriage, whether D'Aubigny be looked for there, and what accidents and alterations are thought may grow upon his coming.

½ *p.* *Copy.* [*With No. 430.*]

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1579. [Sept. 16.]

427. INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. NICHOLAS ERRINGTON.

"Instruccions geven by the Queenes majestie to M^r^ Nicholas Erington, Provost Marshall of Barwick, being sent into Scotlande."

Whereas Lord Claud Hamilton, prosecuted at the commandment of the King of Scots as culpable of the murders of the Earls of Lennox and Murray, and withdrawn to England for safeguard of his life, has suited her by means of the Earl of Huntingdon that she would become a mediator for him to forbear the proceedings against him, as he alleges, by confiscation of his goods by Act of Parliament, to the utter undoing of himself and his wife, for ever, charging her in a sort with the promise made to his whole house by Henry Killigrew, in 1572, which she thinks it stands with her honour to maintain, she has made choice of him to prosecute this mediation for Lord Claud and Arbroath by all good means he can devise towards the King in her name. But before the enters into it—for that she perceives by letters written by Mr. James Murray to some of her Privy Council that the receiving of the said Lord Claud in England was somewhat hardly conceived of, that a man prosecuted for so hard a cause as he is charged with, and fled out of his country, should receive harbour and entertainment in places under her government, considering the amity between the King and her—he shall first excuse the matter to the King, signifying to him that it was done without her privity or knowledge, by Sir John Foster, who, knowing of her promise made to the Hamiltons, and finding that since the making thereof they had committed nothing that might disannul the same, and foreseeing that if they had retired into France, they might have there been made instruments of some dangerous practices to the disquieting of Scotland, hazarded to receive him into his house, presuming that she would not be offended with him; and though on the first knowledge thereof she was displeased with Sir John, yet she was—he may tell the King—very glad that it had fallen out so well that Lord Claud had happened into her realm rather than into other foreign countries, where, being known to be a man of birth and quality, and to have a party in Scotland, he might, perhaps, have been used as an instrument to have disquieted the same. Thinks the King ought rather to concur with her in good liking of the stay, than to conceive offence.

This being done, he shall proceed to the matter itself, wherein she has undertaken to be a mediator for Lord Claud and his brother, and let the King understand that, as she has always been careful of his prosperity, so she cannot but advise him not to lay the foundation of his new begun government upon over much severity, considering that violence carries no continuance, and that it cannot be but dangerous for one of his years to do anything that might breed an opinion in the hearts of his subjects that he carrries a mind of revenge, and though nothing be done but that which may stand with the course of justice, yet, in her opinion, he shall do well to forbear the prosecuting of any such like action until riper years shall increase more judgment in him, and also cast more authority on him, whereby he then may, as occasion shall serve, proceed with less danger to his State and person. Is to say to the King from her, that she having undertaken for the safety of the lives and goods of the Hamiltons at the time of the

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1579. pacification, and not hearing that they have broken any of the articles agreed on at the time of the pacification, hopes he will have respect to her honour in maintaining her promise she made in his behalf and for his only benefit, having no particular cause to favour that house, having always inclined—as it is well known—in devotion to that crown, that has not been the best affected to her; whereby it may appear that the desire she had to provide for his safety was the only cause that moved her to interpone herself by way of mediation in that pacification. Wherein, if there shall not be due regard had to the performance of her promise, she will not be able in time of necessity, upon occasion of new troubles to appease them, for that men will be doubtful to repose any affiance on her word or promise. He shall receive herewith copies of the letter of credit to the King, and the pacification of 1572. Shall signify to the King that the stay of Lord Hunsdon from visiting him has proceeded through the late accident happened in Ireland and other affairs of importance; whereby, he being of her Council, and one whom she reposes a special trust in, she has had occasion to use his service here.

Thinks meet for the furtherance of the mediation for Lord Claud and his brother that he should address himself to the Earl of Morton, to whom she has written her letters of credit, and has thought expedient that he should acquaint him with the cause of her sending; letting him understand that he could not but as a good counsellor to his master and one devoted to her, have a special care to see the performance of her promise made to the Hamiltons, in 1572, duly observed, which otherwise would greatly touch her in honour and make her the more unable to appease any troubles that might arise in Scotland.

4 *pp. Copy.* [*With No. 429.*]

Sept. 19. **428.** WARRANT BY MARY TO THOMAS FOWLER.

C.P., vol. XI. "To all people be it knowne that we Marie by the grace off God Quene of Scotland, dowgeer of Fraunce, doo will and require Thomas Fowller, soole exeutour to our dearest mother in lawe and aunt, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, deceased, to delyver in to the hands and cowstody of our right well belowed cousines Elizabeth, Contess of Shrowsbury, all and every suche juells as they sayd Lady Margaret before her death delivered and committed in charge to the said Thomas Fowller for the use of the Lady Arbella Stewart her grannd chylde, if God send her lyf till fowrtene yeres of age. If not, then for the use of oure deare and only sonne the Prince off Scotland. In witnes that this is owre will and desire to the sayed Fowller we have gewen the present under our oune hand at Shefild Maner, the xix off September in the yere of our Lord M.D. threscore and nyntenth, and of our regne the thretty sixth."

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. In Mary's hand. Indorsed.*

[Sept.] **429.** PETITION OF GAVIN HAMILTON AND OTHERS TO ELIZABETH.

"In maist humble wyse lamenting" show unto her highness Gavin Hamilton of Roploch, James Murheid of Lauchop, Robert Hamilton of Dalserf, Robert Hamilton of Lethame, John Hamilton of

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1579. Schawtoun, Andrew Hamilton of Heleis, James Baillie, and Alexander Baillie, sons to Alexander Baillie of Litilgill, Scotsmen, servants to the house of Hamilton, that whereas in the late troubles in Scotland, in the year 1572, it was accorded [*See vol. iv. No. 561*]. Yet in respect of the necessity then present of the said pacification, it was accorded that the matters of remission of the murders and discharge were in effect referred to her majesty, and what she advised thereanent to be performed and observed; and for the better surety of the Earl of Huntly and Lord John Hamilton, their kinsfolk, friends, servants, and partakers, Henry Killigrew, her ambassador, in concluding the pacification in her name, promised that by her means the said remission and discharge should be "purchest" and obtained to them, their kinsfolk, friends, servants, and partakers properly depending on them, and that the same should have been obtained betwixt the date of the said ambassador's obligation and the Parliament which was to be appointed for the said earl and Lord John's restitution, or, at the farthest, before the end of the said Parliament, with divers other promises. They are comprehended under the said pacification and obligation; the Parliament for restitution of the Earl of Huntly, Lord John, and those aforesaid was holden, and they restored the last day of April, 1573. Nevertheless, the said remission and discharge is not obtained for them, in default whereof the King of Scots has "persewit and forefalfit" them and their posterity to the utter wreck of them, their wives and children for the murder of his goodsire at the time of the raid at Stirling, when there was a great company to the number of some hundred persons, whereof all those comprehended under the pacification, depending on the houses of Hamilton and Huntly, with whom she is touched in honour, do not exceed forty persons. Are innocent of the devising of the raid and of the actual murder of the King's goodsire, but only were on the ground at the time of the murder as servants. Are also innocent of all other crimes of treason, except only the being at the raid in the common cause. Beseech her for the reward of the eternal God, and the daily prayer of their wives and children, to have consideration of the premises, that by her good means the remission and discharge may be purchased and obtained for them, and that they may be restored again to their sovereign's peace, their lands, livings, rooms, and possessions like as they were before the charges passed on them, in May, 1579, or that she will support and relieve them to live in England till she may obtain the same for them, conformable to the obligation.

2 *pp.* *Broadsheet.* *Indorsed:* "To the Quenes maist excellent majestie for aucht persones servandes to the hous of Hameltoun in Scotland."

Sept. **430.** REQUEST OF LORD CLAUD HAMILTON.

"The request of the Lord Claud Hamilton sent to M^r^ Secretary Walsingham frome the Earle of Huntingdon."

Desires to have licence to repair to her majesty's presence to tell his own tale, on whom he says he is most willing to depend before all the Princes in the world, his own King excepted. If this may not be granted, then he humbly craves that due examination may be

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1579. taken of all his dealing since the pacification made by Mr Killigrew, by which he and his whole family hoped to have found more good favour and friendship than they have done. For himself and his whole house he affirms that it shall not be proved that they have in any one point broken any article of the pacification.

He seems very sorry that his brother, the Lord of Arbroath, should do as he hears he did, viz., go to the French ambassador and by him make means to the Queen of Scots, which he thus excuses. "That his brother is a parson of honnour and of that bloode, a man that is spoiled of all that he hath, went out of Scotlande very bare, and therefore being pinched with want present, and for his safty compelled to take his journey to France, where for want his misery should be farre greater; for his releif only he sought some credit to the Bishops of Glasquo and Rosse, and not for any other cause"; "for," said he, "if it shall please the Queen your soveraine to accept of our good willes, as I for my part have said, I will depend wholly and only uppon her majesty next the King my soveraigne, so I trust my lord my brother of Arbroth will do; I think I may assure it, at the least I will do my best, and to bring him back into England againe." For himself he freely offers to remain in England as long as it shall please her majesty, and to spend his own living there, if her majesty will see his brother and him restored to possession of their own again, which he thinks she is bound in honour to do, except that if since the last pacification they have done some offence to the breach thereof, he requests nothing but due trial.

As far as he [Huntingdon] can gather by conference he has had with Lord Claud, it is very like that her majesty, if it please her to take the occasion now offered, may have this man to perform any service for her that shall be thought meet, which he leaves to her consideration, but could wish that he [Lord Claud] might still be stayed in England, and that in some other place than where he now remains. His wife is in England with him. She is daughter to Lord Seton, of whose dealing he will tell Huntingdon nothing, but he says he knows him to be Popish, and therefore he thinks him to be more inclined to the Queen of Scots than to their King; and utterly denies that he has any knowledge of any of his practices.

1¼ *pp.* *Copy.*

Oct. 5. **431.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

We have "understand" by your letters of the 13th of September and declaration of your servant, Nicholas Errington, of receipt and harbouring of Claud Hamilton, a rebel and fugitive lately fled out of our realm, by Sir John Foster, knight, Warden of your Middle Marches, without your knowledge; wherein, although he has done very undutifully on his part, being a public officer who both knows what the treaties and laws of Marches in such cases appoint, what the sincere amity betwixt you and us "craves," and what our good-will towards you in "semblable" matters has been, yet can we not but render you our most hearty thanks for your advertisement, firmly looking to receive at your hands delivery of the person of the said Claud, to be used as he has deserved; for the which we will most effectually require you, according to the treaties and the good amity

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1579. standing betwixt us, well and truly observed on our part whenever the like occasion has heretofore intervened: and we are likewise glad to understand that the case is so fallen out that his receipt within your realm is known to you, where we doubt not his stay shall be till he may be delivered according to the treaties, seeing, if he had been suffered to pass to other countries, he might have been used—as you truly write—for an instrument to trouble the quiet state of both these realms, wherein we understand his elder brother, sometime Commendator of Abirbrothok—who was permitted to pass through your realm and take shipping into France—to be now occupied, as you suspect, as well in France, where he remains, as with the King of Spain's ministers. For that which you think, in your opinion, were fit to be done in the cause of the said Lord Claud and his brother, in respect as well of the quietness of our estate as of the maintenance of your honour, being by way of promise, as it were, engaged to them for their safety, unless it may be proved that they have done since the time of the pacification to the contravention thereof, surely we think never to forget the care which your favour and good meaning towards us has justly deserved; but we doubt not but your meaning is such that you do not wish us to be "in the curtesy of that race that hathe so dipped in the blood and taken the lives of our deerest frendes and kinsfolkes," besides their further pretences. For anything since the pacification, or remitted therein, they are not now prosecuted, but only for the murders of our dearest goodsire and uncle, the Earl of Lennox, and the Earl of Murray, the remission whereof by the pacification was reserved to your advice and counsel; which by your letter to the Earl of Morton, our Regent for the time, of 11th April 1573, you declared, namely, that the inquisitions, searches, and revenges by justice or otherwise for the said murders were utterly deferred till such time as we should be of that age that by the laws and customs of our realm we should take the government to ourself; to whom at that time you meant not that your advice should be any prejudice, but that we might in that case do as then should seem convenient. According to which advice the same inqusitions and revenges by justice for the said two murders were utterly deferred, not only during the whole government of our late Regent, but the space of one whole year and more after we had taken the government of our realm to ourself, yea, when we were in full readiness to take the fields; before which it was thought meet that the said two brothers, chiefly culpable of the murders, should be out of our way, which we might lawfully do, as I doubt not but you shall also think and well allow of our proceedings therein upon due consideration of the circumstances, wherein your honour is nowise "interest" nor touched by us, in respect of your said advice, and that the pacification never extended to the remission of the two murders.

Further, we must "remember" you, dearest sister, of the present evil condition of the Borders of the East and Middle Marches for default of meetings and due redress betwixt our officers on both parts, the Warden of your East March refusing to meet, notwithstanding that by the answer received by our servant, James Murray, we understood that you and your Council had otherwise commanded, as also because he and the Warden of your Middle Marches have refused and deferred to make the like delivery and redress for slaughter committed

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on our subjects, as we have caused already to be made for yours, without which mutual correspondency in justice no quietness or good order on the Borders can long endure, as we doubt not you will consider, and thereupon command the fault to be repaired with such expedition as the cause craves now in this season of the year, when the disordered people inhabiting the Borders on both parts customably are unquiet and troublesome; wherewithal we look for some good and special answer to the other matters imparted to you by our servant James Murray, as soon as conveniently may be, that we may be certain what to "listen" for in that behalf.

2 *pp. Copy. At the head:* "From the King of Scotts to hir Majestie the 5 of October 1579." *Notes in the margin in Walsingham's hand.*

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXVIII., fol. 80.

Copy of the same.

Oct. 10. **432.** NICHOLAS ERRINGTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 168.

Having given his attendance as well at Stirling as at Edinburgh these sixteen days for the King's answer to such letters and instructions as he had to deliver and deal in from the Queen of England with the King of Scots, and having used his duty and diligence there to his simple knowledge as well to the King himself as to the whole board and nobility there assembled, has now received the King's letters in answer to the letters and instructions, which he sends herewith, and also a letter to the Queen of England from the Earl of Morton, together with such other letters as are here inclosed to his honour from others. The King told him at his leave taking that he doubted not but her majesty would be well satisfied with the same, and seemed to be very thankful for the great care which her highness had for the good preservation of his quiet estate and all other times where he had need of her aid and comfort. Touching the Hamiltons, he could not find in the King other than fervent hatred against them, and, as it were, a fear he had of them, if they should remain or inhabit in Scotland, to be dangerous to his person. Found the like devotion of the whole nobility there towards them, and not one willing to pity their cause. It was thought not only discourteous in receiving them in England, but as much is soliciting their causes, being so odious murderers to the King's dearest friends, yet they seemed to be grateful for her good using in forewarning the danger that might happen to the King's estate by their banishment to foreign countries, being of so great a house and quality.

Touching the article of pacification by Mr Killigrew for them, they allege the Queen of England's discharge in honour therefor by her letter to the Earl of Morton—a copy whereof he incloses—touching the said point—the King being now in government, and, as they allege, of lawful years to extend his laws to all malefactors.

The King has not been directly moved by the Council or noblemen for any marriage with any particular person, yet it is thought that as there be several factions in this matter, so every of them seek to persuade the King to marry in that place that might be best for their purpose. Wherein some look for France, some for Spain, and some for Denmark; and it is said the matter will be offered to the King shortly, with request to dispose himself such way as shall be found

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1579. expedient for his marriage; and it is seen that the King, of his own inclination, best likes and affects to match with England in marriage, in case he may find her majesty favourable to him, wherein the King and Council say and think that they shall have near experience what the Queen's majesty will do for the King.

Touching Monsieur D'Aubigny, it appears that the King is much delighted with his company, and he is like to win into special favour, and not only to be Earl of Lennox in reversion after the present Earl, but also to have some part of the Hamiltons' lands, if he may be drawn to religion. He has not as yet dealt in any matter of marriage with the King, nor in any matter of great weight, but defers all these things to further time. He means to abide in Scotland this winter. His wife is looked for there with her younger brother Antrague. He lives in Court more than his living will bear, as is thought. Whereupon some judge "he is borne with some greater then hym selfe." He has many followers, as Mr Henry Keere and others who are much suspected; which they perceive, causing them to be more wary.

The Parliament holds at Edinburgh on the 20th instant; which is thought [to be] chiefly for the forfeiture of the Hamiltons and Sir James Balfour, the confirmation of all things done in the Regents' times, and for order to be done in the King's house and revenues.

The heat borne and hatred betwixt the Earl of Morton and the Carrs and Humes, who depend on Argyll, Montrose, and that fellowship, still continues. The King is general well loved and obeyed of both sides, and of all the people. Berwick. *Signed:* Nicholas Arington.

2 *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

[1579.] Oct. **433.** OCCURRENCES IN SCOTLAND.

"The present occurentes in Scotland."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 170. As touching the Queen's majesty's suit for the Hamiltons, I find no good inclination in the King towards them, other than he is persuaded that their being in that country is more dangerous to his person and estate than all the practice they can work in foreign places. I cannot perceive any man in Scotland who dare or has goodwill to solicit the King on their behalf, Lord Seton excepted, who has goodwill, and yet I see can do them no pleasure, for he is altogether forth of Court. He confesssd to me when I willed him to prove their friends, considering her majesty's goodwill to pleasure them, that they had no friends in Scotland could do them good at this present if her majesty's good solicitation did not prevail.

I perceive, if anything hinders the forfeiture of their livings at this Parliament, [it] will be that many of the nobility would not have it proceed in Parliament for a precedent to others; amongst whom [the nobility] few can be excused of the like crimes if they be well sifted, as they whisper amongst themselves.

It is said here that Arbroath is offered by the French King his father's room and title if he will become Catholic. It is here plainly spoken that he deals with the Spanish ambassador to be the King of Spain's man. To conclude, I find few or none desirous of their return into Scotland except their own friends and allies, and therefore doubt

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1579. much of the King's clemency towards them. Yet I will "aspect" the King's answer as time is appointed.

As touching Monsieur D'Aubigny's arrival in this country and how he was accompanied by the Duke of Guise to the ship at Dieppe, is to your honour well known. He has brought letters to the lords from the King his master, with his commendations—but none to the King. His letters to Argyll and the rest of the lords of the Falkirk had a more friendly style than Morton's and that faction, and were delivered eight days sooner than the others. The Earl of Argyll gives to him the best countenance and entertainment. He is most affected to that faction of the Falkirk. The King has great liking of him, and [he] grows great in Court. It is thought verily that he shall be second person there by consent, if he will become religious, and draw himself into that country. The ministers are daily forewarning the King for dealing with Papists and tyrants. He has not as yet motioned anything other than that he came to visit the King, being of his blood and consanguinity. He has one Keere, a Scotsman, dwelling in Paris with him, a great Papist. The ministers were minded to have examined him of his faith, but were hindered by the burgesses for fear of hindering their traffic in foreign countries, and specially in France. This Keere is thought to be a great dealer, if he durst begin his purpose for the bishop of Glasgow, in the behalf of the King of Spain, for the marriage of the King.

The bruit for the King's marriage "with" the French King and the Duchess of Lorraine is here misliked of many, alleging the friendship already sufficent with them both; who will say sometimes amongst themselves that Spain is meetest for them, their right and titles, if they have need. This is "tubb talke"; but truly I hear not that the King himself is inclined to any of them, or yet to hear any motion of marriage. If I shall be plain—the good affected sort about the King and elsewhere have in plain speeches wished the Queen's majesty to go forwards with the good work begun, and prevent all those busy practisers, and may have, without doubt, the King and country at her majesty's devotion.

My Lord of Hunsdon's repair to visit the King was looked for. It was agreed on that his lordship should have been most honourably received, and that he should have done good work amongst them, as well for Border matters as other things of great importance. I excused the lot of his lordship's coming by reason of the troubles in Ireland *etc.*

The Earls of Morton and Mar and their friends are yet greatest with the King. If the Carres and Humes and they were "frendit," as was hoped for if my Lord of Hunsdon had come thither, there would be no contradiction in Court. I perceive the Carres and Humes will be in that or any other good neighbourhood at her majesty's devotion, and glad that their peace might be made so honourably as by her majesty with Morton.

Upon the troubles in Ireland it was thought here that her majesty would have required some Scottish men to have been sent over to the north of Ireland upon her majesty's charges, for that the passage is very short from that country. Whereupon Carmichael made a great suit to the King that he might be the leader of them, as well for his credit as for the goodwill he bore to serve her majesty.

Elizabeth.
1579. If any alterations fall out by the King's coming to Edinburgh, I shall advertise your honour. The whole nobility and gentlemen attend the King's coming to Edinburgh : the number will be at least 3000 men. All men who have any private quarrels or feuds are discharged to wait upon the King at that assembly. The town of Edinburgh presents the King with a cupboard of plate, worth 1000 marks sterling, and prepares certain orations and devices for his receiving into their town. Monsieur d'Aubigny's lodging is prepared —the nearest and fairest to the King in the Holyroods. The Parliament holds on the 24th of October. It is thought the King will return to Stirling, the Parliament being ended. *Signed:* N. Erington.

The coming into England of Monsieur, the King's brother, is well known here. They murmur very much thereat, and specially those who favour religion. The ministers are in great doubt that it shall breed some alteration either to the estate of both these realms or else to the advancement of the Papists, who rejoice to hear thereof. They affirm that if Monsieur D'Aubigny does not alter in his opinion of his religion by open protestation before the Church, he shall return from whence he came without any advancement in their realm.

Truly, I see plainly by open appearance that he will grow great in this country if he alter his religion, which some of his give out he will ; and the rather for that the Earl of Lennox is so simple and of no account. Which place will, no doubt, fall to him, as the most part here judge. All these things will very shortly be known.

$4\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. In Nicholas Errington's hand. Indorsed.*

Oct. 22. **434.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 173. Has given direction to this bearer, Robert Arderne, for the survey of such lands as he ought to assure to the Queen of England in recompense for 100*l.* granted by her, and called on him to sue to his lordship for expedition of the same, which has been delayed beyond due time. Prays for the continuance of his good favour and furtherance therein.

Since his return hither, has found little alteration in the estate of Scotland. Mr James Macgill, late Clerk Register, died at Edinburgh on Friday last, and that office is given to Alexander Hay. Monsieur D'Aubigny still forbears to move or offer to deal with the King in any matter of importance, yet for favour, and at the request of Argyll and Lennox, he will sometimes persuade the advancement of that which they would have set forward, being many times, graciously heard, and growing still into the King's good opinion.

Mr. Henry Keyr, a chief instrument about D'Aubigny, still lurks without attempting any open dealing, protesting well that D'Aubigny and he are suspected and spoken against by the ministers of the Church, and also by them so narrowly awaited, that they cannot open their pack in any room but their wares will be seen and published in pulpit.

The Earl of Morton has not hitherto contracted any bad friendship with D'Aubigny, as many others have done and daily do. The associates at Falkirk chiefly begin now to follow him.

Elizabeth.
1579. The King was received into Edinburgh with great triumphs, and the Earl of Morton has entertained him at his house at Dalkeith with great honour. But he did not present to him any or such mass of treasure as some looked he should have done. Nevertheless, he remains in good favour with the King, and still carries the sway, as he is, he [Bowes] thinks, very worthy.

The most part of the noblemen are convened at Edinburgh, for this Parliament began on Tuesday last. The Earls of Angus and Morton desire the attainder of Sir Thomas Carre, Laird of Farnyhurst. Lennox and Mar seek the forfeiture of Drumwhassell for detention of the Castle of Dumbarton against the King's charge, and almost all cry for the attainder of the Hamiltons for slaughter of the late King and Regents. Many hold against the forfeiture of Farnyhurst and Drumwhassell, the rather because by an Act of Council it was provided that none should be forfeited other than the Hamiltons guilty of the murders. The Council, contrary to their accustomed order, have not resolved on and set down any particular heads or articles to be proponed and treated in this Parliament; wherein the attainders remembered, the confirmation and ratifying of the Acts of the Regents, especially of Morton, the orders for government of the King and Council, and the disposition of the King's house and revenues will be chiefly preferred. Some advice to broach other great matters, as the King's marriage *etc.* But others of more judgment and foresight persuade that those causes are not yet ripe or apt to be touched in the condition of this present time.

The barons and kirkmen in Scotland would have place and vote in the Parliament, but the King and Council determine not to alter anything therein during the King's minority.

The plague in this town increased something in the end of the last moon, and is now dispersed into sixteen or seventeen houses, yet there are not above forty-two dead thereof, and not one soldier in pay. The bruit of this sickness makes such fear in Scotland that all Scotchmen are restrained by proclamation and on pain of death to resort to this town, or receive or deal with any person or stuff thereof, whereby he finds great difficulty to send or receive any letters or messages to or from that realm. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Nov. 7. **435.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

"Right excellent, right high and mightie Prince, our deerest brother and cosen"; we have received your letter, dated the 5th of October last, mentioning a declaration made to you touching Claud Hamilton. For answer of which letter we desire you to understand, first, that we do not mean in this case to do anything in the favour of Claud or his brother but that which we are bound to do in honour and in the faith of a Prince, and that also which we hope shall no ways be to the disquieting of your estate, but rather a staying of outward attempts to the troubling of your new begun government in your own person, and a multitude of others comprehended within the pacification which was in February 1572[-3]. Because the contents of the same are at great length in writing, and the causes of the conclusion thereof were very many and urgent for the reducing of that

Elizabeth.
1579. realm into quietness, we refer the remembrance thereof to the Earl of Morton, then Regent, and likewise to the Earl of Montrose, Lord Ruthven, Lord Boyd, and the Commendator of Dunfermline, then commissioners for you, with others now dead; and because the discourse of those things requires more length in writing than is convenient for a letter, we have caused a summary thereof to be put in writing and to be communicated by this bearer, Nicholas Erington, to yourself or to your Council, whereunto we pray that the Earl of Morton may be especially called, and the rest of the before-named lords who were commissioners, who evidently may see how our honour should be touched to have this matter of the murders in this sort prosecuted without our assent to the same, under our seal, as it was ordered to be; and yet, briefly, for your satisfaction, because you ground yourself upon a letter of ours dated the 11th of April 1573, sent to the Earl of Morton, so it is that though such a letter was written, yet because the Earl of Morton and your Council then being did not find that letter sufficient whereupon to proceed in Parliament at that time, we by other our letters of the 11th of June then following gave our advice in express words that you should not proceed at any time against the Earl of Huntly or the Hamiltons comprehended in that pacification for the said murders without our advice and assent under our hand and seal; and in the same letter also expressly declared our advice upon a second matter referred to us by the pacification, that no inqusition or question should be made for the spoils done in the time of the hostility by the said earl or the Hamiltons, or any of their part, whereof no mention was made in the former letters: which said letters of the 11th of June being delivered to the then Regent by Henry Killigrew, were accepted by the said earl, and by a writing under his hand, sent to us by Henry Killigrew, he promised that our advice should be followed and fulfilled in both those two points. Since which time never motion was made to us for any our further advice and assent to the contrary, neither did we look that there should have been any manner of proceeding against them without making us first acquainted contrary to that our resolution, whereunto we are in honour bound; and so also we think that the Earl of Morton himself, as then Regent, and all the commissioners yet living, and also the three Estates of that realm who confirmed that pacification by Act of Parliament ought in duty and in honour to give their advice to you to stay this manner of proceeding in this sort, as it is; for herein it is not only to be regarded what in this present action shall be committed against promise, but also it is to be well thought upon how in time coming, upon any like accidents which are in God's will to suffer to happen, any trust will be given to any like motion of peace and quietness. And to the end this may appear manifest to you, we require that the Earl of Morton may as well produce that our letter and last resolution of the 9th of June, as the former of the 11th of April, which, indeed, was not perfect, nor there so accepted, as by many proofs contained in a memorial delivered to this bearer, if need be, shall further manifestly appear.

And now, to the latter part of your letter, seeming to find fault with the lack of justice on the Borders by the default of the deputy warden of our East Marches, we do assure you that there is nothing

Elizabeth.
1579. omitted on our part to charge officers to do their duties; who likewise answer us that the whole default is in the wardens of your part; and for the purpose our cousin of Hunsdon, being Warden of the East Marches, one of the Lords of our Privy Council here, has for his own discharge delivered to us in in writing divers articles manifestly proving the default only to be in the opposite wardens, in Scotland, which this bearer has likewise to present to you and your Council. Greenwich.

2⅓ *pp. Copy. Notes in the margin. At the head:* "Minute of hir majesty's lettre to the King of Scotts answearing his of the 5th of October before."

Nov. 7. **436.** ELIZABETH TO MORTON.

Having received his letter dated the 6th of October last, wherein he writes that the King of Scots thinks she will rather further and procure the due punishment of Claud Hamilton and others being guilty of the murders of the Regents, than to show herself as a mediator in their favour, she could not but find his writing very strange, considering that he best knows what was determined at St. Johnstone in February, 1573, for the prosecution of the said murders, and what she resolved on in June following; which accord she might think that he had either partly forgotten—which was unlikely—or else he was willing, for some cause, that the same should be at this time passed over in silence. But, for the better information of the King, and for safety of her own honour, being greatly interested herein, she has written her mind to the King by this bearer, Nicholas Erington, to which, and to such other her instructions given him, she remits him to receive further knowledge of her answer, hoping that he will reduce to the King's memory the true story of the same, and upon what urgent causes the pacification was made, and therein have regard to her honour now, as then she had regard to be a mediator and a promittor, and also an extender of her treasure, only to procure a peace and end of the civil wars directly made against the King and his authority, and his, being then Regent, especially.

1 *p. Copy. At the head:* "Minute of hir majesty's lettre to the Erle of Morton in answeare to his of the 5th of October before."

Nov. [7]. **437.** MEMORIAL FOR NICHOLAS ERRINGTON.

"A Memoriall for Nic. Errington to repaire to the King of Scottes with hir majesty's letters in aunsweare to the lettres of the said King dated quinto Octob. 1579."

He shall have delivered to him a copy of the King's letter to her majesty, by which he shall perceive the same was written in answer to a letter of her majesty's of the 13th of September on behalf of Claud Hamilton, one of the sons of the late Duke of Chatelherault, and also how the King demands delivery of the said Claud, grounding his intent of proceeding to be by reason of a letter from her majesty of the 11th of April, 1573. In the latter part of the King's letter he shall perceive the King's complaint concerning the borderers of the

Elizabeth.
1579. East and Middle Marches, for default of meetings of the wardens of the part of England. To both which matters, though her majesty has made some answer in her own letters, yet because the confirmation and proof of the matters touched in her majesty's letters require a longer scope than conveniently may be contained in a letter, therefore, after he has also considered her answers in the said letters—whereof he shall have a copy, he shall inform himself further in the same causes by the memorial and copies of sundry other writings which herewith are sent to him. He shall understand, and be able to avow, when he shall have audience given him, in order to enlarge the contents of her majesty's letters, that from the beginning of the King's reign till the 23rd of February 1572–3, there was never any general quietness in Scotland, but a continuance of civil wars, maintained by the greatest of the nobility taking the part of the King's mother, during which troubles it is well known how the Queen of England's favour to the King and his Regents, and how her forces and expense of great treasure against his adversaries from time to time maintained and advanced his estate, which otherwise had been in great danger than is now meet to be spoken of, whereof the Earl of Morton can for his time best inform the King, and so may he and others also "remember" to the King the like for the former times of the other Regents, the particularities whereof he may say he is willed to forbear to declare, considering her majesty will take it for a sufficient recompense for her kindness and costs to have the same not suppressed with oblivion to the King, now at more age of judgment, considering what was done by her majesty for him in his tender years, when no manner of Prince or potentate any ways received him, but rather procured him continuance of trouble. He shall let the King understand that the pacification mentioned in his letters, made at St. Johnstone, 1572, was laboured for by his Regent and Council by the space of one year before, and at length was laboured to be brought to pass by her majesty, without whom there had been no end of those civil troubles, in which the Earl of Huntly and the Hamiltons, with a great part of the nobility of Scotland, being so assisted by the Queen of Scots, as well in France as in Scotland, were principal heads, and no ways to have been reduced to the King's obedience but by her majesty's authority and by her forces there prepared to come into Scotland for recovering the Castle of Edinburgh for the King, which was done by her majesty, and how sincerely and frankly delivered to the King, all the world knows; and for that at the treaty of the pacification, there appeared two great difficulties to reduce it to a perfect end, whereof the one was concerning the prosecution of the murders of the two Regents; the other was concerning the spoils committed during the civil wars, it is well known and to be proved, and may also be well remembered by the Regent, that those two points were referred to her majesty with a determination at that time that no person being reduced to the King's obedience by that pacification should ever be molested for either of the same two things, as at that time promise was made by Mr. Henry Killigrew; whereof the commissioners for the King were privy, and without which promise there would have been no pacification. It was thought expedient not to express any full remission thereof in those articles, but for form's sake to refer the determination thereof to her majesty, who was the

Elizabeth.
1579. meatest person to give that resolution. Which afterwards she did for the full perfection of that pacification, as neither of the parties comprehended therein, nor any other within that realm of any value ever moved any trouble to advance the title of the Queen, his mother, or withstand the authority of the King; so that it may be well recorded to the King the best act that was done for him since the beginning of his reign, and therefore in nowise to be infringed in any part.

Item:—to approve and make good the determination of her majesty by her letters of the 9th of June, he may say it shall first appear well by the Acts of his Parliament begun at Edinburgh, the 15th of January, before the pacification, that the three Estates of Scotland gave advice to the Regent that for public quietness' cause he should grant commissioners for the slaughter of the Earl of Lennox, and was advised to suspend the pursuit of the King's father's murderers; so that it then manifestly appeared by the general counsel of that realm how necessary it was to have those causes to be partly ended and partly suspended, whereby all persons interested therein might without fear of further vexation be drawn to the King's obedience, *etc.*

Item:—he is to have a copy of the 14th and 17th articles of the pacification, which were referred to her majesty's determination for contentation of all parties, and so it followed that, though by her letter of the 11th of April, mentioned in the King's letter, she wrote to the Regent, as by a clause contained in the said letter appears, whereof the King makes the only ground of his present proceeding against the Hamiltons, yet it shall manifestly appear that neither the Regent nor the King's Council then being, nor the three Estates accepted the tenour of the letter to be sufficient whereupon to proceed in Parliament, as was intended by the article of pacification; but the 30th of April, being the day before the ending of the Session, the Regent notified to the Earl of Huntly and the Lord of Arbroath that because the full advice of her majesty was not fully returned by the said letter touching the 14th and 17th articles, the Parliament which should have ended the next day could not give their declaratory, and therefore the Parliament was ordered to continue to the last of August; before which time her majesty might send a perfect resolution to the said two points, with the clause thereto added, that if she should not before that so do, then the Regent should perform that which the commissioners of the pacification, with certain others, should advise him. Is to have a copy of this the Regent's writing.

The like declaration to this was also made by the Regent and the King's Council on the 30th of April for the satisfaction of the Earl of Huntly and the Hamiltons, and all others contained in the pacification; whereof he shall also have a copy. Hereupon it followed that her majesty, for a more perfect declaration of her advice, and knowing how needful it was to deliver the Earl of Huntly and all the Hamiltons, with all their parties, from doubtfulness or despair of surety in time to come, whereon she found them doubtful by their own letters and by her ambassador, and also by the manner in proceeding in the Parliament, where the pacification was ratified, of all which she was advertised—by her letter to the Regent, dated the 9th of June, declared her resolute advice concerning the murders and spoils, reserving to herself a condition in these words: "that no proceedings should be

Elizabeth.
1579. "against them that were charged with the murders without her "advice and consent to be given under the hand and seal, or other- "wise the parties to stand as quit, and not answerable." This letter being delivered to the Regent in the said month of June, and a declaration thereof from her majesty by her letters and ambassador to the Earl of Huntly and the Hamiltons, though they looked to have an absolute remission therewith without any further advice hereafter by her, yet, considering the former promise made in her name, they seemed to be contented with the contents of her letters of the 9th of June, and so they persisted in their former profession of perfect obedience to the King; and so likewise the Regent at that time accepted her declaration contained in the last letters of June, as by his writing delivered to her ambassador in the latter end of that month of June may appear. In which writing the Regent made answer to all parts of her majesty's letter, that her advice should be followed and fulfilled touching the two points of the pacification reserved to her order. He shall also have a copy of this writing.

Being instructed in this sort, there is no doubt but he shall have sufficient matter to satisfy the King and his Council according to her answer by her letter. [*See* No. 435.] He may say that the offer made by Lord Claud for himself and Arbroath for loyalty, her majesty has only heard, without giving any answer thereto until the King might be fully informed. Whereas by the promises he may see that the Queen of England's declaration of the 9th of June that the remissions should be ratified by Parliament, wherein it was not known what was done, he shall do well, by means to be made to Lord Claud, being now in England, or by some other good means in Scotland, if he cannot inform him, to understand whether her answers given the 9th of June were not ratified by the Parliament that followed in August; for if they were, then, without any contradiction, the King himself stands bound at this time; and if he finds it true he may use it for a reason of good force to move the King. But if the same were not ratified, yet the Queen's honour stands bound upon the reasons expressed.

If he shall perceive the King or his Council still stick fast on the letter of the 11th of April, though there is no reason why they should so do, he may well say that if there had been no other thing done but the advice given in the letter of June, yet the words thereof being that "all accusations and revenges should stay until the King should be by the laws of the realm of age to take government to himself," it is and ought to be intended by all laws and usages in that realm to be forborne until the King should be of more years than he is yet, not being fourteen; and so, by that interpretation, the prosecution ought not to be begun, as now it has, against the Hamiltons. Is not to make this allegation as though directed, but rather of his own construction, to be used privately to the Earl of Morton or some of the Council, and not to the King, for that it does not seem convenient to allege anything to the King to the prejudice of the authority of his government, though he has taken it upon him before his majority, which at the least ought to be fourteen years. He shall also do well to deal apart with the Regent and others who were in commission at St. Johnstone, and move them to have a regard in this action to the maintenance of the pacification and all things which depend thereon.

Elizabeth 1579. In answer to the last part of the King of Scots' letter for disorders on the Borders, he shall, counselling with her wardens, instruct himself to give him satisfaction, keep her honour, and procure an equal dignity on all parts, to which he shall assure the King she is most willing to give all furtherance and assistance to her best power.

6 *pp. Copy. Notes in the margin.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 175. Copy of the same.

Nov. 10. **438** FORFEITURE OF LORDS JOHN AND CLAUD HAMILTON.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 572. Forfeiture of John Hamilton, Commendator of Arbroath, Claud Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, and others in the Parliament held at Edinburgh.

7 *pp. Copy. Notes in the margin in Burghley's hand. Printed in "The Acts of Parliament of Scotland," vol. iii. p. 129.*

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 181. Copy of the same.

Nov. 12. **439**. MESSAGES FROM MARY TO LEICESTER.

C.P., vol. XI. That the Queen of Scots esteems the Earl of Leicester so honourable a lord and full of truth, that as yet she has not been able to enter into doubt of his promises and protestations of goodwill, so often recited and witnessed to her in his name by divers persons of credit and authority, specially for the right she pretends in the succession of this realm, which she holds to be so clear and just that no faithful counsellor of this State may either be against or oppose himself thereunto, his conscience and duty toward his country saved. She has, therefore, credited less what might have been told her to the contrary, and such dealings of his which by appearance might have been interpreted in evil part by her friends, not knowing the grounds of his intention, even as he in like occurrences may have conceived some wrong impression of her doings toward him. Assures him that never has anything "parted" from her to his prejudice. Laments that for entertainment of their friendship she could not find the means to write thereupon. Declares to him that she can never hold any for her friend who "dresseth" to make her son a party against her, or who shall directly or indirectly uphold or maintain the Earl of Huntingdon, whom she knows to be her mortal and conjured enemy, and an insidiator of her life. Remits to Leicester's wisdom to remember how much trust she has always reposed in him, never having any recourse or address in all her affairs but to him. She prays him to believe that he will yet find no less goodwill in her than he has done heretofore in all that might touch him, and desires that she might be made sure of his intention in time coming, protesting to him that she is not in any wise a meddler in any present negotiation concerning this realm.

1⅓ *pp.* "The copy taken by M^r^ Ch. Cau. the xij^th^ of November, 1579."

Nov. 21. **440**. MARY TO MONSIEUR DE MAUVISSIERE.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 581. Leaving aside that which he tells her in his letter of the 7th of this month, which she will satisfy by her first despatch, has thought

Elizabeth.
1579. it her duty no longer to defer answer to the other, of the 13th. Has come to the said packet as much not to allow root to be taken from so wicked an imposture whereof he has informed her, as to cut the way to all others like for the future, foreseeing that in the state in which she is, it will be difficult for her to remain exempted from all parts thereof. Will tell him with the same liberty which she is accustomed to use, and before passing further, that whosoever has made such report to the Queen of England has falsely and villainously lied and has spoken contrary to the truth and his conscience. She has addressed herself to the Earl of Shrewsbury and his wife to require them to render account to the Queen of England of the terms in which people have spoken to her of Monsieur the Duke, her brother-in-law, and to bring testimony according to their duty and conscience. He will know by Mr. Wilson what they shall send.

4 *pp. Draft. Many corrections.*

Dec. 27. **441.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

Has considered her meaning touching her letters in favour of Claud Hamilton, his rebel, and, according to her desire, he called to him the Earl of Morton and the most part of the lords now living, who were commissioners at the conclusion of the pacification in February 1572-3. (*Recapitalates the letters of the 11th of April 1573*, Elizabeth to Morton, and 9th of June 1573†, same to same.*) Prays her to consider and think that, as he thankfully acknowledges her great favour, love, and benefits bestowed on him in his younger age, minding to be still grateful therefor, and firmly looking for the continuance of the same, so will he be most loth that her honour be touched by any his occasion. The murders of the Regents were thought, indeed, by his commissioners, at the conclusion of the pacification, matters of such weight that the Earl of Morton, then Regent, of himself could not conveniently remit; wherethrough it was accorded that, the matter being moved to her by the persons craving the remission, whatsoever she should counsel and advise touching the remission thereof, the said Regent, with the consent of Parliament, should observe and fulfil. So that not only is his [the King's] remission of necessity requisite, if those persons now prosecuted would crave impunity for the murders, but also she ought to have been moved by the persons craving the remission, and the declaration of her advice should have been sought and obtained in that which the Regent, with the consent of Parliament, should have performed, the condition of which performance is referred to the Regent for the time being, and not to him, and in all the time of his regiment it was effectually performed. For his part, in her advice of the 11th of April [1573], in plain and direct terms she declares her meaning that her advice should not be any prejudice to him, but that he, at the taking of the government to himself, might in that case do as should seem to him convenient. Specially respected her first advice as a ground in his late proceedings, and in truth knew of no further advice given heretofore till her last letter came to his hands, having most just cause to be ignorant of any such annexed condition to the

* Vol. IV., No. 612. † Vol. IV., No. 686.

Elizabeth.
1579. former as now is mentioned; for, as it may appear, the Earl of Morton and the Council found no sufficiency in the letter of the 11th of April, but seeing her advice therein did not satisfy the cravers of the remission, ordained the Parliament to be continued till the last day of August following, before which her letter of the 9th of June had been procured upon a writing of the late Earl of Huntly, only adding to her former advice the said annexed condition, which since has lain obscure, without any approbation by public Act of Parliament or otherwise; and, indeed, if he had known the condition and been in state and age to have considered how far it touched him, there was cause to think himself thereby prejudiced, seeing her second advice not given upon the matter of the remission of the murders craved, which only and properly was committed to her, but restraining him, who was very young at the pacification making, and gave no promises or consent thereto, at the only motion of the said Earl of Huntly, beyond the bounds and time once fully and deliberately declared by her first advice, he nowise being astricted to the performance of anything whereunto she was not moved by the persons now prosecuted, but only by the Earl of Huntly, as her letter of the 9th of June testifies; neither was any remission at all granted to them by the Regent, or himself since he accepted the government, nor yet has his Parliament consented thereto, nor without the same can these guilty persons claim impunity, the remission being of necessity requisite, and the crimes being such that the Regent could not conveniently of himself remit. She then having declared her meaning not to prejudice him when he should take the government to himself, how should he then be bound by the condition given in a second advice without any motion of those two persons now his rebels, whereunto he never was made privy before this time? Yet he cannot but esteem her intention to have always tended to his honour and surety, and if anything in his late proceedings in this behalf may seem not agreeable with her advice, the same undoubtedly has been and is in the only default of the two brothers, John and Claud Hamilton, the murderers of his Regents, by their disdainful contempt of her and him, who in the space of almost seven years, knowing themselves in danger of the law, never made any motion to her for her advice touching the remission, nor urged any performance of her advice, with consent of his Parliament, of the Earl of Morton or of himself in the space of fifteen months after he had accepted the government, notwithstanding his Parliament held in the meantime, where great graces and favours were granted to many who suited the same; but those men daily watched to take advantage of his person and life how soon he should come to the fields, as they and their progenitors had dipped oft before in his blood, and murdered his dearest friends and kinsmen upon any inveterate malice and treasonable pretence to attain to his place and crown. Which weighty considerations being earnestly thought upon by him and his Council, foreseeing the peril that he might be subject to at his passing to the fields, if the two brothers had their resort and residence so near him, and that they had no remission for the murders by the pacification, nor had sought anything remitted to her advice to be performed with consent of Parliament, and that the laws of Scotland expressly provide that persons slandered and suspected of

Elizabeth.
1579. treason should be taken and remain in firmance, and their goods under sure "burrowes" while by the holding of any assize they were made quit or foul. It was, indeed, thought that he had just and necessary occasion, according to the laws and Acts of Parliament of Scotland, to command those persons to be arrested, to remain in firmance while they had held any assize; meaning how soon he had thereby provided his own present surety to have proceeded by her advice as well in this as other affairs of greatest moment. But they escaping and leaving their houses stuffed and garnished in warlike manner against him, and in contempt of his authority, to the violation of the pacification, he proceeded against them by justice and force, as in reason, honour and surety it behoved him, and made her acquainted with his proceedings in July last; wherewithal, at that time, she appeared nowise to mislike, but well content and satisfied. Yet seeing his just request to have the said Claud delivered to him makes her write and deal in this matter as though her honour, by his proceedings, should be touched —and he doubts not she is urged upon pretence of her promise by the suit of them and their favourers, who never meant honour or promise either to her or him—he says, for her satisfaction, that if the two brothers, John and Claud, simply depend on her mediation, that by her they would claim benefit and impunity, let them be delivered to him by her means, whereunto he requires her affectionately. Assures her on the word of a King—the circumstances of their persons and deservings being answered, and what were convenient for herself, being in the like case, respected—that in the prosecuting of them for the murders he will yet proceed and use them according to good advice to be given him, agreeable to honour, reason, and surety, considering also the persons of them that were so shamefully murdered being so near kinsmen to him, and so assured friends to herself; to the revenging of whose blood he hopes she will be as willing as he, remembering how the Earl of Murray was cut away in that very time when he had showed himself most ready to prosecute and apprehend her rebellious subjects who sought the overthrow of religion and of her own estate, his death being compassed for that cause, and the Earl of Lennox coming into Scotland and accepting the government by her own special advice and commendation. Touching the default of justice on the Borders, which she is informed to be on the part of his wardens, he has caused Nicholas Erington to be conferred with on the particular state of all the Borders, and trusts that as good reason has been shown him to the contrary, so will he report the truth, and so shall it prove in effect by the actions of him and his officers in all things that in justice and reason, and for the due observation of the peace and amity can be required, as she and her Council will perceive by some memorials in writing that he has caused to be delivered to him to be herewith sent to her. Holyrood House.

5⅓ *pp. Copy. At the head:* "To hir majestie from the King of Scots, xxvij of Decemb. 1579, in answere of hers of the vii of Nov. 1579, sent by Nicholas Arington." *Notes in the margin.* [*With No. 442.*]

Dec. 27. **442.** MORTON TO ELIZABETH.

Has received her letter of the 7th instant, and has seen what she wrote to the King of Scots, and the declaration of Nicholas Arington,

Elizabeth.
1579. and has brought to the King's memory the true story of the time she writes of, the best he could, resting always inclined to further the things touching to the preservation of common quietness in the tender years of the King's government to his best ability, as God knows. But seeing she finds his late writing strange, considering his knowledge in the pacification, he trusts, upon examination of the cause and his proceedings, she will find whatever he promised to have been sincerely effected during the time of his regiment; since the demission whereof he has continued in the state of a private person to serve his highness as he was commanded. Hopes, notwithstanding, that by that answer she shall be sufficiently informed of the ground and order of his proceedings and meaning, and rest satisfied therewith, nowise thinking her honour "interessed" when the circumstances shall be well answered—namely, the deservings of the persons now prosecuted, that the Regents murdered were so near to her both by blood and alliance, and that the effect of her mediation was not seasonably accepted nor sought to be confirmed in Parliament. During the time of his regiment he spared not his labours to do good offices for the entertainment of the amity, for which he has the testimonials of her own letters, and thought he had deserved thanks at her hands therefor. Dalkeith.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *At the head:* "xxvij December 1579. From the Erle of Morton to her majesty." *Notes in the margin.* [*With No. 443.*]

[Dec.] **443.** MURDER OF THE REGENTS MURRAY AND LENNOX.

(1) *Extracts from Elizabeth's letter to the Regent Morton touching the surcease from prosecuting the murders until the King's majority, and prosecution for spoils to be buried in perpetual oblivion, dated the 9th of June, 1573.* *See vol. iv., No. 686.*

(2) *Extracts from a memorial by the Regent Morton to Henry Killigrew, dated June, 1573, with regard to the Queen of England's advice, and the ground of the trouble remaining in her hands.* *See vol. iv., No. 702.*

1 *p.* *Copy.*

Dec. 31. **444.** CAPTAIN ERRINGTON TO WALSINGHAM AND SECRETARY WILSON.

Has received their letter of the 9th of November last with certain instructions from the Queen of England, letters to the King of Scots and the Earl of Morton, copies of such articles and letters as concern the pacification, a letter from the Privy Council, and a declaration and letter of Lord Hunsdon touching Border matters. Has been in Scotland and delivered her majesty's letters to the King and the Earl of Morton, and has made declaration to the King and Council there of all such articles from point to point and at length as are contained in her majesty's instructions, and used the effect of the same as well at the board as privately to the most advantage he could to have her majesty's honour repaired, being touched by the prosecuting of the two Hamiltons without her advice and counsel, and having debated the same matter and showed such sufficient

Elizabeth.
1579. testimony for six days together, expected some good resolution thereof by their promises that her majesty might be satisfied therein, and, leaving the same to their good considerations, promised to resolve them of all doubts that might serve to purpose touching the same; and, as he perceives the prosecuting with a rigorous act thereupon for the Hamiltons to be thought requisite as well by the King as the whole Estates of Scotland, their particular friends excepted, yet it has been told him by some of the greatest that all the promises passed between the Queen's majesty and the Earl of Morton, then Regent, as appeared by such articles and letters as he showed, were not known to them or explained before so amply as at present, but the matter being so far past, and the name of a Hamilton so odious, they could not with the King's honour and safety revoke that which was done, not doubting but that her majesty would be satisfied with such reasons as are contained in the King's letter sent herewith.

The Earl of Morton has by conference with him excused himself of the prosecuting not to be his deed, yet he is not altogether clear thereof, as the common bruit goes in that country; but not being made privy with the effect of the said letters—which he found some fault with, considering that he was to reply to anything contained in them that might touch her majesty in honour—he refers the said answers to the tenour of the said letters to her majesty's good consideration.

As to the instructions touching the Border matters, he informed himself sufficiently with the Warden of the Middle Marches and the deputy warden of the East Marches, together with his own simple experience, being not altogether a stranger to the customs and proceeding of the Border affairs, he finds the default of not meeting these five years past to be in the officers of Lyddisdale and West Teviotdale, who had neither authority nor assistance to do or execute their offices; and forasmuch as some stay of meetings and justice was made by the King to his Warden of the Middle Marches for want of a man to be delivered in lieu of one whom they delivered, and who was executed for the slaughter of George Foster, as they allege, for their King's honour and to have equality of justice according to the treaty of peace, presuming upon her majesty's instructions to offer all equality of justice that may be to the furtherance of good amity, he has promised to solicit her majesty for the delivery of some simple one, as is agreed on in the schedules herewith, and has with long debating of those causes concluded for meeting and justice to proceed in all points, as well for the time past as time to come, according to the tenour of the accord sent herewith, which they have solemnly promised to be observed and kept. The Wardens of England think the same may be accepted.

Touching the difficulty made on the East Marches for the trial of a fugitive, he agreed that the question should be omitted till the sight of a letter from her majesty [brought] by James Murray on the 29th of July last, to that effect, although the letter, being rightly construed, does not interrupt the deciding of the question by ordinary law prescribed, as will be approved at meetings by ancient borderers. Yet, forasmuch as her majesty's pleasure is that nothing be omitted that may extend to the furtherance of justice and the pretended amity, he has been content to attribute the fault of not meeting in equal balance, at

Elizabeth.
1579. their instance, although he had sufficient matter to the contrary, which could not be denied. That these matters may have speedy success, requests her majesty to give warrant that some simple thief and murderer—"whereof there is store"—may be delivered, whereby no occasion of cavelling be made to hinder the good course, as some would be glad there were for their better credit with those who have bred all these disorders, and were, as is well known, subborned by them.

Refers the rest to the contents of the King's letter and the orders agreed on herewith, together with some notes touching the present estate of Scotland.

3 *pp.* *Copy.* *At the head:* "From Captane Arington the last of December 1579, to Mr. Secretary Walsingham and Sec. Wi[l]son—report of his negotiaton." *Notes in the margin.* [*With No. 442.*]

Dec. **444.** BORDER CAUSES.

"Memorie touching the Borddour causses delivered to Nicholas Erington, to be sent and communicate to our dearest sister and cossingge the quen of England or her Counsell, at Holierudhouse the [ ] daie of December 1579."

The King of Scots has caused him to be conferred with in the particular estate not only of the East and Middle Marches, but also to be informed touching the West March, and trusts that as good reason has been shown him that the default of justice has been altogether in his Wardens, so will he report the truth, and so shall it prove in effect by the actions of him and his officers in all things that in justice and reason, and for the due observation of peace can be required. But for the remedy of griefs, and that timely redress may be had for all attempts done and to be done, he is desirous to have delivery of a foul man, culpable of the slaughter of his subjects, by the Queen's Wardens. In his opinion it shall be meet, and not contrarious to the Queen's own mind declared in her answer returned with James Murray, that all the Wardens of both the realms with one or two other skilful and sufficient persons of either realm, authorised with commission, should meet in the spring. And whereas his dearest sister referred the time and place to him, and he delayed the same till the here coming of Lord Hunsdon, then hoped for; because of the necessary occasions of his stay, he has thought good to delay no longer, but to make the Lords Boyd and Herries, the Commendator of Newbottle, and the Clerk of his Register, or any two of them, to join with others of like quality whom it shall please his good sister to appoint, that they may meet at the frontiers at such convenient day and place as shall be agreed upon betwixt them. In which two points he is desirous to know the Queen's good mind and contentment as soon as may be. *Signed:* Dumfermlinge. Copia.

1 *p.* *Indorsed in the same hand:* "Memor. for Border causes, ultimo Decembris 1579."

Dec. 31. **445.** STATE OF SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 197. "Memoriall of the present state of Scotland."

The King still delights the fields in hunting and riding, yet he has but three or four horses. He is poor, his nobility rich, but may spare nothing which they possess for his aid without deadly feud.

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1579. There has been a device to have a guard of fifty men for the King, and a table to be kept for six Councillors or more, to be resident according to the order; who, being of their own charges may not continue long together. The wardens to have greater allowances for the better discharge of their offices. The Laird of Cesford has but 16*l.* by year, yet his wardenries great and troublesome, and he of good mind. All this would be done with 3000*l.*, but it is not to be spared of his revenues. It is thought by some of the greatest and best minded that it were a better and more sure way if the Queen of England bestowed so much on the King for the said purpose. The King is truly well affected to the Queen of England. The name of the French King is to him odious, being advertised of his idle and licentious life, as the best about him have told the writer; which comes by the report of Monsieur D'Aubigny, being most familiar of all others with him. Let not this seem strange, notwithstanding the former bruits of him; for he has given forth in open speeches, that understanding the great benefits received by the Queen of England, he loves not the King neither can be a good Scottish man who will hinder the good amity betwixt the realms, or will the King to do anything without her advice, and for his part, where he shall do it or think it, let him be chased out of the country most unhonourable. He has "motid" to the writer great quittance of being most innocent of such bruits as have been made of him. He has written letters to the Queen of England. If it pleases her to requite the same with a few lines it can do no harm. For that he is in the King's ear most of any other, it must be secretly delivered to his hands, for causes, as he has the abbey of Arbroath, so has he the earldom of Lennox by composition, and expects the title shortly. He means in short time to leave his living in France to his second son, and set down his staff in Scotland. He seems to be of a good mild nature, well liked by most. The Earl of Argyll and he are great, and rule the Court at present, and will not be absent, to the discontentment of Morton and his. The Earl of Argyll seems to be very careful of the amity. He has written a letter to the Queen of England showing his good meaning.

There is as yet no speech of the King's marriage, but it is thought [he] will be looking to it shortly. He still gives out that he will never match with a Papist country. They have a great eye to Denmark, for that they had one of that country who was famous among them, and for divers other respects. The Earl of Argyll and his lady found it strange that her majesty would not make some offer to their King of some marriage. Answered that they were so proud that they would not bestow their King but with such conditions as were not requisite to be granted. Was answered, that if her majesty would make choice of one, they thought it would not be denied. Finds the good minds of that country to overbalance the evil minds.

The ministers continue still to persuade the amity, and are resolved of Monsieur D'Aubigny's good inclination to religion. The Earl of Morton has procured the King's licence to go over the seas for a space, and will procure the Queen of England's safe conduct, if by fortune of weather he be driven on the English shore. But many think he means it not; but would be desired to tarry at home, as though there could nothing be done without him. The rest say if he

Elizabeth.
1579. were farther off all things would be better done, and with more surety. He seems to be offended that the Queen of England does not either advance him above the rest, or else in his purse. He absents himself from Court and mislikes with the government. His signs have been great to the writer in these causes, but his doings have not performed the same.

Dunfermline is still about the King, and seems to mislike with Morton. His glass were run but that he is rich and the King poor. All these are clean contrary to the writer's former opinion of him. Finds all the young gentlemen about the King enemies to the hindrance of good amity, and divers of them have told him of the good speech of Monsieur D'Aubigny, and have heard him secretely speak these words of the French King as before.

A kinsman of Monsieur D'Aubigny's wife, called Monsieur Montbirneau, sends a letter herewith to his mistress and neighbour Lady Mauvissière, the French King's ambassador's wife, and is desirous at his passing home to France in the spring-time to see the Court of England. The Earl of Atholl marries Lord Ruthven's daughter. It is a question whether by that marriage Lord Ruthven will draw the Earl to the devotion of Morton, or the earl will draw Lord Ruthven to his devotion, who is as yet an enemy to Morton; but neither is thought to be of any great value.

The old Earl of Lennox has forsaken his wife, Atholl's sister, and is gone home again to St. Andrews to live more quietly there with a young wife, who is in a good forwardness to be married to James Stewart, as is thought.

Requests him to solicit the Queen of England's letters to Sir John Foster, Warden of the Middle March, that some simple thief may be delivered within one month, whereby no stay of this promised redress of the Borders may be. Also, that two may be named to assist the wardens for the causes specified in the accord. Mr Bowes, treasurer of Berwick, is wished to be one for his experience. It is meant specially for the West Borders, which are far out of order, as is alleged; and also to appoint order for slaughters for time past and time to come, which were most requisite to be reformed, and not to cut off any disorders by past, as had been looked for by some.

3⅓ *pp.* *Copy.* *At the head:* "Memoriall of the present estate of Scotland."

Dec. 31. **446.** CAPTAIN ERRINGTON TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Having received their letters of the 8th of November, with a declaration and other letters from Lord Hunsdon touching the late spoils committed by the Scots in the East Marches of England, he has made his repair into Scotland, and communicated the same to the King and Council there, and has required redress for all the spoils by the subjects of Scotland. But finding such impediment and delays, notwithstanding the King's good inclination and some others, of the Council, by reason of the like spoils committed by the subjects of the Middle Marches of England on the subjects of Scotland, the causes being debated daily before the Council for five weeks, they could not bring the said offences to any conclusion; and having informed himself of all the doubts and questions depending there-

Elizabeth.
1579. upon, with the assistance of the Warden of the Middle Marches and deputy warden of the East Marches before his going thither, sufficiently to approve the whole defaults to grow by reason that the Warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland could not answer for his wardenry these five years, as he proved by sundry their own letters, which was promised and never performed. Yet unless he would yield the default to be in England for not delivering of a man to be executed, as they did, alleging no equality of justice, and that it touched their King so much in honour that they could not proceed in justice until they had the "semblable"; his persuasions of the odious murder of George Foster not to be equal with any other committed; her majesty's good deeds and great charges from time to time bestowed on them did not merit the stay of justice, for so small a cause would not serve but that the fault must be equally attributed to both sides, and one to be delivered, as is agreed by the accord sent herewith [*sic*]. And forasmuch as her majesty's instructions touching the Border causes wish that all equality of justice should be offered, that no default might appear to hinder the good proceedings therein, he was content at length to yield thereto, and having showed the wardens the orders agreed on, they allow thereof to be reasonable if her majesty likes of all other the King's answers touching the Hamiltons. And whereas it is agreed on that two shall meet on either side to assist the wardens in deciding of all difficulties, and putting order for slaughters for the time past and to come, it is not meant to cut off any attempts done, for he would not agree thereto, but it was rather meant for the aid of their own officers of the West and Middle Marches, which is here out of order.

As to the stay of meeting of the East Marches by reason of trial of a fugitive, he agreed that the trial should be omitted according to the tenour of her majesty's letter sent by James Murray, a copy whereof he incloses; yet the articles being rightly weighed and construed do not hinder the trial to be made by the common laws of the Borders, as was demanded by the deputy warden, and so he doubts not but it shall prove at their meeting. Notwithstanding their opinions therein they have taken sureties of all the chiefest surnames of Liddisdale to be answerable for their disorders, at the first meeting appointed, in 6000 *l.*, and have made solemn promise that justice shall be equally distributed for the part of Scotland according to the order herewith set down under the Secretary's hand; and if want of sufficient delivery of goods be in them, their sureties are like to hang, for so the King has commanded; some judge there will be many outlawed, they have so much to answer for.

Carmichael continues still Keeper of Lyddisdale,; it ([considering] the particular quarrels betwixt Cesford and him for the Earl of Morton his master's causes) cannot but be a hindrance to justice. Truly the Laird of Cesford has kept East Tivydale very well from any great attempt since the treaty in June last, and is willing to continue with goodwill if he might be assisted. It is ordered that Carmichael shall be answerable to him for Lyddisdale and most Tyvydale, but there will be devices to remove Carmichael, so that he be possessed in the whole office, as reason is. The King likes well of Cesford, and wishes his fee to be augmented, being but 16*l.* per annum; but he wants himhimself, "and God knoweth a poore King, and rich noblemen and yet

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1579. spare the King nothing." Craves pardon for his long abode in Scotland, yet truly the King and Council daily occupied in these causes to the last day of his departure, and very hardly brought to pass, and yet will breed a terror to the thieves and alterations in their former customs if all things contained be duly performed according to the order set down herewith. Berwick.

3 *pp. Copy. At the head:* "From Captane Erington ultimo Decemris 1579, to the Lords touching Border matters." [*With No. 448.*]

Dec. 31. **447.** AN ACCORD FOR BORDER MATTERS.

It is accorded that there shall be meeting kept and ordinary justice done between the Wardens of the East Marches and their deputies, and the bill against Cuthbert Cranston to be omitted; that there shall be meeting kept betwixt the Warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland and the warden deputy of the East Marches of England, and at the meeting, first of all, due answer shall be made for the slaughter of Thomas Trotter, Scotsman, or such other slaughter as shall be complained of at the Marches. Next, the attempts lately committed since the treaty betwixt the Wardens in June last to be filed and delivered without delay, and for all other attempts committed before, to proceed also in sifting thereof, omitting the delivery till the return of the Queen of England's answer to such notes as concern the East and Middle Marches of England, now delivered to Nicholas Erington; that there shall likewise be meeting of the Wardens of the Middle Marches, and the bills already filed to be delivered, as also the attempts committed since the treaty between the Wardens in July last to be filed and delivered by the Wardens on either side without delay, and for all other attempts committed before, to proceed in filing thereof, omitting the delivery thereof till the return of the Queen of England's answer aforesaid. For the more speedy execution thereof a meeting shall be kept betwixt the Wardens of the Middle Marches of England and the warden deputy of the East Marches thereof, on the one part, and the Warden of the Middle March of Scotland, on the other, at Stawford, on the 27th of January, where they may proceed as far as is possible upon the performing hereof that day, and agree upon further meetings for accomplishing of the rest, and the said Nicholas in the meantime shall earnestly solicit the Queen of England's pleasure for the delivery of a man foul of slaughter committed on the King's subjects of Scotland, and that order may be taken for punishment of the committers of slaughter in time past and to come. At the meeting all unlawful prisoners taken on either side and all bands and promises for their ransoms shall be discharged by proclamation.

1¾ *pp. Copy. At the head:* "An accorde for Border matters made ultimo Decemb. 1579." [*With No. 448.*]

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 199, b. Another copy of the same.

Dec. **448.** BORDER CAUSES.

Copy of No. 444.

Elizabeth.
1579. **449.** EMBASSAGES OF THOMAS RANDOLPH.

In September, 1558, Mr. Randolph came to Scotland and brought the Earl of Arran from France. December, in the same year, he returned to England and brought with him Secretary Lethington with secret commission from certain Lords called "of the Congregation." March, in the same year, Lord Grey, of England, was general to besiege Leith, where the Frenchmen were inclosed. There he [Randolph] continued till April, 1561, when he returned to England. In 1562 he returned to Scotland with a solemn embassage in company with Sir Henry Sidney, who left him there ambassador for her majesty to the Queen of Scotland, where he remained till October, 1566. In 1567 and 1568, so far as the writer can remember, he was sent into Moscovia and to the King of France. In February, 1569, he returned to Scotland ambassador from her majesty, and procured the Earl of Lennox to be created Regent, during whose time he remained there six months, when he returned to England. In March, 1571–2, he returned ambassador to Scotland in company with Sir William Drury. In February, 1577, he was sent ambassador to the King of Scotland with a rich present of jewels from her majesty, the Earl of Morton at that time being Regent. In 1579 he was sent ambassador to the King of Scotland for the relief of the Earl of Morton, detained at that time in Dumbarton. "The last tyme is to your selfe knowen."

1¼ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

450. ADAM FULLERTON TO WALSINGHAM.

"Yf it maie please your honor" to call to mind the great care and travail taking by me the space of two-and-a-half years in England, and that for the spoils done to the merchants of Scotland by the English pirates, who were "persewed" by me only on my own charges, except 72*l.* sterling delivered to me by the said merchants, and how earnest and diligent I have been to stay the fury of the merchants and mariners, who loved not the standing of the godly amity betwixt the two crowns, to seek any extraordinary revenge for their spoiled good, discharging me by their letters to insist in their cause, which in nowise I could or would do, seeing her majesty and Council offered all reason, with justice, to [be] ministered to me, as if I had been one of her highness' subjects, and that the said suit has been to the great detriment of my goods, and losing of time, I being "ane merchand of my calling extending to 700*l.* sterling."

Secondly.—"Not doubting" but your honor has had good experience how careful some of our country (not of the meanest estate) have been "excercysit" to stir up sedition and discord betwixt the two realms, and, especially, persuaded some of my friends whose goods were spoiled by the pirates—which was sufficiently proven by me before the judge of the Admiralty, and redress promised "be the fynes," and for non-satisfaction made to them according to promise—to seek redress extraordinarily, were it not that I was moved by love I bear to the quietness of both realms to satisfy their enterprise, whereby such things should not be done by any of my friends. I was compelled to mortgage my lands for recompense of their whole "prowes,"

Elizabeth.
1579. extending to 700*l.* sterling, whereof 600*l.* were received from the friends of that pirate Calleis.

Thirdly;—seeing my long remaining here, and others with me, at the time of my "persute" I was enforced to contract great debts, *etc.* Therefore I beseech your honour to solicit her majesty that I may have recompense for the cause I have now in hand, either by the fines or some other way, as her majesty and honourable Council think most expedient.

½ *p. Closely written. Indorsed in the same hand:* "Some breiff informationis gewin in be me Adame Fullerton to the right honorable and his veyry good lord Sir Francis Walsinghame cheiff secretar to her majestie and on of her hienes most honorable Previe Consell."

451. Letter from Sir Henry Cobham.

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 162. Cannot say how it comes to pass, but they have bruited it so in this Court, that the Duke of Brabant should be so evil satisfied in Flanders that he intends to return to these parts. The French King has promised he will introduce the decree of the Council of Trent in France, on condition that the Pope will grant he may for certain years enjoy the tenths and sell some Church lands. The Pope's nuncio about four days past delivered money to the Scottish Queen's minister, to whom the Scottish Queen wrote that they had placed all their trust in the Pope for the redeeming of the King of Scots, on whose liberty depend their lives and better estate; which letters were delivered by Morgan to the Scottish Queen's minister here.

½ *p. Extract.*

1579-80. Jan. 29. **452.** Answer of Lord Claud Hamilton.

"The Lord Claud Hamilton's answere to the articles conteined in the King's letter, 28 Decemb. 1579, wherewith he is charged."

Is informed that report is made to the Queen of England that he had been "arte and part" of the abominable murder of the King of Scotland, and the inventor and causer of the slaughter of the Earls of Murray and Lennox, and that in May last he put himself with a great company in arms against the King, and "caused holde" the castle of Hamilton contrary to the King. Answers anent the murder, that neither he nor any of his name were either "arte," part, or counsel giver thereto, nor had wit or knowledge thereof, and is content to abide trial of the same before her. Was neither the inventor, causer, nor doer of the slaughter of the Earls of Murray and Lennox. It is to be considered that at those times he did not profess the King's obedience; James Hamilton was received after the slaughter of the Earl of Murray into those places where he was, and that he was upon the ground with a very small number when the Earl of Lennox was slain, and knew nothing of the doing thereof; therefore the same was the cause why they refused to subscribe the pacification till the Queen of England's ambassador promised in her name that by her good means remission should be obtained for them touching those facts.

Elizabeth.
1579-80. Is sure that none depending on him, or of his causing, put on armour against the King since the concluding of the pacification, or gave counsel or command to hold Hamilton Castle contrary to the King. But, on the contrary, as soon as he got knowledge that some of their "unfrendes" had moved his highness to wrath against them "to be execute by way of deed," he withdrew himself in quiet and sober manner out of the country where he was wont to dwell four days before the inclosing of the said house. Gave no counsel to hold Hamilton Castle. Paisley was rendered at the first requiring thereof. Declares this on his soul and honour to be truth. Holborn.

Begs her majesty to receive his purgations of these crimes, and that he may speak with her before his departure, when he will deliver such information as he presently remembers of his just cause. Prays her to take this letter in good part. Holborn.

2 *pp. Copy. Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary).

Another copy of the same [*With No. 583.*]

Jan. 30. **453.** ROBERT BOWES TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 580. By the occasion of the small accidents falling in these parts since his last, has thus long abstained from writing. The state of Scotland is little altered. The same is more attentive to behold the success of things with them than hasty to determine on their own, resolving that after the sight of matters settled with them they will set down a course for themselves. Alday, the English messenger sent from the King of Denmark with pretence to sue for the apprehension of Clerk, the English pirate, is returned with favourable despatch in that part. But when he sought to understand of some great personages whether his master's ambassador coming to treat for marriage with the King should be welcome and well entreated, he was thereon despatched without answer or commission to say or do anything in that behalf. Nevertheless, some think that the King of Denmark will shortly send thither in that errand, and that he shall little prevail in the same.

Trusts it is known to him that the Earl of Argyll and his wife, in conference with Mr Errington, wished that the Queen of England would be now as careful for the King's good match in marriage as she has been before for preservation of his estate and person, concluding that if her majesty pleased to commend any of her own blood, that would not be refused. Wherein they and many others in especial favour with the King are ready to do all good offices. This is "remembered" by Mr Errington and advertised up. The condition of this time and that State promise great advantage to effect her majesty's good pleasure to her best contentation. The Earl of Morton, in an eloquent oration, exhorted the nobility and Council to concord among themselves, and to oppose and end the feuds abroad, persuading that it was more needful for them to beware when their neighbours house was on fire; which he applied to England. By this and by some uncertain bruits from France many there remain in expectation of great things with them [*the English*].

The Wardens met on Wednesday last, doing great justice, with

Elizabeth.
1579-80. promise of further progress, so that the Borders are presently in good quiet. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 20. **454.** ROBERT BOWES TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 582. With the receipt of his last letter, of the 10th instant, received also no little comfort to behold his favourable memory of him, and to understand the bettering and good success of his lordship's own affairs and condition, whereon his [Bowes'] welfare and good days especially depend; and the late report of his lordship's right noble bearing against his adversaries not only increased his joy, but the same, giving just cause to all who love and honour him to rejoice, has been joyful to many in this town, who, with himself, wished themselves and services present with him.

The estate in Scotland, after wonted manner of that nation, welters, and is fallen into doubtful condition; wherein the danger is the greater, in that the suspected there bear the sway, and that the hope of relief by the providence of England begins to fail in many of the best of them; a matter right needful to be timely considered, lest the offered fruit there, ripe and ready to be gathered, be untimely pulled and conveyed to the common peril of both realms in this island, Wherein, for his part, he is destined rather to lament the want of seasonable provision, than to prevail to prevent the mischief.

On Monday last the King departed from Edinburgh towards Stirling, purposing to make his progress through Fife, and no other parts of his realm, and it is thought that he will see Dumbarton before his return to Edinburgh. Sundry of his Council much misliked this diet and progress, especially the Earl of Morton, who is said to have dissuaded the same very earnestly, and upon resolution thereof against his advice, to have prayed an Act of Council recording that he may be quit of all blame for any harm chancing to the King therein.

It has been told the King that Morton and others had devised something for the alteration of the estate, intending to have put the same in execution at the marriage of the Earl of Atholl at St. Johnstone. This report coming to Morton, he first made his purgation to the King, and besought his grace to let him know the teller of the tale. The King answered, that betimes there would a teller be given. Wherewith Morton departed discontented, and now remains at Dalkeith, minding to forbear the Court until he be called.

The fellowship of Falkirk are greatly grieved with this matter, thinking that some practice was intended for their overthrow, and for the same they are about to provide some revenge, which, peradventure, may renew the later broils or bring some sudden mischief to some particular person.

The Earl of Argyll has appointed to be at Glasgow very shortly, and there to have with him the chief rulers and officers and many of the Highland Irish under him, a matter much noted, and making many think that some strange effect shall hastily ensue thereon.

Monsieur D'Aubigny minds to accompany Argyll at Glasgow. He hopes to purchase the consent of the Earl of Lennox for the gift of the possession of the earldom to him, and thereupon to receive the

Elizabeth.
1579-80. homage of the freeholders for the increase of his strength. All things prosper with him there, moving him to send for his wife and children with purpose to remain in Scotland. He pretends to reform himself to that religion, and to the intent that the English and Scotch may have good opinion of him therein, he will send for a French minister from London to instruct him, notwithstanding the great plenty of learned men and ministers there who have the French tongue and offer their labours to him. The ministers are much overtaken with conceit of his reformation. Nevertheless, they still persuade that he may "broke" no office there before he be reformed in deed. His great courtesy to all the old servants of the King's mother and her favourites bears them forwards in all their causes.

Suit is made to bring home Sir Thomas Carre, Laird of Farnyhurst, and albeit Morton and others withstand it, yet by D'Aubigny's commendation that suit is like to be granted.

John Crawford, brother of Captain Crawford, passed with a few Irish Highlandmen to the Glynnes in Ireland without the King's direction or privity; but rather of his own accord and at the request of M^{c}Connell, servant to Argyll, and of Sorll Bwy. Crawford moved to fortify the Roughlyns at the King's charges, which is not agreed to, yet that matter hangs in doubtful teams.

The Lady Campbell, wife of Turlough Lynagh [O'Neil] is "looked" to be in Scotland very shortly, and to meet Argyll, her nephew, at Glasgow, and from thence to repair to the Court for redress of sundry wrongs done in her own possessions in Scotland, and also to advance the errands of her husband in that realm. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅔ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 22. **455.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Has received his letter written in the latter end of December containing in some part an answer to her letters directed to him by Errington, concerning the delivery of Lord Claud Hamilton and her motions to have his cause and his brother's proceeded in with more favour. He is to understand that the cause of the forbearing to make answer to his letter of December has been that she thought good to cause Lord Claud to be directly charged with the special matters contained in his letter tending to make him and his brother culpable in so high degrees as ought not to have any favour. Having received such direct answers in writing from Claud in his defence, that the same being true, which he avows so to be, and does not refuse trial, she is of opinion that, besides the former reasons alleged by her, which were sufficient to have moved mercy towards them, or at least a surcease of prosecution of them, she ought both by the rules of justice and for her honour to persist in her former requests that such sharp dealing shall not continue against them, as it appears there is, more for satisfaction of particular persons for private gains, than for any security, as is pretended, for the person of him her dear brother, or for the conservation of the common peace, the care of which in times of his tender years, and in time of evident peril to his person and crown, moved her to be sundry times at great charges to recover peace for him amongst his subjects, when on his mother's behalf and

Elizabeth.
1579-80. by her labours won with frequent counsel, ambassadors, and money sent out of France, the stronger part of his nobility and subjects were in arms against him, ready to have removed him from his crown, and now that he is come to more understanding she briefly repeats this as a truth and worthy to be "remembered" to him by such as govern under him,—that if she had not by her means and credit at the time of the convention of St. Johnstone recovered the Hamiltons and Huntlies with their power to his obedience, which was done by the pacification at St. Johnstone by reason of her actions for his aid, and her promises made to them that they should live thereafter free from danger for things past, and therewith, by means of the pacification, to her great charges and the exposing of the lives of a great number of her subjects of great valour to the danger of his sworn enemies and rebels, the castle of Edinburgh kept with such force that all Scotland could not recover it, was by her also recovered to him, and thereby, and by the pacification, he was settled in his chair in more surety than ever before he was, and so has continued; and, as she thinks, none of any judgment in Scotland can affirm to him but that without these her special means his estate had not been as now it is. Will forbear to pronounce any harder words. Cannot but remind him of this, for that by the proceeding of late against the Hamiltons it seems that her former actions and promises made to them only for his behoof in his minority are not so well remembered as they ought; which she does not mean to impute to him, who was not then so capable thereof. Knows he can and will conceive them to be good causes to allow of her request. Requires him to make such of his Council privy to this letter as for their experience of the dangerous times past can truly inform him that this her request is grounded upon her honour to have the Hamiltons not in this state proceeded with, contrary to the composition at St. Johnstone, and contrary to that they had just cause to hope for by her promises. This rule is also to be holden by him, that whatsoever is accorded on in the name of a King or sovereign Prince of a realm to his subjects —though the same be in his young years—in a matter that tends to make peace in his realm and to reduce his people to obedience, should not be infringed for respect of the young years of the King, but should be observed where the grant is made and accorded with an equal Prince who has been the only means—as she has been—with her great charges and without any respect of particular profit to herself or her people to procure such an accord, that the observation thereof has been the principal cause of his quietness, and the continuance thereof is also very probable to continue his tranquility, and therewith she will accept it for some satisfaction, or at least a contentation to her to see the fruits of her labours not rejected. Whosoever shall otherwise persuade him to proceed herein without having regard both to that which was promised to his subjects and to that which she also is in honour bound to procure to be observed, he may and shall prove the same in process of time to be grounded rather upon particular respects for their own profit, than for his weal or for the quietness of his estate. If the reasons above mentioned shall not work that effect, that these persons, having committed no offence worthy of their attainder and forfeiture of their lives and lands since the composition, may not return and live as obedient

Elizabeth.
1579-80. subjects to him—as she sees no just cause but they ought to do, and so she thinks herself bound in honour to require the same—then, nevertheless, she cannot desist to require that they, living out of his realm in obedient sort to him and their country, may be suffered to enjoy the fruits of their livings for their maintenance from adhering by necessity and lack to such as do not favour his estates as she does. Hopes, at this her request, which is chiefly for saving of her honour, and for his quiet, by retaining as much as he can in these tender years a general obedience of his subjects without suffering partiality to divert him from the same, he will with good deliberation with the best and wisest of his Council assent thereto. Westminster Palace.

Postscript.—Requires him to credit the bearer.

3 *pp.* *Copy.* *Notes in the margin.*

[Feb. 22]. **456.** INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN ERRINGTON.

The Queen of England condescending to a motion of Lord Claud Hamilton as well in recommending of his cause and his brother's, and the rest of their family and adherents to the King, as in answering a letter of the 28th of December from the King to her containing reasons against the Hamiltons, why they might not well be pardoned and have the benefit of the pacification extended towards them, has been pleased to write to the King to acquaint him with such matter as they alleged for their defence; who offer most confidently to make it good that they are not guilty of any of those crimes set down against them. Because the Queen's good meaning towards him and his brother—upon the truth of that report which Lord Claud has put down in writing—is won with a desire to have it thoroughly prosecuted as well for the maintenance of her honour as for the good she intends to those gentlemen, she has thought meet that he should repair forthwith to Scotland with her said letter and to accompany the same with as good reasons and persuasions as he can as well to the King as to the best affected of his nobility and Council, who are no enemies to the Hamiltons for particular quarrels and feud. As much as is necessary for him to know is to be seen by her majesty's letter to the King, and in Lord Claud Hamilton's answer, copies whereof he shall receive, yet he may do well to be instructed by this bearer [Gawen] Hamilton, son of the late Abbot of Kilwinning, of his particular case, to the intent he may also in her majesty's name solicit the release of the party. In the speeches he shall deliver to the nobility and Council her majesty would have him lay forth the unkind dealing used in this cause towards her, whose deserts towards the King and that State might seem sufficient in the eyes of the world to carry away a matter of greater moment than the saving of the lives of some one or two, and of their lands and goods can be, especially seeing the crimes intended against the parties (if they were true) are old, and since her undertaking for them they are in no way charged with any undutifulness used or anything fallen out on their parts that might justly deprive them of the benefit of that grace they are suitors for by her mediation. For which respects it is thought strange by her majesty that such earnestness and severity in prosecuting them should be used. The remembrance of crimes so far past being a matter of rare

Elizabeth.
1579-80. predecent in a Prince, especially of tender years, in whom commonly nothing is more respected by subjects than an inclination to mercy and a forgiving and forgetting nature of fore-past offences and wants of duty, therefore he may declare to the nobility and Council that in seeking to nourish this disposition in the tender years of the King, or in not opposing themselves by all good persuasions to an inclination so far unfit for his person they will give the world occasion to think hardly of them, and that in so doing they will instil that nature into him that may be of very ill consequence as well for them as the whole State, whereas otherwise they might consider with themselves and think—as the truth is—that the most mild and temperate governments are of best and longest continuance. Wherein, notwithstanding, if neither time would wear out the offence, nor the good opinion that the King might leave in the minds of the subjects by some favour performed to offenders of his gracious reign were able to stay the severity of this proceeding, yet the respect he might carry for her majesty whose deserts towards him may to all men's understanding be of force more to prevail with him to pardon the offences pretended to be committed, than the parties' disloyalties against whom justice is sought can be of weight to further the intention of their execution, might move him to yield so much to her persuasions—the gift of whose lives and lands to her could not reach to the least part of that care her majesty has borne and does bear to the preservation of him and his estate.

And whereas it appears by Lord Claud's answer that not only the house of Hamiltons, their servants and friends, but also their cautioners who were sureties for them for the observation of the pacification are prosecuted by extremity of justice, her majesty's pleasure is that he should confer with the cautioners and inform himself of the truth of that report, and in case he finds to be so as he has set down in his answer, then he is to deal with the King and the nobility that a more temperate course be taken. When he has performed this part of the intercession he is to acquaint the King and his Council with her majesty's desire and resolution to have him satisfied in those points which were set down and required by the memorials delivered to him at his late being there.

Touching the delivery of a foul man, culpable of the slaughter of some of his subjects, he shall declare to the King and Council that her majesty has given order to Sir John Foster to see justice done therein accordingly.

As for the meeting of commissioners, her majesty will give order that Lord Evre, Mr. Robert Bowes, and Mr. Ralph Rokeby, being all of her Council in the north, shall join in assistance with the wardens of England for the hearing and determining of the Border causes; and for that the long deferring of their meeting may breed some inconvenience by increase of disorders in both Borders, forasmuch as the appointment of the time has been remitted to her majesty, she has appointed the beginning of May next, which is the rather prolonged, for that about that time the Lord Governor of Berwick may be best spared; and for the places none are thought so fit as Berwick for the East and Middle Marches, and for the West Marches, Carlisle.

During this time of his being in Scotland he is to seek by all the best means he can to inform himself what alterations in the State are

Elizabeth.
1579-80. either presently wrought or in working by the practice of d'Aubigny and others who are thought not best affected to the present state of Scotland as well in respect of the religion as otherwise; wherein he may travail to good effect, provided he does it secretly with the ministers and others best affected in religion, by incensing them against d'Aubigny and others of his faction, whom he may assure them to be a most dangerous practiser against the state of religion and the King's government under a colour and show he makes of renouncing his Catholic religion—a matter so much the more to be suspected, because conversion in religion, if it be unfeigned and true, is not wrought without diligent hearing and earnest meditation of the Word, and therefore, as common experience teaches people, none more dangerously credited than such sudden converts, the show of religion, in truth, serving only for a mask to cover their bloody and wicked intentions withal; and to argue this to be but deceitful may be remembered his inward estimation of the Scotsman [ ] Ker, a devoted servant to the Queen of Scots, and a sworn Papist, and armed also with learning to maintain his profession.

5 *pp. Copy. Note in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 455.*]

Feb. 28. **457**. BISHOP OF ROSS TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 586. "Right honorable and my wearye good lorde," at my arrival here out of England about five years past I found the air of this country not too agreeable with my health, much decayed by my close imprisonment and some other calamities that I then had sustained. Besides that, to my grief, I "encountered" here with many of my country "of al estate," w[ho] for God's sake and the service of the Queen's majesty my dear sovereign Lady, and w[ho] were abandoned, as I am; and amongst them many aged churchmen and learned scholars, like to make for some country, if not for their own profitable members here. These considerations, and principally devotion towards the sacred feet apostolic, moved me to address myself towards Rome, there to repose myself after my l[ate] anguish, and to exercise such contemplations as be agreeable with the truth and my . . . and calling, which the new laws and customs of our country would not permit me to exercise daily, as became me to do; and being in Rome I thought of [my] countrymen, and remembering that there were in Germany many abbeys founded [in] favour of the Scottish nation only, which they had possessed many hundred years: and albeit that of long time they had been dispossessed, and by negligence discon . . . this prerogative, and that other Princes, in whose territories the same lie, intro . . . other nations to enjoy the benefit thereof, to the great detriment of our rea . . . and country, yet the verity of the cause and my bounden duty towards my native country, together with my desire to relieve the afflicted thereof unprovided, gave me encouragement to deal for the restitution of the said abbeys, being in . . . about their "pristinat" state. To be short, by my [long ab]sence and travail in this behalf by the space of four years, by God's assis[tance and] the Pope's favourable respect to advance our just title herein, it pleased his h[oliness] not only to join his helping hand hereunto, but [he] also travailed with the Emperor's

Elizabeth. 1579-80. majesty and other Princes for the restitution thereof to my said nation, to whom the same indeed appertain. For the which cause, and for the better establishing of my said afflicted countrymen, I was addressed by his holiness to the Emperor's majesty and to other Princes of that country, whom I found in this behalf w[ell] inclined, and also to have a very favourable respect to my own pe . . . and travail in this service, and so *in fine* some of the abbeys be restored, some of my afflicted countrymen placed therein at this present. Which matter . . . an history of my country by me set forth has been this year past [my] study and care, whereof I have thought good to make your lordship privy, p[re]ferring rather the common benefit of my country than my own private estate; [for] the better "furniture" whereof, agreeable to my calling, I am in good hope that [the] Queen's majesty, your sovereign, has remembered me, according to the promise pronou[nced] to me on her majesty's behalf by your lordship and by my Lord of Leicester; which was, that within a year or two after my departure, containing myself in good behaviour towards her majesty and her country, her majesty would help [to] restore me to my living in Scotland; which could not then be so speedily brought to pass as it was wished, because the Earl Morton would not consent thereto. If that were the impediment as it was then "remembered," the matter is altered by his privation, and her majesty, I doubt not, of no less "puissance" with those that succeed the others in the government, than she was with the rest who ruled there these years past. Wherefore, having now "attended" these five years—which is more than was required by three years—and expected her majesty's favourable order with me therein, and truly performed the condition on my part required towards her majesty, I pray your lordship give me leave to crave of your lordship to move her majesty on my behalf, and that I may understand what good, by her means, I may hope for the better maintenance of my estate, so that the care thereof may not withdraw me from my study and compel me, contrary to my vocation, to travail farther. Paris. *Signed:* "Johne Bischop of Rosse."

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

March 19. **458.** ROBERT BOWES TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 578.

At the last Convention, at Stirling, the King by his minority revoked the former grant of the earldom of Lennox, given to the bishop of Caithness, and in recompense thereof gave to the said Earl, then absent, the earldom of March, and continuing him still to be one of the Council, thereby to retain his vote for the advantage of himself and his friends.

Afterwards, the King made Monsieur D'Aubigny Earl of Lennox, giving to him the earldom and the custody of the castle of Dumbarton, which Monsieur D'Aubigny has left in the keeping of the Laird of Drumquhassell. D'Aubigny is also called to be one of the Secret Council, and now carries the sway in Court.

By the small assembly of the nobility at this Convention, it is adjourned to the 10th of April next, at Stirling; and because it is suspected that the Earl of Morton held sundry noblemen back with himself, therefore the King will write more earnestly for more general

Elizabeth.
1580. appearance at the next. That adversary party at Stirling are bent to solicit all their friends to the same, where it shall appear what weather shall follow these gloomy clouds.

The grief betwixt the Earls of Morton and Argyll still increases; the rather because it is lately seen that Argyll gave to the King the late information against Morton; wherein Argyll begins to discover himself more plainly than before; and of these discords some men think that great evil shall spring.

The agreement betwixt the Earls of Morton and Angus takes no full effect; for, notwithstanding the labour of the mediators and the former towardness, yet they remain scarcely reconciled.

The poisoning of Atholl is meant to be brought again into question and trial, and sundry are of opinion that the matter shall be discovered.

The Earl of Morton and many with him earnestly withstand the return of Sir Thomas Carre to Scotland, and it is thought strange that D'Aubigny, being so near in blood to the King, should advance the calling home of him who was present at the slaughter of the King's grandfather and his uncle.

The drum has sounded in Edinburgh for more soldiers to be sent to Flanders to serve the States.

His adversary, Rowland Johnson, has lately exhibited to her majesty a bitter complaint against him, wherein he yields himself to the judgment of the Privy Council. To the end that this work at the pier, condemned by him [Johnson] alone, may be viewed for her majesty's most benefit, has by his letters to the Lord Treasurer and Lord Hunsdon desired that commission may be speedily awarded to skilful and indifferent persons to consider these works and that due trial of his suggestion against him may be taken. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March. **459.** PERSONS COMMENDED FOR PENSIONS.

"Persons commended by the Erle Morton whan he was Regent, as most meete to be enterteyned with pencions."

The Earl of Angus; chief of the house of Douglas, great in power and strong on the frontiers.

The Earl of Argyll; in great credit with the King, well friended, strong in men, and a neighbour to Ireland.

The house of Mar; Alexander Erskine, chief favourite of the King, Captain of Edinburgh Castle, and of good credit with most of the nobility.

The Lord Ruthven, Treasurer; of blood to the King, constant, plain, especially friended, of great credit and valiant.

The Lord Lindsay; well affected to the King, constant and stout, well beloved, and of good power, especially in Fife.

The Lord Herries; his counsel and credit in great estimation, and a borderer of good power.

The Commendator of Dunfermline; principal secretary, and of great credit with the Privy Council.

Elizabeth.
1580. "Persons also fitt to have interteynement, and not commended by the Regent."

The Earl of Montrose was then within age; a gallant young gentleman, valiant, greatly allied, of great power, very well beloved, and greatly followed.

Drumwhassell; Captain of Dumbarton, of great credit, especially with Argyll and Alexander Erskine, and valiant.

Alexander Hay; Clerk Register, and very "inward" in matters of the State.

The Laird of Cesford; Warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland, of great power, constant, stout, valiant, greatly devoted to the Queen of England, and hates the French.

1 *p. Indorsed:* "Mart. 1580. Persons to be enterteyned with pencions in Scotland."

Cott. Calig., C. V., fol. 150. Copy of the same.

[March.] **460.** ALLIES OF THE EARL OF MORTON.

"The names of noble men and others the friendis and alyes of therll Morton."

The Earls of Rothes, Angus, Cassillis, and Buchan. The Abbots of Dunfermline, Cambuskenneth, "Kirkarte," and Dryburgh. Lords Ruthven and Boyd, The Lairds of Lochleven, Tullibardine, and Whittinghame; and Archibald Douglas. [*The two latter*] "Lordis of the seate."

½ *p. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "Therell Morton's frindis."

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 154, b. Copy of the same.

April 1. **461.** THE COMMENDATOR OF DUNFERMLINE TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

"Efter my very hartlie commendationis." Immediately upon the receipt of your letter I "movit" the contents thereof to his majesty and Council, and obtained his highness' letters, whereof, for your larger information, I have sent you here inclosed a copy with the other pieces you desire to be returned. In this you may be assured nothing shall be omitted that may further the matter to a speedy trial, and if the men be found void in very deed of that wherewith M^c^Clene has charged them "persuade zow of sic satisfactioun for anything he mellis with pertenyng unto thame as by justice can be devysit." Holyrood House. *Signed:* R. Dunfermling.

⅓ *p. Addressed:* "To the richt honorable M^r^ Thomas Randolphe, Master of her majestees Postes and Chancellar of the Exchequer." *No flyleaf.*

April 2. **462.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

According to his last, of the 27th of March, which came to his hands yesterday, he will be in readiness with diligence to do his whole endeavour in the execution of all things to be given him in charge. Finds now, evidently, that the late division in the nobility of Scotland

Elizabeth.
1580. and liberty of practisers without impeachment have engendered such a revolt there from their former course and profession, to the great danger of religion and the government, that it will be hard to call back the sort entangled, or to destroy the plots presently laid for the alteration intended, and so far proceeded that the practisers thereof begin to think themselves almost entering into the possession of their desire, as experience shall, he fears, shortly approve.

Of this division and of the daily rising of the Earl of Lennox he has sufficiently advertised by his former letter.

Is advised that Lennox and others, minding to overthrow the Earl of Morton, have resolved to send an especial messenger to Sir James Balfour, in France, to procure from him a letter or instrument subscribed by the Earl of Morton and proving Morton privy to and conspiring the death of the King's father; wherein he is like easily to acquit himself. Nevertheless, upon the accusation thereof they intend to "put" at Morton—as they term it—by all the means they can. This matter will readily come to the knowledge of Lord John Hamilton, in Paris, who, as he [Bowes] has been informed, is much condemned by the friends of the King's mother, for that he refused the offer of the King of Spain preferred by the bishop, the Scottish Queen's ambassador, to have 2000 men furnished and waged at the Spanish King's charges to serve Lord John Hamilton for a year, with a great mass of treasure for the effecting of his own causes in Scotland, and to alter the religion there to the Romish church. Besides, it is herewith said to him that Mr. Gilbert Grey, the Abbot of Lindorse, the Master of Ogilvy and sundry others are lately returned into Scotland from France with letters and errands of weight, and that Mr. Grey has brought letters from the Queen, the bishop of Ross and other great personages, putting all the Queen's friends in great comfort and assured hope to see speedy and good success in all her desires, and for their own benefit, to be wrought by the good help and means of the King of Spain, and with the consent of her friends in France, who will join and give liberal aid for alteration of religion in Scotland and of the present government there; and that the better to effect their plot it is advised that Lennox, upon urgent calling, shall not refuse to subscribe to the religion present nor show any great continuance for a season. These will not be kept from Lord John Hamilton if he list to know them. Leaves these to his consideration as reports of no such certainty that he dare affirm any absolute truth therein. Received a letter yesterday from Lord Seton signifying that he had hawks ready to be presented to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and praying to know whether he [Bowes] would give leave and passport for the passage thereof; wherein he has agreed to grant him passport. Trusts this shall suffice to provide that due regard be had to the messenger and manner of delivery, that, peradventure, may be a sign itself to signify more than is openly seen.

The Convention at Stirling is now appointed to begin there on the 4th instant, where the Earls of Argyll and Lennox and their friends are determined to be present. Doubts much of the coming of Morton to that place before he be better satisfied than hitherto he is, and without Morton and his friends that Convention will be of small continuance.

Understands that Mr Errington is at Stirling attending the

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1580. assembly of the Council, which will not come together before Monday next. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 2. Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

Extract from the same.

April 4. **463.** NICHOLAS ERRINGTON TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 3. Having received his and Mr. Secretary Walsingham's letter of the 5th of March last with instructions touching the Hamiltons, which letter and instructions came to his hands on the 19th of the same month by one Gawen Hamilton, made his repair to the King of Scots, being at Stirling, and delivered to him the Queen of England's letter, and used such speeches as the copy of the said letter and instructions led him to, willing his grace to peruse the letter, whereby he might understand how her majesty was not only touched in honour to continue the suit thereof, but also charged with promises of assurance under her hand and seal. The King's answer is, that there should want no goodwill in him to do all good offices that might content her, whom he was most obliged to, and passing to his cabinet he read the letter once or twice over with good deliberation, as Mr. Peter Young, his schoolmaster, told him.

There was not one Councillor at that time in Stirling or about the King but the Earl of Argyll, whom the King sent to him in the presence chamber, letting him understand that the Council would be there within two or three days, to convene touching some public causes, at which time he should have answer and hearing before the King and Council. Whereupon he gave his attendance, hoping that the Convention should have holden on the 4th of March, as was appointed. It is put off till the 10th of this month, and then to be holden at Edinburgh. The procurers thereof are judged to be the Earl of Argyll and Monsieur D'Aubigny, supposing it not requisite to assemble such great numbers about the King in warlike manner, as they would have been, partly by reason of the late hatred and pique happened between the Earl of Argyll and Morton, as also the great assemblies that would be there for ending the feuds betwixt the Gordons and the Forbeses, and divers others.

It is yet doubted that the convention shall be deferred, notwithstanding the former purposes. It is bruited that Morton and his faction will refuse to go to Edinburgh, for that the alteration is without his advice. The King has promised to send for a sufficient number of the Council in the meantime to deal with the causes he is here for. Morton's coming to the King or convention is much doubted, unless he comes so strong that it will not be suffered. Breeding of new quarrels amongst them is like to be fresh again.

The ministers are presently—if they have a convention—to charge D'Aubigny and his followers, Scotsmen, to make a resolute confession of their religion, notwithstauding any dispensations. This is thought to be the procuremont of the Earl of Morton, for that he is countenanced by Argyll and others his unfriends.

Had conference with the ministers of Edinburgh and Leith at his passing to Stirling, who told him that they were determined to press the King to avoid the Court of such as would not profess unfeignedly

Elizabeth.
1580. the true religion. Did not hinder their good meaning therein. The doubt of this has made Monsieur D'Aubigny in great "domptes" of late, in so much that he has kept his chamber, as it were not well disposed.

Henry Keere has given over the chamberlainship of Arbroath to one Wilson, a good Protestant, and departs to France by England if he can obtain leave. Montbirneau is also to depart this realm shortly by England, finding himself suspected. It is thought by many that if those persons were from hence he would be won in short time. He is content to hear and read, and has alleged that if he should come suddenly to the religion it would be thought it were done more of ambition than of devotion. As far as he can learn, the greatest hindrance thereof is the doubt he has of the loss of his living in France, which is thought to be more certain than his new promotions in Scotland. But cannot see how the matter can any longer be dissembled withal, the ministers are so bent against them.

The King is much affected to him, and gives him books of the Scriptures in French, and uses all means to persuade him thereto. Some of the ministers hold opinion that he wants but labouring.

Here is great misliking that the King is no better accompanied with Councillors, and that he frequents the fields and hunting too much. Yet the particulars [are] so great among them that one Court will not hold them all with quietness. This state, in so quiet time amongst the good number, was never more lamented, nor yet the King's surety more doubted.

It is looked for that some trouble will fall forth among them at the conventions, if they hold. This day it is secretly whispered that the Earl of Morton shall be commanded not to come near the Court. Cannot learn of any motion made as yet to the King for his marriage. Yet it is thought that those piques amongst them will hasten them to make their profit of his marriage when they best can.

These uncertain occasions force him to crave his lordship's pardon for his long tarrying here for answer to the things committed to his charge. Has let the King understand the Queen of England's pleasure touching the nomination of commissioners for Border causes, and of the places most requisite for the meetings. Whereof the King was very glad, and will give order in writing agreeable to that accord, with the names of the commissioners for Scotland.

Some of credit and experience are wished for here from the Queen of England to hinder evil disposed purposes of practitioners. It rests in question whom her majesty will countenance—Argyll or Morton—if the hatred proceed further betwixt them. The Earl of Morton grows strong and has many friends, whom his wisdom and constancy procure, and has gotten the goodwill of the most part of Edinburgh. The effect of all these threatenings will shortly be known. Truly, the ministers discharge their duties sincerely without respect of person. Stirling. *Signed:* Nicholas Arington.

3½ *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

April 5. **464.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Yesternight his letter of March 31st was brought to him, and soon after his servant returned from Scotland and informed him that the

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1580. Earl of Morton was made acquainted with the contents of his [Walsingham's] letter of the 27th of March. Whereupon he appeared "right to behould" her majesty's loving affection so kindly continued towards the King of Scots, and also very glad to find her accustomed favour so graciously offered to himself in this seasonable time, and therefore promises by all good offices to declare himself thankful. Becauses he purposes to have further conference with the conveyer thereof, he has appointed to meet him at Edinburgh on Friday next. On the 2nd instant the conveyer was advertised by letters from [the Commendator of] Dunfermline that, upon the return of Argyll to the Court of Stirling, the convention to have began on the 4th instant was suddenly prorogued till the 10th, at Edinburgh, where he purposes to be present. But it is not hitherto meant that the King shall come to that convention at Edinburgh, which occasions many to suspect some subtle meaning in the same.

On the 2nd instant the Abbot of St. Colme was directed to the Earl of Morton with the King's letters signifying the prorogation of this convention, and with further credit to persuade the atonement betwixt the Earls of Morton and Argyll by the King's especial mediation, which is like to take effect. Nevertheless, it is confirmed to him that Morton's adversaries still proceed to procure from Sir James Balfour the instruments "remembred" in his last letter, and upon possession of the same to enter into new occasion against him, "so as thes coles lately redye to have brusen into flame are like for this tyme to be raked together and covered with ashes, and that notwithstanding they shall be rather kinled ageane with the next wind then to be quenched with any round ende."

At the convention to have holden at Stirling the trial of the tale standing questionable betwixt the Earls of Morton and Argyll should have been examined; but that is towards reconciliation, and some be of opinion that they are agreed.

It was also intended that the answer to have been given to Mr. Errington for her majesty should have been resolved by that whole assembly at Stirling, but the Earl of Morton is informed that the King minds to call a certain number of his Council to him and with their advice to give answer himself to Mr Errington. Morton greatly mislikes the manner of dealing.

The ministers had prepared to have preferred matter against the Earl of Lennox at the said convention, and to have urged him to have subscribed to religion or to have given over his office according to the statute in that behalf provided. The King also purposes to qualify the matter. But Lennox must either subscribe or else they will pursue their purpose in the next convention; wherein they shall take no spur to prick them forwards.

The controversies of the Gordons and Forbeses with sundry other matters touching the State and commonweal were appointed to have been heard and ordered by the said convention, all which are referred to the next, at Edinburgh.

The King is resolved to have a guard for his own person, but the means to sustain the same are not agreed on. Nevertheless, Lennox and others of his friends press much to have the same done with speed, that the choice of the captains and men may be at their nomination, and counsel is given that, seeing the King cannot prevail

Elizabeth.
1580. to get any support at the Queen of England's hands for the maintenance of his guard and other needful causes of his estate and honour, therefore he should assay and make proof of other friends, and use all other good means for the provision of so necessary a matter. The King is persuaded to continue at Stirling, to the great discontentment of many who loyally love him, and he will shortly ride further into some progress; but the guests are not yet known. Some suspect that he will be invited to some banquet at Dumbarton, and to view that piece, that thereby better apparations may be made therein, and the entertainment supplied with some increase; but what may ensue upon drawing the King so near the sea, he leaves to good consideration. Has already secretly written and sought to stay this journey, for surely he greatly mistrusts the sequel thereof. The Master of Mar has ridden to Stirling to advance Mr. Errington's good despatch by all the means he can. He will not agree that the King shall take the journey, and writes that he remains always at her majesty's devotion. He leans much to the Earl of Lennox, the rather because the Carrs and Humes, his especial friends, hold that course; which is done altogether in the malice and hatred they have against the Earl of Morton; but trusts he will be ready to employ himself to do all the good offices for her majesty that he may.

Drumwhassell stills holds possession of Dumbarton Castle under the Earl of Lennox. Upon his charge to deliver the castle he wrote to him to know the Queen of England's pleasure in the same; and he [Bowes] persuaded him to hold it from the hands of Lennox. The same being demanded by the King, he was put to the horn for the detention of the castle, and also proclaimed rebel. After being again advised by him to render the castle to the King, and for safety of his life and inheritance then in peril, he sought by D'Aubigny to be relieved. Hereby he depends altogether on the Earl of Lennox. Thinks by good handling he will be drawn to stand to his former promise.

Monsieur D'Aubigny does not stick to profess singular devotion to the Queen of England. The King has desire to mediate all these griefs nourishing a dangerous division in Scotland, with liberty and great occasion of foreign practices, yet it appears sufficiently to what effect the same shall come, and what these fair terms and offers of peace will in the end be found—"but pipes to lull somme on slepe that shall find a trobelsomme waking." Whereby it seems that that estate remains still in division by the discord of these two strong parties; during which the way will be still open to foreign practices that already are covertly begun by France and Spain. Besides, the house of Hamilton is a third party in the increase of this division, or by other foreign means, may be drawn to have a part in this play. Therefore, how the King and each of his several parties shall be entreated by the servant to be employed there, and what course shall be taken for the most surety and best advancement of her majesty's good pleasure, he leaves to the judgment of the wise, being still and always ready to do what shall be commanded him by her majesty. Berwick.

2½ *pp.* *Copy.* *In the margin:* "To Sir Frances Walsingham from Mr Robert Bowes, 5 of Aprill, 1580." [*With No. 583, fol. 68.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 5. Original of the same.

Elizabeth.
1580. April 7. **465.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

The letter inclosed, sent from Mr. Errington, and coming somewhat slowly to him, he has set forward the same to them immediately on receipt thereof; and because by the same his [Errington's] doings and success in Scotland and the present estate there will be sufficiently made known to them, he forbears to trouble them further. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

April 10. **466.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Since his last he has received little intelligence from Scotland, other than from Mr. Errington and one friend there. Thinks he shall evidently perceive by Mr Errington's advertisement the evil condition of that State, and the necessity of remedy.

Upon the conceit that the Earl of Morton and his friends had intended to have re-possessed the person and care of the King, the Earls of Argyll and Lennox have entered into great distrust of their state, purposing to prorogue again this appointed convention at Edinburgh, and Argyll, as he is informed, has sent for his friends, so that it is doubted that the matter shall hastily come to arms. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

April 11. **467.** NICHOLAS ERRINGTON TO BOBERT BOWES.

Since my last to you of the 8th instant I have been before the Council, where the King was present. Whereas I made some declaration of the matters committed to my charge, the King and Council taking deliberation that day, I was answered by the Lord Secretary* and the Clerk Register that the King and Council could not, for divers respects, and especially for want of sufficient number and special personage, give such answer as was thought requisite touching the same. But the King had appointed a convention to be kept at this town on the 26th instant, at which time, or within four days after, there shall be answer given, as they trusted, to her majesty's contentation, and that I should not need to stay any longer for the same.

It is also agreed upon that the commissioners shall meet at Berwick and Quar[rell] till the 20th of May next, viz., Lord Herries, the Abbot of Newbottle, and the Clerk Register for the part of Scotland. In the meantime, perceiving some little suspicion to grow "upon the new King of matters, upon the King's late hunting at Downementethe," I thought good to take occasion to stay a day or two to the end thereof, partly to take my leave, and partly to solicit such noblemen as were there to have good consideration of her majesty's dealings for the Hamiltons. The same night, being the 9th, the Earl of Mar, the Comptroller, with their friends, and the officers and servants of the household conceived such a suspicion that some

* The Commandator of Dunfermline.

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1580. present practice should be put in use that night to convey the King to Dumbarton, "that there was nothing but treason ment." On this larum all were commanded from the King's chamber, and a great watch commanded that night.

In this "perbell" some thought good that Monsieur D'Aubigny should have been put forth of the castle, and he fearing some further harm to himself, by the advice of his friends, took his chamber with his servants and friends to the number of twenty-four, most part stewards, who were well furnished with armour and weapons, and determined to "have sette upe there rest yf they had bene attempted." Thus was this night passed over with little sleep in the castle; the gates were "furnished," and all suspected porters and others in office changed. The noblemen and gentlemen in the town were not idle, but everyone standing upon his guard, harking what might fall forth. The next morning, being Sunday, every man pressed to the castle to understand; but the gates were so kept that no number could get in. Argyll, Glencairn, and Sutherland with their friends were this morning to go into the castle, but could not be suffered to enter except with four persons with them; which they refused, and returned to their lodgings. Soon after the Laird of Kentkarth* and the Laird of Donpeach† were sent to command all those who were come to the town without command to depart presently, or else to let the King understand wherefore they came. Who were in special, the Earls of Sutherland and Glencairn, Adam à Gordon, and many others their friends and followers, depending all on Monsieur D'Aubigny. The Earl of Argyll kept his lodging in the town all night as one amazed. Lord Ruthven in like case kept his lodging, but not without good watch. "All this same bred most parte of the coming to the towne over night"—the Laird of Drumwhassell supposing the match had been made to have conveyed the King away.

The Earl of Morton remains still at his house at Aberdore, and knows nothing, yet has some of his here—Carmichael and others—to see how the world goes. The young King is in a heavy case and much amazed with these troubles, and more by reason of his great affection towards D'Aubigny, whom he perceive [to be] the mark they shoot at. Monsieur D'Aubigny with his whole affection offers to abide the trial either by law or other ways in their own persons, that there was never any such plot or meaning by him or by his consent, or by any others to their knowledge to have drawn the King either to Dumbarton or any other sinister course as is judged or suspected. In these "perbelles" he shows himself armed with such courage as wins him many friends. "Yf his doinges fall forth upright, and as he professe, which no dowte yf it be other wayes can not be kept in court any long tyme, being thus fare set abrocht." He keeps his chamber as yet in the castle. What will fall forth of these troubles is not yet certain. Here it is suspected that the Earl of Morton will be drawn hither this night or to-morrow by the Earl of Mar and Lord Ruthven, for Ruthven is suffered to enter the castle with his whole train. These matters being so suddenly fallen forth after my last advertisement, and like appearance to grow to further troubles, I thought good to haste to let you understand thereof, trusting you will with all speed send the little brief under my hand up to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary.

* Kirtkarthe in the original. † Denepace in the original.

Elizabeth.
1580. 2 *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "To Mr Robert Bowes from Mr Nicholas Errington, 11 of Aprill, 1580." [*With No. 583, fol. 68 b.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 7. Original of the same. Dated April 10th.

April 12. **468.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Whereas, for expedition, and upon view of the sudden accidents fallen in Stirling, Mr. Errington has by particular letter to him signified the effects of the answer given to him in the several causes propounded to the King and Council, and also certified the manner of the late troubles arising in that town, requiring him to make all these known to them, and seeing that his own letter shall with best sufficiency and certainty lay these matters before them, therefore he has thought good to send it to them, with humble request to pardon this manner of doing in them both.

Besides, by other letters from his friends these things are confirmed, and he is farther informed that no convention shall be holden with the King's goodwill till he shall come to the age of fourteen years, and that at that time the present government and Council shall be altered in such sort that some shall taste thereof to their grief. But these beginnings may, peradventure, either prevent the execution of these purposes or else hasten the attempts of the same, which being enterprised before the full time may haply fall to the harm of the devisers, as shortly, some think will be better seen. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed by* (Burghley's clerk), *and in another hand.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

April 12. **469.** SIR HENRY COBHAM TO BURGHLEY.

C.P., vol. XI. Sends him a copy of a printed book entituled, "De titulo et jure serenissimæ Principis Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ, quo regni Angliæ successionem sibi juste vendicat, libellus,"* but could not obtain in print.

¼ *p. Indorsed:* "Concerning a Booke of the Q. of Scott's pretences to England. Extracted out of Sir Hen. Cobham's lettre to the Lord Burghley from Paris, 12 Apr. 1580."

April 16. **470.** NICHOLAS ERRINGTON TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.†

After he had received the answer of the King of Scots and his Council to the matters propounded to them by the Queen of England, was suddenly occupied with the sight of the doings at Stirling, which he certified to Mr. Robert Bowes. Since the troubles at Stirling they are occupied with their great "acquaintances" made before the King by Lennox and the rest, who affirm that no such practice was either meant or mentioned as was there bruited. Yet this is doubted by most in Scotland. It is acknowledged that there was a meaning to have drawn the King out of the hands of the Earl of Mar, who with the officers and Erskines are suspected to make their profit by

* Printed at Rheims in 1580. † With vol. XXVII., No. 83, Thorpe's Calendar.

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1580. the King being with them, and by his revenues that are disorderly spent. They now allege that the King being 14 years of age ought not by the laws to be in custody of any private man, and therefore were determined to carry him to Glasgow; but others thinking that if they should so do the realm would distrust their good meaning therein and put themselves in arms against them, therefore they advised to carry the King to Edinburgh, and there to have altered some misliked counsellors who were put in by Morton, especially the Comptroller and Collector and some others in the King's house. But all these devices will not persuade the other party, and chiefly the ministers, who yet think that it was meant to carry the King to Dumbarton, and so into France.

The convention appointed to have begun at Edinburgh on the 10th instant was adjourned upon the falling out of this accident at Downe-monteth. It is now appointed to be at Edinburgh against the 26th instant, where it is thought that Lennox will be so great party that they carry their purpose away as they best list; and as the Earl of Morton much doubts that matter, so it will be dangerous for him and his faction to be at that convention. Many think that the State will be in danger of hurt in religion and in amity betwixt the two realms. The Earl of Morton, Dunfermline, and the Clerk Register have urged him to solicit the Queen of England to send Mr. Robert Bowes or some other of credit and experience before the 26th instant to prevent these present dangers, or at least to be witness who are least willing to accomplish and go forwards with all good and godly proceedings betwixt the two realms, and who they are that go about to hinder the same.

The Earls of Argyll and Lennox and sundry of their faction are desirous of her majesty's countenance and furtherance, wishing some to be sent from her who may understand their upright meaning. The Laird of Drumwhassell, Captain of Dumbarton—one to be most suspected—has protested to perform all such promises as he has before made to Mr. Robert Bowes, and although he confesses to be principal bringer of D'Aubigny into Scotland, yet he affirms he shall never command the castle nor have possession thereof to the hindrance of the amity or religion, and requires her majesty at this present to give them indifferent hearing.

The ministers have had D'Aubigny before the King and Council as touching his religion, who has confessed that "before he have a grounde to staye his consciens uppon he will not playe the ipocryte." Whereupon it is agreed that he shall go presently to Edinburgh to be instructed by the ministers; who mean to lay labour on him till the 1st of June. As the ministers travail earnestly for the advancement of religion, so they daily urge the continuance of the amity with England effectually.

The Earl of Morton, Dunfermline, and others will put over the convention for four days if they can, and they think, if her majesty has not one with them, that things will be in great danger. The King and Council have referred their answer for the Hamiltons till more noblemen and Councillors might be assembled at the convention; at which they promise to satisfy her majesty. Some of them have told him that there will be courtesy made who shall begin first to move the matter; which being broken they shall be found friendly to deal therein. Therefore, seeing they would not give any resolute

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1580. answer by the small number then present, and whom he found not best affected to the advancement of the cause, thought it better to receive the resolution at the convention, which might be better advised than this Council was.

It was agreed for the Border matters that Lord Herries, the Commendator of Newbottle, and the Clerk Register shall be instructed and shall meet the commissioners for her majesty at Berwick on the 20th of May next to take order in all causes for the quietness of the Borders, and upon their meeting there to appoint their meeting for the West Marches at Carlisle or Dumfries. Berwick.

2½ *pp.* *Copy.* [*With No. 583, folio 66 b.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 9. Original of the same.

April 16. **471** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Since the late troubles at Stirling, arising upon the suspicion that the Earl of Mar and his friends there conceived that the Earls of Lennox and Argyll with their confederates had in purpose to have drawn the King from his custody to Dumbarton Castle, finds little other matter hitherto pursued or attempted, other than that the lords and their friends thus charged travail with great earnestness to acquit themselves of that practice, denying utterly to have purposed any such enterprise or therein to have moved the King in any manner. Nevertheless, some of them do not stick to confess that it was advised and thought convenient to take some order by resolution of the convention to remove the Earl of Mar from the custody of the King's person, being now near the age of fourteen years, at which age the King by their laws ought to govern by himself, and at that convention to have changed some of the Council—especially such as are placed there by the Earl of Morton—and also divers of the officers and servants in the King's house, and chiefly the Treasurer, the Comptroller, and the collector of the thirds in the Church, who, they think, convert the King's treasure in their several receipts more to their private gain than to the King's honour or profit. Although some moved that, for speedy execution hereof, the King might be persuaded to pass to Glasgow and from thence to Edinburgh to assemble his convention there, yet the advice touching his passage to Glasgow, they say, was condemned by most, and it was thought meet that he, with all expedition, and with the strength of all these together, should return from Stirling to Edinburgh, as a place most favourable to hold the convention. The other party are nothing satisfied therewith, affirming the King to have been moved to have ridden from Dounementeth to Dumbarton, and it is very generally thought that it was purposed by some of them to have drawn the King to Dumbarton and to have conveyed him thence into France. Wherein, albeit right many and well affected be still persuaded that the same is true, yet few or none pursue the matter, which now lies "smothering" among them, "and hath shaken them so lowse as some of the moste experience and wisdome have written and think that the King still remains in danger, th'amitye betwixt thes tow realmes shall be in perrill, and religion like to be overthrowne." Which matters they think are not so far proceeded as yet, but that they may be helped by the Queen of England. For the expedition of her help, the Earl of Morton, Dun-

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1580. fermline, and the Clerk Register have earnestly dealt with Mr. Arrington there and him, concluding that within short space these devices shall either take place or be suppressed. Wherein also he [Bowes] is solicited by Mr. John Cragge, the King's preacher, and by sundry other good men, who greatly distrust the sequel of these matters without her majesty's speedy relief. And because these things shall fall in debate at the next convention, at Edinburgh, on the 26th instant, where it is undoubted that the power of Lennox shall prevail to effect his own desires, and to put the Earl of Morton in hazard of hurt by his presence there, in case he comes thither, which perhaps he will not do without some be there from her majesty —therefore the Earl of Morton and the rest, but chiefly Dunfermline with exceeding earnestness—greatly persuade and desire that such as shall be sent from her majesty may be there with them at the beginning of this convention.

Moreover, the Earl of Argyll, the Master of Mar, Drumwhassell and sundry others of them offer to perform all that before they have promised, and also pretend to be willing to do all things that may tend to the benefit of the King, the preservation of religion, and the amity betwixt the two Princes; wishing also that some may be sent from her majesty to have trial of their doings herein, and also of their innocence in these matters; wherein Drumwhassell with great frankness offers himself and service to her majesty; alleging that, albeit he was both a mean to call D'Aubigny into Scotland, and also to his power to advance him to the dignities he has obtained there, yet he has not suffered him to come into Dumbarton Castle, neither shall he come there with any number or against her direction. In this he has been so plain with Mr. Errington that he cannot nor shall not retire without shame. Holds these parties, seeking each others' fall and disgrace, in good opinion of her majesty's goodwill towards them so long as they remain good instruments to do good offices for maintenance of religion and the common quietness of both realms. Has put the Earl of Morton in comfort of her majesty's favour and support, which now he looks for with expedition. Otherwise, it is written to him, before some men be ready to enter to play, the game will be lost.

Has been informed that a gentleman or two shall be sent into Scotland from France with especial instructions to advance the business secretly laboured by John Seton, "and that thes shall bring any commission from the French King that hethertae will not acknoledge the King of Scotes for other then Prince of that realme," but shall pretend to come thither of their own accord to see the King and his virtues that are so renowned, and to visit the Earl of Lennox.

The Earl of Angus has been these ten days last past on the Borders, whereupon it was looked that he should have entered into friendly bonds with the Carrs and Humes by the reconciliation of the feud betwixt the Scots and Carrs, but little effect is come thereof. His doings have nothing pleased the Earl of Morton, betwixt whom and Angus the "dryves" still continue, and the same are now blown the hotter by the great quarrel betwixt the Laird of Cleish and George Afflecke, servant to the Earl of Morton. Berwick.

2⅔ *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "To Sir Fraunces Walsingham from M^r^ Robert Bowes, 16 of Aprill, 1580." [*With No. 583 folio 69 b.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 11. Original of the same.

Elizabeth.
1580. **472.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

April 16. Being presently given to understand by letters received from her servant Errington of some troubles likely to have fallen out in Scotland through the jealousies and partialities that reign there, even amongst those that are of best quality, whose authority should serve to repress and stay the dangers that may ensue thereby if seasonable prevention be not used, she, tendering nothing more than his safety and the continuance of the peaceable state of Scotland, and foreseeing that if the seeds and sparks of civil dissent be not stayed in the beginning in these his tender years, they may turn to most dangerous effects, and, perhaps, may reach to the peril of his own person, has thought meet to send this bearer, her servant Bowes, Treasurer of Berwick, a person well known and devoted to him, with all speed, first to visit him and to know of his estate, and then to do all good offices of mediation for appeasing of the said troubles; not doubting but that as he himself will be content to give ear to such advice as he shall deliver to him as from her from time to time, so also that the rest of his nobility and others of quality having found by former experience the fruits of her mediation in like beginnings of broils, will also be content to give ear to him, professing as she does to incline to no party, but to favour only those who shall be found most careful for the safety of his person and the continuance of Scotland in quiet.

1½ *pp. Draft. Corrections in Burghley's hand. Indorsed by Burghley:* "16 Aprill, 1580"; *and in another hand:* "M[inute] from hir majestie to the Kynge of Scotland."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 17. Another copy of the same.

April 16. **473.** ELIZABETH TO MR. ROBERT BOWES.

Understanding from her servant Errington now in Scotland of some troubles likely to fall out there, she has thought good to write her letter of friendly advice to the King, and remembering the wise and discreet offices he has in time past done there on the like occasions, her will is that, taking with him her said letter, which she sends him herewith, he make his repair with all convenient speed to the King, framing his speeches and conferences with him conformable with the contents of her said letter, which he shall perceive by the copy sent herewith, in such manner and with such good words as he shall think best. John Selby, gentleman porter of Berwick, is to supply his place there for the time of his absence from his charge.

⅔ *p. Draft. Indorsed:* "16 Aprill, 1580; Minute from hir majestie to M[r] Robert Bowes." Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 17. Another copy of the same.

April 17. **474.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. ROBERT BOWES.

Her majesty has willed him to signify to him that he is to declare to Mons. D'Aubigny that whereas she understands the great protestations he makes of his sincere devotion towards her and his

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1580. purpose to do all that lies in him to continue the good amity between her, she cannot but conceive thereof great comfort, assuring herself that so good and honourable a meaning in him shall be to the great quiet and safety of both these crowns and countries, and therefore wishes him to prosecute so good a purpose by all good means; wherein he shall discharge towards the King of Scots that which he is bound unto as well by nature as by duty and benefits; by nature, in that he is the King's cousin; by duty, in that he has now become a vassel and subject of that crown; and by benefits in respect of his earldom in that realm, which he has received at the King's hands as a special and rare token of his sovereign's favour towards him.

Is further to tell him that her majesty marvailed much to hear by some of many jealousies lately conceived of him contrary to his said protestations. Howbeit, though she knows there can never be any fire but where there is some smoke, yet she is not easily drawn to believe any just or great cause to be in him for the said jealousies, especially seeing he is now become so principal a member in that State, wherein it stands with himself very much to nourish not only concord there at home, but also sound amity between that King and all other Princes—especially next adjoining to him, and therefore she wishes Mons. D'Aubigny to carry himself very warily, especially in declining from all parts and factions, and to endeavour, if any such be there, by all good means to quench rather than to kindle them, and to omit no good offices for the confirmation of that foreign amity which that realm has had with most Princes in these parts of the world, assuring himself that as nothing can be more for the King's safety than that, so their disunion in the end is like to be a desolation to them all, and soonest of all to the weakest. This he may relate and enlarge in such terms and words as he shall think will best work the effect she desires. She refers to his discretion the using or not using thereof, for that she can hardly be persuaded that he can be drawn to run any other course than the French course. She would have him principally to comfort Morton, and to seek by all means to strengthen his party; but because he shall shortly receive in this behalf direction from herself he forbears to enlarge any further.

2 *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "17 Aprill, 1580. To Mr Robert Bowes."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 17, b. Another copy of the same.

April 17. **475.** BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM TO MR. ROBERT BOWES.

The Queen of England, foreseeing that the broils in Scotland may grow to some dangerous issue if they be not speedily prevented, has thought it meet that he should forthwith make his repair there to do all good offices for the appeasing of the apparent troubles, where he shall continue till he may by some apt means bring to pass that the credit that D'Aubigny is lately grown to may be abased; for which purpose he shall receive further direction within a day or two. In the meantime, her majesty finding it very perilous that the Captains of Edinburgh and Dumbarton should be at D'Aubigny's devotion, as she hears they are, would have him seek by all the means he may to

Elizabeth.
1580. recover them to her devotion, considering that she does not otherwise seek it than for the good of the King; and for that purpose she can be content to be at some reasonable charges, and that he carry with him 500*l.*, referring it to his discretion to employ the same as may be most for the advancement of her service; wherein she thinks that no part thereof can be better bestowed than that which shall be employed for the stay of the said captains, provided he may have some probability that they do not mean to abuse. And for that her majesty is secretly given to understand by her ambassador in France as otherwise that they are there in daily expectation of the transporting of the young King of Scotland into that realm, if he thinks it may do good, her pleasure is that he should signify so much to him, and withal to advise him to beware as well to be carried away by the advice of those who, to serve others' turn, will, perhaps, forget the performance of that duty that both nature and benefits received ought to bind them to, as to leave the sound counsel and advice of those who in the time of his minority with great providence and care preserved his person and realm in quiet surety.

Postscript.—Think that the ministers of the Church in Scotland who have credit and are wise might do much to abuse D'Aubigny's credit, who, if he prospers, shall be the instrument to overthrow the religion there, and for that purpose was directed thither by the house of Guise.

2½ *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "17 Aprill, 1580. Minute from the Lord Treasurer and M^r^ Secretary Walsingham to M^r^ Robert Bowes."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 18, b. Another copy of the same.

April 19. **476.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. BOWES BY ELIZABETH.

Finding by late advertisements from himself and Nicholas Errington that the present broils and jealousies between the nobility in Scotland have been chiefly caused by D'Aubigny, who, possessing the King's ear, being by birth a Frenchman and holding a contrary religion to that they possess, may easily use this greatness and credit he is now grown to to draw Scotland to the devotion of France and to work other evil offices that may be prejudicial to her and her crown, she thinks it very meet for the prevention thereof to procure by all good means possible that D'Aubigny's credit may be abated, and the King won to be constant in depending still on the crown of England, as he has hitherto done and is bound to do, considering the care she has always had of his well doing.

For the effectual accomplishing of this her service, having had good experience of the sound affection the Earl of Morton has always carried for the continuance of the mutual amity, and having found him a man of no less wisdom and experience in maintaining matters of State, he is to uphold and maintain his credit and to weaken those who oppose him, and from time to time to regain his counsel.

Although she knows that he understands her purpose in this behalf, yet for his more effectual dealing therein she has thought meet to direct him in some points—yet he may alter the same upon cause,

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1580. Would have him endeavour to procure the Earls of Argyll and Montrose and others who seem to join in faction with D'Aubigny that they may be drawn from him and persuaded to unite themselves to Morton — especially she could wish that Montrose be drawn thereto, being a man both wise and of good expectation. As she understands that the Humes and the Carrs are drawn to incline to D'Aubigny in respect of the mislike they have of the Earl of Morton, who, being men of the greatest power on the Borders, may be made instruments to breed some breach of the present quietness between the two realms, she would have him travail earnestly in the compounding of the griefs between the earl and them. In the pursuing of this matter she thinks it very expedient that it be so carried that D'Aubigny may conceive no suspicion that her purpose is to abase his credit, for that it might provoke him to hasten the execution of those dangerous plots that are laid by him and his favourers, which she would be glad to prevent, and therefore thinks meet that D'Aubigny be rather entertained with fair speeches according to such direction as by her order he has lately received.

For bringing to pass of these matters she can be content to bind to her in devotion some of the chiefest in authority there by bestowing some yearly pensions on them; wherein she means to give further order upon knowledge to be received from him who they are he thinks meet; for her purpose is not to bestow the same but on men of valour and such as are likely to do her service, and to remain altogether at her devotion. Thinks it convenient that Drumwhassell, if he still continues Captain of Dumbarton Castle, and the Master of Mar be of this number; whom she would have him put in mind to continue constant in their vowed devotion to her. Has already given order to send him a certain sum to bestow on them.

If there be any question moved to him touching the performance of the request made to her by Dunfermline for money to be bestowed on the King, he shall let them understand that he will advertise thereof hither and procure such answer then as may be to their contentment.

[*The following is not in the copy hereafter mentioned*].—He may say to the King from her, that having received credible advertisements that the King of Spain is not like to find any such difficulty in the enterprise of Portugal that may occasion him to stay his great preparations there, being jealous, as she has just cause, of his well meaning either towards her or any other who embraces true religion, especially now he has such forces in readiness, for that he professes himself to be an open enemy to all those who profess, yea, and an executioner of whatsoever shall be decreed by the pope against them, like as she has put herself already in some strength to defend herself, if the worst happens, and means yet to provide better for her safety, so, considering that the danger is common to both realms in respect of the cause of religion, she cannot but motion it to the King that it will be very well they, for their common benefit, join together in taking some good advice how and by what means they may best resist the malice of Spain in case it breaks out against them.

The like speeches he may also use to the nobility, taking occasion thereupon to reconcile and unite them together by letting them understand how necessary it is for the service of their King and public

Elizabeth.
1580. benefit of Scotland, that in these dangerous times, wherein the cause of religion is of all sides shot at by the enemies of the same, they should remove all occasions of unkindness between themselves and remain knit together for their better strength and safety. But to the Earl of Morton he shall plainly discover the cause of her sending him thither, signifying to him in her name, that perceiving things to take so evil a course in Scotland, and that the overthrow of him is daily practised more and more, and so, consequently, of the King his master, for that there cannot be any good meant to a Prince by those who procure to remove from him his good and faithful servants and counsellors, she has directed him to require his advice how these mischiefs may be met withal by diminishing D'Aubigny's authority and procuring that the two holds* of the realm may be put in the hands of persons well affected to the favourers of the mutual amity between England and Scotland. Refers it to his discretion to deal with him in the opening of this matter and requiring his advice therein as shall seem best to him. He may further assure him that as she is careful to remove these mischiefs for the safety of both crowns, so, for his own particular, he may make assured re-winning of her lawful favour and countenance in his reasonable causes when necessity shall require.

8 *pp. Draft. Indorsed*: "1580, Aprell 19. Instructions for Mr. Bowes."

Copy of the same, with the exception before-mentioned. [*With No. 583.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 13. Another copy of the same.

April 19. **477.** ELIZABETH TO D'AUBIGNY.

His letters which he wrote to her some months ago have given her much contentment and satisfaction, the subject and contents whereof being worthy of a personage of his rank and quality, having held it for very agreeable that he promises to dedicate his affection for the good and advancement of the mutual amity and good understanding between these two crowns. But, on the other hand, she cannot but think of this, that that realm being in peace and union at his arrival, one now sees many jealousies and changes arise there among the greatest, which could not but produce bad effects if one did not remedy them in good time, so they have imputed the fault thereof to him as having been the chief mover and conciliator. It is a thing that would displease her very much to see the peaceable state of that realm troubled or interrupted by anyone. Is unwilling to allow herself to be easily persuaded that what they attribute to him is true, and would be very sorry to condemn him without having heard him first, for she will only believe all good and honour of him, only being able to think of the memory of the family from which he is descended, and of how near he is related to the King of Scots, besides the obligation which he has for many favours and honours which he has received from him, also in that he has lately invested him with the earldom of Lennox, whereby he is become his vassal and subject. This should restrain him from doing anything that

* Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles.

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1580. could turn to the harm of the said King or the prejudice of his subjects—even if he were inclined thereto by his nature. At least these respects bind him very straitly to render him the gratitude which he has deserved in using all offices as well to entertain a good and firm peace as to nourish and preserve the amity between the two crowns. Wherein she does not doubt that he will make effects worthy of the good and honourable opinion she has conceived of him, and especially that he is employing himself therein more affectionately and with good heart to close the mouths of those who say to the contrary, and justify his actions to the world. Promises that in doing this he will find that she will make such price and account of his merits in this behalf as to render all honour and goodwill that he will rest very contented and satisfied.

2¼ *pp. French. Copy. Indorsed.*

April 23. **478.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

This Saturday morning he received the joint letter from the Lord Treasurer and himself, and his own sent to him for his instructions in her majesty's service in Scotland, and given him in charge by her own letter that came to him yesterday, in the execution whereof he will faithfully obey. Prays his good advice and support, the better to supply his insufficiency in this weighty charge, which he fears will be found hard to be effected without her majesty's liberality towards the King himself.

This convention appointed at Edinburgh the 26th of this month is like to be prorogued by the secret labour of the Earl of Morton and his friends, so his journey needs not to be so very hasty as otherwise it ought. Shall set forward on Monday or Tuesday next, trusting to be at Edinburgh at the first assembly of the lords there, in case the convention holds, as he thinks it will not.

Has sent his letter addressed to Mr. Errington to him at Newcastle, with request to return hither to him with speed to instruct him in the causes of the Hamiltons. Trusts to see him [Errington] to-morrow or very soon after. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

April 27. **479.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

On Sunday night last he received the packet of the 20th instant with her majesty's letters to the Earl of Lennox, and her instructions to himself. On his coming hither he found right strange humours, and matters standing in very doubtful condition. "The nobility is no lesse in devision then the people in fury and redy to take parte dyversly with the severall parties accordynge to the dyvers affections of this people." Is unable to set down any sound certainty in this confused estate.

Means were made to the King as well to prorogue the convention at Edinburgh, as also to return to Edinburgh; but his answer was that upon meeting of his Council he would determine thereon. Whereupon this convention at Edinburgh is overpassed without any certain

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1580. adjournment as yet, and the Council is assembling at Stirling. The Earl of Morton went to Stirling on Monday last accompanied with many of his friends in armour. The Earls of Argyll and Lennox are in this town, and Argyll purposes to ride to Stirling to-morrow; but Lennox is minded to remain. The Earl of Morton intends to pursue the trial of the late tale made against him; whereupon all these jealousies are like to be called in question and brought to some end, or otherwise to break forth to further troubles. The King will be moved to visit Edinburgh Castle, but he looks that it shall not take effect to the desire of the movers. The French King has sent a fair horse to the King of Scotland, and another to the Earl of Lennox, which arrived at Leith yesterday. Letters came with the same, but the effects are not yet known. The Earl of Morton has secretly made means for the reconciliation of the Humes and Carrs, seeking some tryst with them for that purpose. This is, nevertheless, denied. Trusts in her majesty's name to renew the matter and to bring it to good effect in case all parts like to receive the end at her majesty's mediation. Such is the repair to him, and he is so busily occupied in so many causes that he has not had leisure hitherto to learn further. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same [*With No. 583.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 19, b. Another copy of the same.

April 27. **480.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Requests instructions whether he is to address his letters to Burghley or Walsingham, or to them jointly. Thanks them for procuring the warrant for 500*l.* Beseeches them to help forward his cause for the exchange, as opportunity shall serve, and also to support his brother, Sir George Bowes, with their good advice for the disposition of their sons in parts beyond the seas. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

April 27. **481.** ABSTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM ROBERT BOWES.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 606. *Abstracts of letters from Robert Bowes between the 2nd and 27th of April, 1580, calendared under their respective dates.*

2½ *pp.* *In a 17th century hand.*

May 1. **482.** MONSIEUR D'BOURGOING, PHYSICIAN TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS, TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.

C.P., vol. XI.

Monsieur, because I am assured that you are fond of the Queen my mistress, as she deserves that you should be, I have rightly wished, being charged with the health of her majesty for my duty, to let you understand that her health [disposition] is in as bad a state as it can be, and that I see nothing that can give me hope of her recovery except liberty and deliverance, from so many ills among

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which for so long she has been detained. For I call on God as a witness that we have done all that is possible for the recovery from the infirmity that afflicts her, but the remedies, although they seem to benefit her, cannot bring her health, inasmuch as nature is so much prostrated in her that she can no longer resist. I have done what my art can devise as well for the whole body as for the pain in her side with which she is perpetually vexed. But I do not advance much, which is the reason that I beg you affectionately to do something, that she can obtain permission to go to the baths of Buxton, in which she formerly found comfort, as I am assured, considering both experience and the nature of these [ills], that there is no other remedy that can aid her than that awaiting till it pleases God to comfort her by rest from her afflictions If that be denied her, I can say for certain that in a short time she will fall into such languor and weakness, and such strange illness that it will never be possible to cure her. The hardening of her side and the rising up of blood from day to day, increasing with age, and the forces of her body diminishing besides the treatment that she has had in her living and the rigour and severity in her narrow prison, would be enough to render for ever weak and sickly the strongest body in the world. Protesting before her majesty and you that if I had known what it is, I would have refrained from undertaking such a charge, as to render account of the health, and of the life of a person of so great consequence not having the means to help in abundance even a quite private person.

For fear of wearying you, I will not write any more, but I pray you to have it all in recommendation and to take pity with me on her condition. I am assured that this is a thing agreeable to God, whom I pray, after having saluted your grace with my most humble recommendations, to give you monsieur in health a happy life. Sheffield.

1 *p.* *French.* *Indorsed:* "Coppie de la lettre du Medecin de la Royne descos."

May 2. **483.** BORDER MATTERS.

The King of Scots and his Privy Council have learnt that the bishop of Durham has been appointed one of the Queen of England's commissioners in place of Lord Evre, and that her three Wardens shall be joined in commission with the other three personages. For the better expedition of the matter they have shown a draft of a commission to the effect that a common form may be agreed upon. When the King and his Council were occupied with his commissioners and his Wardens new difficulties appeared. In respect of the bishop of Durham, it is meeter to be resolved before the commissioners be made, whether it is meant that he shall be met by one of the self same quality and calling, and if it is meant that the three principal Wardens of either realm should be appointed as first in commission, and the other three to assist them, and so six to be in the commission of either realm. If it be so meant, it were meet to be resolved beforehand whether the commissioners directed from the Privy Councils or the Wardens should be first in the commission. If the Wardens be first and do all things well enough themselves, then it seems not requisite of necessity that other commissioners pass to the Borders. But if the charge be committed to others besides the Wardens to treat upon the matter that

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1580. they cannot accord upon, then it appears meeter that the Wardens be commanded to inform the commissioners and to execute whatsoever shall be directed by them. If there be six in either commission, must they be all present? Shall they be of like number on either side? If all the Wardens of either realm shall be in commission it should be resolved if it would make any doubt or misliking that the Wardens of Scotland presently are not of that state and quality as the Wardens of the East and West Marches of England. The draft of the commission appears to contain further than like commissions in like case, or that has been spoken by the Queen of England's servants; specially touching the cause of the debatable ground and the fishing of Tweed. For if the same clause be inserted by reason of the like found in former commissions, the case appears to be already decided by division of the debatable land at the West Marches by special commissioners who were directed to that effect, and quieting of the controversies for the fishing of Hollywell on Tweed, near Norham, by the commissioners who convened at Berwick in 1553. It is to be advised if the commissioners now appointed shall treat of the debatable lands and fishings. It has been the custom at the meeting of commissioners that the complaints on either side were inrolled and interchangeably delivered to the opposite Wardens, and where difficulty appeared the commissioners decided the matter. It being seventeen years since the last meeting of commissioners, and sundry extraordinary matters having in the meantime intervened, it seems best to consider before the meeting of commissioners from what special day redress should be made on both parts. For which respects it seems unprofitable to keep precisely the 20th instant.

4 *pp. Copy. Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 583. Fol. 86.*]

[1580.] **484.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.
May 2.
C.P., vol. XI. Madam, my good sister, I have written to you several times for a year now to put before your consideration the unworthy and harsh treatment that I receive in this captivity, notwithstanding the proof that I endeavoured to give you on all occasions of my entire and sincere affection towards you, even when I caused myself the most pain, and desired only, in default that the paper could not carry more, to communicate with some of yours, to understand more by him, your intention of my being accommodated in the future, and to take away from between us all occasion of suspicion and distrust, to establish a perfect friendship for our common surety, and the extreme grandeur and prosperity of this isle. But this overture and deliberation having passed by the examination and censure of those who have founded their grandeur and advancement on our division, has been so distorted to you by their usual artifices and false inventions, that I have been constrained for once not to make any importunate instance about it, awaiting until of yourself you should be pleased to recognise the advantage that you could get therefrom, confining myself to giving you evidence to satisfy you how I have done in all that I have been able to understand to be of consequence to you, and to have been agreeable to you; wherein you know whether I have not encountered the enmity of some, and only on your behalf. And, nevertheless, I have not seen

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1580. since any appearance, as I hoped, that all that has been done by me has been of any avail in your regard, but rather, I have found from day to day less courtesy, favour, and support, in all that can concern me there, as well in my person as otherwise, my enemies on the contrary in full liberty and general permission to injure me, I being by you bound and held, without any means to defend myself against them in default of your protection, not being even permitted to clear myself, as so many times I have requested, of that which falsely they have represented to you of me. But, madam, I must avow to you the experience that I have had of the ill will of some of my enemies who have been near to you, and the confirmation that I have recently had of it when least I thought to have merited it, in having taken away from me all hope, whatever opinion that I might have of your good disposition, ever to be able, however much I should be retained at their devotion, to keep myself in your good grace [in] the repose and tranquillity that I was in, following your intention proposed in this captivity, while awaiting the fruit and just recompense of the same.

Thus am I constrained to ask and beg you, as I humbly do, for my deliverance out of this prison, to free yourself from the charge that I am to you, and from the continual suspicions, distrusts, and impressions with which they trouble you daily against me, since by no other way do I see that you could introduce better order; for, in obliging me by this good deed, I shall refuse no just and reasonable conditions to assure you entirely, in whatever part of Christendom I may be, of the perpetual acknowledgment that I shall owe you for it (which will serve you consequently in regard to my son), protesting from the present before the eternal God my intention to be, to keep and observe sincerely, that which shall be determined and concluded, without ever undertaking anything to the contrary, and to the prejudice of you or of this State, as in truth I confess that I have not, neither am [doing], for [not] having the force and means, and on that account, so much the less ought suspicion and distrust to remain with you. Consider, if you please that, I have not failed you up till now in any promise whatsoever, and for having kept it to you sometimes too inconsiderately, I have received much damage from it. Think that it rests with you to hold me more yours out of prison, obliging my heart towards you by a courtesy so renowned, than by confining my body between four walls, force not being accustomed to gain much on those of my rank and disposition, of which you may have had some experience in the past. I am assured that if you remember how, on your assurance, which was given me with a jewel on your part, a little before the last troubles in Scotland, I came of my good and free will and with deliberate purpose, and put myself in your hands to seek the support which you had promised me against my traitorous and rebellious subjects, you will judge in your conscience my request to be very reasonable and the remonstrances that were made to the contrary to be without any foundation of right or justice, which renders even prisoners of war recommendable, as in this kingdom some of your predecessors have practised against many foreign princes who did not touch them in any respect of friendship; much stronger occasion is it having this honour, after that of a sovereign Queen, such as I am born, to be to-day the

Elizabeth.
1580. nearest relation that you have in Christendom, and, I can say, most just heir. What reputation, think you, will remain to you for permitting me, without any compassion to languish so many years in such a miserable state, and by the continuation of the bad treatment that I have received up to now I am going to end my days already too prolonged? In truth, I do not value, seeing the great illness that I have had these past years, and the state in which I am still at present, my health, which is only to support longer the treatment to which I am accustomed by the past, being too young and strong, for death in a short time to deliver me from it, if you do not anticipate it, in order to receive soon some better recompense and advantage from my long captivity; and I beg you forthwith to allow me a journey to the baths of Buxton, forasmuch as I have not found here any remedy better for the complaint in my side, with which I am extremely tormented. I shall await, above all, your recompense, in order on the same to declare to you more fully and particularly that which on my part will serve to effect a so just and reasonable overture as much for your honour, repose, and surety as for my particular good. And however after recommending myself very affectionately to your good grace I will pray God that he will give you, my good sister, good and long life. From Sheffield, the 2nd May, the 12th year of my prison.

2¾ *pp. French. Copy. Indorsed:* "2 May, 1580. Coppie de la lettre ecrite par la Royne d'Escoce a la Royne d'Angleterre."

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 23. Another copy of the same.

May 2. **485.** MARY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

C.P., vol. XI. Sirs, although by the letters that I have written presently to the Queen of England, madam, my good sister, your mistress, on which I do not doubt that she will take your good advice, you may know sufficiently fully the just and more than reasonable considerations which have moved me to the instance that I make to her for my deliverance out of this miserable captivity. I shall not cease, trusting in the sincerity of your consciences, for the discharge of that of the said Queen, your mistress, to pray you all in general and particular to discharge towards me in this negotiation the just duty with which your are obliged towards God, your Queen, and the good of this kingdom, which I protest is in no less respect and recommendation to me than to yourselves. I do not doubt that my enemies who constrain me in part to this request by the bad and unworthy treatment with which they have up till now pursued me, labour to traverse it as they have always done all my previous [requests] of much less importance. But your prudence, that I make judge between them and me, will know well of itself how to weigh that which on one part and another can be alleged, without that on my part I labour by one letter without reply, to discover to you the advantange that you could derive, better by the grant of my liberty than by my death in this prison, of which the blame would rest with you in all Christendom. Only I will assure you my intention to be to keep and observe inviolably that which will be upon this determined and concluded; and that, respecting before all other things the right that I have in the succession of this kingdom after the said Queen, my good sister, be it

Elizabeth.
1580. for me or my son, I shall never omit any duty, care, and travail to bring to it as much grandeur and prosperity as I pray God to give her and you, sirs, the opportunity to govern it to His honour and glory. Manor of Sheffield.

1 *p. French. Copy. Indorsed:* "Coppie de la letre de la Royne d'Escoce ecrite a Messieurs du Conseil de la Royne d'Angleterre."

May 3. **486.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Found the Earl of Lennox, the Master of Mar, and the Laird of Drumquhassel at Edinburgh, the latter being still keeper of Dumbarton Castle. The two last told him the manner of the raising of the bruit devised against the Earl of Morton for carrying the King to Dalkeith, and from thence into England, as also the occasion and manner of the King's passage to the Castle of Doun Monteith, and all his doings there. They utterly deny that the King was moved to have ridden to Glasgow or Dumbarton, or that there was any purpose to have conveyed him into France. But they confess that, seeing his person, revenues, and casualties abused, and finding little hope of remedy by way of complaint to any Council or convention, therefore it was "in heed" to have persuaded him to return to Edinburgh without the knowledge of the rest of the Council then remaining at Edinburgh, and there to enterprise some reformation in the abuses aforesaid. Which purpose was not attempted nor broken to the King by the haste that he made to depart from the Castle of Down to Stirling. For the credit of their tales they affirm and offer to prove very largely—and chiefly in the point of transportation of the King into France, wherein they strive and labour much by most deep oaths, protestations, and many circumstances to persuade him [Bowes] to think—that they nor any other to their knowledge conspired to go about any such practices or matter. Besides, they have liberally promised to perform all their former promises to her majesty; and herein they appear to be so willing and forward that it seems to him that they will not refuse to give such reasonable surety for the performance thereof as shall be thought expedient. Chooses rather to refer the same till his return to them at Edinburgh, that he might meanwhile inform himself of the truth in all their doings and receive direction for his further progress with them. They remain great friends to the Earl of Lennox, whose behaviour and action towards the King's person and estate, and for the maintenance of the amity betwixt these two crowns, they right highly commend, and they no less acquit him of all these suspected practices than they purge themselves thereof. Because in this conference with them he perceived that Lennox used to send always to the King such letter or news as he received at any hand, and seeing that the form and substance of the Queen of England's letters addressed to the Earl of Lennox might well bear to be sent by him or by the King, or any other, whereupon he might prove her good disposition, standing indifferent to them all, and favouring those who shall be most careful for the King's safety, therefore, upon apt occasion given him, he gave her said letter to the Master of Mar to be then delivered to the Earl of Lennox, with some excuse that in that short time of his abode in that town, and before he had visited the

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1580. King, he could not aptly come to him to open and enlarge her majesty's pleasure to be signified to him, as on their meeting should be done. Chose rather to enter his acquaintance with the earl by these instruments, to the intent he might the better understand how "inward" they were with him, and after to make his profit thereon. Having in this sort renewed the bonds and intelligence betwixt them and him, has left them in these fair terms, minding on their next meeting to deal more inwardly with them, and, nevertheless, to beware to give her majesty's benevolence further without probability of good effects. Desires to be instructed what sums he shall bestow particularly on either of them, and upon what articles, sureties, and bonds.

Coming to Stirling on the 28th of last month, he found the Earls of Morton, Argyll, Montrose, and Rothes, Lords Ruthven, Boyd, Herries, Ochiltree, and Cathcart, Dunfermline, Newbottle, St. Colme, Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, Culross, Comptroller, Clerk Register, and Provost of Dundee new assembled, and on the morrow the King granted him audience. Presented the Queen of England's letter to the King, accompanying the same with reports of the intelligence given to her of the troubles likely to arise there by the jealousies reigning among the nobility, and also with signification of her great care for his own safety and the peace of the realm, plentifully witnessed by her former benefits and by her sending him to visit him and understand his estate, to do all good offices to prevent the evils threatened, to pray him to give ear to such sound advice as should be given for his profit, and to "manifest" that her majesty inclined to no part, but chiefly favoured those who should be found most careful for his safety and the common quiet. Urged the expedition of timely mediation and his own plain dealing as well in the search and discovery of the first authors of these dangerous bruits, and of the truth and purpose in the same, as also in the good opening of all things that any way lay in his own knowledge. To all which he gave good ear and began to acknowledge her majesty's great goodness and charges bestowed on him and his realm, for which he rendered thanks in very good terms and kind speeches, testifying, indeed, his love to her and promising both to be found thankful for things past, and also to hearken to her advice, and to follow and set it forth as much as he might. Opened to him the order for the meeting of commissioners to redress the disorders on the Borders, showing the alteration in the appointment of the bishop of Durham to supply the place of Lord Evre, and also the draft of the commission framed to be given by the Queen of England to her commissioners, and prayed that for the expedition of the cause and to avoid all needless scruples, he and his Council would resolve thereon and let him know their resolution, to the intent that the form and substance of the commission being agreed, and the commissioners, the time, and place appointed, all things might proceed. To all which he readily consented, and committed this cause to the consideration of his Council. Has had conference with them in many points of their doubts, and although in the most part he has satisfied them, yet in the rest they stay their determinate conclusion for the advice and consent of the Earl of Morton and others, who presently are absent at the marriage of the Justice Clerk, and will, he thinks, return this day. Moved the

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1580. matter of the Hamiltons, standing upon his promise to be answered at the convention on the 26th instant, or within four days. After opening the causes moving her majesty to make request for them, approving that she was bound in honour to do it, and likewise he to grant it, concluding that with grave advice it might be done with his honour and surety, the King hasted to answer, and, changing colour, as nothing pleased therewith, said that he would confer with his Council and give him answer. Has privately persuaded Councillors to understand truly the condition of the matter, but finds such prepared sentence herein that he distrusts it shall not fall to her majesty's pleasure or profit of the parties.

That day, before his [Bowes'] access to the King, the Earl of Morton had exhibited to the King and Council his supplication in writing, praying trial and knowledge of the first author of the bruit brought to the King's ear against him. The matter was long and earnestly debated, and not without offence to sundry; wherein it was looked that the Earl of Argyll should have been charged with the first information given to the King; but the King acknowledged that before Argyll told him anything thereof, Dunfermline, the Comptroller, and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth had given him warning of such an enterprise suspected to be meant by Morton, asking of him what their parts should be for his safety, "and wheruppon he absenteth from the fields." All which he signified in the hearing of these three then sitting in Council, and who even then denied the same before the King, the Earl of Morton, and the whole Council. The Earl of Morton being removed, it was concluded by that Act of Council set down and recorded that bruit should be condemned and pronounced to be false and untrue, with as large declaration of the earl's innocency and faithful service to the King as could be devised, and that from thenceforth no man should inform or tell the "kany tale" other than he that he would openly stand to and justify. When the Earl of Morton heard this resolution by the King's declaration before the Council, he showed himself nothing pleased, and, bursting into warm speech, he gave the challenge and lie, with very dispiteful terms, to any who had raised or durst affirm that report against him. Nevertheless, by the fair entreaty of the King the matter was pacified.

The Earl of Mar likewise preferred his complaint, requiring trial of the like bruit devised against him and sundry of his house, who were bruited to detain and use the King's person and his possessions unlawfully, and against his own goodwill and pleasure. Wherein the King by his own mouth and testimony declared that tale to be altogether false, and so well acquitted the earl and his house that like Act of Council was made for their purgation therein.

After these were passed, Lord Ochiltree stood up, showing that he had received letters from the Earl of Lennox to require him to make his purgation in his absence against such false rumours and tales as were devised against him, that if any would charge the earl that he had conspired or gone about to persuade the King to pass to Glasgow or Dumbarton, or that he sought to carry him into France or any other place against the King's good pleasure or to his prejudice, the earl would with his sword prove such person a liar, with other very hot words and challenges; whereunto no answer was made. In

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1580. the end, by especial order and entreaty of the King, and to avoid further contentions in the trial of the causes, it was ordered that all these bruits and reports should be accounted to be false, and from thenceforth to be put in oblivion, and that the noblemen touched by the same should therewith hold themselves contented and love one another. Thus this fire is now wrapped up in ashes, with such discontentment that many think it will soon burst forth again with greater peril. Nevertheless, the King does not like to hear of any further mediation to be made in the reconciliation of the noblemen; for he thinks that this will suffice, and that the further dealing therein will renew the offence in such sort that the griefs will not be so well quenched again. Thus his travail in this behalf will be needless, and may not conveniently be done, as otherwise had been requisite, and as many wise of both sides desired.

In long conference with the Earl of Morton, in the night, to avoid suspicion, has at large signified the Queen of England's pleasure expressed in the second article of her instruction, persuading his continuance in that course, wherein she would support and comfort him against his adversaries, who seek no less his disgrace, than the overthrow of religion and that government. For this he yields right hearty thanks to her, offering very freely his devotion and service to maintain the amity. After long declaration of his own cause and of the late suspicions conceived by the King, being at the Down, he wishes that good regard might be given to prevent their practices appearing, and which he thinks have so far prevailed that he doubts much the sequel, and he cannot, he says, readily devise sufficient remedy. For he holds that D'Aubigny and that side have gotten such interest in the King, and drawn him to such liking and admiration of the glory of France and friendship to be had there, that the King begins not only to commend and to be contented to hear the practices of France beyond his accustomed manner, but also to keep secret all things told or offered to him by that side, and oftentimes to discover to the side aforesaid the advices that he [Morton] or the house of Mar give to him—a matter not only noted by the Earl of Morton, but also seen and confirmed to him [Bowes] by Dunfermline, the Clerk Register, James Murray, and others of the King's Council and chamber, who think they have more cause to lament it than power to amend it, holding the matter very difficult and dangerous without her majesty's seasonable aid. Whereas he pressed to know the remedy to be ministered by the Queen of England, he then took time to advise, referring him to confer with Dunfermline and others. Which he has done, and finds all things which the Earl of Morton told him confirmed by them, and that the excuse and sayings of the contrary part are condemned and proved so suspicious that the matter is holden to remain still in peril, "and that that smoke had a warme fyre." In like manner has spoken with the Earl of Argyll and others of that side, who flatly deny all things of the King's transportation to France, or any such intention, and they allege that these bruits are devised to bring them into contempt and to continue the King in the hands of those who make their profit thereby. The earl and all the rest promise their devotion to her majesty and the amity so far as can be required.

Argyll is willing to be reconciled with Morton. Montrose will be pleased to join therein, but Morton doubts the bond will be no better

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1580. kept than before. There is such a safe bond betwixt Argyll and Lennox as cannot be undone; whereby the King and a number of noblemen, councillors, and others near the King, and of great credit in the country, are carried headlong with Lennox to advance him by all the means they can, and these are hereby of such power that hardly they can be kept from the possession of the King, to be carried and persuaded as they best like: upon which point all these controversies and piques arise and depart. For the present remedy hereof it is concluded by this assembly that on the 20th instant the King shall begin his progress into Fife and other parts, wherein Lord Ruthven and other like friends are found to be of sufficient strength; in which journey a great part of this summer is like to be expended. It is also agreed that after the progress the King shall pass to Glasgow, Dumbarton, and other parts of the west. But this second is meant more to win time than indeed to be performed.

It is looked that the King shall be drawn from Edinburgh and Stirling—places most favourable for Lennox and his purposes—and that Lennox and the others will not seek to accompany the King in the first progress, but rather attend the second, and that in their absence the King may be recovered and brought to trust and favour the counsellors then about him, and also to discover such secrets as hitherto he keeps within himself. Doubts much that the effect will not fall to this expectation, for he understands that Argyll and Lennox are purposed to be still in company with the King, and the King has already asked Argyll, who has agreed to go with him, and also written to Lennox to come to him to prepare him for his journey. The surest remedy that Morton, Dunfermline, and the rest can find is to have always trusty counsellors about the King and a good guard for his person to withstand all sudden and surprise, for it is well seen that all these late matters were wrought with the King whilst there were no counsellors of sufficient credit resiant about him; but they allege that the King is not able to sustain the charges of such counsellors and guard, nor yet can any counsellor be pleased to tarry in Court at his own expenses; whereby it seems that covertly they crave some aid of the Queen of England, yet they have not hitherto dealt with him [Bowes] therein. Howbeit, by their private advice to himself and by some speech fallen by the King, and signifying he would send especial persons to confer with him for his own behoof, it seems to him that they mind to make some motion for her relief and bounty towards the King. Is very dull to understand their meaning without more plain language. In conference with these, they persuaded that it shall be no less dangerous than fruitless to entertain any with pension in Scotland, other than one especial person to be always resiant in Court with the King, for the ease of his expenses. But they think that if her majesty shall be at any charge it would be best bestowed on the King only, whereby all the nobility and others might be therein bound to her in the King's behalf, whom they dare not offend, and that her majesty should have such interest thereby in the person and estate of the King, as disposition of his possessions for his most profit, that little matter of importance might be done without her privity, and that then she might place and commend to him such as shall be seen to her most apt and serviceable for him. Has found that surely the King hitherto

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1580. loves and depends on the Queen of England above any other in the world; and being prayed by him in the love he bears to her to let him know what has been done to himself by Lennox or others in these causes, he has very frankly told him all that before he told to the Earl of Mar, Dunfermline, Mr. Murray, or any other; notwithstanding he will not now openly to themselves acknowledge so much as before he did. The King affirms to him for certainty that these are all that have been offered to himself, and also promises that from henceforth he will let her majesty truly understand anything coming to his knowledge, and that shall concern her, himself, or the realms, and for the present it appears very well that her majesty may easily draw him to like of anything that she in goodwill and friendship shall commend to him.

The Earl of Lennox, according to his expectation, has sent the Queen of England's letters addressed to himself, together with his own, to the King, in nature of complaint and of challenge to any who shall charge him to be guilty in any of these suspected practices. Of this the King made him acquainted, and which he has used to persuade him thoroughly of the good dealing of the Queen of England as well to himself as to all his subjects; wherewith he is very well pleased. Requests to be directed as to these causes, his return to Berwick, and the commission for the Borders. Stirling.

8 *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "To the L. Treasurer and Sir Fr. Walsingham from Mr. Robert Bowes, 3 of Maye, 1580." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* [Walsingham's secretary]. [*With No. 583. Fol. 76.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 29. Original of the same.

May 3. **487.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. ROBERT BOWES.

His letters from Edinburgh of the 26th ult. were received on the 1st instant. Is sorry thereby to see the confused state of Scotland, and especially that the common people be so diversely drawn into faction, whom he thought—in respect of the common hatred they naturally have against the servitude under any strange Prince—which no doubt the French seek to bring them into—would never have inclined so much as they have done to D'Aubigny, a man altogether French, and a Papist. This ill disposition in the common sort there makes him the more to doubt that there is some great and hidden treason not yet discovered, and to fear that the speeches cast abroad in Spain, whereof lately advertisement has been sent hither, are not altogether vain. Namely, that already arms are taken in Scotland, and that the mass and Romish religion are set up in Scotland. Also that such rebels and fugitives of Scotland and England as be in the Low Countries or France are in great hope and expectation that the matter of religion shall presently and first be pushed in Scotland; that many who were favourers heretofore of religion in Scotland are now become outwardly enemies thereof; that about fifteen days past the noblemen of Scotland remaining in Paris, and being of the Scottish Queen's party, have despatched a post into Spain to crave a sum of money from the King there, and being in very good hope thereof, have promised therewithal to advance the

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1580. popish religion; also that on the 24th ult. Farnyhurst and one of the Hamiltons who killed the Regent rode post out of France into Spain; and by other advertisements it is declared that the first attempt to alter religion will begin in Scotland, wherefore it behoves them there to look carefully to this cause, as he hopes they will, and the better by such good admonition and advice as may proceed from him. For the unfolding of all these practices he thinks [*] one of the aptest and ablest persons, and therefore to do some good herein with him he wishes him spared no cost. It will not be amiss also that he "groape" the friends of Farnyhurst.

For answer to his particular letter to himself, he thinks good he should write privately to him, for the better answering her majesty's commandment given him for addressing his intelligence specially to him [Walsingham], if he has any matter he thinks fit to impart to him only for her. Lest in his absence from the Court his private letter should be opened, he wishes him to put therein a cipher of the said intelligence, using that cipher between them which he knows remains with him.

For his private suit for exchange, he perceives by his brother, Sir George, that the Lord Treasurer has now good liking thereof, and he may be sure he will give it what furtherance he may.

Is to let him know that he is to be one of the commissioners for the causes of the Borders, and therefore, for that it is thought meet that the rest be at Berwick by the 15th instant to confer among themselves before they meet the commissioners for Scotland, he would be glad to know whether the business where he is will permit him to be at the conference; and also whether the present troublesome state of Scotland will be no cause of delaying the meeting.

1¼ *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "3 May 1580. To Mr. Bowes."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 21. Another copy of the same.

May 10. **488.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

Deferred answering her letters of the 22nd of February till the convening of his Council, sundry of whom could not conveniently be assembled till now. Assures her that he continues thankful for her loving care and friendship, and for the preservation of his estate, and hopes to acquit it when occasion offers. Her letter purports that she has caused Claud Hamilton to be charged with the matters contained in his letter, tending to make him and his brother culpable in so high degree as ought not to have any favour, and that having received such direct answer to the matters wherewith he was charged, and as he does not refuse trial, she thinks she ought to persist in her former request. Would be right sorry to give her cause to think that her requests to him should not be well regarded. What he has written to her is true. Hopes she will not admit Lord Claud's answer to have any credit with her in prejudice of what he, upon certain knowledge, has written, and which his Estates in Parliament have found and declared to be so, the judgment of the Estates being the ordinary

* The name is carefully crossed out.

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1580. and most sufficient form of trial in cause of treason. Yet, for her further satisfaction, seeing that Claud's defence avows some things to be true in that wherewith he is charged, and does not refuse trial, he says, if the two brothers simply depend on her mediation, and by her they would claim impunity, let them both be first in her power, and upon the trial to proceed in that order which is reasonably meet, he can be content that such conclusion be taken in their matter, with her good advice, as may be agreeable to reason and stand with her and his honour and surety. Has conferred with Bobert Bowes touching the matters mentioned in her letter of the 16th of April, who has heard from him of his own estate and the present peaceable state of Scotland. Renders her hearty thanks for the continuance of her great love and care for him and his estate. Stirling.

1½ *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "To her majestie from the K. of Scotland, 10 Maii, 1580." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 583. Fol. 88.*]

May 10. **489.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Having oftentimes moved the King and his Council for the relief of Lords John and Claud Hamilton, and doubting that the answer prepared and in manner determined would be disagreeable to the Queen of England's desire and expectation, prayed to have conference with the whole Council or any chosen persons to be appointed, that he might inform them sufficiently in that weighty cause. Whereupon the Abbot of Dunfermline, the Provost of Dundee, and the Clerk Register were sent to confer with him. Urged much that by the true meaning of the pacification the murder of the two Regents was meant to be remitted and pardoned. Which remission, nevertheless, was referred to the advice and counsel of the Queen of England for form only, and for the King's honour and safety of the Regent, who might not conveniently pardon so high crimes; and albeit her majesty had advised the suspension of the inquisitions and revenges of these murders until the King took the government on himself, yet she has still reserved in her own power the absolute order and determination thereof, which now, perhaps, she will be pleased to leave to the King, to the intent that the parties receiving their pardon as it were at his hands and of his mercy and grace, they may be thereby the more strictly bound to obey and serve him, and that by the same the best way be taken for the thankful acquittal of her honour engaged, and also for the good provision of the King's best surety from all harm of the parties or any depending on them. Hereupon these three commissioners agreed to open to the King and Council the sum and effects of all the arguments passed, and therewith to move that the resolution may be to her majesty's good contentment. It was resolved that the King should write to the Queen of England to such effect as by his letter inclosed to her will appear. Albeit thereby the trial is urged of such things as Lord Claud avows to be true against that wherewith he is charged in the King's letter sent before to her majesty, and it is conditioned that the two brethren shall be in her majesty's power to proceed in that trial in reasonable order; which being done the King declares himself well contented that such conclusion shall be taken in this matter, with her majesty's

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1580. advice, as shall be agreeable to reason and stand with the honour and safety of her majesty and of the King. Nevertheless, it is pretended that if by her majesty's good means the King's surety may be sufficiently provided for against these parties and their friends, and with their own consent and agreement, then they should receive such favour as her majesty pleases to advise to be given to them, and so her advice should be fulfilled as might be to honour and good contentment. Has received the answer, partly for that her majesty may make some profit thereof, but chiefly for that he could get no better.

The cause for meeting of the commissioners on the Borders has received often and long debate and delay by the occasion of many difficulties found by the Council of Scotland in the mutual agreement to be accorded on the form of the commission to be severally granted by either Prince, and in doubts thought requisite to be resolved before the coming together of the commissioners. In all which objections and points he has satisfied them, saving only in the certain limitation of the day and time whence the redresses demandable for either realm shall be made. Because he had no direction for the prescription of that time, therefore has been driven to leave the limitation thereof to her majesty's pleasure. Has prayed that, for the keeping of the day and place already agreed for the meeting of the commissioners, power might be given to them to appoint the time. As this request could not be granted, has moved that they would limit such day from whence the redress should be made as should seem most reasonable to them and might best content them, to the intent that if the Queen of England liked the same, then the matter might proceed with best effect. Wherein they think that they cannot resolve without the advice of their Wardens of these Marches, having for that purpose already written to the Wardens. They have concluded to pray and attend speedy advertisement of the Queen of England's pleasure for the limitation of the day. It is resolved that the day of meeting of the said commissioners at Berwick in the manner before agreed shall be for this cause prorogued till the 20th of June. They agree to the placing of the bishop of Durham to supply the room of Lord Evre, before named one of the Queen of England's commissioners, and they are minded hitherto to continue their former commissioners before assigned. They now look for the return of her majesty's pleasure concerning the time, promising therein to proceed with justice and good order. Incloses the form of the commission accorded for both realms, with the addition therein inserted for delivery of prisoners and their bonds unlawfully taken, and notes of the doubts found by the Council of Scotland.

They complain much that the Grahams have purchased lands in the West Marches of Scotland, and planting themselves thereon have sown their corn and inhabit against the laws established, which they look shall be remedied by the commissioners. Has written to Lord Scrope to take speedy order herein. Has advised her majesty's Wardens of the three Marches speedily to certify her majesty or the Privy Council from what day they think it most convenient to begin redress.

Although great labour is taken to cover the secrecies purposed to have been practised at the King's being at the Castle of Downe Monteth

Elizabeth.
1580. —the depth of which plot is not yet fully known to the confederates joining therein, other than to a few—yet such effects and circumstances are opened as well by the King's own discovery partly made before the whole Council, and more fully signified in counsel to him [Bowes], as also by some reports "slipped at" unawares from sundry of that fellowship, that it appears well the reformation spoken of by the Master of Mar and Drumquhasell should rather have sounded to be an innovation of this State and government under the King, than any orderly amendment of the abuses that in some part are generally condemned. For it seems that a form of policy and government under the King should have been framed by the executioners of this alteration intended, and that some of the King's Council, his chamber, and household should have been changed. In which exchange it is said that Sir John Seton, George Douglas, and other like favourists to the King's mother, and suspected persons in religion and to the King should have been preferred and brought near to the King's person. Some say that the Earl of Morton should have been called by process *super inquirendis*, and upon his appearing to have been committed to safe custody, and that the Comptroller and Collector of the thirds of the Church should have been charged with sudden reckonings, and that, for expedition, the sacrifice of their bodies should have acquitted their accounts in their own persons. Further, that the house of Mar should have been removed from the King's person and more trusty keepers appointed to that charge. Which new officers entering in this manner are thought to have foreseen and provided good means for the safe keeping of the King in place of surety against the power of their adversaries and from the force of England in case her majesty would deal that way against them.

For the more certain understanding of some particularities herein it is to be remembered that the King in conference with the Council openly and of late acknowledged that the rest of the Council then at Stirling should have been sent for to come to him to the Downe, and when some of them said that they should have found hard fare and lodging there, the King said, "Yea, hard enough for some of them." He said that there was no doubt he should have gone further, and that the purpose was the same as at Falkirk. All which he confirmed to him [Bowes] in secret, adding that by often persuasions he agreed to ride to the Downe of purpose to reform sundry things that there should have been objected against divers persons; and being there he was again moved to send for the Council to the intent the persons accused might be there charged with their offences and such reformation be taken as for that time should have been meet. Which being done he should have passed to Glasgow, to have there continued till further order had been established in all things. Wherein the King affirms that this surprise and change should have been agreeable to the plot intended to have been executed at Falkirk. He approves that Sir John Seton had there above a dozen men in armour, notwithstanding that sundry of that fellowship deny the same contrary to all truth indeed. He is very loth to tell him who dealt with him in particular, yet he promises upon opportunity and better leisure to let him know perfectly all that he knows, and further, that if any like matter be again offered to him he will timely and friendly reveal the same to the Queen of England. All which he

Elizabeth.
1580. willed him to signify to her to satisfy her in that part of her letter desiring to know his state.

It is evident that the Earl of Lennox had written to the Earl of Glencairn in the King's name, and to many others of great credit to come to the King at this time, and in their fensible array, and many of that company have directly confessed parts sufficient to prove these matters, which, notwithstanding all these, are still denied.

Although the bruits rising hereon are suppressed, and this enterprise defeated for the present, yet the way is left open for the second, and many good men in this Court and elsewhere go in great fear and much doubt that it shall be attempted with the next opportunity. Some others have said that the next wind will blow the chaff from the corn.

The Earl of Morton greatly distrusts the sequel of these things, and has little desire to come to Court or deal in the State, being already departed from hence. He has found great inconstancy in sundry of the Council of Scotland in whom he trusted. Nevertheless, he is contented to take his part in any plot for the entertainment of the amity and removing all impediments, wherein he will employ himself and his force. He will give timely advertisements to prevent all evils, and will remain at Court to stay inconveniences, on condition that his stay there be not to his charges, which his decayed estate will not endure.

The King has had great misliking of the Earl of Morton. Finds by secret means that this is not altogether removed, yet has much recovered his opinion towards the earl, and trusts to increase it daily. The Earl of Argyll offers that if the Earl of Morton or Bowes shall let him see any plot laid to the hurt of the King, or to deceive him, he will plainly refuse to proceed further in the matter or with the personages who practise the same. The King greatly commended his good meaning to him, saying that in his ignorance of the subtle dealing of his friends, who abuse him in the trust that he gives to them, he was carried further than he would have gone if he had understood the bottom of their practices. He appears so well affected that he seems easy to be drawn to consent to any good course; but how he shall go forward in the execution, unless the Countess, his wife, who has no little interest in him in these things, and has been forward in these others, shall be won also to the same, he commits to grave consideration.

The Earl of Lennox has not been here since his arrival at this town. The King has an earnest goodwill to him, and like opinion of his sound mind towards himself; which is chiefly grounded—as the King showed him—on sight of the good order of the earl's dealing with him. This affection in the King is now something abated by the absence of the earl and by some means made to the King. But it will rise again, especially in that no man will hold hand against it; for most tarry no longer at Court than their private affairs keep them there. Finds many complain and cry for help, who, nevertheless, appear careless and unwilling to take any pain to obtain that they call for.

Lennox and his servant Henry Keyre who the other day were stiff Papists are now so earnest Protestants that they begin to creep into credit with the ministers at Edinburgh, who have written in their

Elizabeth.
1580. commendations to the King's ministers, whom he [Bowes] has so thoroughly persuaded that they have resolved to try the fruits of the religion of these two before they trust them, and to advise the other ministers to do the like; for the advancement whereof he [Bowes] intends to return to Edinburgh to-morrow.

The Earl of Montrose professes to observe his devotion promised to the Queen of England, seeming to be partly ignorant of these matters, and saying that although the plot laid at Falkirk that the King might be delivered from the possession of them about him to the trust of the associates at Falkirk has been smothered for a time, yet it will be attempted again by lawful means, as by Council or convention, and it is not unlike to find many votes and friends. Howbeit he determines never to consent to take arms or use indirect means. He persuades earnestly that the Queen of England should stand indifferent and retain still the nobility who shall be found true and faithfully to keep the amity; thinking that she will make no gain to build on those who are authors of the jealousies. He is holden much addicted to Lord Ruthven, and thereby is the more willing to join with Morton, who has an indifferent good opinion of him. Nevertheless, he is hitherto running with Argyll and the associates of Falkirk, but likely to be drawn to such course as he may find well devised and to be pursued by good company for the benefit of the King and quietness of the realm; in which mind he is returned home to repair his house to receive the King in his progress.

Before the breaking up of the Council their advice was required for the best remedy to be devised to repair the King's needy estate and to maintain such requisite charges as necessity called for. It was long disputed whether he should send again to the Queen of England, but by the most part advised to deal with him [Bowes]. Herries, Newbottle, who is the right hand of D'Aubigny, and others of that side have persuaded in Council and with himself to forbear to trouble her majesty in this sort. Nevertheless, the Abbot of Dunfermline and the Comptroller were sent to him, seeking to know whether he had any direction given to signify to the King the resolution of her majesty's pleasure touching the articles of the late negotiation of Dunfermline and James Murray for money to be bestowed on the King, and praying him to procure her answer therein.

After the King had opened to him the sum of the former actions and purposes at the Downe, and had declared his estate to be then brought to better quietness, trusting that the same should be chiefly maintained by her majesty's advice and relief, he began to report the doings of Dunfermline and the Comptroller with him for procuring her answer, declaring an especially trust in her, and wishing that her bounty might come in this season, which might relieve his need and be a mean that the same and other his revenues might be employed with her advice for his profit. He declares himself ready to follow chiefly the Queen of England's advice in all things, and presently the most of the nobility, especially the wisest, are disposed to persuade and hold him to continue the same. Nevertheless, there is another sort who would draw him otherwise, and have great power to effectuate their desires by slight, if they be not strongly withstood. Which resistance he [Bowes] doubts shall not be found here, seeing most men seek their own advantange and leave the King ofttimes with

Elizabeth.
1580. small counsel; for very few of the Council are left with the King, and those who are here are of the meanest.

The Lady of Kintyre*, wife of Turlough Lynagh [O'Neill] of Ireland, with her son Angus O'Neill, have arrived at this Court to use to the King to renew the lease of the lands they had of him; which they have obtained. She has told him that she and her son have no other errand. The Earl of Argyll has confirmed the same, praying him to be a mean that the Queen of England's favour may be showed—the rather for his sake—to Turlough to have such lands as he requires to hold of her in Ireland for rent and tribute. Has satisfied him with good words, and that she, by her ministers in Ireland, would take order therein.

The Abbot of Lindores, bruited to have arrived here before, the eldest son of the Master of Marishal, Mr. Thomas Livingston, and other gentlemen are returned from France. They have brought letters to the Earl of Lennox, to what effect he does not yet know. Has received 500*l.* to be employed according to the Queen of England's instructions, whereof he has not disbursed any part, awaiting direction upon what articles, surety or bond he shall bestow any sum on the Master of Mar and Drumquhassell. Sees it very convenient to reward the very honest pains and especial good offices of Mr. Peter Young, the King's schoolmaster, and likewise to give some to the King's ministers and others who right painfully and with great care do their endeavour to preserve the religion, the King, and the amity with the Queen of England, for whom they publicly pray in this general and public exercise of fast, which was chiefly taken in hand for the preservation of religion and the King upon the signs they saw of troubles arising. But surely he will have greater difficulty to entreat any of these to accept anything, than to continue their godly course.

Is required to excuse the default in putting so small a seal to the King's letter to the Queen of England. The Earl of Argyll being ready to depart this day to Argyll has renewed his promise and devotion to the Queen of England, and the Countess, his wife, has frankly professed to employ herself to do all good offices in her power. Requests that he may know the Queen's pleasure for his return to Berwick, and to attend the execution of the commission for the Borders.

12 *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "To the L. Tresurour and Sir Francis Walsin. from Mr. Ro. Bowes, 10 Maii, 1580." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). *Underlined in parts.* [*With No. 583. Fol. 80.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 29. Original of the same. Dated at Stirling.

May 10. **490.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his last, of the 3rd of this month, on the 8th, at 6 in the afternoon. By his [Walsingham's] letter of the 22nd of April it appears that intelligence was given of the bishop of Ross being at Dieppe; which is here utterly denied, and therefore he is the more desirous to know the truth thereof. It is also doubted by sundry that Farnyhurst should not be passed out of France for Spain, but rather

* Lady Agnes Campbell.

Elizabeth.
1580. towards these parts in secret manner; and yet his licence before is nearly restrained. Has the "treateses of the batable groundes," yet doubting the truth of the copies, being written in an evil hand, and corruptly, he prays him to send the same to him.

If her majesty pleases to bind Scotland to her, the way is now open, and all things ready as shall please her to dispose; wherein the presence of some noble personage is most apt for that service. In case her majesty thinks good to leave or delay the same, then his being here cannot prevail. Stirling. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 12. **491.** SIR JOHN FOSTER TO [WALSINGHAM.]

The meeting of the commissioners appointed to be held at Berwick on the 20th instant is prorogued till the 20th of June. Whereas it is thought convenient that the wardens should signify from what time the redress should be made for the most benefit of the Queen of England and her subjects, he shall understand that after the winning of Hume Castle it was agreed by the Earl of Sussex, upon the coming of the Justice Clerk and Mr. Archibald Douglas to Warkworth, that all former attempts committed before that time should be cut off on both sides, by reason that when her army was in Scotland there was a number spoiled who were no enemies, until the lieutenants met again; so that, in his opinion, her majesty is to demand redress for all attempts committed on her subjects since that time. Alnwick.

1 *p. Copy. In the margin:* "From Sir John Foster, 12 May." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary).

May. **492.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

In private with the King I have both presented my own devotion in respect of his own virtues, and also thereon offered to acquaint him with a secret greatly importing him and his State, and lately discovered to me by letters, which were not out of the way in case he had [desired] or shall desire sight thereof; and taking his honour in pledge for the secrecy, which he readily tendered, I opened to him at large the contents specified in the ciphered note last sent to me, and to be communicated to him, persuading him earnestly to beware that he made not himself the cause of greater loss to him than France, Scotland, or Lennox could countervail. He appeared thereon to be very much perplexed, affirming that he would both most chiefly follow her majesty's advice, and also ask and require her counsel in all his great adoes, and therewith be thankful and careful to please her majesty, as she should have good experience whensoever she pleased to make proof of him, or that good occasion should be offered: and when I urged him to this in this present case now in handling, to give testimony of his affection promised, he said that in this and others he would do it to his power, seeming willing both indeed to perform the same, and also by his private letters of his own hand and device to make his goodwill known, and to omit nothing that may be to her majesty's contentment. In which resolution and mind I left him; and wherein, with good company and handling, he may, I think, be well continued.

Elizabeth.
1580. But Lennox having won great interest in him, and possessing free and secret access with him at all times, besides the daily persuasions that Lennox's friends of the Council and others busily instil into him with authority oftentimes of the decrees and resolutions of his Council, whereunto they say he ought to yield himself, I dare not therefore assure, in his tender years, any long continuance and sure performance of his promise aforesaid; but leave the same to be taken and received in the best opportunity and season, and for the advancement of such effects as may stand most with her majesty's good pleasure.

Albeit this present state is greatly confused, and Lennox grown to that greatness by the favour and popular affection that few or none are willing to oppose themselves against his will, yet to the wise the matter seems, therefore, hard, but not desperate to be recovered; especially at this time when, as he is known to be misliked by her majesty, whose goodwill they will not lose, and against whose amity Lennox or any other dare not openly deal, and that he has both procured him many enemies by his late attempt for the alteration of the officers, generally thereby they hate him, and also lost some credit amongst his own friends, who repine to find them defeated of the success hoped for by his advancement. And although Morton be seen fallen from his former state and leading in the government, which chiefly grows by his absence from Court, division betwixt him and Angus, and temporizing with Lennox, yet the experienced here think that he may be again enabled to repossess his wonted grace, and to reduce matters to a better course. For they affirm that during his presence in Court his advice in government and matters of weight is always received and preferred by the King and Council, making him thereby to be thought worthy of his room. Next, they think that by the reconciliation with Angus—which may be soon effected—a sufficient number of friends may be joined to "shoulder" the adversaries as well in votes for managing the State, as also in forces for prevention of surprise or violent attempt, and that upon sight of resolution of Morton to lay away the visor and go plainly forward in the action, all his friends retired from Court on dealing, or declined from the other side for their safeties, on the view of his temporizing aforesaid will return to assist him. Moreover, where many follow Lennox more upon fear of his hurt by deprivation of their offices, than upon love of his doings, which they suspect, and by whose support he is yet clothed, to his great advantage, these now upon sight of their safety and rising of another land will soon side from him, according to the common disposition of this changeable nation; and if Lennox be once espied to cast any feathers, then his wings will be clipped, to his sudden decay; whereunto many think that he will hastily come of his own accord and with general contempt of the nobility, by his inordinate catch of all forfeitures, marriages, and escheats from the rest, who soon will disclaim to have all the fat taken from their beards.

Besides, as the recoil of others and want of good company about the King purchased to Lennox, and was the chief cause of his rising into the King's affection, whereby only he climbed to his greatness, so the repair to and abode of Morton, Angus, Mar, and others in Court shall abate the height of his present standing, and especially when the King shall remove from hence to Stirling, a place not apt for Lennox or his friends, and whereupon great labour is made to keep him from

Elizabeth.
1580. it; but all in vain, for the King will there shortly, and, peradventure, stayed in his further progress to Glasgow, whereunto he will be greatly persuaded.

Lastly;—the better sort make no great difficulty of the matter, offering to adventure and employ themselves and friends in the enterprise, so that they may first be well assured of her majesty's good support and backing; and these men also think that for the plot to be devised for reduction of this State to the best preservation of religion the King and amity with her majesty, [it] may be framed in form following. First;—that upon some apt occasion her majesty declare the continuance of her care, chiefly for common defence of religion; and next for the safety of the person of the King, his honourable estate to be maintained in his house, and other requisite charges, and for the prosperity of his government; and hereupon to offer her majesty good advice for the best course of his government, and profitable order of his house, revenues, and expenses: for determination whereof no little contention has risen in this realm, and that is not fully quenched. Next;—that if his estate be found, and shall appear to her majesty to be decayed and needing repair or support for the maintenance of the same in princely degree, according to his dignity, that thereon her majesty will be pleased to relieve him in such manner and time as shall be seen most expedient, provided that her majesty may always foresee and understand that her bounty bestowed may be well employed for his most commodity. In which part it is meant that her highness shall win an interest in the disposition of himself, his State, and government, and thereby more readily stop the way of foreign practices and of discontented subjects: that albeit frank and speedy offer be made for relief to be granted, nevertheless, the expectation thereof may be suspended somewhile for two causes, the one to avoid contention in the nobility and officers for possession and distribution of her majesty's gift, the other to prevent the danger as well of waste as also of turning the same to evil uses, and, perhaps, by evil counsel against her majesty's self: that upon loan of any silver to the King—which manner of relief will be chiefly sought—sundry and especial noblemen and burgesses to be bound as well for repayment as also for the performance of the accords concluded. And hereby it is meant that the noblemen and others bound may the more boldly declare their devotions to her majesty and travail to advance her course for their own honours and safety; and in case this support shall be drawn into pension, that, nevertheless, some bond or promise may be taken of especial noblemen for the purposes rehearsed, and that two young noblemen in whom the King will have pleasure—wherein presently Angus and Mar are thought most apt—may be always, or for the most time, kept about the King, and that they be relieved in their expenses out of the King's pension. Moreover, that one well chosen and wise counsellor remain in Court to reduce things to the former course and her majesty's devotion to prevent troubles and to provide remedy in season. And because this manner must unite friends and have them always in readiness for best services, whereby his charges will rise great, therefore it is thought meet to relieve him with some competent consideration, and the same to be taxed according to the work and charge whereunto he shall be appointed; which place [it] is thought that "45" may best supply.

Elizabeth.
1580. $2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. In the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). *Indorsed*: "M^r^ Bowes letter deciphred."

[May.] **493.** MR. BOWES' CONFERENCE WITH THE KING OF SCOTS.*

Cott. Calig., B. VIII., fol. 290, b. [*To the same effect as No. 492.*]

$4\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. First page copy. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

May. **494.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

[*The original of the first part of No. 492.*]

1 *p. Cipher partly deciphered. At the head:* "M^r^ Bowes' lettre in ciphers." *Indorsed:* "Conference with 36."

May 15. **495.** MORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Has thought good to "viseit" him with this letter, that he might understand his good affection and favour, and also the state of some matters presently in these parts, especially of the practices and devices of the Papists, enemies to God and the true religion, which they have oft and divers times "tendit" to have abolished, if God had not prevented their conspiracies; which practices and devices are not near extinguished. Does not doubt but that he is surely informed of this by Mr. Bowes, who earnestly travails for the maintenance of the Queen of England and the friendship between her and the King of Scots, and it is necessary he should remain in Scotland till further "occasion" of matters be seen, and the success thereof. Seeing that the purposes of the Papists appertain in part to the Queen of England, who has been careful of the King's preservation, it were good she should not leave off now, having better occasion than before, in respect of his maturity and age, and of the great zeal, favour, and affection the King has towards her. For the subversion of many incommodities and other enterprises it were good her majesty should respect that part of his commission touching the money required, which he wishes should be granted liberally. The dangerous state of Scotland and the great appearance of alterations require hasty remedy. Will serve her majesty to his power and mean possibility. Edinburgh.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Copy. In the maryin:* "15 May, 1580. From the Earl of Morton." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* [Walsingham's secretary.] [*With No. . Fol. 91.*]

May 15. **496.** EARL OF LENNOX TO [ELIZABETH].

Has learnt by the letter which it pleased her to write to him that there are people who have accused him to her of being the occasion of the jealousies amongst the lords of Scotland. If she will send their names to the King, and who wishes to enter prove before his Council that he has wished to endeavour to subvert the religion or wished to break the amity which is between their majesties, he is quite ready to answer for his actions in this matter in the presence

* Cipher "36."

Elizabeth.
1580. of the King and his Council, and if a single point be found true of what his accusers have said, he does not ask for other mercy than to have his head cut off. If there is anyone wishes to maintain combat and fight a duel with him in her presence or the King's, he is ready to prove that he is a nobler man than those who accuse him. Has no other desire in this world than to render faithfully the very humble service that he owes to the King of Scots, and would be sorry and unhappy if he endeavoured to break the friendship for her, for whosoever shall desire to do or advise his majesty to do it is no means his servant. Will serve her more faithfully and with more affectionate will than those who wish to render him odious to her by their lies. Receives an extreme contentment by the assurance which her ambassador give him that he is so honoured by her as not to believe all the reports which have long been made to her of him.

1 *p. French. Copy. In the margin:* "15 May, 1580. From the Earle of Lenox." [*With No. 583. Fol. 90 b.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 39. Original of the same. *Signed:* Lenox. Dated at Edinburgh.

May 15. **497.** JAMES MURRAY TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 40. "Pleas your honour," finding the occasion, [I] have thought good to "viseit" your honour with this present, to the effect your honour might understand my good affection and favour, and also to let you understand the effect of some matters presently in these parts, and of their proceedings, specially of the practices and devices of the Papists, enemies to God and the true religion, which they have oft and divers times "tendit" to have abolished, if God had not prevented their conspiracies. Which practices and devices as yet are not left nor extinguished; whereof I doubt not but your honour is surely informed by Mr. Bowes, her majesty's commissioner and agent here, who earnestly and diligently travails by all means possible for the advancement of the Queen his sovereign, the continuing of the amity, and friendship joined betwixt her majesty and the King my sovereign; and necessary it were that he should be employed to abide and remain here till further occasion of matters were seen, and the success thereof. The special practisers and devisers aforesaid, seeing their conspiracies fail by their crafty means, and that they cannot have the way "straucht" to them, and therethrough, thinking they have lost thereby, are now constrained to render themselves to the obedience of the kirk and true religion "adjonit thame therto," subscribed the articles of their faith and given confession thereof, "and finalie obeyit, quhatsoevir they wer requirit wnto thairanent." But whether the same conjunction and obedience to the said kirk be of an earnest will, good affection, and true heart, the Lord knows; to whom I remit the judgment thereof. And therefore, seeing that the purpose appertains in a part to her majesty, who has been careful of the King's preservation and of his person since his nativity, it were good she should not leave off now, having better occasion than before, in respect of his maturity, *etc.* And therefore, for subversion of many enormities and other enterprises appearing, it were good her majesty should show her goodwill in setting him forward therein, and for that effect to respect that part of my commission touching the

Elizabeth.
1580. money required, which I wish should be granted liberally, as "in ane commodius tyme convenient for her majesteis purpois" and weal of both the countries; and in case of refusal, "as I no wayis wald," how great a discomfort the same should be to all those who have joined themselves for the maintenance of the amity and friendship of both the realms, and yet how great a comfort to all those who have "opponit" themselves in the contrary; as also what occasion might the same be to pretend to another way [which] might make both the countries to repent, *etc.* In setting forward whereof, as your honour has ever been willingly minded to have respect to this matter and the dangerous estate of the same, and the great appearance of alterations, in case hasty remedy be not provided to further the said suit, I must employ your honour to have my humble and hearty prayer recommended to her majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Murray.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph.* *No flyleaf or address.*

May 16. **498.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM].

Since his arrival at Edinburgh has spoken with the Earl of Lennox, discoursing to him the contents of the Queen of England's letter before delivered to him, and after some discovery of a late purpose for some alteration in this State to the danger of the King, and differing from his profession already given to her and the King, concluded, nevertheless, that her majesty still retained such good opinion of him as could not hastily be removed, exhorting him honourably to perform the good duties whereunto he stood bound many ways for the benefit of religion, the King, and his realm, and for the maintenance of the amity. His offer and promises are very liberal to employ himself and his endeavour to do all good offices in his power for the advancement of good causes remembered, and to testify his devotion to her majesty. He not only denies to have been privy to any practice for innovation or other purpose prejudicial to the King, but also with lusty words offers to prove the same against any that will avouch it. He requires him to convey to the Queen of England this his letter inclosed, saying that she should thereby better know and have further pledge for his goodwill towards her Agreed to send it herewith, and so left him in good mood. Looks now what good fruit shall spring of these fair blossoms. He has subscribed to, and publicly acknowledged sundry articles of this religion, minding to return to-morrow to Stirling with some ministers to confirm the same before the King, trusting thereby to satisfy the King and stop the mouths of ministers and others who for religion have "put" at him. The ministers began to conceive good opinion of his sound conversion, but being lately advised of dangerous plots devised in France and Spain against religion and Scotland, and which are confirmed newly by letters and reports of good credit come hither from France, they are, therefore, brought into no little distrust of him, and chiefly of sundry instruments about him—whereupon they have in their sermons given warning bruits—laid for the overthrow of religion; and now they remain watchful to espy what he or others shall do.

Sundry of good experience and intelligence here greatly fear and still look for some new and sudden attempt for the innovation of

Elizabeth.
1580. this State, and that the same shall be chiefly essayed at the return of the King to this town; and they think that the matter will be the more hastily offered and easy to be effected by the negligence of the Council, who for the most part are absent from the Court, leaving the King with the small number and of slender quality. Has travailed with the Earl of Morton, Dunfermline, and others, accusing them of their oversight in leaving the King so slenderly accompanied, not having one councillor with him at present, nor any of the nobility other than the Earl of Mar alone. Albeit on his importunacy they will send more company to the King, especially against the coming of Lennox to the Court, yet finds them so doubtful of the condition and disposition of the King, that the most part choose and determine rather to behold things, and for their best safety to win and hold the King's favour by yielding to the course of his own affection, than to offer themselves to the peril that the plain dissuasion of the King from his pleasures and open withstanding his counsels and devices of his favourites and minions may bring to him; in which two last parts they think they can little prevail without the Queen of England's especial support. Although he has comforted them herein as far as he could, yet he sees them still stagger and stick hereat until they might be made so sure of the Queen of England's relief that with boldness they might trust to that "backe" and assistance whereupon they would leave their former course, chosen for their most surety in manner aforesaid, and then freely enter openly against all suspected advices and attempts, and, with her majesty's advice, hold that way that shall be found best for the religion, the King, the realms, and good amity betwixt the crowns. Searching to feel their disposition in the device of the best course to be taken for surety of these effects, has gathered that it is holden most sure that the Queen of England might be pleased to entertain the King with some bounty, to win an interest in him and his estate, and therewithal to bind the nobility and Council to hearken to and to follow her advice in all things touching the King, and that her bounty might rather be showed by loan than by gift; for repayment whereof some noblemen, but especially merchants, should be bound, who for their surety should provide that, with the Queen of England's advice, the King's revenues might be employed to the most profit of the King. Some think that would work great reformation in things far amiss, and with great contentment of all good men stop the mouths of many who find fault. For the execution of her majesty's advice and timely doing of all things some chosen person should attend always in Court and work these good effects by his power and with the assistance of his friends who will by his own means join with him, without charges to her, other than for the principal person alone. Has thought it his duty to lay this plot before them, being the best allowed by the most discreet he has dealt with.

Whereas the Earl of Lennox has the King's grant of the custody of Dumbarton Castle, and is about—as he understands by secret means—to procure the confirmation thereof by the Council, and after to take the possession from Drumquhassill, such means are found that both the King and Council will better consider of that gift; and also Drumquhassill will not be hasty to make delivery to him or to any other without the Queen of England's privity and good liking.

Elizabeth.
1580. Finding that Drumquhassill is well disposed, and has sustained great losses by his late troubles, has, therefore, and upon other good respects agreed and already begun to relieve him with a good portion, resting to be directed by them in the manner of the bond to be required. For the present has received promise by him and the Master of Mar.

Because he has seen the variance betwixt the Earls of Morton and Angus to be an occasion to sundry in the loose condition of this State both to seek their further disagreement for the weakening of Morton, and also to attempt sundry evil parts that in their unity and concord they might not do, has therefore laboured to agree them, having prevailed to persuade them to commend all the causes of their discord to the order of friends already named, who, he trusts, will make a friendly end thereof.

The Carrs are in conference, and try to agree and bind with Angus. If that takes effect and these earls be well reconciled betwixt themselves, then the labour will be the more easy to remove the griefs betwixt the Earl of Morton and those who yet remain very tough and difficult.

Lennox, contrary to the expectation of the others, is resolute to ride in progress with the King and to make a great banquet to him in his house at Arbroath. Some travail is taken with the King to persuade Lennox to stay; which Lennox takes in evil part, minding still to proceed.

Argyll has obtained the King's licence to levy his forces against Mackintosh, and for the same purpose he is departed into Argyll, not meaning to come to the King before August; yet some begin to fear that he and his forces may haply be seen in other places than is pretended.

There is very great goodwill betwixt Lennox and Lord Ruthven, and surely Lennox, by his liberality and assistance of those who are not contended with this State—which, indeed, ought to be reformed —will still arise without better hand be holden then hitherto hath been, and those about him will seek, as opportunity will serve, to bring home the bishop of Ross; whereof sundry of them are in good comfort and look to effect greater matters—as themselves sometimes tell out to their friends.

Because it is her majesty's pleasure that he be at the meeting of the commissioners for the Borders, therefore, will dispone all things in the best order he can, and return to Berwick. In the meantime will provide the best intelligence he can, and also be careful to prevent the practices rising; about which things he has disbursed a good part of the money received. Edinburgh.

5 *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "16 May, 1580. From Robert Bowes." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 583. Fol. 92.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 41 Original of the same.

May 16. **499.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Has learned that the Bishop of Ross was at Dieppe, notwithstanding that it was denied here. The departure of Farnyhurst to

Elizabeth.
1580. Spain is also well known here, and alleged to be done for his relief, and to obtain some money of the King of Spain by the commendation of the French King; but is certainly informed that he took that journey by direction of "27's" own letters, as appears by his letters of the 12th of April last to some of his friends.

Has "entered" again with "98," whom he dares not affirm to be thoroughly recovered, but saw such danger that it was meet to have him, chiefly seeing he shall bring him and his fellow to all points that shall be reasonably required, wherein he prays direction in some especial manner, that, doing all things directed, he may be holden discharged, howsoever matters be performed, seeing that he cannot descend and look into the hearts of men.

Trusts by his other letter he will see this loose state and the means for some remedy thereof. But in case those means, or any other to be given from England in that behalf—which he thinks will be well received if they promise better surety—shall be thought more chargeable than the benefits to be had thereby, may recompense, then he desires to be timely directed that he may dispose himself and all things therein as for her majesty's service. All other things he refers to his common letter aforesaid, and to the view of Mr. James Murray's letter inclosed. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—At the closing hereof he received this letter inclosed, whereby he shall understand what assembly Lennox makes. The same is greatly misliked; but provision is made to prevent this and others until the King shall come to Edinburgh, and then the matter will be found in danger again. It is high time that resolution be taken in these great matters that the minister may upon knowledge thereof travail with better strength and boldness.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 38, b. 1 *p.* *In two hands. No address. Notes in the margin.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

Another copy of the same.

Inclosure with the same.

(The Earl of Lennox to the Laird of Buchanan.)

"Traist freind," I think it is not unknown to you how it has pleased the King's majesty to "promove" me to the earldom of Lennox and "thais utheris landis possessit be my forbearis," and therefore seeing that you and your "forbeires" have ever been tender friends of that our house, I doubt not but that you will continue your good favour and friendship towards me, as I shall be ready to pleasure you at all times and occasions after my power, with as good will at the least as ever any of my "forbearis" did. Now you hear the King's majesty is to make a progress towards the north the 24th day of this instant, wherein his majesty's will is that I convoy him accompanied with my good friends. Wherefore I must pray you, amongst the rest of my well willers, that you will meet me on Monday next the 16th of this present, at the Falkirk, "at twelfe houris," with a good part of your ordinary "tryne," in convenient manner, that we may salute the King's majesty together; and therefore that you will appoint one or two of your servants to attend upon his majesty in my company dur-

Elizabeth.
1580. ing the voyage, as we shall confer more amply at meeting; and so doing you will pleasure his majesty and oblige me to acknowledge this the first proof of your goodwill as occasion serves. Edinburgh, 10th of May. "To my traist freind the Laird of Buchanon."

1 *p.* *Copy.*

Cott. Calig C. VI., fol. 38. Another copy of the inclosure.

May 16. **500.** ROBERT BOWES TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 616. All these great jealousies and suspicions lately reigning here amongst the nobillity are suppressed and removed for the present.

By the King's confession before the Council and otherwise, it appears that some change was intended to have been executed at the King's being at Down Menteith or soon after. In which alteration some think that the Earl of Morton, the Comptroller, and Collector of the thirds of the Church should have been displaced with great disgrace, and, perhaps, with no less peril to the two last. It is likewise thought that sundry suspected in religion, and who are yet favourers of the King's mother, and holden to be instruments of dangerous practice, should have been planted in Council, and in the King's chamber and household near about the King, and that the house of Mar should have been removed from the King's person, and the trust thereof committed to these new officers and good servants entering in this wise, who are supposed to have foreseen and provided that the King, upon the progress of their purpose, might have been preserved in place of surety against the power of their adversaries in this realm, and from the force of England in case the Queen of England would have dealt in that manner. What they would have done with the King and the estate after they had attained to the possession of their desire, he recommends to grave consideration and to the advice of such as see what is doing in France and Spain, where there has been great expectation of other effects to have risen here than hitherto have taken place. These matters are thus wrapped up with the discontentment of many of both sides, and he fears they tarry but the next wind to set them on flame again; for the prevention whereof he finds more to call for help than to labour themselves to make help.

The King will begin his progress into Fife and other north east parts on the 23rd of this month. Many noblemen are appointed to attend on him. Amongst others, the Earl of Lennox, contrary many men's expectation, is purposed to be in all this progress.

Lennox has subscribed to and openly professed sundry parts of the religion, appearing to come to the whole religion very shortly. The King's earnest affection towards him, by his absence and other means has not so outwardly appeared as lately it did. But at his access, which will be within three days, it is like to kindle again and to come to the former course, against which few or none will set themselves. He professes in words sufficient to be religious and to do good offices with all loyalty to the King, realm, and maintenance of the amity; yet with many he cannot be hitherto credited, by the conceit that they conceive that he should be privy to plots that are in manner known

Elizabeth.
1580. here to be in practice in France and Spain. He looks daily for answer to his letters sent to the Court of England by Roger Ashton and otherwise, the contents whereof and whole substance are no great secrets here, where commonly most things are not long kept close.

Morton seeks to draw himself to rest from Court and the affairs of the State. The questions betwixt him and Angus are like to be reconciled by the mediation of friends appointed thereto, yet he finds great difficulty in the good success thereof.

Argyll is departed into his country, minding to wait on the King at his return from his progress in August next, and not before. The meeting of the commissioners for the Borders is prorogued till the 20th of June next.

The King by his letter to the Queen of England answered and prayed that trial may be had of such things as Lord Claud Hamilton avows against the King's letter before sent to her, and that for this purpose the two brethren may be first in her power, and then proceed to this trial. Which being done, then he will be contented that such conclusion shall be taken in the matter, with her advice, as shall be agreeable to reason and stand with the honour and safety of her majesty and of himself.

The State here is quiet, but with great jealousies and distrust reigning still as well among the nobility, who are far shaken loose and in sunder, as also in many other inferiors, who doubt the sequel of matters expected. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The inclosed letter from Mr. Murray will inform him more perfectly of this estate, which surely is very loose.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May 17. **501.** Robert Bowes to [Burghley and Walsingham].

Sundry of good experience here look for some new enterprise for alteration of this State. The attempt is determined to be put in execution in the next progress of the King, by his own free will, and soon after the entry on his journey. But the certain time and place resting on the King's pleasure and not yet resolved, it is devised, as he is credibly advertised, that the King, at such place as shall be thought meet, shall declare himself willing to tarry a while, and thereupon to send for such of the nobility as he pleases to assemble and come to him; whereupon such order shall be taken for reformation of abuses and for removing of suspicious persons from him as shall be by that assembly found expedient. It is likely that the Comptroller, the Secretary, the two abbots, and those of the name of Murray shall be put out and revoked. It is also said to him that the Earl of Morton shall enjoy and hold his own room and be retained as a principal counsellor about the King, on condition that he will be content to serve the King in his own room and degree, and follow the like with those. It is pretended that none suspected in religion or known to be devoted to the French course or practisers of the King's murder shall be placed near the King or have grace, but that all things shall be done for the best service of the King and for the inviolable preservation of the love and amity betwixt the Queen of England and the King, and that her advice shall be

Elizabeth.
1580. afterwards followed in all things as touching the King's safety and government to be established. Although the other side do so, and are sufficiently warned hereof, yet he distrusts their provident care and foresight to prevent the execution. Because these matters arise to great height and danger, requiring timely order to be taken by more grave consideration and providence than any unskilful hand can render, therefore has thought good to make the same timely known to them. Wishes one of more sufficiency to supply his defaults, as well by the lack of the French tongue as of other imperfections. Proposes to be with the King, at Stirling, this night, and soon after to return hither on the further passage of these plots, wherein he much distrusts his strength.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.* *In the margin:* "17 May, 1580. From Mr. Bowes." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 583. Fol. 95 b.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 43. Original of the same.

May 17. **502.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

By his joint letter to the Lord Treasurer and him it will appear that that sent is "tyckle," and needful to be regarded. Wishes that her majesty may resolve with speed for the course and remedy for the same, and that notice be given to her majesty's minister serving in Edinburgh. Prays that if he be employed he may have right timely advertisement of her majesty's pleasure. Wishes that his insufficient experience may be relieved by some of better wisdom who has the French tongue and such credit as may boldly go forwards without suspicion. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May 23. **503.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM].

Because he has seen sundry evident signs of the attempt intended for the alteration of this State to have been enterprised, and the same intelligence has been confirmed as well by some of credit as also by the same person who before discovered it to him, who has required that he should give timely knowledge to the Queen of England thereof for testimony of the performance of his duty newly renewed and promised to her, and for the seasonable prevention of the effect, which he thinks should bring no danger to the King or State nor to her majesty's course here, therefore, for the surest remedy, has returned to the King, and finds him of opinion that those old practices, oftentimes pushed at and sought to be effected, are not clean given over with all men. Howbeit the said good order is already taken to restrain as well the motion to himself as also the enterprise. Which things he thought no man dare take in hand without his assent, and although some had essayed to persuade him that force would [be] used for the retention of his ear and person, yet he said he knew sufficiently that none would presume so far on their own strength, seeing he could easily daunt any such person or purpose. Whereupon, for his comfort, he [Bowes] offered to him right liberal aid and success from the Queen of England in any such case of

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1580. necessity, exhorting him that on appearance of any such matter he would give her speedy intelligence, which he readily agreed to do.

Afterwards, he entered into a frank discourse of all the particular doing at Downe Montethe, agreeing in effect with his former account that there needs no further repetition; and describing the qualities and dispositions of the Earls of Argyll and Lennox, and others,—wherein he [Bowes] saw that his observations and judgments of them were grounded on good knowledge of their nature and actions—he showed that he himself defeated the device at the Downe by finding fault with the want of beds and other requisites, and by his hasty return to Stirling. For he considered, he said, that the matter was like to come to blood; and into whose hand soever he should fall, "they might note in him suche constancy, perjury and falshood as should breed in them great distruste of lyke effect to be found agayne in him." At length he seemed to affirm that some abuses about him necessarily called for reformation; but he allowed only the peaceable and orderly manner thereof by convention and due trial, concluding that he would not in any sort agree to any kind of sudden innovation of State or surprise of the person of any, and he willed him to signify this promise to the Queen of England; which he has sundry times renewed, appearing always to be desirous of her majesty's advice in all his great causes, and seeming very ready and willing to follow the same for his most surety and benefit.

For the more sure prevention of this matter he laid before the Earl of Lennox as well his new professed service to the King and devotion to the Queen of England, as also the danger arising by sudden innovation, which this people would oftentimes and unadvisedly seek for their particular advantage. He began to recount to him great disorders used by sundry about the King, especially in the abuse of his possessions and revenues, and chiefly in the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, who, he said, had openly given forth that he and others should lose their lives before they lost the possession of the King's person. He doubted that to retain still the benefit of the King's ear and person, and to avoid the reformation requisite, they meant not to stop the King coming to Edinburgh after his progress, contrary to the King's pleasure and the appointment resolved, and therefore he pressed much for these abuses. Nevertheless, upon his [Bowes] opening of the convenience following the attempt of sudden alteration of the State by surprise, in indirect manner, and in hope that the Queen of England would persuade timely reformation to be made by indifferent convention of the States, and peaceable means for the profit of the King and contentment of the nobility—wherein he put him in good comfort—he promised to oppone himself against, and to do his whole endeavour to stay the execution of any such disorderly enterprise, resting, therefore, on the reformation to be advanced by her majesty's good advice. Moreover, has dealt herein with Lord Ruthven, because it seemed that he has greatly favoured Lennox, and also would not hinder this suspected purpose. He has very freely promised to resist and defeat, so far as he can, all such devices; wishing, nevertheless, that the abuses grieving many of the nobility should be reformed by ordinary means; wherein, surely, his good doings at Stirling, preventing thereby the evils that appeared hastily to have fallen amongst them by their rash dealings, well declare

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1580. his good service to the King, and are worthy of thanks to comfort and hold him in that good course. Wishes that some thankful memory of that good part done at Stirling may be recommended.

The rest of the Council and such as be about the King are so well warned of this cause, and the promises of the King and others are so far given forth to him that he trusts to stay, or at least to defer the execution of this matter until the King's return from his progress in the end of August, about which time they will look to have better satisfaction, and order to be taken about the King to their content, otherwise they are like then to essay their own strengths to procure it by the best means they can. The effect of their plot is described in his letter of the 17th instant, and the same will at length be put in practice unless her majesty stays it by seasonable advice to the King to take timely order herein by resolution of an equal convention —which cannot be without some strife, and, perhaps, to the discontentment of those who are now about the King—or else by the providence and good means of the chosen sort of the nobility to be joined together to suppress all such enterprises, and to preserve the King and State in quietness and in the policy already established, or in other like form to be ordained, which also will bring with it danger of contention and some peril of the success. Having settled all things in Scotland as well as he could, has retired to his charge.

The Earl of Morton remains ready to be employed as shall please her majesty to direct him. Although the earl has sought her majesty's relief for the King by gift or loan of money, yet at present it seems to him good that no hasty delivery thereof should be made.

The Earl of Lennox and others of that side much mislike that the King should charge the Queen of England anywise, thinking that the meaning thereof is to levy and sustain a guard about the King, wherein the captain and men should be at her devotion and appointment, and thereby they say the King should remain, as it were, in her own hands, a matter by that side thought very unmeet for the King, as by secret and right credible intelligence he [Bowes] is certainly informed, and, as it seems, they cannot well digest anything to be done with the King without having a part therein. The resolution to be taken in these respects and jealousies, and directed in these causes, ought to be determined and sent with better expedition.

Mr. Thomas Livingston brought letters from the bishop of Ross to the Earl of Lennox, the Countess of Atholl, her son, and others tending to sound the King whether ambassadors coming from foreign and mighty Princes with good and honourable errrands should be welcome and well entertained. It is thought good that the ambassadors should come from the King of Spain, but mention is not made in the letters from whence they shall be sent. There is inward intelligence betwixt Lennox and Ross, and he [Ross] has written in other causes of importance.

The Carrs are in talk with Angus for reconciliation, having appointed to meet within two days. Therefore, upon their agreement, he intends to knit Angus and them to Morton; which, although it will be very hard to do, nevertheless he does not despair thereof.

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The discord betwixt the Earls of Morton and Angus has done great hurt to them both, and given no little advantage to their adversaries; but seeing the variance is only for matters of money, trusts to bring it to friendly composition. The Earl of Angus shows himself so willing to yield to any mediation or order commended by the Queen of England or in her name and to do all good offices for her that he deserves great thanks, which being sent to him by any good means or letter would encourage him to continue in this mind and greatly advance the good success of the end of this debate, which necessarily ought to be removed from them.

Upon late submission made by Mackintosh to the Earl of Argyll, these troubles are like to cease, whereby Argyll will not draw any force together. He purposes to return to Court in the end of the progress, and by messengers renews the remembrance of his professed devotion to her majesty.

The King proceeds in his progress, notwithstanding some secret means were made to have stayed the same. He will spend eight or ten days at small and private houses before he comes to St. Johnstone, where he will tarry with Lord Ruthven nine days. Returned hither yesternight. Berwick.

5¾ *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "23 May 1580. Mr. Bowes." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 583. Fol. 97.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 45. Original of the same.

May 23. **504.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his last, of the 19th instant, this morning, and perceives thereby that he will shortly procure her majesty's resolution in the causes for Scotland, which surely require both grave consideration in the determination of the course to be taken in that broken State, and also very good expedition in the advertisement and direction of the same.

The Earl of Morton is ready to employ himself and all his friends and power to execute that "platt" that for the common benefit shall be advised; wherein he desires to be so well assured of good assistance and backing that he may boldly trust to the same, hoping thereon to effect such success as shall be profitable and for the best quietness of both realms; and he is contented to adventure himself herein, notwithstanding that by other private means he can with surety provide his own safety and rest. He is loth to hang long in suspense or uncertainty, and therefore he presses him to know what he shall look for, and what course shall be set down to recover and preserve that falling State; wherein he beseeches him to be a mean that he may be satisfied.

Although he has abstained from the Earl of Morton's company and showed little countenance openly to him, yet because it is found that he has sought to increase his credit with the King and elsewhere—as nothing can be secret here—it is said by the contrary side that her majesty makes chief choice of him—a matter displeasant to many who envy his good gifts above their own—and that he [Bowes] is wholly won to him with his liberality, which neither he nor many

Elizabeth.
1580. others, he thinks, have at any time tasted; so that he finds plainly that many of these men "fish for pykes" to draw on the alteration desired, and then behold the sequel. The bishop of Glasgow, and especially the bishop of Ross, have very inward and frequent intelligence with Lennox, who stands in such conceit with the English and with the King and nobility of Scotland that he cannot well tell how to deal with him. But his fruits will be shortly seen when he comes to the further possession of his desires to have himself and his assured friends most near to the King, and able to lead in counsel and government, which will speedily take full effect if her majesty does not enter betimes and stop that course, whereunto all men were yielding, and hardly has he stayed them from running headlong thereunto. For these causes he beseeches him to procure the expedition of her majesty's resolution. Prays God that this work may be committed to a better workman than he is. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 44. Extract from the same.

May 24. **505.** THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND'S COMMISSION TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM, ETC., FOR BORDER MATTERS.

Commission for Richard, Bishop of Durham, Lord Hunsdon, Henry, Lord Scrope, Sir John Foster, knight, R[obert] B[owes], esquire, and Ralph Rokeby to hear and finally conclude the controversies between the English and Scottish borderers.

1½ *pp. Latin. Copy. Note in the margin in Burghley's hand.* [*With No. 583. Fol. 116 b.*]

May 24. **506.** INSTRUCTIONS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND'S COMMISSIONERS ON THE BORDERS.

"Instructions given by her majestie to the right reverend father in God the Bischoppe of Dureame, the Lord of Hunsdon, one of her highness' Privie Counsell and governour of her towne of Barwick, and Warden of her majestie's East Marches towards Scotland, the Lord Scroupe, Warden of her majestie's [*sic*], and to Sir John Foster, knight, Warden of her Middle Marches there, and Robert Bowes, esquire, Thresurer of Barwick, and Rafe Rokesbye, one of her majestie's Counsell in the North parts of her realme of England, sent as commissioners to her highness's said Borders and Marches towardes Scotlande, 24 of Maye, 1580."

Whereas upon occasion of mutual grief of the subjects of the Marches and frontiers of both their realms, which, notwithstanding the ordinary meeting of their Wardens, can receive no redress, it has been thought meet to her and the King of Scots that there should be certain commissioners appointed to join with the said wardens as assistants for the better determining of the causes in controversy, she has made choice of them. They are forthwith to put themselves in readiness to meet the commissioners of the King of Scots at such time

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1580. and place as by mutual consent on both parts shall be agreed on. As the principal end of the meeting is to determine such broken matters and quarrels as are depending on the frontiers undetermined, which, not receiving timely redress, were not unlikely to grow to some such like inconvenience as might disturb the present peace, to the end they may more fruitfully proceed herein for so much as may concern the behoof of her subjects before they begin to treat with the commissioners of Scotland, they shall, as sufficiently as for the shortness of the time they can, inform themselves of what number of causes remain undetermined, and the causes and lets thereof, and how many of the same are "sperable," and how many desperate, and what defaults be upon the Marches in the opposite wardens, and what things were requisite not only to remedy the defaults past, but also to stay the like hereafter. Are to "bend" themselves in their meeting and sitting with the commissioners of Scotland, finding the like disposition in them to deliver justice, by satisfying the parties grieved with all sincerity, laying aside all affections for parties—not as men interested in the causes, but as persons indifferently chosen, and disposed only to yield redress without respect of the contentation of any private persons or defence of their own errors. In which behalf they shall more profitably travail for the benefit of her subjects and to her good liking if they come sufficiently prepared as well to maintain the demands they shall make as to answer such things as they are to be charged with by the commissioners on the other side. For that a show of justice or administration of justice in part is no sufficient means to end former debates and establish a sincere peace, it is meet that this redress be so thoroughly prosecuted on both parts that in anywise there be not any complaints, bill or matter of importance left unsatisfied or abolished; wherein they shall effectually travail with the commissioners of Scotland to the uttermost of their endeavour, giving them to understand that it were better for her that the Princes of both realms made an utter abolition and general relaxation of the whole, than to leave any of their Marches so subject to confusion as presently they are for want of full and due execution of justice; but she does not think it meet they should far forth open themselves to them as long as they see any hope to have redress otherwise. The redress shall begin from the time the Earl of Sussex was in Scotland.

Forasmuch as the disorders principally grow through not observing the days of truce, and the seldom meeting of the wardens, therefore they shall press the commissioners of Scotland that the said days may be better observed, and also that the good orders that have been heretofore agreed on may be duly executed. Are to inform themselves of all such good orders as have been devised in former time for the better government of these frontiers, and do their best that they may be revived and put in execution. In case the ancient and modern orders orders do not reach sufficiently for the stay of the disorders they are to devise amongst themselves how the same may be remedied.

It should be remembered that before they meet, every warden should send to the officers of the opposite Marches a roll containing in writing the whole attempts committed, not being redressed, or any other things that he can demand, to the end that, having a convenient time to be advised thereupon, the same may be

Elizabeth.
1580. answered before the commissioners either by the warden himself or his deputy. If there shall be found in the rolls matter and default wherewith any of the wardens of England may be charged, he who shall be so charged shall be removed from his sitting while he abides the judgment of the rest of the commissioners; and they shall require the like order of proceeding to be performed on the other side.

Whereas there grow daily some controversies about the debatable ground and certain fishings, especially in the East and Middle Marches, and in time of meeting of her commissioners in 1563, at Carlisle and Durham, the matter was put off by referrring the determination and redress thereof till such certificate as might be received from both Princes touching their pleasure in that behalf, which has not been performed, the delay wherein has been some hindrance to the amity and peace between the borderers—she has thought it meet that such inconveniences as have fallen out by former delays should be provided for at this meeting, and therefore they are to travail carefully therein and do what in them lies, if they find the King's commissioners in like sort authorized, that something may be done for bounding and limiting of the said ground and places of fishing, and also of the limits of the Borders in controversy by considering the differences and controversies presently hereby appearing, and friendly compounding and ending the same by dividing the same ground debatable and setting of perpetual marches, bounds, and meets betwixt realm and realm. They are to repair to the said lands, places of fishing, and buonds which are in controversy, and there, by ocular inspection and examination of the most ancient and credible persons, take such order for the final ending of the questions and debates that may arise therethrough as shall seem meet to them. Are to be careful—and to require the same of the opposite commissioners—that their number who shall wait on them for that service be not greater than of necessity they shall be constrained to use for their perfect trial of the right of the bonds on either side.

3½ *pp. Copy. Note in the margin in Walsingham's hand:* "This was sent away the 5 of Aug. 1580." *Marginal notes in Burghley's hand.* [*With No. 583. Fol. 114 b.*]

[May.] **507.** ELIZABETH TO HER COMMISSIONERS ON THE BORDERS.

Whereas by direction given them in her instructions for treating in Border causes she had ordered that the redress should begin from the time of the Earl of Sussex being in Scotland as Lieutenant of her army, and of her agreement with Macgill, Bellenden, and Alexander Hay; forasmuch as the King of Scots has requested her that the redress might look back to 1563, and she has condescended thereto, her will is that accordingly they proceed with the commissioners of the King of Scots in redressing attempts from 1563, which have been committed on both sides and remain unreformed, as also such as at that time of redress were inrolled and not ordered at that meeting. In case the commissioners of the King of Scots shall, when they come to the attempts committed in the time of the late rebellion in the North, require satisfaction for them, they shall declare to them that the attempts then done were wrought only on such as were receivers and maintainers of her rebels, which being a matter con-

Elizabeth.
1580. taining a manifest breach of the treaty, and for that the receivers and aiders of her rebels were of the Queen of Scots' faction and evil devoted to the King, whose person and State she had an especial care to preserve,—they shall declare to them that she does not think meet or reason that she should be bound to recompense their losses who were so notoriously her enemies, relieving such persons as sought not only the subversion of her and her State, but also whose evil offices reached to the person of the King, their own sovereign.

1½ *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "To the commissioners uppon the Borders, from her majestie." *Note in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 583. Fol. 112*].

June 1. **508.** PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND TO ROBERT BOWES.

Have seen copies of certain objections and difficulties made by the King of Scots and his Council on view of the draft of the Queen of England's commission for the Border causes, and some conference already had with him in that behalf, and very well like the answers and solutions he has made thereto. The redresses are to be demanded from the time of the Earl of Sussex's late being in Scotland. As for the setting at liberty of unlawful prisoners and discharging of all bonds and sureties, it is agreed that such a clause shall be put down in the commission on condition that the meeting may now go forward at the day appointed. Of both which he may advertise the King and his Council for their better satisfaction in that behalf. And for that Lord Hunsdon, one of the appointed commissioners, shall stay here for her majesty's service, so that he shall not be able to be present at the meeting, and yet shall not be excused if he may possibly be spared from hence, Selby, gentleman porter of Berwick, as deputy warden, shall be put in the commission to supply his place in case of his [absence]. Is likewise to give knowledge of this to the King and his Council.

1⅛ *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "1 June, 1580. Minute from the Lords to M[r] Bowes about Border causes." [*With No. 583. Fol. 101b.*]

June 1. **509.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Has not been unmindful to call earnestly upon her majesty for her resolution touching divers points contained in sundry of his later letters for the stay of the broken state of things in Scotland, but they are now so entangled with the handling of this French matter that all other causes, be they of never so great importance, must for the time give place, by reason whereof he has not as yet been able to draw such answer therein from her majesty as he could have wished, and knows the necessity of these causes requires; yet has so far prevailed with her that she is content to appoint the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, and him to consider the points, and what resolution she takes on their report he will not fail to advertise him of with all speed. Incloses a letter from the Lords of the Council containing their answer to two points referred to their consideration by him in the solutions he has given to certain doubts propounded by the Lords of Scotland at the mutual conference they

Elizabeth.
1580. had together upon the contents of the draft of the commission for Border causes sent from England; so that now, unless there grows some stay from themselves, the meeting of the commissioners on both parts may go forward at the day appointed, and for that purpose he will send the commission and instructions. Would be glad to know from him first what certainty there is that they in Scotland like that the day of meeting shall hold.

Finds her majesty disposed to return him into Scotland for the stay of such disorders as by the practices of D'Aubigny are likely to fall out, and she is so much the rather inclined thereto, for that he writes that the Earl of Morton is of opinion that there should be a stay made of delivering any relief to the King. Which point was more liked of than any in all his letters.

Has gotten her majesty's warrant for his exchange, and hopes to despatch his book shortly. Has not been more glad of the passing of any suit since his coming to this place. The Court.

1 *p.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "1 Junij, 1580. To M^r Bowes."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

June 1. **510.** LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO ELIZABETH.

"Rycht excellent, rycht heich and maist mychtie Princes, pleis zour majestie," I being here in February last, it pleased your highness that I should return to the north parts unto the time your majesty had written to the King my sovereign touching our cause, and now having understood that Mr. Bowes has got answer, I am come here to desire your majesty's presence, and to know further of your highness' good will and pleasure, which I most humbly crave. London. *Signed:* Claud Hamiltoun.

½ *p.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

June 1. **511.** LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO WALSINGHAM.

It pleased the Queen's majesty to will him ever, as he had occasion to write to her, to direct the letters to him. Requests him to present the one he sends, and to let him know her answer. London. *Signed:* Claud Hamiltoun.

½ *p.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed.*

June 3. **512.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig. C. VI., fol. 47

Hearing lately that the Earl of Morton had received a hurt in his left leg by the stroke of a horse, causing him to stay his journey to the King in his progress, contrary to his former purpose, and doubting some sudden storm to be seen arising, and likely to fall at Court, therewith sent to learn his state, and the doings at Court and elsewhere. Understands that the earl has stayed his journey, partly by this accident, but chiefly because it is now made known to the wiser sort that the King, thinking himself in no surety at Stirling or in the keeping of those who remain about him, and also nourishing in his breast some hidden change of his company to be put in execu-

Elizabeth.
1580. tion within short time, and this having come to the Earl of Morton's knowledge, he is persuaded that his presence in Court will drive him of necessity either to prevent and impugn such alteration, or else—to avoid greater inconvenience for some short space—to favour and assist the enterprise. And because these two are so contrarious in themselves that he cannot entertain the one but that he must in honour refuse the other, with determination to hold on in the way wherein he was entered, and for that he depends so fully on the Queen of England's resolution to be signified to him in such certainty that he and his friends may both boldly enter into the course that her majesty shall direct for the King's safety and common quietness and benefit of the realms, and also, with assurance of good backing, proceed with her privity and favour, therefore he purposes to defer his choice and entrance into either of these two several courses, and to absent himself from Court until he may receive advertisement of her majesty's pleasure and resolution in these and the affairs of that nation. Concluding that if it should please her to resolve favourably towards the King and welfare of the realm, and make him sure that he and his friends shall not be left, then he will pass to the Court as soon as he may travel, and there abide until he shall find such friends as shall be able to withstand all evil practices. Otherwise, if her resolution be not to his expectation, or to leave them to themselves, then he must insinuate himself by the best means he can into the King's favour and [that of] other familiars, making himself known to be no hinderer, but a furtherer of their matters. To the which way he may be driven by the necessity aforesaid, and to win time and avoid inconvenience for some short season; yet he minds, notwithstanding, never to consent to run on in the same with his goodwill, seeing it shall bring shortly great perils and troublous effects.

Albeit he has travailed to satisfy him with all the reasons and surety that he can make him, yet he still attends and desires the resolution—in these, and for the course to be determined therein—to be given by her majesty upon regard of the estate present, earnestly praying that he may have the same with expedition, whereon now he and the cause wholly depend.

Is informed by other intelligence, that after twenty days or thereabouts an alteration will be sought by some means, and although the King will be loth to consent to the same in respect of his promise lately made to him [Bowes], and to be signified to her majesty, yet he may haply be persuaded that the order and form of the change—varying little or nothing from his promise--may with honour be executed for his profit: and because the sequel thereof is like to be dangerous, therefore he now often certifies the probability and intention of the progress thereof.

Understands by letters from Sir John Foster that sundry great attempts have been committed by the Scots within his office since the prorogation of the day set for meeting of the commissioners for the Borders, and that greater disorders are like to ensue in case the next day, on the 20th of this month, shall be again prorogued. Which meeting will again be adjourned except her majesty's order and resolution be very shortly sent and made known to the King and Council for limitation of the time from whence the redresses for offences done

Elizabeth.
1580. shall begin and be made by the commissioners. The note inclosed will declare how he has disbursed the 500*l.* received, and what remains thereof in his hands. The parties receiving 100*l.* apiece look to have 100*l.* more apiece; but retains the same until he shall receive further direction and like proof of performance of that they have promised; wherein the first named in the note has yielded some testimony of his forwardness by sundry intelligences given him of purposes devised, and by his own travail to stay the execution. The second begins so show himself willing and ready to do all good offices. Because they are able to do good services and offer their whole endeavour, therefore he requests timely direction as well in the further gift of any other sum, as also in binding them to any articles other than they have already promised.

Mr Peter Young, the King's schoolmaster, nor any of the ministry, except one in the King's house, and a reader, will receive anything by any means he can use. Nevertheless, they have been and are good instruments to advance the best effects in their power; for which they oftentimes get displeasures, and chiefly the ministers of Edinburgh, who are of late much stomached by the favourites of Lennox and such as have offices.

The Earl of Lennox having been at Glasgow to dispose his private affairs in those parts, has returned to the Court, rejoicing greatly at the good countenance the King gave him before him [Bowes] on his departure from the King; for he thought that his former absence and other means had abated the King's favour towards him. But since his last return he finds himself recovered and remitted to his former grace. At his subscription, before the King, to the articles of religion inclosed, he promised to entertain a French minister of the religion to instruct him. Whereupon the King prayed him [Bowes] to help him to a learned and honest man from London. A discreet man in that place may do very good offices; therefore promised to do his endeavour. The earl prepares to feast the King greatly at Arbroath; which banquet may, peradventure, be soon after heard of.

The Earl of Argyll has assembled his forces against Macintosh, notwithstanding the submission offered to the earl; yet it is as like that the mediation shall take effect, and thereupon the earl will haste to the Court something before his former purpose.

The Earl of Angus and the Carrs have met, and are near agreement. The Carrs stick to grant their "mannerhede" required by the earl, and they are not fully agreed for restitution of the possessions of Farnyhurst into the hands of Angus, and which he will not restore without recompense either by the King or the Carrs. Wherein the Carrs have especial trust to be relieved at the King's hands by the commendation of Lennox, on whom the Carrs, therefore, depend. Having settled all things in quietness in Scotland, by the promise of the King and others, and seeing that his abode there could work no better effects with them than he might do from hence, before the Queen of England's resolution should be made known and be executed there—for the expedition of which resolution he should not only be importunately urged during his abode there, but also on a stay of the same be had in suspicion and contempt, to the hindrance of the good success of the cause—therefore thought it best for her

Elizabeth.
1580. service and ease of charges to retire hither, being as ready to return with the first letter and to do all that shall be commanded to him, as if he were still present in the Court.

The bishop of Ross by his letters to the Earl of Lennox—as he has been informed by his friend newly entertained—has signified that he was advertised out of England that there was a band and promise betwixt the Earl of Huntingdon and Lords John and Claud Hamilton for mutual friendship and support in all their affairs, and that Lord John would come into England, hoping to find favour there. Which matter the bishop thought would be a wreck to the Queen mother and to the King himself if it were not provided for. The Earl of Lennox hereupon taking an abstract of the letter purposed to have showed it to the King, with persuasion to have imparted it to him [Bowes] to be made known to the Queen of England, and that in case her majesty should esteem lightly thereof, then the King might be assured that he should receive little benefit at her hands. What the Earl of Lennox has done since, he does not yet know. For, after his coming to Court, he had little leisure to deal with the King before his [Bowes'] departure from him, and the King did not open or touch any part of this matter to him, nor did he know it before his departure from Scotland.

Because it appears to him that this device savours of subtile practice in [the bishop of] Ross and that it is to be used to increase the King's displeasure against the Hamiltons, in the hindrance of the Queen of England's request for them, and also therewith to distil some conceit of suspicion in the King's head towards her majesty, therefore, has thought it his duty to advertise this intelligence. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

June 3. **513.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

By his joint letter to the Lord Treasurer and him it will appear in what "tyckle" condition the state in Scotland stands; which without her majesty's speedy resolution will be altered from the government and order presently established; for this change is continually pressed by mighty personages, who now find no impeachment or stop other than the disagreement only of the King, who, being a child, and urged by those he chiefly loves, and also left destitute of the aid of those who should impugn it, is like to be at length overcome; and then those new officers having won possession of their policy will then declare what they and their confederates are; whereby also the hidden practices—not sufficiently discovered—are like to get such entrance by drift of time and provision as no little charge or light monies can draw back. The case is not yet desperate but that it may be relieved by seasonable medicine, which must agree of necessity with the humour of the nation and of the workmen to be employed, and in that realm few or none will be found who will labour only for the public, and for it sustain any great pains, charges, and—chiefly—peril without sight of their surety and some particular profit. On which ground the Earl of Morton stands, and cannot be called from it, especially in the dangerous condition and time wherein he is; so that he is to be satisfied and retained in season, or else,

Elizabeth.
1580. for his own surety—which indeed is presently in danger—he is like to step on so far that with honour he cannot come back. Besides, many things of late breed great suspicion in them towards the English, causing many to forbear to deal so frankly as willingly they would if they were assured of backing.

Some think the Earl of Lennox has [won], and will win more credit with England than he [Bowes] knows of; and some marvel that several instruments are secretly used in the realm. Amongst others the Clerk Register is threatened to be casten out, and another is like to be removed, and such placed in their places as neither rightly favour religion nor greatly care for the amity with England. It will now appear that that state cannot be holden long in such terms as by his last he advised him to keep them in.

Upon her majesty's resolution for that realm it shall be very good that she know how greatly the King is delighted with great horses and to be taught to ride by a skilful horseman; wherein the present of one or two ready and fair horses, with a rider, shall be more acceptable and of greater price to him than a great sum of money; and good words therewith may be good with the King, who is already won and devoted to her majesty. Some good deed must be employed to satisfy Morton, and chiefly the sight of her majesty's resolute purpose to stand fast and proceed in the course to be resolved Wishes that some favourable letters may be granted to Angus, Argyll, Montrose, Ruthven, and others. Desires that he may be speedily directed what he shall do. The cause of his return hither he has signified by his joint letter aforesaid, finding it much more meet to attend her majesty's resolution in this place than to adventure to remain there with suspicion and disgrace, and, perhaps, with contempt, which might do more hindrance than his presence should profit. Requests him to make his excuse, and to let him know how the same and his service are accepted. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 51. Copy of the same.

June. **514.** INDUCEMENTS TO DRAW ON JAMES VI. TO YIELD TO HIS TRANSPORTATION INTO FRANCE.

"Inducementes to draw on the King to yield sooner and more willingly to his transportation into France."

(*a*) Bring him in doubt of his surety at Stirling. (*b*) Cause him to dislike such keepers as are about him, and to change his company. (*c*) Hinder the reconciliation of the King with the Hamiltons; which being wrought by her majesty, the like is feared will be brought to pass between them and Morton, and so, consequently, the Scottish Queen's purposes will be deferred, which they labour to advance. 3 Junii. Bow[es]. (*d*) Dislike mediation to be made for the reconciliation of the nobility by her majesty. Commendation of the Court of France and the glory thereof; the multitude of friends and kinsfolk he has there; increase of his own state by that amity. 3 May 1580. Bowes.

The King is drawn into this persuasion, and has already signified his good liking thereof to Ross and others French, Scottish, and

Elizabeth.
1580. English. The expectation of this transportation draws many English to France. The western progress is not misliked to serve this purpose; it is discovered by good intelligence that it is so looked for in France.

½ *p. In the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). *Indorsed:* "Inducements to show the Scottish King's disposition and will to fly into France if he be to nere pressed at home."

June 4. **515.** LORD JOHN HAMILTON TO ELIZABETH.

Please your majesty; albeit I have not had such subject to have written to your highness this year bypast as now presently—which was not for lack of goodwill, but rather for fault of good intelligence—and now being advertised by my brother of the favours shown by your majesty to him during the time of his residence within your realm, as also of the great care which your majesty has had in dealing with the King's majesty, my sovereign, for restitution of us both to our country, lands, rooms, and heritages, conformable to the tenour of the pacification made at St. Johnstone by your means and mediation, I could not of my duty omit to give your majesty most humble thanks. For, albeit the same as yet has not taken full effect, yet I doubt not but it shall be shortly brought to pass through continuance of your good mind, to the increase of your honour and our weal and contentment, which being done will "astrict" us to do your majesty all humble service that lies in our power, and prefer your majesty to all other Princes of the world—our allegiance and duty being reserved to the King's majesty our sovereign, from whose presence, though we have been hitherto debarred, and in the mean season evil entreated through the craft and malice of our enemies. Nevertheless, I hope assuredly, by God's grace, that when it shall please Him to bring his majesty to greater perfection, he may through sound and upright judgment examine and try all our doings, his majesty shall know us ever to have been most faithful, humble, obedient subjects, in such sort that he will render great thanks some day unto your majesty for "reponyng" of us in our rank and estate.

It has pleased Sir Harry Cobham, your ambassador, to communicate to me the copy of the answer made at your desire, sent lately with Sir Robert Bowes, whereby I can gather nothing but delay; which I impute not to his majesty's own clemency and good "naturell," but to the policy and wicked surmises of my adversaries, whereof I assure myself your majesty's wisdom will have consideration, seeing the great troubles, inconvenience, and scaith which I, my brother, and friends sustain daily more and more through drift of time, while we ourselves want only the "jouysence" of our livings, "but that wther our u[n]friends hes seaset and emparet thaim selfis thairunto." For remedy whereof I will pray your majesty most humbly to see some good order taken, to the honour and quietness of both the realms and our reasonable satisfaction. Paris.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "4 Junii, 1580. From the Lord Hamylton to her majestie."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 50. Original of the same. *Signed:* Jhone Hammiltoun.

Elizabeth.
1580. June 6. **516.** LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Received the letter from the bearer with the inclosed extract of the King of Scot's letters written to the Queen of England touching their cause, and understands thereby that he has delivered his letter to her, for which he thanks him. Whereas he desires him to send in writing his device what course were best for help in the matter, seeing it is a weighty cause, he prays that he may have audience of the Queen, when he will declare his judgment thereanent. London. *Signed:* Claud Hamiltoun.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

June 9. **517.** LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Prays him to render most humble thanks to the Queen of England for granting him an audience this [day] Thursday, and to let her know that he is unable to travel through sickness. London. *Signed:* Claud Hamilton.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 583.*]

June 10. **518.** ROGER ASTON TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 612.

Having this convoy, a servant of Mr. Bowes, I thought good to let your lordship understand how well the King's majesty has accepted of your good remembrance, and has taken the same in so good part as you would wish. This day he has been upon the pied horse, and at his alighting called for him and told him that he liked him so well that he would not give him for any horse he had. This day he ran for the golden ring on the pied horse. There were six who challenged all comers. The King was a defendant, and ran right bravely. He has caused the crossbow to be carried with him all the progress. I told him the gift was so simple that "hee would not be a knower" it came from you. I have let him understand your good m[ind] to advertise him at length.

I perceive no appearance of any alteration; but things continue in the same manner. Lennox is greater and greater. He is now made one of the Council; and three more for his sake, namely, Angus, Mar, and Atholl. The King has been very desirous to know his friends. Since my last coming home I did my Lord Huntingdon's commendations to him, and he took it very well, and asked me whether your lordship and he continued great friends. I resolved him, and he was glad of it.

At the King's being at the Earl of Montrose's the Earl of Mar has taken a liking to a sister of his wife's, and means to marry her. She is the Lord Drummond's daughter. If that goes forward Montrose and Mar will be all one.

Yesterday there was "pled" upon a scaffold before the King a mass with all the ceremonies, the order of the Jesuits, the danger that may follow if any Papists be suffered to come into this country. Here are many who would fain have all well, and are sorry that her majesty

Elizabeth.
1580. does not take greater care of this country, considering so dangerous a time.

The Earl of Morton has hurt his leg, and cannot travel this progress. Dundee. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address.*

June 12. **519.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM].

Received the Privy Council's letter. Wrote and sent an express messenger to signify the contents of the same to the King of Scots and Council, and to travail that the meeting of the commissioners for the Borders, appointed for the 20th instant, may be kept according to the time and place prescribed, and although by letters and order to the messengers he has sought the expedition of answer and holding of the meeting at the day limited, yet the messenger finding the King far passed in progress and accompanied with few councillors has not hitherto sent him any advertisement of his doings and success herein. Thinks little time is left to the King and Council to give order to the wardens and commissioners, so far distant at this time that hardly can they be gathered and put in readiness before the time of meeting; therefore, supposes that the meeting shall be again prorogued till some further day. Thought it his duty to signify this doubt and sign of prorogation. Has made known to her majesty's wardens the effects of the contents of the Privy Council's letter aforesaid and of his sending into Scotland, and also given warning to them to make ready their rolls from the time of the Earl of Sussex being in Scotland, and the agreements by him with Sir John Bellenden, James Macgill, and Alexander Hay; and, besides, has stayed the bishop of Durham and Mr. Ralph Rokeby from taking their journeys hitherwards. Berwick.

1½ *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "12 June, 1580. Mr. Robert Bowes." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 583. Fol 100 b.*].

June 15. **520.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

On the return of the messenger sent to Scotland to advertise the King and Council of the resolutions given by the Lords of the Privy Council of England in Border causes, has received a letter from the Commendator of Dunfermline declaring the answer, which, together with the double of his own written to the Council there in this behalf, he has sent to the Lords of her majesty's Council aforesaid,

The King in this progress has called the Earls of Lennox, Angus, Atholl, and Mar to his Secret Council, all present at Court. Lennox was called, but not sworn before, and now he bears no little sway in the Council and elsewhere. Sundry wise men think that the creation of these young councillors will be the beginning of great effects, and that this progress, devised to avoid apparent inconvenience, will hasten and draw on the execution of evils suspected; wherein he is by some warned that this addition in the Council will shortly spread further, and work greater change among them. Some call on him for remedy and prevention by the Queen of England's means; which he recommends wholly to her good pleasure and grave

Elizabeth.
1580. advice, whereon that cause and many good men wholly depend, wishing the seasonable coming of the same. The most wise and ancient of the Council have a desire to withdraw themselves from Court to rest, giving place to the young councillors and their friends. It is not like that any Council for the affairs of the State shall be holden before the King's return to St. Andrews.

The Earl of Mar has lately chosen to his wife the sister of Lord Drummond, cousin german to Lord Ruthven, and near kinswoman to the Earl of Angus. For the contracting of which marriage the Earl of Angus and Lord Ruthven intend to be with the Earl of Morton very shortly; where he purposes also to have some from himself to understand how the Court and matters there go from time to time. The Earl of Morton is indifferently well recovered, yet he minds to hasten to the Court. He still attends her majesty's resolution, desiring the understanding of the same before his repair to the King, which he cannot now long defer.

Is advertised that Calice, some time a pirate, falling on the coast of Scotland, near Orkney, set sundry of his men on an island there for fresh water, who were so well entertained, and liberally offered all courtesy, that Calais himself, accompanied with 24 shot, adventured to land, seeking to be victualed by the inhabitants, who privily laid a "bushment" for him and took himself and most of his men, whom they still detain. Has not this of any such certain report that he may boldly give it forth to him for truth; yet has received it at divers' hands. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 52. Extract from the same.

June 15. **521.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letter of the 9th instant yesterday, together with her majesty's commission and instructions to the commissioners for Border matters; which commission and instructions he returns to him to be reformed in parts defective, and as occasion shall hereafter require, and chiefly in the naming of Ralph Rokeby, who in the commission is wrongfully named John Rokeby, Doctor *etc.* And likewise in the instructions a "D." is set before Rokeby, instead of "R." There is time sufficient before the meeting to amend all these defaults. But surely, except some other course be taken by timely coming of her majesty's resolution for the state of Scotland, he doubts the good success of that and of greater matters.

Morton and many of those who are especially devoted to her majesty send him word that they weary and look not for any seasonable resolution from her majesty; whereby they are exceedingly perplexed how to bear themselves in the dangers evident before their eyes, thinking that these evils will hastily run on so far that the remedy intended shall not satisfy to recover the loss. He may be sure that he spares no labour or anything that he can do to retain and satisfy them as long as he can. But, truly, he finds them beginning to tire and to distrust all that he can offer them, except he should exceed the bounds given and warranted to him.

Elizabeth.
1580.

If her majesty pleases not to lend any money, as is desired, then the matter must be handled with expedition and some cunning, to persuade that the let and impediment thereof may come from themselves. Wherein, albeit no little difficulty will be found, yet the matter is not altogether desperate, especially in case her majesty pleases to bestow some yearly and competent sum on the King, and satisfy Morton with such surety of backing, and some profit, that he and his friends may be boldly used as well in the device as in the execution of this and other "plattes" for the advantage of the course to be resolved.

Thinks, besides, that the yearly portion of 2000*l.* well employed to please the King and recompense Morton, with some small bounty to be given at some time to inferior instruments—and without other pension to be given to any—shall work such effects as shall turn to her majesty's good liking, and avoid inconveniences ready to fall in Scotland. Cannot presently set down the manner of the disposition of this yearly portion, for he finds it necessary warily to sound and feel the conceits and affections of the chief instruments to be used in this work, and of others in authority, before the distribution be resolved; otherwise the gift of the same shall engender suspicion and grudge. Nevertheless, thinks the sum will suffice, with some little helps at odd times, and with such complements as shall be more in signs of courtesy towards the King and nobility than in charge of expenses. With this the King may be entertained, and in him the nobility and chief of that realm may be bound to the Queen of England: whereby also her own devoted shall be able to advance her cause, and then the ministers and all others depending [on] or favouring her may be put out of distrust, and with surety assured that her highness means not to leave them to themselves.

Dares not promise to stay the innovation purposed. Nevertheless, will do all his whole endeavour to prevent, or at least to defer the same as long as may be, trusting to have some warning and token given him before the execution of the enterprise. Which, if it obtains—as it is promised—then he may haply defeat the purpose for once by some messenger to the King himself, and without his own presence, to deal with him upon his promise made to him. Dares not promise any further than his own diligence and labour. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 52, b.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Extract from the same.

June 15. **522.** ROBERT BOWES TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 610.

Received his letter of the 26th of May on the sixth of this month, together with the copies inclosed therein. Incloses a packet received from his lordship's friend yesterday, whereby he will understand the estate there, which undoubtedly is like to welter and taste of some change except the evils be prevented in time. All things there depend on the Queen of England's resolution, the delay whereof has made many to distrust that she will leave them to themselves; and by this conceit the dangers increase.

In this progress the King has called and sworn the Earls of Angus, Lennox, Atholl, and Mar on his Secret Council. The wise and

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1580. ancient councillors desire to withdraw themselves to rest, leaving the Court and government to these young councillors.

The Earl of Morton is well recovered of his hurt; but not amended to hasten to the Court till the King returns nearer his own house towards the ending of the progress.

The Earl of Mar has chosen for his wife the Lord Drummond's sister; a matter that will strengthen the earl and work effects not looked for.

Argyll is in arms against Macintosh, and likely to come to further trouble. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 16. **523.** LORD SCROPE TO WALSINGHAM.

Understands by letters from Robert Bowes that the commissioners for the Border causes are to treat for redress to be made for the attempts committed since the Earl of Sussex's being on the Borders, and requires him to certify him [Walsingham] in what sort he stands for his charges since that time. Assures him that he is well able to answer and make redress to Scotland for his office since the time aforesaid, on condition that he may receive the like from them. At present the Borders are in good quiet, but the deferring of the meeting may breed some jealousy. Carlisle.

½ *Copy. In the margin:* "To Sir Fran. Walsingham from the L. Scroupe, 16 of June." [*With No. 594. Fol. 108 b.*]

June 20. **524.** CONFESSION OF THE TRUE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

"A short and generall confession of the true Christian faith and religion, according to God's Word, and Acts of our Parliament: subscribed by the King's Majesty and his houshold, with sundry others, to the glory of God, and good example of all men. At Edenburgh, the twentieth of June, 1580, and in the fourteenth yeere of his Majestie's raigne."

All under-written protest that they are now thoroughly resolved in the truth by the Word and Spirit of God, and therefore they believe with their hearts, confess with their mouths, and subscribe with their hands, and constantly affirm before God and the whole world that this is the only true Christian Faith and religion, pleasing God, and bringing salvation to man, which is now revealed to the world by the preaching of the blessed Gospel, and is received, believed, and defended by many and sundry notable Churches and realms, but chiefly by the King of Scots and the churches now under his dominion, as God's eternal truth and the only ground of their salvation, as more particularly is expressed in the Confession of their Faith, established by Acts of Parliaments, and for a long time openly professed by the King's majesty and the whole realm. To the which Confession and form of religion they willingly agree in their consciences in all points, as to God's undoubted truth and verity, grounded only on his written Word: and therefore they abhor and detest all contrary religion and doctrine; but chiefly all kind of Papistry in general and particular, even as they are now damned and confuted by the Word of God and the

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1580. churches now under "our" dominion. But in special they detest and refuse the usurped authority of the Roman Antichrist over the Scriptures, the Church, the civil magistrates, and consciences of men, all his tyranous laws made upon indifferent things against their Christian liberty, his erronious doctrine against the efficiency of the written Word, the perfection of the law, the office of Christ, and His blessed Gospel, his corrupted doctrine concerning original sin, their natural inability, and rebellion of God's law, his blasphemy against justification by faith only, imperfect satisfaction and obedience to the law, and the nature, number, and use of the holy Sacraments. Detest his five bastard sacraments, with all his rites, ceremonies, and false doctrine, added to the ministration of the true Sacraments, without the Word of God, his cruel judgments against infants departing without the Sacrament, his absolute necessity of baptism, his blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation or real presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men, his dispensations with solemnized oaths, perjuries, and degrees of marriage forbidden in the Word; his cruelty against the innocent divorced. Abhor his "divellish masse," his blasphemous priesthood, his profane sacrifice for the sins of the dead and quick, his canonization of men and women saints, calling upon angels or saints departed, worshiping of imagery, relics, crosses, dedictating of churches, altars, days, vows to creatures, his purgatory, prayer for the dead, praying or speaking in a strange language, his procession and blasphemous Litany, his multitude of advocates or mediators, with his manifold orders and auricular confession, his desperate and uncertain repentance, his general and doubting faith, his satisfaction of men for their sins, his justification by works, his *opus operatum*, works of super-erogation, merits and pardons, peregrinations and stations.

Detest his profane holy water, baptizing of bells, conjuring of spirits, crossing, "faining," anointing, conjuring, his hallowing of God's good creatures, with the superstitious opinion joined therewith, his worldly monarchy and wicked hierachy, his three solemned vows, with all his "shavelings" of sundry sorts, his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers, and approvers of that cruel and bloody band, conjured against the Church of God. Detest all his vain allegories, rites, signs, and traditions brought into the Church without or against the Word of God and doctrine of this reformed Church; to which they join themselves willingly in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and the use of the Holy Sacraments, as lively members of the same with Christ their head, promising and swearing by the great name of their Lord that they shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this Church, and shall defend the same according to their vocation and power all their lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful Judgment.

Seeing that many are stirred up by Satan and the Roman Antichrist to promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the Holy Sacraments in the Church deceitfully, against their own consciences, minding thereby first, under the eternal cloak of religion, to corrupt and subvert secretly God's true religion, and afterwards to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hope of the Pope's dispensation,—they, therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of

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1580. hypocracy, protest, and call the searcher of all hearts for witness that their minds and hearts agree with this confession, so that they are not moved for any worldly respect. And because they perceive that the quietness and stability of their religion and Church depends on the safety and good behaviour of the King's majesty, as on a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to Scotland for the maintaining of His Church, and ministration of justice among them, they protest and promise that they will defend his person and authority with their bodies and lives in defence of Christ's Gospel, liberty of their country, administration of justice, and punishment of iniquity against all enemies in Scotland or without.

1 *p.* *Broadsheet.* "Imprinted at London for Jonas Man, dwelling in Pater-noster-Row, at the signe of the Talbot." *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

June 21. **525.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

C.P., vol. XI. Madam, my good sister, after having testified to you the regret which remains with me for your discontent on the subject of my last letters, I beg you to believe that I have never written you anything to which extreme and very urgent necessity has not constrained me, and which I have not been ready to make clear to you and satisfy you against all other sinister interpretations that you will have received thereof from my enemies, to whom, and to their false reports, this ought to be entirely referred, as I make the just occasion of my complaints, as often as I address them to you to have thereof for your surety and my repose, some reason, not knowing a more prompt way to attain the one and the other, than in bringing once to proof that which is imposed on me in your regard, as so many times I have required, to the end that if it is found true you will give me with discharge of your conscience, that which I have ill deserved; unless you take pity on my long patience for all that which depends on my captivity, and remove henceforth from my enemies the confidence that they have received, to abuse you by such impostures, for never having been commanded to verify them, as of themselves they ought to have done, for your service if it is for that respect that they work so much against me. But, thanks be to God, they have up till now put forward so little matter of consequence, that they show that they lack better and more important subjects, and, nevertheless, they do not cease to obtain for me upon their simple word the worst treatment that they can, wishing to take from me even the liberty of remonstrating on the state in which my health has been, not without danger of my death, desired and often attempted by them, the which has principally moved me, in default that it has not pleased you up to the present to provide for it, to require my deliverance by your sole means, to the end that I may remain entirely obliged to you, and to remove from you, by such assurances as you shall find necessary, all occasion of your ancient and continual distrust. Receive then in good part her who seeks only to render herself entirely yours, and desires your surety, repose and grandeur as much and more than any subject that you have in your kingdom, of which I protest upon my faith to give you faithful proof, as many times as it shall be agreeable to you, and not to attempt anything to the contrary, even though I am unable recipro-

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1580. cally to assure myself of your goodwill and protection; not permitting, I beg you, in removing from your heart one who is so nearly related to you as I am, that they should work underhand to remove others round about you, and those of your cause who will be to you always most faithful and to this kingdom. I would to God that you had as much light on the purposes and deportments of some, as rightly and sincerely I will always endeavour to represent to you the means and desire that they may discover them to you and make you aware of them. And particularly shall I require my said enemies that they make appear unto you what intelligence they say that I have now with your rebels, and what entertainment I have given them; for so little remains to me of my dower that it hardly suffices to support the wages of my servants and officers and for my extra expenses here, as those of your Counsel would be able to see by the copy of my accounts, which I will have sent to them if agreeable to you. But I think that the authors of such reports have made them in place of their practices and conspiracies against me and my son, and, I may say, even you, with the Earl of Morton and my traitorous subjects in Scotland, who would feel this more deeply, I assure you, than any other of my means if I had any to employ beyond my ordinary expense. But, madam, in awaiting the reply that it will please you to make me to my last [letters] I will tell you that if the request that I have made you for my deliverance is, as I understand, so disagreeable to you, I will defer it for a time in order to please you. But, however, I beg you to provide for that which I have before warned you as being very necessary for my conservation in this captivity, and principally for my health, which is such, whatever alleviation I have received by the heat of the season, that I may have a worse relapse than I had last winter, if you do not grant me the remedies that my physician judges alone can profit me, that is to say, the baths of this country, where the Earl of Shrewsbury can render you good enough account of the strict order that he keeps there, more than sufficient to hinder me from considering any ostentation and driving me to that which Monsieur de Mauvissière, ambassador of the King, my good brother, will tell you more fully. On my part, after having presented to you my very affectionate recommendations, I pray to God that he will keep you in health, very happy and long life. Sheffield.

2⅓ *pp. French. Copy. Indorsed:* Coppie de la lettre que la Royne d'Escosse escript a la Royne d'Angleterre sa bonna seur."

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 57. Another copy of the same.

June 21. **526.** [WALSINGHAM] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Sends herewith copies of such advertisements as are sent out of France, to the end he may see thereby how they concur with those they receive from him, and so, consequently, how great cause there is ministered not to "forslack" such necessary prevention as is more than requisite to be timely used for the meeting with and staying of

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1580. such dangerous effects. When he acquainted her majesty with the one and the other she willed him to signify to him that he should forthwith despatch some confident and assured messenger to the Earl of Morton to inform himself at his mouth what course were best to be taken for the staying of these so imminent dangers, and to assure him from her that whatsoever shall be thought by him best to be taken, and he enter into it, as her desire is he should, she will see him backed and maintained to the uttermost of her power. Assures him her majesty means this with all sincerity, as he dare adventure upon the credit of his honour, and will see it accomplished with full demonstration of answerable effects. The Court.

½ *p. Draft.* [*With No. 594.*] *Crossed through with the pen.*

June 22. **527.** [WALSINGHAM] TO MR. BOWES.

How resolutely her majesty is bent in these matters of Scotland he may perceive by the copy inclosed, the following of which business by some apt instrument is referred to his discretion, to be accompanied with such earnest persuasions to the Earl [Morton] to lay his mind fully open to her majesty, and to be assured of her backing in the course that he shall think best to be taken, as he [Bowes] can devise. He may do the like offices to others whom he finds soundly devoted to the Queen of England, and are resolute to follow that course she thinks best for the safety of the King and his State in these troublous days and dangerous practices that draw so fast to a head, that without prevention in time are like to be past remedy.

Sends him herewith a copy of such advertisements received out of France, whereby he may see how they concur with his, and how determinately these things are concluded upon, what foot they have taken, and in what expectation of effecting of them that party stands. Of his careful travail to help to countermine these underminings he nothing doubts.

Postscript.—Because the danger grows so fast on, prays him to hasten Morton to yield speedy resolution touching his advice. Her majesty on knowing his answer means that he [Bowes] shall return to Scotland to impeach those dangerous plots laid, wherein she seems to be very earnestly bent to proceed with all celerity.

The Prince of Condé arrived in England in secret sort on the 19th instant. His repair hither is to justify the taking of arms for the safety of their lives, and to demand support. Supposes he will receive a cold answer; yet, all things considered, it were very fit he departed with good satisfaction. Prays him to let him know what pension he thinks might content Morton.

1⅓ *pp. Copy. The first part in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). *Indorsed:* "22 June, 1580. Mr. Bowes."

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 53, b. Another copy of the same.

June 22. **528.** ELIZABETH TO MORTON.

Whereas she is given to understand by Robert Bowes and her ambassador resident in France of certain practices very dangerous to

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1580. the young King, and particularly tending to his overthrow, unless they be speedily met with, whereof it is meant that the Earl of Lennox should be a principal executor, whose credit with the King being very great, and therefore is most likely to bring to effect the said intended practices, forasmuch as the consequence thereof contains in itself so much matter of peril as whereon will depend the subversion of that whole State, and for that she has always found him a most loyal subject and faithful counsellor to his sovereign, and sincerely devoted to her, for the great care she has for the preservation of the King of Scots and his estate, she has thought good to address these her letters to him, and to let him know that, as she desires greatly to have his mind frankly laid open to her what course he thinks best to be taken to meet these inconveniences, upon intelligence from him thereof she will not fail to put in execution whatsoever shall be thought meet by him to prevent the same. Prays him not to fail to advertise her of his resolution herein, and what he would wish her to do, because the mischiefs intended will not suffer any long delay.

1½ *pp. Draft. Corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed:* "22 Junii, 1580. M[inute] to the Er. Morton."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 53. Another copy of the same.

June 25. **529.** MARY TO MONSIEUR DE MAUVISSIÈRE.

C.P., vol. XI. Monsieur de Mauvissière, although by the copy that I send you of the letter inclosed, to present on my behalf to the Queen of England, you can fully enough understand my intention touching the negociation that you have commenced for my deliverance out of this captivity, I shall not cease to importune you for the verification of the false and sinister reports made to the said Queen, my good sister, of my deportment in her regard, and principally of what she herself has told you, that I was entertaining any of her rebels and intriguing with them, recompensing her badly for the expense that she was incurring for me here. For it is very true (and one knows no man living who dare hazard his reputation in maintaining the contrary) that I have no practice or secret negociation either with the said rebels or with any other whatsoever, against, or to the prejudice of the said Queen, my good sister, and of that State; which I offer and undertake on my honour to prove against anyone soever in this kingdom without any exception, desiring even that those who have brought forward such impostures against me should be commanded and constrained, as justice requires, to verify it and convict me if they can, as they are obliged to do for the service of which they pride themselves so much, of the Queen their mistress. But I am of the opinion that feeling themselves badly armed they will always fear the proof, as they have done up till now, taking all license to say ill or do worse against me, being assured of being believed and never to have further search afterwards as to the right or truth, as they have abused the fact, that to please the said Queen I have refrained from pursuing them to verify that which they had imposed upon me in the regard of the Duke my brother-in-law and of the house of France. But, however, to clear the

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1580. said Queen from this last accusation, following the remonstrance that already you have made her, I beg you to offer her to put the accounts of the receipt and expense of my dower in the hands of the Great Treasurer, the Earl of Leicester, and Walsingham, to the end that by them she can be more certainly informed of the little means that remain to me for my extraordinary expense here, amounting only, by her permission, to 2000 crowns by the year, the wages of my officers and servants in as great a number as when I was in France, and the pensions of my poor faithful subjects reduced by this miserable Morton to extreme necessity, so that to-day I am indebted in more than forty thousand pounds, so far short am I from having any surplus money to employ, without any necessity otherwise. You could also make her understand the great losses that I have suffered during the troubles in France which have almost always lasted on the lands of my dower, le Poitou not being worth 1000 livres in four or five years. And since, if she remembers the occasion for which I last begged her to write in my favour to the King and to the Duke my brother-in-law, she will judge of herself, my dower having been diminished by the loss of several great rights (the cause of which I only impute to my captivity), I have not engaged in any practice of importance, however I might have the will. For this I call to witness the Earl of Shrewsbury, who having assisted in the review of my accounts when it was squared [?] there, found it very strange that a Queen of France had only 50,000 livres as dower, my estate not then amounting to more. And I assure you that if I had any money in reserve, the Earl of Morton and those of his detestable faction in Scotland would fare much better with the pensions and entertainment that they have of my enemies here, of which all Christendom being enough informed, to the shame of those who endure it, I do not wish to make any complaint nor to demand right, the Queen my good sister owing it to herself for her honour and surety to have already given order therein.

As to the expense that she objects to make for me in this prison where she detains me, do me the favour to declare to her freely on my behalf that it not being at my request or for my good, but at the price of my liberty more dear to one than any other thing in the world, I cannot, neither wish to, incur any obligation to her. And if she pretends any, I am ready to free myself by the payment in ready money of all that which has been provided up to the present for my expense, reduced to great straits here following the rates that my officers have, of which there is no Christian Prince who seeing them would not have had compassion. For I assure you that there is nothing in it of that which the ancient King of Persia, being a lawful prisoner of war, asked for in one single word, that is to say, royal treatment. But that, nevertheless, I only throw back the whole upon my said enemies, who only strive by one way or another to deprive me of life, and by their good intelligence with my rebels and traitorous subjects in Scotland, to reduce my son to the misery in which they detain me. Not being permitted to provide against this, the said Queen, my good sister, not having respect for the requests which often I have made her, to give order therein, there does not seem to me to remain to me any way but to purchase with my liberty the means to guarantee myself and my son from danger and the wrong

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1580. practices of my enemies. Therefore I beg you anew to demand some reply to what I have written, protesting in my name that I only seek, be it in liberty or captivity, my preservation, of which being once well assured under the protection of the said Queen, my good sister, I bind myself henceforth to accomodate myself exactly to all that is just, according to her wish. But also I entreat her to take, however, some better order for my state here; in which I hope that her good, ancient and faithful counsellors would not wish to offend against their duty and conscience by giving any advice to the contrary, to a request so just and reasonable, and even for the permission that I ask for the baths of Buxton, where I can say I have always had less liberty than any other place in England, no one whatsoever having access to me during my sojourn there, which was formerly done to apprehend the discontentment of those whom I could by such means hinder from coming. I thank you for your good news and for the packet you sent me from France, not having found anything of importance—at least concerning the advancement of my affairs there, I have waited for leisure to make reply. You will receive with the present the expedition of the treasure of Vitry which I agree to very willingly, as I feel myself obliged, and am only sorry it is not of greater value for recompense of the priory, the refusal of which has grieved me no less than yourself. Therefore I pray God that he may have you, Monsieur de Mauvissière, in his holy and worthy keeping. Sheffield. *Signed:* Marie.

2½ *pp. French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 27. **530.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

By credible intelligence is advertised that the practice for the alteration sought for in the Court and State in Scotland is still pursued, and lately advanced to such towardness that, except the same be very shortly prevented, that realm is like to feel suddenly the fruit of mutations, and that within the compass of twenty days. It seems to him that the confederates herein think themselves in such strength and surety of their progress in this enterprise that he may well doubt of his power to prevail to prevent or stay the same. Nevertheless, he will do his whole endeavour, and of his doings and success they shall be shortly advertised.

Lord Ruthven is said to be willing to join and bind with the Earls of Lennox and Argyll, and that Argyll is already come to the Court, having left his forces levied against Mackintosh. The King is returning, and will be shortly at St. Andrews, where some think that some attempt will be offered to effect this long desired enterprise. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

June 27. **531.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letter of the 22nd instant yesternight, together with her majesty's letter indorsed therein and addressed to the Earl

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1580. of Morton, and doubting the letter might, perhaps, come something late, and after the suspected practices had won further entrance than might be readily defeated, he, therefore, sent it this morning to the earl by an especial messenger, carrying also other letters and credit to the earl and others from himself for the advancement of this cause, which by the delay past seems to stand in some doubtful condition. His whole endeavour shall be diligently employed to turn all these things to her majesty's good pleasure. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

June 27. **532.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Shall not need to set down the cause of this despatch; the inclosed will sufficiently discover to him the occasion. Thought good to send it that, whether the news be true or false, such good heed may be taken as is requisite for the perservation of that person. The Court.

¼ *p. Indorsed;* "M[inute] to Mr. Bowes."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

July 1. **533.** BURGHLEY TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 60. Requests him not to impute want of goodwill to him although he does not particularly answer the letters which he receives from him daily, but rather to the imperfection of the language, of which he confesses himself so devoid that he desists nearly altogether to write to him. Assures himself of the affection and good zeal which he bears to the Queen of England, and during some discourse which he had lately with her, he let her know the great regard he had for her health, in sending so often by his people to know how she was in her last sickness, and the desire that he had for her good convalescence, and by such and other more affectionate words assured her of his sincere affection herein, as much as the most affectionate of her own subjects, and more so than some. Thereupon her majesty answered him very honourably that she had good knowledge and was long sensible of it, and with good and gracious words showed herself marvellously satisfied and contented of his good behaviour in all his actions, giving him commandment to let him understand on her part what is the cause why he now writes to him. Requests that he will receive this his notification as a declaration of the inward conception which her majesty has of the amity which he bears as much to her as to her State, not less than the most affectionate of the most noble of her subjects. As to the negotiation of the Prince of Condé, assures him that he has set out with satisfaction at the good and honourable treatment he has received here, being advised to sue for peace by all means by the clemency of the King of France. He cannot show himself more affectionate to the Queen of England than by employing all his good means in France to change the King's indignation into royal and paternal commiseration for his poor sub-

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1580. jects and realm by stopping the imminent war and recalling the great lady of peace so long sent into exile.

1⅔ *pp. French. Copy.*

July 5. **534.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Having made Lord Claud Hamilton and the Lord of Arbroath acquainted with his letter of the 20th of May, in answer to hers of the 22nd of February, they acknowledge his resolution as of singular favour to them, submitting themselves most willingly to what trial soever should seem meetest to him, refusing all further mediation on her part, and favour and grace from him if they should be found guilty of those grievous crimes wherewith they yet stand charged, only craving that his favour may be thus far extended towards them, in respect that they have many and mighty enemies in Scotland, it is not so fit for their surety to have their cause tried in England, that the examination and trial of themselves and their cause may be committed to some such commissioners as he shall best like of, for they refuse none, and that the commissioners may have some place and time appointed in England to sit upon the matter. Finding their request to be reasonable, and considering that within a short time her commissioners for Border matters are to meet together, she has thought good to recommend the same to him and to pray him that at this her earnest request he would be content to yield to this her motion and to make choice of certain commissioners for that purpose, who, either coming in the company of the others who are for the Border causes, or being the same, and sufficiently authorised, may, in some convenient place to be appointed in England, proceed to such trial of the cause as by him shall be ordered and appointed.

1 *p. Copy.* [*With No. 594. Fol. 105b.*]

July 5. **535.** JAMES VI. TO ROBERT BOWES.

Amongst a great number of "reifis" and spoils committed by certain English pirates upon our subjects in this very last month, it is "rycht heavelie lamentit" unto us by certain of our merchants of Dundee and St. Johnstone how that on the 28th day thereof, as they were in their journey foreanent Flamborough Head, they were set on by a pirate carrying 24 pieces of ordnance within her, and "spuilzeit" of their laidening; wherein, besides their whole substance, they had "imployit" their utter credit, amounting to 60,000*l.* Scots. The barque they judge to have "retirit her within thay boundis," and to be still betwixt Berwick and Hull. What amity this is, and how great "herschippis" the same has carried with it these three years bygone to the estate of merchants within this realm—far above the calamities sustained by them in time of war—we leave to your indifferent judgment, and for the present will "alanerlie" request you, for that they give some probability that the "committeris" thereof were some "ordinaris" under your government, you will for our cause employ your mean to see what trial you may have of the instruments thereof, that we may know whom to challenge in our letter to be directed to your sovereign thereupon; and hereof to return us your advertisement with diligence, for it is thought that

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1580. the "Flanderis guidis" which they have intromitted with will easily bewray them o . . . cost. We pray you therefore to "spair" such pains as y[ou] may to bring the same to light.. The "birth" of the barque, . . . it may further you thereto, was three score tons. St. Johnstone. *Signed:* James R.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 9. **536.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Sent an especial messenger with her majesty's letters to the Earl of Morton, and with some letters from himself to him and others for the expedition of that cause and to stay the execution of the intended alteration in Court: in which behalf the messenger has continued in Scotland ten days, attending chiefly the receipt of the answer from the Earl of Morton, and he has prevailed by especial help to put over hitherto the enterprise for the change, which surely is very like to take effect in the end of this month, at the convention of the Council commanded to assemble at St. Andrews on the 19th instant, where sundry matters of innovation in that State will be moved, and are holden very sure to find undoubted success to the desire of the Earl of Lennox and his friends, except timely remedy be found by her majesty's good means. The messenger returned to him on Thursday last[1] with promise that he should receive letters from the Earl of Morton that night or the next day answering her majesty's last to him Which letters Morton would commit to none other—for safety and to avoid suspicion--than to his own servant. But having neither received nor heard anything from the earl contrary to the effect of the appointment, and distrusting some unfortunate interception, or other untimely let, he has thought good first to advertise thus much to him, and next to send his servant again to bring him speedily certain understanding of the occasion of this delay, and the true standing of the matter.

The Earl of Morton purposed to be at Court before the said convention, and to be present thereat, and afterwards to attend on the King to his own house at Aberdore. He will do his endeavour to prevent all sudden or suspicious alterations, and give good regard to his own person, which he sees to be shot at. The Lord Herries, the Lord of Newbottle, and all other the friends and favourites of the Earl of Lennox and the associates at the Falkirk are sent for to convene at St. Andrews at this convention, whereby many wise think the Court will be weltered against the contrary party.

Lennox's greatness is exceedingly increased, and the King so much affectionate to him that he is only delighted with his company, and thereby he carries the sway, obtaining great favour amongst the boroughs by the commendation of their suits to the King, and especially in Aberdeen, where he procured the King's revocation of the fishing granted by the Earl of Morton in his regency to George Aphlecke, his servant; and which fishing the King gave to the town of Aberdeen, at the suit of Lennox, for the townsmen.

Alexander Stewart, late Captain of Blackness, is returned out of France with letters to the Earl of Lennox from the bishop of Ross

[1] 7th.

Elizabeth.
1580. and others, with great suspicion of some privy practice to be attempted as well as in the enticement of the King to visit France, as also for device of sudden hurt to the Earl of Morton. Whereof Morton being warned first by himself, is also by others advised to beware.

The three Frenchmen lately arrived at Newcastle and come to the Earl of Lennox with letters from his brother-in-law in their favour, are entertained by him as soldiers seeking pay there. They are suspected to intend some evil enterprise, and to pass away upon the execution of the same.

The King escaped great danger by the fall of his horse upon him. In the rescue whereof his servants then about him sought to have killed the horse with their swords, yet the King and horse at length were saved without hurt.

The King is presently entering, as it is thought, into this new disease, whereof 3000 or 4000 at once in Edinburgh were suddenly sick. The same sickness reigns generally in this town, beginning with pains in the head or eyes, sores in the throat and breast, in nature of a cold. None have died thereof as yet in this town, and very few died in Edinburgh, notwithstanding that all the inhabitants in manner were visited.

Three merchants of Dundee coming from Flanders with small wares last month were robbed on the seas before Flamborough Head by the English pirates in a ship of three tops. They have made complaint to the King and Council, desiring to be suffered to seek their amends at the seas. Herewith the King has been much troubled many ways; for the Council have showed him that that nation has received greater loss of late by English pirates than it did in any wars or on the Borders. Some of his servants in his chamber have in his bed-chamber persuaded that it was done with her majesty's sufferance, and the merchants thus spoiled, together with the town of Dundee, have been exceeding earnest to be licensed—or at least overlooked—in seeking their redress. Nevertheless, the King of himself resolved to write to her majesty, trusting to find such remedy at her hands as ought to content him and them, and his letters to this effect are commanded to be put in readiness. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

Another copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 54. Extract from the same.

July 10. **537.** LORD RUTHVEN TO ROBERT BOWES.

The King of Scots has written to him [Bowes] to see what trial he may have of the pirates who spoiled the merchants of Dundee. Requests him to return his answer as soon as he conveniently can. Requests a passport for the bearer to pass along the coast of England to essay what trial may be had, if need require. Prays him to make him participant of any late news from foreign countries. Perth. *Signed:* Ruthven.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1580. July 15. **538.** LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letter with 150*l.* which the Queen of England appointed to be given to him, for which he renders her most humble thanks. This bearer was directed from Lord John Hamilton to know what he had heard concerning their relief. Before his departure he [Claud] would be glad to speak with the Queen privily or otherwise. Kingston. *Signed:* Claud Hamilton.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 16. **539.** MORTON TO ELIZABETH.

"Pleas it zoure majestie"; having considered the contents of your letter of the 22nd of June and the danger of the matter mentioned in the same, I cannot but praise your highness' great care had of the King my sovereign and his estate, and most humbly to thank your majesty for your favour borne to myself. I have always, as God knows, been a faithful servant to the King my master, as I mind to continue to the end in all things, chiefly that may tend to his preservation and entertainment of the amity betwixt your majesty and your country; and for the great love and goodwill that I saw your highness continually bear toward him and his estate, I thought myself ever bound to do you honour and service, and [I] continue in the same mind and disposition. But now, if I (being but one of his nobility and Council) should take upon me singularly to lay a course or "platt" unto your highness in matters so highly concerning his majesty and his estate without his own advice and knowledge, I might be judged presumptuous and an undutiful subject well worthy of punishment for my labour; wherein I doubt whether your majesty should in effect allow me, or if you could like any of your councillors attempting the "semblable" matter in your own estate, without your privity. "Alwyse," if it shall please your majesty to travail in that matter wherein your highness perceives such peril, there shall be found honourable men and loving subjects to the King's highness my sovereign, ready to give their faithful and true counsel in all things tending to entertain the amity betwixt your majesties and your realms, and to stay all evil and dangerous practices invented and devised to the contrary; and for my own part my goodwill and affection to that end shall nowise want, God willing. Dalkeith. *Signed:* Mortoun.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

July 18. **540.** HUNSDON TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Whereas it seems by their letter that Mr. Bowes had written to him to send his advice to them touching the time to begin the mutual redress, truly he received no such letter from him. Indeed, he wrote to him to know his opinion therein, which he answered long since in this sort, that he thought it most fit and convenient to begin from the death of the Earl of Murray, because at his first coming to that charge there had been so great spoils, murders, and burnings of towns committed, whereof some of them were recent, and the fires not

Elizabeth.
1580. quenched at his coming down. The said earl being then Regent, having great goodwill to do justice and to keep the amity between these two realms, came with sundry others to the Borders and lay at Kelso eight or ten days, and came every day into England, to Reddenburne, where the days of truce are commonly kept for these wardenries, where he [Hunsdon] met him, and sometimes went to Kelso to him, when they examined all the rolls, and the greatest attempts attempted on both sides were then filed and delivered up in such sort that he received at that time delivery of 8,600*l.* and odd, to the great benefit of her majesty's subjects. Within three months after, by his commandment to the Wardens of Scotland, he had another meeting with them, at which he received redress of 6000 and odd hundred pounds, and so continued meetings and administered justice duly to the contentment of the subjects of both the realms, as is apparent by the rolls of England and Scotland; which continued to the day of his death. But the very next day, his death being known to the borderers, they made a sudden and open foray into his wardenry, and the Earl of Westmorland and other of her majesty's rebels with them, wherein they not only carried away cattle, sheep, and horses, but took away the principal men prisoners, and ransomed them, which is the principal cause that they of the east wardenry allege why they are so ill horsed and furnished at this day. If they now seek to begin at a further day, the Privy Council will find that they mean nothing less than to have this commission to go forward, at least to take any effect, but with subtle shifts and crafty delays to drive off the Queen of England's subjects from their own, being, indeed, so far beforehand with them that they are not able to make redress without impoverishing their Borders greatly, especially the tenants and friends of the Earls of Angus and Morton, who are the principal men that have committed the greatest spoils and done the greatest outrages on her majesty's subjects within the East and Middle Marches; which has been the only stay of justice thus long.

Is not able to give advice from what day to begin redress of the West and Middle Marches; but for the East wardenry he cares not from what day they begin, for he is well assured, if there may be due redress made according to the laws of the Borders, the longer day they begin the more gain it shall be to her majesty's subjects under his charge. But surely it is evident they do not mean to proceed in this commission—at least it cannot be the 10th of next month. If the commissioners begin from 1563, then the whole wardenries must have warning by proclamation to bring in their plaints and griefs to the wardens, who must have them at least a seven-night or ten days before to consider on; for the offenders must be arrested on both sides, which will require at least three weeks or a month; and that being done, let the commissioners sit together day by day, they shall not end the matters of all the Borders in three months. Thinks they do not mean to do justice to England, for he has received letters this morning by which he understands that some of the Earl of Morton's friends greatly scorn that Mr. John Selby, the gentleman porter of Berwick, should be in the commission, and will seek all the means they can to have some other in his place, because they know that he is the only man of experience in Border causes who remains at this day either in the East or Middle Marches.

Elizabeth.
1580. 2 *pp.* *Copy.* *In the margin:* "From the Lord Hunsdon to the Lords." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 594. Fol. 104 b.*]

July 18. **541.** LORD SCROPE TO WALSINGHAM.

Is willed by the Privy Council to certify them what prejudices or inconvenience might come to the Queen of England's subjects under his office if the general redress between the two realms should begin from the time of the last treaty, wherein he was a commissioner, in 1563. At the time of that treaty, Lord Herries being Warden opposite to him, Herries and he proceeded so far in redress that there rested between them only ten bills on the one side and six on the other undressed, so that there was no great matter between them. But Herries being discharged from that office about the time of Lord Darnley's marriage with that Queen, there was no other warden placed in that room for four or five years, till the Earl of Sussex entered. In the meantime the troubles being great in Scotland, whereby divers of them were spoiled because they made their obedience to the King, so that if the Borders should be found to make redress for their attempts done in that time against the adherents of that Queen, they are no ways able to answer them. Notwithstanding, if they be no further charged in that time but with such attempts as were done against any person who depended on the King, the same may be very well answered and redressed. Has been very sick, and if the commissioners hold the 10th of August he fears he will not be able to travel. Carlisle.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *In the margin:* "To Sir Fran. Walsingham from the L. Scroupe." [*With No. 594. Fol. 107.*]

July 19. **542.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Received the packet of the 7th of this month with the Queen of England's letter to the King of Scots in the behalf of Lords John and Claud Hamilton on the 13th, and on the morrow sent a gentleman to the Court in Scotland with her majesty's letter, and his own to the Abbot of Dunfermline, the King's principal Secretary, entreating him thereby to make delivery of her majesty's letter to the King, and to advance the expedition of the return of the bearer with the King's answer to her majesty in writing, and with good success in the errand. Wherein the Secretary has promised his travail and diligence to be showed at the assembly of the Council at St. Andrews, beginning this day. Before which time no order could be taken in that or other cause of weight. Since his next letter before this, has sent two special messengers at several times as well to understand the cause of the delay of the answer of the Earl of Morton to the Queen of England's late letters—as was promised—as also to persuade him to the performance of the same. Wherein he finds him much troubled what to resolve, appearing very desirous to satisfy her majesty with all good offices in his power, and yet he staggers and is loth to set down or command any plot to her, thinking the same may turn many ways to his exceeding prejudice. In which behalf he marvels, as he says, to be thus pressed, seeing he has ever fled from being the deviser of

Elizabeth.
1580. any plot. Nevertheless, he has always declared his readiness and consent to follow and advance such course as the Queen of England should set down for preservation of the amity and mutual profit of both Princes and realms, like as by his letters of the 10th of May last will partly appear; whereby it is certified, that albeit upon sight of the inconsistency of counsellors and other dangers in the State, he had determined to have drawn himself to quietness, yet he was contented to take his part in any plot to be devised for the entertainment of the amity and removing of all impediments, wherein he would employ himself and his force, and with timely intelligence, to prevent evils, he would remain at Court to stay inconveniences, provided that his charges might not oppress his decayed state. Moreover, he had commended this course in secret to him [Bowes], and which he has before made known, that it might please the Queen of England to entertain the King by some bounty, and chiefly by loan of such sums as her majesty pleased to spare, whereby the King, the nobility, and all the realm should be bound to her, and her highness should by that mean win such interest that few matters should be determined without her advice, and thereby he and other noblemen joining with him might with more ease and safety effect all things to her best contentment, Besides, it was also advised that the Queen of England should call for and receive the bonds of especial noblemen and merchants to be bound for repayment of the sum to be lent, taking such as were chiefly devoted to her, to the intent that under colour of their bonds and to seek their own indemnities they might the more openly perform and do good offices to her. Albeit the promise of this loan was persuaded to be done with speed for contentment of the King and State, yet the delivery needed no haste. Albeit he cannot hitherto certainly affirm what he [Morton] will finally conclude and do herein, because he has taken time to be advised with his friends at Court, where he is now present, promising to return answer by letters to her majesty by his servant attending for the King's letters to her, yet has thought it his duty, upon sight of his disposition herein, to make the same known to him.

Upon new consideration the King of Scots has stayed his letters intended to have been sent to the Queen of England for redress in the late piracies committed against the merchants of Dundee and others, and has now chosen to write to him [Bowes] to such effect as will appear by his letters inclosed. Because in the re-delivery of the bills that the pirates had taken in the spoil from the merchants the Scottishmen received therewith at the hands of one of the pirates an indenture made betwixt two soldiers of this town for binding the son of one of them apprentice to the other, and making mention of the names of the parties and their captains, therefore the Scots conceive that the committers of these piracies were soldiers in pay in this town. Finds that, according to the words of the indenture, Nicholas Walton, soldier under Captain Errington, had purposed to have bound Robert Walton, his son, apprentice to Richard Favour, soldier under Captain Carye, for whom the draft of the indenture was framed on paper and brought by the scrivener to the parties to be perused. Whereupon the parties, upon disagreement in covenants, broke off, leaving the draft in the hands of the scrivener, who last month gave the paper—being the same that the Scots received from the pirates—to one William Bredeman, late soldier here, now departed hence in Henry Moyle's barque, who before

Elizabeth.
1580. was driven in at Holy Island by distress of weather, declaring himself to be employed by warrant showed in her majesty's services for Spain. These two soldiers and the scrivener have been in this town about three months, and well acquit themselves. But the matter falls hardly upon Bredyman, who is entered into the ship with Moyle and one more in pay of this town, and three rascal fellows with them. The Scots affirm that Moyle and his company have committed these piracies. Learns the barque is towards Ireland.

Lord Ruthven, Lord Treasurer, has lost in this spoil a mass of bullion of 3000*l.* Scots to have been coined for the King. Incloses a letter from him.

This cause is right hotly taken, whereupon many of his friends have sent him word that they dare not write to him, nor know how to deal now with an Englishman. Requests them to put all things in readiness to be sent to the commissioners for the Borders, who are to meet at this town on the 10th of August.

The Earls of Lennox, Atholl, and Montrose, Lord Ruthven and sundry others are visited with the new disease reigning in Scotland, and come also to this town, and wherewith he and his whole household have met. By the sickness of the lords bent to have had an alteration of the Council at this Covention, and by the presence of the Earl of Morton and others, who are sufficiently prepared to prevent the same, trusts this assembly at St. Andrews at the end of this month shall pass over more peaceably than was looked for and intended. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. Copy.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 62. Original of the same.

July 20. **543.** COMMISSION FOR GEORGE DOUGLAS.

It is given in commission to George Douglas to follow the counsel of the Dukes of Guise and Du Maine, the Cardinal their brother, and the Queen mother in all his affairs. Has letters to present to the King and Queen mother, with commandment given to him, that if the King of France will receive his letters and credence as from the King of Scotland, and not as from the Prince thereof, then to enter into treaty with their majesties, and to desire that the league and ancient alliance may be renewed, and so thereon that an ambassador may be sent from Scotland for accomplishing of the same; and in the meantime to require some support and money in respect of the Scottish King's necessity through the civil wars in Scotland. If this be not granted, he has commission to show their majesties how the Scottish King shall be constrained to seek support of other Princes by reason of the evil will of the Queen of England.

1¼ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "The note of Geo. Douglas' commyssyone, 1580, July 20."

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 64. Another copy of the same.

July 26. **544.** JAMES VI. TO ROBERT BOWES.

The bearers hereof, Mr. John Douglas, Francis Cockburn, and Thomas Ballenden, his subjects, purposing through England to France,

Elizabeth.
1580. desires him to grant them favourable and ready passage through the bounds committed to his charge, without any trouble or molestation to be offered to their persons, horses, or goods. St. Andrews. *Signed:* James R.

¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 27. **545.** [PRIVY COUNCIL] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Whereas the Privy Council understand by the Abbot of Dunfermline's letter dated the 11th instant that it is desired by the King and Council of Scotland that the redress might go back to the time of the last peace, in 1563, the consideration of which the Queen of England committed to them, they found it strange that sores so long wrapped up on both parts, and as it were clean extinguished by the overpassing of so many years, should be revived, and took it to be a matter that could be very hardly looked into by reason of the death of many persons whose witness would be very requisite in the trial of those causes, and for that also on the part of Scotland there had been divers changes of officers on the Marches. Yet considering the great care her majesty has for justice, and thinking no length of time sufficient to prescribe against equity and to carry away wrongs or injuries *etc.*, they resolved to "looke" of the motion made by the King and his Council, if they persist therein, accepting well that the intended redress should look back to the year 1563; with this intention, that the rolls of that time should be "visited," and such attempts as were then redressed be now ordered, and such as were not then inrolled to be extinct, as it was at that time ordered by the commissioners on both sides. This their resolution being made known to the Queen of England, she, liking thereof, willed them to cause the same to be signified to him, that he should give the said Abbot notice thereof to the end that the time appointed for the commissioners meeting may be kept without further delay, and such order taken therein as the necessity of these causes requires, which cannot but grow on to breeding of further inconveniences without redress.

1½ *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "Unto the Thresurour of Barwick from the Lords, 27 July, 1580." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). [*With No. 594. Fol. 108 b.*]

July 27. **546.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Incloses a copy of the Queen of England's letter to the King of Scots to the end he may be acquainted with her meaning in his behalf. It is left to his discretion to send it by whom he shall think best, to be delivered to some of the secretaries on whom he may attend some answer. Was content to yield to this course—though some were of opinion that a better might have been taken—being a matter very unlikely that, whilst the greatness of that party continues and increases rather by conferment of their lands and honours on him who is their chiefest adversary, any good answer can be expected from thence either to her majesty's liking or to their contentment. The best that may be looked for will be some delay. The other copy that goes herewith will let him see what wrong measure some thought to

Elizabeth.
1580. measure him [Bowes] with. As for the matter that concerns the last despatch he sent him, cannot acquaint him with any certain resolution or likliehood thereof until they hear from the earl how he stands disposed. As for their other news of France, he shall understand them by the other. Redress must begin from 1563, at which time it was ordered by the commissioners that all attempts and offences committed from the last peace, about the 26th of May, 1560, and were then inrolled, and the rolls interchangeably delivered to the commissioners on both sides, should be then redressed, and such as were not inrolled should be put to perpetual silence. The commissioners thereon for England were—Henry Lord Scrope, Sir John Foster, Sir Thomas Gargrave, and John Rokesby; and for Scotland—John Maxwell and John Bellendon.

⅔ *p. Copy. In the margin:* "To Mr. Bowes." [*With No. 594. Fol. 109.*]

July 29. **547.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

St. Andrews. There have been present since the King of Scots' coming to this town, the Earls of Morton, Lennox, March,* Montrose, Rothes, Mar, and Atholl, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, some other inferior persons of the Council, and sundry attenders. The ministers in their suits are not well pleased, being deferred in most things till October. The Earl of Lennox is preferred to the captainship of Dumbarton Castle. Great rumour of the change of some of the officers of the State, and no small heartburnings and misliking conceived thereof, which greatly impedes all good offices to be done tending to the King's service and commonwealth.

⅓. *p. In a Scottish hand.*

July 29. **548.** MORTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Has received three letters from him, which he has not answered till now, partly by reason of disease, and partly by other business that occasion ministered, which made him doubtful, for that he was desired by the Queen of England to deal freely with her and to lay her a plot of the estate and proceedings in this country, and what course seems good to him to be followed therein. Bowes knows that in the conference had betwixt them he [Morton] "did utterly flye" to lay any plot to him, and yet by conference let him understand what seemed to him most likely to entertain the amity. It is not unknown to him with how many he is held for the affection and love, as they allege, he bears to the Queen of England, which does not decay, but rather increases by such as are carried by affection to other dealings and courses. There was promise betwixt them that if matters were not directly followed out according to his [Bowes'] information, he should understand the ground and knowledge thereof. This Bowes will mind when it is his pleasure; but for anything that is likely to work by the Queen of England here, it is like to follow one of their proverbs, "when the sted is stoulne lett us shut the stable dore."

* Robert Stewart.

Elizabeth.
1580. The Earl of Lennox has gotten the keeping of the house of Dumbarton with all duties and commodities appertaining thereto for a year Montbirneau is to be directed to France. The King is at St. Andrews.

¾ *p. Copy.* [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 65. Original of the same.

July 30. **549.** WILLIAM PARRY TO BURGHLEY.

C.P., vol. XI. The book published by the bishop of Ross, "De titulo et jure Mariæ Reginæ Scotorum," and openly sold here by his order since his going to Rouen, has greatly offended the best advised of that faction in that place, especially the Scottish ambassador, who, utterly misliking the bishop's unreasonable proceedings in this, as heretofore in other matters, wished more discretion and temperance.

⅔ *p. Indorsed:* Paris. July 30, 1580. Mr. Wm. Parry to the Lord Burghly. A book concerning the Queen of Scotland's right to the crown of England."

July 31. **550.** [ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS] TO [ROBERT BOWES.]*

Sir, the late returning of Mr. Alan from Court and his sufficiency make me to leave common matters to his report. There is communing of assured amity to be perfected betwixt Morton and Monsieur D'Aubigny in this matter. I am desired—because of secrecy—to be a dealer and "truuthman." If some matter shall not come shortly from your Court that may impede the same, I think it shall be shortly concluded. Unto such time that some friends may convene to reason upon some matters past, and upon some particulars betwixt Morton and Argyll, there is promise made by some men amongst them that neither of them shall "know harm to uther." What is meet to be done in this matter, I leave to your own discretion. Morton blames both you and me that we have not kept promise in "advertising making" to him what her majesty's deliberation was in the affairs of this country. As for this letter received from her majesty, he takes that in so evil part that he thinks it both devised by some that love him not, and only invented to delay time, as of before has been done.

Mr. Beverley's direction and course, I think, be as well known to you as I can write it. I think the effect shall not be great that that way shall produce; and albeit Morton both by writing and conference has chidden with me for this same matter, yet he has promised to end nothing with Lennox that may either advance the French course or be "hynder" to the religion unto such time as he may certainly hear from you, "so it may be schortly," what her majesty's deliberation shall be towards the affairs of this realm.

Saving your better judgment, if her majesty shall pretend to have any friends or friendship in these parts it will be well done to begin in time "to mak it." I have as large promise of Ruthven as of Morton, and to the same effect, and therefore I must for my own

* See Thorpe's Calendar, vol. I., p. 409, and No. 51.

Elizabeth.
1580. particular discharge request you that I may know as shortly as you can what is meet to be done, to the end that I may discharge myself of my promise made to them; which is that within fourteen days after Lammas, which is the 1st of August, [I will] make them either assured or discharged of her majesty's mind in the above written matters.

I received from this bearer 100 angels. Upon the receipt I have given him my bond for repaying of it. Truly, no necessity for my own particular affairs moved me to borrow it from you, but only an earnest desire to employ the same as I have done all the rest that I have [got] or may get to keep matters in good quiet unto such time that you may with sufficient deliberation in time deliver what is best to be done; which is all that ever I promised to do. If matters go well I think all well bestowed. If otherwise, I have "lossit" more.

This speaking of concord has stayed matters from violence that were intended at Falkland and St. Andrews. The King at the end of his progress will not return to Stirling, but remain some days at Alloway, pertaining to the Earl of Mar, upon his own charges.

I "leif" to make answer to your last letter, written in "choleir," because no hurt.

3 *pp. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "Morton*; ultimo Julii. Bor. primo Augusti, 1580. Morton,* his doinges and answer."

Copy of the same; *in the hand of* [Walsingham's secretary].

Another copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 67. Another copy of the same.

[July 31.] **551**. [ROBERT BOWES] TO [WALSINGHAM.]

By direction given to Sir Francis Russell, he [Russell] sent for Drumwhassell in her majesty's name, who met him in Scotland near to Norham. It was enquired whether the King should have been transported, with a charge to tell the truth, as to her majesty. He denied that there was ever any such purpose intended. Next, he was moved to hold fast the castle; which he has promised to do. Being asked of his [Bowes'] doing with him, he told them all truly. Will satisfy him with regard to his last advertisement of the cause of the Hamiltons and others.

½ *p. Holograph. No address. Written on half a sheet of paper.*

July 31. **552**. JAMES VI. TO ROBERT BOWES.

Received the Queen of England's letter by the bearer hereof, to which he has made answer. In her letter there is a request that the causes of the Hamiltons may be committed to commissioners. The trial of this matter belongs to the States of Scotland. It cannot be esteemed convenient that such trial should be put into the hands of any private commissioners. Does not see how the 10th of August can be kept. Requests him to give speedy advertisement of this to the Queen of England and such as have been nominated

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1580. commissioners, and that some other convenient time may be appointed. St. Andrews.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.* [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 66. Original of the same.

Aug. 1 **553.** [ROBERT BOWES] TO THE ABBOT OF DUNFERMLINE.

Whereas by his letter of the 11th of June last it appears that the King of Scots and his Council desired that the mutual redresses in Border causes might begin at the last peace, or, as it seems, at the time of the redress performed by appointment of the treaty of 1563, and also that they thought it good to prorogue the former meeting of the commissioners in this part till the 10th instant; albeit her majesty and the Council found it strange that sores wrapped up so long should be now revived after the death of so many persons whose testimonies should be requisite in examination and trial of causes, and also after the change of sundry magistrates and officers in Scotland, where, upon decease of sundry Regents, the execution of redresses for attempts done in the time of Regents deceased were especially by their own means suspended, yet her majesty, preferring chiefly the progress of justice, and thinking no length of time sufficient to prescribe against equity or to carry away wrongs, or to hinder such examinations as in justice and for the maintenance of the good amity betwixt the two crowns shall be seen meet, with the advice of her Council has resolved to like of the said motion made by the King and his Council, and accepts that the intended redress should "looke backe" to the year 1563, and begin from thence, with this intention, that the rolls of that time should be viewed, and such attempts as were not then redresed should be now ordered, and such as were not then inrolled to be extinct. It is thought the best course for both parts that the order for redresses should, at the meeting, proceed orderly from the present upwards, beginning first with offences last done and most fresh in memory, and so successively to the rest till 1563. This resolution is commended by letter to him to be made known to the Abbot to the intent he may acquaint the King and his Council with the same, that the time appointed for the meeting may be kept without further delay. Although he has this day received the King's letter tending to the prorogation of the day of meeting of the commissioners, upon respect that this point touching the limitation of the time of the beginning of the redresses is not accorded, and for other small causes alleged, yet seeing the same are now agreed to, he sends this bearer, his servant, and prays him to effect his despatch and return with the King's resolution answerable to her majesty's expectation. Having this day received the King's letters to her majesty, will send the same up with all diligent expedition. Berwick.

2 *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* "The copie of my lettre to th'abbott of Dunfermling. Berwick, primo Augusti."

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 67, b. Another copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1580.
Aug. 2.

554. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

His servant who carried the Queen of England's letter to the King of Scots in the behalf of Lords John and Claud Hamilton returned yesterday with the King's answer in writing to her majesty, and another from the King to himself, to such effects as by the view of the same inclosed will best appear. Requests him to present the King's letters addressed to her majesty. The other is not only to be seen by themselves, but also to be delivered to the Privy Council in part of his answer to their letter of the 26th of last month.

Received yesterday the said letter from the Privy Council; whereupon he wrote immediately and sent again to the Abbot of Dunfermline. The sight of the causes alleged by the King for prorogation of the day appointed, and understanding of the disposition of sundry great persons bent to defer this meeting, persuade him so surely that this time will be again adjourned, that upon this conjecture he has adventured to write to her majesty's commissioners to stay their journies till they receive further certainty. In case the King shall determine to send his commissioners at the day, he can easily call a sufficient number of her majesty's to meet the King's commissioners coming to this town.

Has also received from the Earl of Morton a letter to be conveyed to her majesty, and another directed to himself, which two he incloses. He professes still to remain at her majesty's devotion, and in the same sort and mind as he was before, so that he may see her resolute and determinate in time to take in hand and hold such course in Scotland as shall be seen expedient to maintain the amity and suppress the devices far entered and likely to increase and advance foreign practices. But on delay it seems that he will, as of necessity, provide for his own safety, and he looks to understand her majesty's pleasure and resolution towards the affairs of that realm, or otherwise to be left wholly to his own provision. Recommends this to their grave consideration.

The griefs betwixt the Earls of Morton and Lennox are to be mediated, and likely to be reconciled; the like is to follow betwixt Morton and Argyll; and promise is made that neither Morton nor Lennox shall know of or consent to any harm to each other until friends may convene to treat in causes questionable betwixt them, and betwixt Morton and Argyll; for the conclusion whereof some friends are already named. By these means the intended enterprise for the alteration purposed to have been executed at Falkland and St. Andrews is especially suspended.

The Earl of Lennox has now obtained the keeping of Dumbarton Castle with all the profits for one year, and further during the King's pleasure; wherein he has the King's letters for the immediate possession to be delivered to him or such as he shall appoint; about which some strive may haply arise. He has been informed that some, distrusting that he meant to displace and hurt them, had devised to have done him harm. Which matter lies still "smotheringe" in the ashes, with great suspicion on both sides.

Montbirneau and Henry Keyr prepare to be despatched into France within short time, and Keyr proposes to return shortly.

It has been moved that the King would now take his progress to

Elizabeth.
1580. Glasgow, and not to the west parts; and although sundry counsellors dissuade and withstand the same, yet many look that shall take effect indeed. Albeit it has been lately bruited that the King in this progress should have been dealt withal for marriage, yet he has been so inquisitive in that part and has such assurance to the contrary by the King's own affirmation to his [Bowes'] friends that he thinks verily it is not so.

The Earls of Montrose and Mar greatly depend on and follow Lennox, whose greatness daily increases. The ministers' suit is deferred to October next with their great discontentment. Has again received the King's letters in the behalf of the merchants of Dundee and St. Johnstone spoiled by English pirates, which he incloses. Upon this matter exceeding outcry is made, and many in the heat of their passions both lewdly boast and rashly speak of England.

Received this day Sir Francis Walsingham's letter of 29th of last month, and having presently with him four of the merchants, who brought him the King's letter, he has by the help only of his [Walsingham's] letter well appeased them, trusting to do the like as well in their own boroughs, as also in others that rage no less than these men who have suffered the spoil.

It is said that secret means have been made to bring home Sir James Balfour, and that he has long lingered at Dieppe for that purpose. On his return he should be used for an instrument against Morton. Is informed that he sent with Alexander Stewart such letters as he had and were meant and sought for to be made in the accusation of Morton for consent to the slaughter of the King's father, but the progress of this reconciliation will put away all the malice and violent devices amongst them, that for a season are buried in the ashes. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 69. Extract from the same.

Aug. 2. **555.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letters of the 27th and 29th of last month, and according to the first, has already written to the Earl of Morton to draw him from the evil conceit reigning still in him, who thinks her majesty's late letter to him to have been devised to sound him, and also to defer her resolution for those affairs longer than his case and surety could endure, as he has found by good intelligence, and Walsingham will also partly perceive by Mr. Archibald's [Douglas] letter. He distrusts utterly her majesty's meaning to be at any charges for the affairs of Scotland, and in this opinion, with the hard condition of his own state, that is greatly hated and sought to be hurt by great and strong personages and by all devices likely to prevail against him, he is driven, he says, against his heart and will to seek his safety by those means that in the end will not be profitable for either nation, yet he cannot withstand it. He is surely far entered into purpose with himself and also into conference with Lennox for reconciliation and friendship, yet he remains looking what will come from her majesty, which would, he thinks, recover him, so that the sure knowledge of

Elizabeth.
1580. the same might be given within fourteen days. For longer than that time he pretended that he cannot live in this "ticke" and loose state. He accuses him and Mr. Archibald [Douglas] to have holden him so long in hope that it has adventured his overthrow. Yet still he leans towards her majesty, who shall, he fears, find little good success in Scotland without his service and travail. All which he commends to wise and timely consideration, thinking, verily, that State to be so altered to the French since his last being there, that if it be suffered to proceed, without very speedy remedy, the best affected to her majesty shall be driven to run that way, or at least little prevail to stop that stream, as ofttimes he has given warning and called for help as far as he could.

Whereas the Queen by the said letter to the Earl of Morton has named some especial persons giving advertisement of certain practices very dangerous to the King and to the earl's overthrow, wherein Lennox should be the principal executor, he wishes that this particularity had been more general, chiefly because he has known that the Earl of Morton does not spare to show letters sent to him in such like cases, and when the same may be to his advantage—as, indeed, he has showed even this to the King, and he knows not how far further; and albeit the parties will be always ready to avouch and openly to approve their information, yet they may, peradventure, be in danger to be condemned seditious, and by that conceit be less able to do good services.

After long debate with himself, has agreed to send them [the Privy Council] the Earl of Morton's letter, trusting the sight thereof will do no hurt, upon good consideration of the true meaning in the same. Besides the three letters sent in his other packet, he sends them one from Mr. Hay, and another from Mr. Archibald [Douglas], whereby he will the better behold the changed and changeable state in that realm, altering and running now headlong to the overthrow of religion and to all other mischiefs.

The Scottish Papists in France by all possible means challenge and seek open disputations in religion, and one Burne, in Scotland, has lately in public offered to dispute against the religion established; who, being therefore committed, is, nevertheless, so comforted by Lennox and others that he doubts little harm. What will ensue of all these beginnings and manifest plots he leaves to wise judgment and God's holy will. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 68, b. Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Another copy of the same.

Inclosure with the same:—

(Alexander Hay to Robert Bowes.)

I have now continued almost eight days in Court in this town, and have seen how diligently this bearer, your servant, solicited his despatch, wherewith he returned "in end." The effect you will understand by the King's majesty's letter to yourself, and specially for what reasons the meeting of the commissioners stays on our part

Elizabeth.
1580. at this time, as I wish it should still delay till our sovereigns and their Councils first agreed on the day from which redress should be given and craved, "and understude others better then presentlie thay do." For, so long as you think that the redress should be only since the Earl of Sussex's departure from the Borders, and that we "compt" since the last peace, or since the last commissioners met, "and that the materis seamys to grow daylie mair difficill," I have the less good heart to be a dealer, and lament to live and see this long continued amity become so "cauld," having so little ability myself to remedy the occasions. For such as had intelligence with England begin to be suspected and hated, and their mouths are "stoppit" by the frequent exclamations of our poor merchants "laitlie rubbed," who had some hope to be free from new piracies of Englishmen, seeing so slender redress recovered of the former by the long travails and attendance of Adam Fowlerton.

This earnest suit for the Hamiltons' restitution, being the King's competitors and such as have dipped in his blood, is unpleasant also. But I am more able to note these inconveniences than to give any good advice for the remedy of them. St. Andrews. 29th July. *Signed:* A. Hay.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Aug. 7. **556.** THE COMMENDATOR OF DUNFERMLINE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Received his letter three days since, and has thus long "tarreit the bearer upon anser," looking for the presence of a number of the Council here; and, because he can perceive no great appearance of them, he gives these "twa lynis" to serve him for excuse till he may "furneis of ane convenient and full nomber" to impart the tenour of his letter to. Dunfermline. *Signed:* R Dunfermling.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Aug. 9. **557.** ADAM FULLERTOUN TO WALSINGHAM.

I am always bound to give your honour continual thanks for your goodwill shown to me from time to time, "all thocht I have rasavit no thankis nor gannys for thoyis I did it for, bot is most falslye jugit of an un honest delyng," as your servant, Mr. Beverley, will give your honour further to understand. "Most humilie crawis" your protection and defence of all my proceedings done in England for the cause that I had in hand, so far as honour and conscience will permit. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Adam Fullertoun.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Aug. 10. **558.** WALSINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

Perceives by his letter of the 2nd instant that there are great jealousies conceived in Scotland against England by reason of piracies, and how those jealousies are increased by the small satisfaction that was performed to Mr. Fullerton. When he considers thereof and looks to the truth of things as they stand, that the

Elizabeth.
1580. contagion of this disease of piracies stretches further than to the parts and members of England, that all nations are as deeply infected with it as theirs, that all good order that can be provided for the suppressing of them has been taken, that they cannot be rooted out, the civil wars in this part of the world still continuing, which are the root and well-springs of this infection, and when he calls to mind the state of that bond and knot which either does or should knit these two realms most firmly and soundly the one to the other with so fruitful and effectual effects that all old corruptions should be rooted out of them, he cannot but marvel and much grieve with himself to see that so small and slender occasions should bring forth so dangerous effects as to cut their minds asunder. If piracies were made free and the lives of a few subjected to the violence of a company of rovers, if there was no law to punish offences, yet chaff would be severed from the good corn, the bark from the tree, the shells from the kernels. Means such respect would be had that the corn should not be cast away because of the chaff, nor the kernel because of the shell, nor the body of the tree because of the bark—these outward parts being for the most part unsavoury to the taste and sharp to the sense and feeling, but the inward pleasant, good and profitable. No State can be so well governed but there will be wicked, otherwise there would be no laws; the severity of God himself against some cannot keep the world from swarms of offenders. And what if they who "malice" their religion ofttimes underhand set on the wicked to break out into all licenciousness to the end they may break them asunder who are so soundly knit together? Such practices are not strange seeing their parent and lord transforms himself into an angel of light. They should be wise in these cases and seek all means possible to punish offences, and not open a gate to their enemies to make havoc of them. Be it that these men's wickedness is not to be tolerated, and who goes about to tolerate them, shall England and Scotland therefore fall out? Shall the looseness of a few pirates cause the professors of one self same God to arm themselves one against another? They should remember that every kingdom divided in itself shall come to ruin. In the profession of the Gospel they are one kingdom, for there is neither Jew nor Gentile in Christ. Division will be their ruin. Writes this in grief. In truth earthly things may be loved—but not to break the love of better things.

2¼ *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "To M^r Ro. Bowes from Sir Fran. Walsingham, 10 Augusti, 1580." [*With No. 594. Fol. 124 b.*]

Aug. 10. **559.** ROBERT BOWES TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

Certified to them that he had sent his servant and written to the Abbot of Dunfermline requiring him to make known to the King of Scots and his Council the Queen of England's resolution as to the redresses on the Borders. The Abbot has sent back his servant with his letter only to himself, leaving the matter without any certainty, and to be debated at the next assembly of a convenient and full number of the Council, whose advice and resolution he promises to send to him. Incloses the Abbot's letter. The former appointed

Elizabeth.
1580. meeting is again broken. Will still solicit the Abbot to hasten the meeting and resolution of the King and Council. Retains the commission, instructions, and general letter from the Queen to her commissioners. Berwick.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.* *In the margin:* "To the Lords of the Council from M^r^ Bowes, 10 of August, 1580." [*With No. 594. Fol. 126.*]

Aug. 10. **560**. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his last letter, of the 2nd instant, and since the same, the commission, instructions, and general letter sent to the Queen of England's commissioners for the Borders. Purposes to return the commission, instructions, and letter to the commissioners to him shortly to be yet again framed to the articles to be accorded for the execution of that commission; wherein he understands that the King and Council in Scotland finding matters falling little to their desire and expectation, are nothing so forward in the expedition of that cause as before they have been. For they had rather, as he hears, have those affairs to be treated and ordered by the sovereigns and Councils of both realms, with the ministry and labours of their servants to be appointed to negotiate the same, than to be ended by commissioners, according to the first seeking and desire of the King and Council of Scotland. In which treaty and form of dealing they hope, peradventure, not only to get some advantage by the favourable passing over of offences answerable by their people, and, nevertheless, beyond their abilities to make redress, but also to draw other matters for the King's profit, and of greater consequence, to such memory and rehearsal that some good effect may spring thereof to their contentment. But, for his own conceit to be signified only to himself, he does not see how these things may be drawn from the order of the commissioners—being thus far proceeded—to any other course, without great peril of many and hasty outrages to be done and ensue on the Borders. For the satisfaction of the Earl of Morton and to move him to think well of her majesty's last letter to him, he drew forth sundry of the effectual parts and contents of his letter of the 27th of July last, which he thought likely to prevail with him; but perceives plainly his mind to be settled and determining that amendment in words in any letter is not able to satisfy him; for nothing will satisfy him but final deliberation—by which is meant resolution—of her majesty's effectual performance thereof. If there had been appearance in that matter no fault was in words. Still holds as fast as he can. Nevertheless, except he be speedily relieved by timely resolution they will be free and gone, indeed, from him. Still they accuse him that he holds them to their extreme perils, and for no profit to the cause.

Drumwhassel seems willing and ready to stand fast to his promise, and now good proof is like to be made of him, especially in delivery of the possession of Dumbarton to Lennox, and which Lennox seeks busily at his hands both by the King's letters and with his consent. It is time, therefore, to give speedy direction what shall be done herein.

Is informed by his friends in Court and other especial intelligence that the King is agreed and purposes to pass from Glasgow to

Elizabeth.
1580. Dumbarton before the end of the next month. They leave the matter to his [Bowes] judgment, seeming to distrust the King's passage into France. But James Murray and others of that company about the King are in better hope, thinking a great part of the storms to be past, and yet they confess they see great perils and daily persuasions for the French course, which they affirm will not be holden down without her majesty's strong hand and speedy help. These last mislike much of the new reconciliation and intended friendship betwixt Morton and Lennox, thinking that the same in the end will turn to Morton's hurt and to endanger religion and that State, wherein, undoubtedly, most things presently depend in great confusion, and likely to fall to the French bias, as he has so often written.

Has found to his comfort his good help in the expedition of the signing of his book by her majesty, for which he is bound to serve her during his life, and with life and all that he possesses, and next to be thankful to him for his goodness that shall never be forgotten nor suffer to die in him. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅓ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Aug. 10. **561.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Having sent his servant and written to the Abbot of Dunfermline according to his last letter requiring him to make known to the King and Council of Scotland her majesty's resolution for redresses on the Borders, the Abbot has now sent back his servant with his letter, leaving the matter without any certainty and to be debated at the next meeting of a convenient and full number of the Council, whose resolution therein he promises to send him, like as by his letter to the Queen of England's Privy Council will appear. Although he has already received her majesty's commission, instructions, and general letter to her commissioners, and has diligently sought that the appointed meeting might be kept, yet it is now broken and brought to the uncertain state and case before mentioned, resting, as it seems, to be accorded and resolved upon in the points expressed in the King's letter inclosed with his last. Because he desires that all his doings in the pursuit hereof may be warranted and agreeable to her majesty's good pleasure, prays to be timely directed herein. In the meantime will still call on and solicit the Abbot of Dunfermline to hasten the meeting and resolution of the King and Council, and to certify the same with speed. Still retains the commission, instructions, and letters of her majesty's commissioners, to the intent they may be returned upon direction. Has stayed her majesty's commissioners.

The Earls of Morton and Lennox have appointed the mediation of their reconcilement to have been effected at the King's being at Aberdore, the Earl of Morton's house, whereunto the King came on Thursday,* and departed thence on Saturday last; but the Earl of Morton being then grievously troubled with the "flixe," by surfeit

* 4th.

Elizabeth.
1580. lately taken at Lord Lindsay's house, desired to refer the treaty to better leisure and recovery of his health; and Lennox being also sick by surfeit taken at the same time and house, and gone to Edinburgh for his ease, was easily persuaded to refer it to another time. The Earl of Morton, pretending to depend as yet on the advertisement of her majesty's resolution for that State, seems to look for the same within short time; but failing to be satisfied within the time limited, or very shortly after, he professes then to be free of all promises, and that he must of necessity provide for himself and his surety, and for the same proceed in the agreement and amity with Lennox and other observants in that course. Lennox had promised the King to have come to Aberdore in triumph on the water with small vessels, but by the increase and continuance of his sickness he was contented to send Montbirneau to supply his absence; and so Lennox came not to Aberdore during the King's abode there.

Because it had been lately bruited in St. Andrews that Morton had four great ships of England in readiness to surprise the King at his pastime on the water, therefore the Earl of Morton advised and took order that Lennox should bring no great vessels or great pieces in his triumph to Aberdore. Nevertheless Montbirneau brought a good crayer furnished with great pieces, which for lack of wind could not approach the place appointed for the pastime; and this deed is both much noted by many and also greatly suspected of evil practice intended.

The King purposes to come from Alloway [Alwey]—the Countess of Mar's house—to Edinburgh, and there to have an especial assembly of the Council, where it is looked that some change will be made of councillors and officers in the King's house, and soon after the King will pass to Glasgow, where a general convention of the nobility and Council is to be called for the affairs of the State, and on the end thereof the King is minded to see the Castle of Dumbarton, which is meant to be at that time in the possession of the Earl of Lennox. These diets and progresses are well liked and agreed to by the King, and the devisers thereof think that they shall not be altered or defeated; and if they take effect, then many wise men there are of opinion that that realm—or at least the King and many of the nobles—will be French;—to which course that State greatly inclines, and of late begins to run headlong to it. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅓ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 71. Extract from the same.

[Aug.] **562.** [ROBERT BOWES] TO [WALSINGHAM].

The Earl of Morton has so settled his opinion that the Queen of England will be at no charges to hold that nation in her course and devotion, neither yet maintain and stand to such as would adventure themselves, that he is resolved to provide for his own safety, and he doubts much that this manner of dealing with him, or yet any fair words without express deeds to his contentment, can recover and hold him. Wherein within few days he will give him better certainty. If her majesty resolves to retain the devotion of Scotland to her, it will be time to entertain such friends for that work as shall be expendient,

Elizabeth.
1580. and no manner to her best liking; otherwise, the declination of Morton being there known, and his own discontentment likely to work no good effects in himself, will hazard great revolt in others, whereunto many are presently readily disposed. Has much to do at this time to entreat the best to continue their wonted travails.

It was suspected by many that George Beverely was addressed thither with his [Walsingham's] privity and direction in matters of State, and at his first coming the Earl of Morton, being partly of that conceit, gave Mr Archibald [Douglas] such intelligence as occasioned him to write to the effects appearing in his letter to him [Walsingham]. But now the earl and others are better satisfied with his doings, thinking the same to have passed in private matters.

1 *p.* *No flyleaf or address.* *In Bowes' hand.*

[Aug.] **563.** [ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.]

Seeing that Lord Hunsdon is stayed, her majesty has made especial good choice of Lord Scrope, who will be very welcome into Scotland, and have good credit given him. Prays God Lord Scrope's commission be such as may be more pleasant than in the matter of the Hamiltons, otherwise his travail, he fears, will bring no great fruit or good liking to her majesty. It is very expedient that his repair be hasted that he may be at Edinburgh with the King before the alteration of the officers be resolved.

Lennox has in purpose that after Dunfermline, the Comptroller, and Cambuskenneth be removed, then the King and Council to be moved to appoint a lieutenant in the realm, who may, with the Council, govern and manage the State in the King's absence either abroad in his pastimes for his health and pleasures, or else in case he shall dispose himself to visit foreign nations, whereunto he has presently a singular disposition. Wishes heartily that Lennox and his associates would proceed to break this matter to the Council, for thereby he shall most plainly discover his disguised delays; whereupon, and with good handling, he and his associates, and also their cause, brought to great forwardness, may, he trusts, be easily defeated.

¾ *p.* *In Bowes' hand.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 10. **564.** WALSINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

His letter of the 2nd instant did not come to his hands till yesterday, whereby it was impossible to procure her majesty's resolution within the time limited in Mr. Archibald's [Douglas] letter; and surely the pressing of it with such expedition was found very strange, and the rather for that the Queen finds the Earl's [Morton] letter written in such cold sort and so full of suspicion that she cannot tell what to make of it, and therefore greatly discourages her from entering into so frank kind of dealing as heretofore, especially seeing the whole course of her proceeding with all those of Scotland, and chiefly with the said earl, has tended to no other end but to the King's safety and the continuance of common quiet among them; and therefore no just cause has been ministered to move the precisest subject living under the greatest tyrant of the world either in Scotland or any other realm to deal in so wary and so jealous

Elizabeth.
1580. a sort as he has done. Whereas, amongst other things, he seems to conceive that the Queen of England's late letter to him was a device of some of his unfriends to have entrapped him, if the words of the letter be duly considered they cannot well be drawn to be subject to so hard a censure, tending to none other end but to the conservation of the King his master, and containing his realm in quiet, and to admonish him of such dangerous practices as were meant against his own person, and therefore her majesty does not see that any plot builded upon so sound grounds could have bred any peril to him, whose safety she has always tendered as carefully as any subject of her own, whom she held most dearest, and is sorry to see him—considering the assurance she gave him to follow any such direction as she should receive from him for the preventing of such mischiefs as were likely to fall on Scotland—that he should be driven to resort to so dangerous a remedy as to establish his safety on an unsound reconciliation with his ancient and professed enemies, who principally seek his overthrow, to the end they may the better frame their other purposes to the effects they desire. Her majesty conceives that the earl might with some reason have resorted to so doubtful a remedy in case she had either denied or given over to have had any further dealings in Scotland either concerning the public or his particular. But making offer to put in execution whatsoever by him should have been devised for the prevention of the approaching mischiefs to that State—with reservation always of his duty towards his sovereign, whose preservation no subject or nearest ally has more carefully sought than her majesty—she sees no cause why he should deal either so doubtfully or mistrustfully, and should rather be carried to repose his surety in those who thirst after his blood and desire his ruin, than to take profit of so honourable and friendly an offer. Though such a strange manner of dealing, greatly unlooked for at his hands, being a man of that judgment that he is of, and can easily discern what surety can rest in a reconciled enemy, might give her majesty just cause to stay the further dealing towards him, for that she doubts not that England shall be able to stand howsoever Scotland shall be affected towards her, yet her highness being of herself carried with that princely disposition that she cannot easily shake off those of whom she has made that account she has done of him, she would have him [Bowes] advise him, after he has well weighed the peril his intended reconciliation may throw him into, to think better of the matter, and in case he shall find that nothing is sought in the plot wherein his advice was required but the preservation of his master and his own particular surety, that then he will deal more frankly, foreseeing that there shall grow no so great peril to him by yielding his advice in so honest a cause, as by proceeding in his intended reconciliation; and if, on due consideration of the matter, he shall find wherein her majesty may prevent the calamities that by inward division are likely to grow in Scotland to the hazarding of the King and the religion, and the overthrow of himself and his particular estate, then to assure him that her majesty will not fail to employ herself to the uttermost of her power by yielding such timely remedy as the diseased state of that realm requires, when she shall find in him a more inclinable disposition to acquaint her with his best advice what way of counsel

Elizabeth.
1580. were fit to be taken there. And whereas the earl alleges that he has heretofore acquainted him with his opinion what course he thought fit to be taken, her majesty would have him let him understand that it falls out in diseased States, as it does in diseased bodies, that new accidents require new remedies, and therefore she doubting whether the former counsels were fit salves for the present sores and diseases of Scotland, prayed further advice, with assurance given to yield present execution; which she will be ready to perform, notwithstanding the curiosity used.

This in substance is that which the Queen's pleasure is he should deliver to him, and though perhaps it may seem to come too late, for that it cannot be delivered by the time prefixed in his friend's* letter, yet she thinks the earl too wise to build upon so unsound a remedy as the reconcilement offers, and to refuse her honourable offer, which can never come so late as shall not contain more safety than the other which is pretended to be attempted. Oatlands. *Signed:* F.W.

3 *pp. Copy. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "10 August, 1580. To Mr. Bowes."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 70. Another copy of the same.

Aug. 14. **565.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

The doubts moved in his letter to the Privy Council and the delay by the King of Scots in putting off the time of the meeting of the commissioners is thought strange, seeing the pretences alleged as causes of that delay are long since fully answered for the points which the King mentions in his letter of the 31st of July; to all which her majesty's full pleasure is set down in the commission and instructions which he has received, wherewith he has or may make the King acquainted, giving him farther to understand that in all the said points she has rather yielded to his request than followed any private respect of her own—which, if she had not done, she might, perchance, have resolved otherwise—so greatly does she tender the peace of the Borders and continuance of good amity. So that there remains nothing else but that the King and his Council think well of those things they liked before, and thought good to be requested of her. Is to move the King that the commissioners may meet with all convenient expedition. Her majesty greatly marvelled that the meeting should be deferred. If he frames his course according to the words and meaning of the commission and instructions he will have sufficient to resolve the King and the Counucil, if anything can resolve them.

1 *p. In the margin:* "The xiiijth of Auguste, 1580, awnswer of M^{r} Robert Bowes leter of the xth of August, 1580." [*With No. 594. Fol. 130*].

Aug. 15. **566.** [ROBERT BOWES] TO THE ABBOT OF DUNFERMLINE.

Trusts that since his letter of the 4th instant a sufficient number of the Council have been together. Requests him to return the bearer

* Archibald Douglas.

Elizabeth.
1580. with speedy despatch and such certainty as the weighty importance of those affairs requires. Berwick.

⅓ *p.* *Indorsed:* "The copye of my lettre to th'Abbotte of Dunfermlinge, xvj[to] [*sic*] Awgustie, 1580."

Aug. 16. **567.** [SHREWSBURY] TO BURGHLEY.

C.P., vol. XI. Has received his letter of the 15th instant, whereby he perceives it has pleased the Queen to command him to give him in charge to look circumspectly to his great charge, which, although she thinks he does by common order, yet these seven years it has been more necessary, forasmuch as it is intended that by slight or force she shall escape from him, and also to have regard whom he suffers to come near this Queen, and for wandering of her people abroad. These things he [Shrewsbury] is to answer him to resolve her majesty in. For the Queen of Scots' safe keeping he has been at this point with her,—never to keep any common order with her or her people, whereby they might ascertain themselves of any certainty at his hands, nor will he so long as he has charge over her, but hitherto has been so careful of her and her people as though the enemy were present to assail him. Although this country is quiet, yet he never thought he could be too "ware" of so weighty a charge, wherein consist many hidden extraordinary charges; and for any strangers coming into her company, none have come near her. As for her now being at Buxton, there is not so much as a beggar in the town, and they wish her gone that they may come to the well as they have done. As for the wandering of her people abroad, they have not stirred forth of the doors but when they have asked him leave, and then they have gone no farther than the close of the wall, and guarded by his soldiers. Neither has he suffered the simplest of them at any time these seven years to walk abroad, no not to stir out of his doors without being guarded by his soldiers,nor will he. Since the Queen of Scots' hither coming she has applied the well, and came not forth but one evening to take the air in the close about the house, where none were but his people; and although by reason of a fall she had in her coming hither she could have been contented to have gone easier journies to Chatsworth, which he consented to by reason of her hurt, and wrote to Mr. Secretary Wilson that he meant so to do, now, perceiving her ability to ride, has altered his purpose, and returns to Sheffield on Wednesday next from Buxton, which is misliked by some, but if he pleases her majesty he cares not whom he offends, and, by the grace of God, will so proceed that this woman shall put none of her practices into execution. Buxton. *Signed:* G. Shrewsbury.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 21. **568.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Soon after the despatch of his packet to them this forenoon he received a letter from Sir Francis Walsingham of the 15th instant directing him to acquaint the King of Scots with the Queen of England's pleasure set down in the commission and instructions for the Borders. Has signified her said resolution to the Abbot of Dunfermline to be by him made known to the King and Council, and in the execu-

Elizabeth.
1580. tion thereof has followed the direction of the Privy Council and that agreeable to the contents of the commission and instructions, and according to this letter received this day, and that they may the more perfectly understand his full doings in this cause, incloses the doubles of his two last letters to the Abbot of Dunfermline,* whereby it shall appear, he trusts, that he has already executed the whole direction given him or requiste to be done for expedition of this cause—now cast and put off only by the King and Council—and also that he has presently his servant at Court soliciting this matter. Beseeches them to lay these letters and the others to her majesty's Council for his acquittal in this part. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Aug. 21. **569.** ROBERT BOWES TO MR. LAWRENCE THOMPSON.

Received his letter of the 10th instant. Thanks him for the good lesson in the same. The suspicion conceived of George Beverley's commission or doings in Scotland is now removed by understanding the truth therein. Refers him to his last letter to Sir Francis Walsingham for the satisfaction of the residue of his letter.

In matters betwixt them, commends him to his last letter and to the despatch of his servant Thomas Appilby, who, he trusts, will do all things to his good contentment. Will see the wants found in him [Appilby] speedily supplied, and all promises kept with him, according to his word and letters. Prays him to love him and let him have his goodwill. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Holograph, also address:* "To my very loving freinde Mr. Laurence Tompson att the Co[urte] or elswhere, with spede." *Indorsed:* "21 Aug. 1580. From R. Bowes to my self."

Aug. 21. **570.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letter of the 16th instant declaring her majesty's purpose to send Lord Scrope and himself to the King of Scots, whereof he has given knowledge to Lord Scrope. Thinks it very meet for Lord Scrope and him to be with the King at Edinburgh, and before his going to Glasgow; for the assembly of the nobility and of the King's Council coming together at Edinburgh will tender more the advancement of her majesty's pleasure and relief of the Hamiltons than the convention determining to be at Glasgow for the execution of their own intentions and of purposes little profitable for the quietness of that State. For the prevention whereof great labour is made, and wherein he has done his endeavour to persuade the stay of that progress to Glasgow, which will bring the King to Dumbarton and put Dumbarton into the possession of Lennox, or otherwise Drumwhassel shall be wrecked. If he be not otherwise directed, will at his coming to that Court seek the defeat of that journey as a matter requisite for her majesty's service. The King will be at Edinburgh this week with secret purpose to pass to Glasgow. Howbeit, is borne in hand that this diet determined may, peradventure, be disap-

* Nos. 553 and 566.

Elizabeth.
1580. pointed, and then his remain there will be the longer. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 21. **571.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his two several letters of the 10th instant. The one condemning the outrages of pirates, with proof, nevertheless, that their robberies, proceeding either of their own corrupt dispositions for their unlawful gain, or by the subtle enticements of Papists or peace-breakers for the advancement of their devilish purposes, should not endanger matters of religion or State, or yet adventure the breach of the amity betwixt these two crowns—he has delivered to his servant sent into Scotland, and has given him instructions wisely to impart, and also orderly, and with especial direction, to show the same to chosen persons and burgesses, to the intent that the pithy reasons, vouched with warrant and authority of his own hand, and couched in so good form, may prevail first to satisfy the viewers thereof in the argument expressed; and next, that they, won to allow and like of the same, may persuade others to their opinions. Hopes that good fruit and success shall come thereof.

Whereas he understands that the Queen has lately made perfect her gracious gift of the Exchange to him—thereby enabling and binding him to serve her not only faithfully as her loyal subject, but also frankly as her decayed servant now relieved by her especial grace far beyond desert in him—he prays him to present to her his most humble thanks and service, together with signification of his resolute mind, determined to be always ready as well to expend her liberal gift with all the rest of his possessions, as also to adventure, and, in case of need, to sacrifice his life and blood for her service. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 21. **572.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Received their letter of the 10th instant on the 14th, directing him to make known to the Earl of Morton her majesty's reply. Whereupon he sent an especial messenger to the earl; and that the messenger might be known to have good errand, without suspicion of his dealing with the earl, he sent a letter to the Abbot of Dunfermline, praying speedy advertisement of the resolution of the King and his Council in Border matters. Because he looked to have received return from the earl before this, and intending to have sent the same to them on receipt thereof, has deferred this letter. The state of Scotland is little altered since his last; saving that by good advice the King was pleased to return and make some abode at Stirling before his repair to Edinburgh, where he will be on the 25th instant. It is likewise laboured to stay the King's intended progress to Glasgow or coming to Dumbarton; which presently are brought in doubt, notwithstanding that great travail is bestowed to bring on that journey. The Earl of Morton since his coming to Dalkeith—where he abides at present—has recovered better health. Trusts to hear shortly from him. The Earl of Lennox continues most in

Elizabeth.
1580. Edinburgh awaiting on the King's coming thither. Lennox and Morton remain in friendly terms and to be reconciled according to the King's motion and to their own accords. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 22. **573.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Since his last letter his servant returned with a letter addressed to himself from the Abbot of Dunfermline, which he incloses. Besides this letter he gave in credit to his servant to let him know that the King of Scots had prorogued his going to Edinburgh from the 25th to the 29th instant, and that the Council would soon after convene at Edinburgh to deliberate on Border causes, for the King's house, and for accounts: at which convention he promised to procure resolution. As far as he can learn this will be again dilatory, whereupon the loose and broken sort on the Borders will readily be encouraged to attempt great outrages in case remedy be not timely provided. Will travail for better resolution, but being in some distrust of the good success thereof has thought it his duty to give notice.

The Earl of Morton on receipt of his letter declared himself to retain still his former determination, denying to return any answer in writing, as was required. Nevertheless, for answer, he showed that he took the delay mentioned in good part, thinking it meet that her majesty and Council prolong such weighty causes until their best time. Further, that he does not forget her favourable care had of him, and he minds not to adjoin himself to any that may be prejudicial to her service. Like as before, upon her majesty's own letter, he refused to lay any "platte," so he cannot now grant to it upon his letter, saying further he could declare no further than he has already done to Bowes. These are the full effects of his answers. He appears willing to deal more frankly in conference, but he will not enter into writing, and he complains much of the dangers appearing in that State, and want of care and providence for prevention of the evils, wherein he seems to be willing to employ himself with hazard of his body and possessions on condition that he might be assured of the Queen of England's good hand and assistance; which he [Bowes] has offered with all assurance and good words he can give. Howbeit, he abides still in this distrust, not to be removed without better contentment. He pretends that no reconciliation is made betwixt him and Lennox, nor yet like to be accorded; yet many think that they be entered into friendly terms, and that conceit draws to incline the rather to Lennox. He has no liking to be at the next convention at Edinburgh, purposing to excuse himself on the King's first letter by his sickness, and if he be again commanded to be present he will obey to come to Court, but without better health he cannot sit in Council.

That convention is assembled to resolve chiefly on Border causes, the King's house, and for accounts; but further matters are intended to be attempted therein if the resolution taken at Campbell, at the Earl of Lennox late being there, takes place; whereby the enterprise for alteration of officers is meant to be assayed; which being obtained,

Elizabeth.
1580. other greater matters—as the appointment of a lieutenant and the King's liberty—to be broached.

Because it is well seen that the pretended progress to Glasgow so generally offended the subjects, as some countenance of rebellion was threatened upon the proceeding of the same, therefore, that journey is given over, and yet not so fully "defeit" that it may be "receaved" [revived ?] in case the purpose of change of officers takes effect, according to the plot of the same.

The Earl of Lennox seeks the immediate possession of Dumbarton to be in his own hands; for which purpose he has procured the King's letters to the Laird of Drumwhasell as well for the possession as also for removing of him from that piece, wherein he will not agree that he shall have any charge other than as constable only, without power to place or displace any soldier other than Lennox shall especially appoint, and that Drumwhassell shall not pay the soldiers in pay. Drumwhessell desires his advice whether he shall accept his offer to be constable, minding to retain about himself so many as shall encounter and match all the rest, and pretending that he and all his power shall still remain at her majesty's devotion and stop the French course, which he affirms to him is very likely to go forwards. In case he shall persuade him to take the earl's offer and hold footing in the piece—as he offers to do—then he will look that the Queen of England shall relieve and help him in the changes of the same. Requests to be speedily directed what advice he shall send to him and how far he shall promise. Berwick.

3 *pp. Copy. In the margin:* "22 of August, 1580, from Mr. Robert Bowes." *Notes in the margin in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary).

[*With No. 594. Fol. 130 b.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 73. Original of the same.

Aug. 22. **574.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

The Earl of Morton will not be recovered and holden without express deed to be timely given to his own contentment. That State comes so headlong to the French course that all good men there greatly fear their sudden ruin, seeing no stay or remedy to remain in their own nobility, who are in factions so divided that they are continually and busily occupied to defend themselves, leaving the King and State to be led by such as are wholly French, and all his [Bowes'] friends, as in one harmony, affirm that at this convention to be holden at Edinburgh the beginning of the execution of the French plot, by change of officers, will be attempted and take effect, because they see none of the nobility or of credit—other than the parties to be displaced, who want power to withstand—resolved to resist these devices. It is, therefore, time to work in case it be thought meet to have any building maintained in Scotland. The matter is very far gone, yet not so desperate but that it may be recovered, as he thinks, by speedy remedy.

It is for some weighty purpose that Lennox is so hasty to have the possession of Dumbarton and to remove Drumwhassell. who was the chief instrument of the calling of Lennox into Scotland, and

Elizabeth.
1580. of his honours received there. It is suspected that upon the end of this convention and sight of the success of their purpose to be for this time put in use, Montbirneau shall be despatched into France with their whole resolution, and his return is looked to be at Dumbarton, with more company.

Drumwhassell appears not only to remain at the Queen of England's devotion, but also to be disposed as her majesty shall think, pressing him [Bowes] very earnestly to give him advice and resolute direction with all possible speed, and he "semeth" that Lennox deals so hardly with him in this part that he cannot defer his answer to him without his own manifest wreck. The Master of Mar has dealt earnestly with Lennox for Drumwhassell, and now begins to doubt that there is a further meaning for the French than is suffered to be known to him; whereat he seems to be much grieved, and to be ready to do all his power in memory of his promise to stop this course. Desires him to let him have resolute direction what he shall do with Drumwhassell, whom he holds in good terms for the present; but he is so urged that he cannot long delay his resolution to Lennox.

Walsingham's letter touching piracies is left in the hands of Mr. James Lowson, minister of God's Word in Edinburgh, who, liking very well the contents thereof, prayed the custody of the same, to the intent he might communicate it to his brethren in Dundee, St. Johnstone, and other places in Scotland, and that they might do the like to the burgesses within their charges, as Mr. Lowson has already done in Edinburgh and Leith to the satisfaction of many good persons there. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 72. Another copy of the same.

Aug. 26. **575.** LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO WALSINGHAM.

"I wrait to zou tuiching my particular, quhilk her majestie schew suld be gevin me at my cuming to London, and hes fund furtherance throw zour meanes, and thankes zou hertlie for the same, and prays zou to rander maist humill thankes in my name wnto her heythnes not onlie for it bot for the confortable wordes quhilk I hard of her majestie; quhairupon I rest in hoip that guid succes sall follow." And seeing her highness has concluded that my Lord Scrope and Mr. Bowes shall pass into Scotland with commission for our relief, I will most heartily pray you, seeing the necessity of the cause required expedition, that your honour would be a mean to further the matter as soon as "guidlie" it may be, and to remember in the commission as well those that are in the like estate as my lord my brother and me, whose names I delivered to your servant; and in doing this, which is both godly and honourable, I doubt not but the same will redound to her majesty's great laud and praise, and her highness may be assured of us ever to be ready to do her most humble service to our power. London. *Signed:* Claud Hamiltoun.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1580. Aug. 27.

576. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

It is given him to understand that on Wednesday afternoon last the ports in Edinburgh were suddenly shut and long time kept close at the commandment of the Earl of Lennox, who sought the apprehension of the Laird of Drumwhassell, then present in Edinburgh and resorting daily to Lennox, to detain and constrain him to deliver to Lennox the possession of the Castle of Dumbarton; and Drumwhassell being there taken has entered into bonds and caution in 40,000*l.* to deliver that piece to the Earl of Lennox, or to Captain William Stewart, whom Lennox has made captain of the same. It is bruited that Lennox's sudden dealing in this manner with Drumwhassell chiefly grew by the interception of some letters sent out of England, and to have been conveyed to Drumwhassell by Lady Seton. The truth hereof is not yet known to him.

On the late repair of the Earl of Angus and sundry others in his company to the Earl of Morton, at Dalkeith, the Earl of Lennox conceived, as he is informed, that some hurt was devised against him, and that Angus or other friends and servants of the Earl of Morton should have executed the same immediately in the night. Whereupon the ports of Edinburgh were shut, and so kept till 8 o'clock the next morning. It is bruited also that some letters of importance coming to Lennox were taken by one of the Earl of Morton's servants, causing Lennox the rather to receive the jealousy aforesaid. But of these last he has not heard from any of good credit, and therefore thinks them to be of no great importance.

The King's coming to Edinburgh is again prorogued to the last of this month, and the Council is commanded to convene there the 2nd of September next; at which time he shall have his servant attending in Court to solicit the resolution for Border causes, which presently need careful regard to be given for prevention of evils threatened by the great increase of slaughters, robberies, and raids of the Scots nightly done of late, and by the dangerous looseness of this time.

The State in Scotland is doubted and almost seen to be entering into change, which many wise think will hastily turn into perilous effects, as the end of this convention, they suppose, will make manifest. Albeit the execution of the enterprises intended have by great labour and other accidents been hitherto well put over and deferred, yet they still creep forwards and are like at length to take place by the power of the parties pursuing the advancement of the same, and by the "laches" of others in that realm who neglect the provision of remedy. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 75.

Another copy of the same.

Aug. 27.

577. WALSINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

Having acquainted the Queen of England with the contents of his letters of the 22nd instant, she would have him acquaint the King of Scots with a meaning she has to despatch Lord Scrope and

Elizabeth.
1580. himself shortly to him about certain matters of importance, and therefore that she prays him to appoint his Council to be in readiness to attend on him against that time. One of the matters that is to be there dealt in by them is the restitution of the Lords Hamilton, wherein her majesty thinks herself greatly touched in honour that that satisfaction is not made them which she undertook and promised to procure for them; which he may make known to such of his friends there as are in authority, and let them understand that if she may be satisfied therein there may be some hope that those things that were moved by Dunfermline will have some good resolution. Is to persuade with Drumwhassel not to "relent to" the yielding up of Dumbarton into Lennox's hands, if by any means he can withstand it, until such time as Lord Scrope and he repair thither and deal with the King about it.

¾ *p. Draft. In the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary). *Indorsed:* "27 Aug. 1580. M[inute] to Mr. Bowes, touchinge the time to be appointed for the Lord Scroope's and his repayee into Scotland."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 76. Another copy of the same.

Aug. 21. **578.** SHREWSBURY TO LEICESTER.

C.P., vol. XI. Being now desirous to hear of his good health, considering what sickness is stirring, and thinking the time long since he heard from him, and so sending up his servant for such money as is due to him for the Queen of Scots' diet, which is stayed, by what means he knows not, desires him to put his helping hand to obtain the same at her majesty's hands. It seems strange to him it should be denied. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewsbury.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Aug. 31. **579.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Received Walsingham's letter of the 28th instant at 7 this morning. Has already, by his letter to the Abbot of Dunfermline, signified the Queen of England's meaning to despatch Lord Scrope and himself to the King of Scots. The appointment for the Council to convene on the 2nd of September still holds. It is looked that the Council will continue with the King for 10 or 12 days; and haply upon the understanding of her majesty's said purpose they may be kept longer together. Has this day written to Lord Scrope to advertise them speedily what time he may make his repair thither. Is ready on receipt of direction to do as he shall be commanded. Has performed the commandments given him in all other parts of the said letter as near as he can. William Stewart departed with Drumwhassel from Edinburgh on Thursday last to receive the possession of Dumbarton, which he thinks, verily, is already given up. Drumwhassell is to appear at Edinburgh on this day to make his acccunts to Lennox, who openly deals very straitly with Drumwhassell. Upon earnest suit made to Lennox by the Master of Mar that Drumwhassel might retain the custody of the castle upon bonds of the Earl of Glencairn and others, in like manner as his fore-holders had done before, Lennox showed the King's letter commanding him to remove Drumwhassel from that

Elizabeth.
1580. charge. Lennox being pressed to write to the King, at the request of the Earl of Glencairn and the Master of Mar, to allow Drumwhassell to continue in his office, the King wrote again in very bitter terms commanding again expressly the avoidance of Drumwhassell; whereupon Lennox proceeded against him in manner declared in his former letter. Understands by some of the Council and others that Lennox happened to intercept letters addressed to Drumwassell from some in England, which he keeps so close that neither his secretary nor other near friends understand the contents or state thereof. Lord Ruthven and others have doubted that these letters, being sent from himself [Bowes], had been taken in the hands of some of his friends; but all his late letters and messages to Drumwhassell have been safely delivered to his own hands. In case Lennox shall show the same to the King at his coming to Edinburgh, or otherwise discover to any number of his friends, hopes thereon to reveal some of the secrets.

Reproachful and slanderous libels have been lately dispersed in the reproach of the Earl of Morton, and willing the Earl of Lennox to beware of him and of his deceitful trains laid to entrap Lennox.

Monsieur Montbirneau—the right hand of Lennox, and one suspected by many in Scotland to have done no good effects with the King—is again to be despatched to France, and it is looked that upon delivery of Dumbarton to William Stewart, and sight of the success of things at this convention, he will depart with the King's commendation to pass through England into France: and albeit some of Scotland well devoted to the Queen of England have partly pursuaded his stay, yet he has not thought meet to do the same without order given him. Prays to be directed how he shall entertain and use this stranger. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Aug. 31. **580.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Being credibly informed by letters of some apparent mischiefs and inconveniences likely to fall out in Scotland, has despatched the bearer, Bowes, to let him understand what she thinks fit to be done for preventing these new dangers which threaten his State. Prays him not only to give him credit therein, but also to remember that all her counsels heretofore given to him have never tended to any other end but to his benefit, and therefore she looks that hereafter they shall be weighed and esteemed accordingly, whereby she may have no cause to repent the great care she has always had for his preservation, which she has performed with no less affection than if he had been her own natural son.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed:* "M[inute] to the King of Scottes. Aug. last, 1580." *And in the hand of* (Walsingham's secretary)*:* "Credit for Mr. Bowes," etc.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 76. Copy of the same.

Aug. 31. **581.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Acquainted her majesty with the contents of his letter of the 27th instant. Her pleasure is that he should forthwith with all

Elizabeth.
1580. speed make his repair to the King of Scots, and in the presence of his Council—requiring that the Earl of Lennox may be excluded, for that he is to deliver some matter that particularly touches him—let him understand that her majesty coming to the knowledge of a practice lately put in execution for the delivery of Dumbarton Castle into the hands of the Earl of Lennox, could not, for the goodwill she bears him, but advertise him of the danger thereof, and pray him that in a matter so greatly importing the state of religion and the safety of his realm—wherein for many weighty respects she cannot but have a great interest—he will not so much respect the bond of natural kindness as the preservation and continuing of so weighty causes. For, as nature may lead him to the one, so the duty he owes to God, and the care he ought to have of his crown and State, ought to draw him to the other; and so much the rather, for that it is well known—as by secret and true advertisements her majesty is given to understand, howsoever the practices be kept masked for a while, whereto she has the more cause to give credit by the sequel of the proceeding—that the said earl is a professed enemy of the Gospel, and vehemently suspected that he is dispensed withal by the Pope to dissemble by an external show of religion to work his greater purposes for the overthrow of religion, and a man especially chosen by the French, standing wholly at their devotion, as by the revenues and living he receives from them he is in part bound, to bring on that nation to the utter overthrow of Scotland and the disquiet of England, a matter easily to be discovered by former practices to be their meaning; and she is the rather induced to believe it to be so, as he is to let the King know by the report she has received (if it be true) that the conferring of the charge on him proceeded rather of a suit of his own than of any disposition in the King of Scots; which cannot but be thought so much the more strong, for that he requested it but for a year, and for that he presses so greatly the present delivery and immediate possession of it; for this kind of dealing argues manifestly some secret practice that stands upon the pinch to be executed, for the compassing whereof so short a time may suffice, and so the grant of one year in the end get him a better title, and work the King that that end shall not be able to be removed at all, or very hardly, and not without great loss to his crown and State. Therefore her majesty, seeing apparently that the earl's repair to Scotland—whatsoever pretence or show of love he makes in respect of kindred—was to overthrow the religion, as may easily be gathered by the choice he made of H. Keyr, a professed enemy to the religion and an especial executor and furtherer of such plots and practices as have been devised by the bishop of Ross on his being at Rome and in Spain, she cannot but advise him to beware that he be not made unwittingly an instrument to advance the said plot himself by delivering the ports of his realm into their hands; wherein she marvels greatly that the Lords and others of his Council, who have seen, not many years past, what has been intended by the French against Scotland in respect of religion, should give their assent to the delivery of the said castle to the earl, being by birth a Frenchman and in religion corrupt, whatsoever he outwardly professes, and therefore she cannot but advise them, as they tender their King's safety, to look more substantially to the

Elizabeth.
1580. matter, and not to be carried away either by kindred or faction in respect of particular quarrels as to suffer the King to be so abused, whose lack of experience and tender years cannot be able as yet to discern the bottom of such devices. In case he shall find the castle delivered and that, notwithstanding this advice, there shall be no order taken for the stay of the delivery thereof, then he is to confer with the Earl of Morton and other enemies to the Earl of Lennox how this matter may be helped, either by laying violent hands on Lennox and his principal associates, in case no other more temperate course may be found for the remedy thereof, or by some other way that by him shall be thought meet; wherein her majesty wills him to assure them that they shall not lack any assistance she can give them. For which purpose the Lord Governor of Berwick* is appointed presently to repair to his charge with ample instruction and express commandment to yield any assistance that shall be by them required. Besides these directions the Queen leaves him to his own good consideration to use the means he can devise for the prevention of the mischief that may ensue by the delivery of the castle or the intended change of the officers.

3¾ *pp.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "Coppie, 31 August, 1580. My lettre to Mr. Bowes."

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 76, b. Another copy of the same.

Aug. 31. **582.** WALSINGHAM TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 614. Desired Mr. Thomas Dudley to acquaint him with yesterday's proceeding with her majesty and Lady Dacres. This day, after her highness had some counsel with Lady Dacres, she called him to her and charged Lady Dacres that she should cause his lordship to inform her majesty that in case she was commanded by her highness [she] could make it apparent how the right of the Lord Dacres' land was in her majesty. The lady denied that ever she made any such request to his lordship; which, on the other side, was constantly affirmed by her majesty, accompanied with some sharp speech. In the end her majesty's resolution was that Leonard should be sent for. Which is already done, and . . . ly dealt withal to bring him to assent to the request propounded by his lordship with the liking of Lord Dacres.

Have had advertisement out of Scotland that D'Aubigny on Wednesday last caused the gates of Edinburgh to be shut, and after some search, seized upon Drumquhassell and forced him to give bond of 40,000*l.* to make delivery of the castle of Dumbarton to himself or to Lord William Stewart. This matter has wakened her majesty, who has given order for Bowes' present repair into Scotland to deal with the King and his Council for the stay thereof; as also, in case the same cannot be stayed by persuasion, then to practice how it may be done by force, by giving assurance that the attemptors thereof shall receive all assistance that the Queen of England

* Hunsdon.

Elizabeth.
1580. can yield. To which purpose Lord Hunsdon is commanded presently to repair to his charge; who shall receive before his departure direction from hence to perform the promised assistance. But what will become of the matter, seeing it is reduced to so hard an issue that without violence it is not likely to be cured, he leaves to his lordship's judgment.

This unpleasant news out of the north was accompanied with very pleasing news out of the south, brought hither by the Lord Chamberlain's letter; and that is, that Simieres* is restored to his master's favour, and in as great grace as ever he was. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 1. **583.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

When the Queen of England entered into consideration of the last despatch her pleasure was that he should be willed to follow the way of persuasion and to forbear to enter into conference with any of them of any force to be used or promise of assistance from her until she shall be advertised by him of the necessity thereof, and that no way of safety for preventing the intended practices by Lennox can otherwise be wrought. For it is thought that if there should be offer made them of assistance at the first it would be a great drawing of them on to enter into a civil war, which, the condition of the Scotch nature considered, they are over hasty to undertake. Again, it may be feared that if any violence should be begun, that faction would seize the person of the King and carry him to Dumbarton, from whence they might either convey him into France, or, fortifying themselves there, call in foreign aid; which is a point so full of inconvenience that it should be prevented by all means possible. The Queen desires him, therefore, to follow this course, and not to deal otherwise touching the last part of that direction he sent him by the last letter. Oatlands.

Postscript.—He may perceive by this last resolution how uncertain they are in the course of their doings. If he does not mistake it, the diseases of Scotland would have no delayed remedies. Whilst he advertises hither what were fit to be done, the opportunity of doing it is lost. Besides some other causes, the uncertainty of their proceedings is not the least cause to stay him from assenting to that which the Earl of Morton desires. Is afraid that their unthankfulness towards God will not suffer them to put off the approaching mischiefs that hasten towards them, which, he fears, are to receive their beginning from thence. Is not to be too hasty to promise much from hence, for they take no care to perform. Fears Drumwhassell was taken by his own assent. The man has more wit than her majesty. Supposes the letters intercepted were from Sir Francis Russell.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "M[inute] to Mr. Bowes the 1 Sept., 1580."

Copy of the first part of the preceding letter.

Another copy. [*With No. 594.*]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 77, b. Another copy of the same.

* Jean Simier, Sieur de Lamenitre.

Elizabeth.
1580.
Sept. 4.

584. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Received their letter of the 31st of August at 9 o'clock this forenoon. Will repair to the King of Scots. Forasmuch as the Earl of Morton with his friends and sundry others best affected to his cause in hand are not yet come to Court, purposing to be there within two or three days, and that he thinks his presence can profit little before their coming, therefore has thought good to cast his journey that he may arrive at Edinburgh soon after their access thither, which he thinks will be on Wednesday next or near thereabouts.

The Earl of Lennox is already at Edinburgh strongly accompanied with sundry noblemen, the Carrs and Humes, and holding himself assured of the hearts and power of that town and many others so greatly inclined towards him, that he thinks himself almost settled in the possession of his desire; whereby the flame of the fire likely to kindle by the open dealing against him will the more rage for a time, and, peradventure, come to hazard troubles on the Borders, already disquieted; which evils by timely providence may be safely prevented. Trusts they will provide for the same.

Upon his letters written to the Abbot of Dunfermline moving him as well to acquaint the King with the Queen of England's meaning to despatch Lord Scrope and himself to him, as also to do the other effects mentioned in his letter to them, he has returned him the inclosed answer. Because the King has thereon called his Council to be assembled to a full number in the beginning of next week, and will then haply look for the coming of Lord Scrope, or other satisfaction from him [Bowes], requests them to direct him in that and all other things. Will endeavour to perform his duty against all storms and events whatsoever.

Is given to understand that the Earl of Lennox is certified that Drumwhassell has given possession of Dumbarton to William Stewart to the use of Lennox, and that Drumwhassell would be in Edinburgh yesternight. Is told that the letters intercepted were written by Drumwhassell himself and given to Lady Seton to have been conveyed into England, and that after she had once sent them forwards they were brought back to her, then returned by her towards Drumwhassel, and were in the way intercepted. Can yet learn the effects of the letters and certainty of this interception, but greatly distrusts some sophistry has been used herein. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 594.*]

Inclosure with the same:—

(The Commendator of Dunfermline to Robert Bowes.)

I have received your letter and acquainted the King's majesty with the tenour thereof, who has commanded to notify the same to so many of his Privy Council as are absent, and therewith to desire them to be here this next week "anis" for the same effect, so that in the beginning of the next thereafter you may assuredly look for the full

Elizabeth.
1580. number to deliver your commission. Holyrood House, 2nd Sept. 1580. *Signed:* R. Dunfermling.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 6. **585.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

The Queen of England would have him in some private talk with the King of Scots let him understand, as from himself, that being a Prince to whom for his rare parts and singular virtues he has always been greatly devoted, he cannot but acquaint him with certain matter touching him very near that he has lately learned by some secret letters from some of his friends here, praying him on his honour to keep the same secret; which is, that in case it shall appear that he gives greater credit to D'Aubigny's persuasions than to her wholesome and profitable counsels, and shall seem rather to hearken to his dangerous devices, than to lean to her, whom he has always found a sure stay to him in his greatest necessity, her nobility and commons mean then to persuade her by Parliament to cut off his possibility to the succession of the Crown of England, and to establish the same in the person of some other, wherein he fears somewhat will be done this next session of the Parliament, which shall be on the 17th of the next month, unless it shall appear that he has put on another resolution with himself in that behalf; a matter of so dangerous consequence to him as cannot be countervailed by any profit or advantage that either D'Aubigny, France, or any other Prince can bring to him; wherefore he [Bowes] wishes him to have regard to it in time, and still to cleave fast to his best friends. The Queen would have him use some speech to this effect to the nobility in Scotland, as from himself, as he shall think fit. He shall do well to employ himself by all the means he can devise to draw the heads of the borderers to be at the Queen of England's devotion.

1 *p. Copy. In the margin:* "M. lettre to Mr. Bowes the 6 of September, 1580." [*With No. 594, fol. 138.*]

[Sept.] **586.** CREDIT BY ELIZABETH FOR ROBERT BOWES TO [A SCOTTISH NOBLEMAN].

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 619.

Having heard of late, to her great grief, of the troublesome state of Scotland and the division amongst themselves, whereof she fears much peril will ensue to the country generally, for the better avoiding whereof she has thought good to employ there among them her servant Robert Bowes, whom she prays him credit.

⅓ *p. Copy.*

Cott. Calig., C. III., fols. 621, 622, and 623.

Three other documents to the same effect.

Sept. 6. **587.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Received their letter of the 1st instant at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon. Had before the receipt thereof given knowledge to the Earl of Morton of his repair to Scotland, and sought to learn his diet and purpose to be at Court. Albeit, for the prevention of the hasty attempts commonly seen to be put in practice in that nation, he per-

Elizabeth.
1580. suaded him and other friends to make the more speed to the Court to shoulder and stay the sudden progress of enterprise intended to be executed at this convention, and for a spur to prick them forwards therein he has given them some comfort, yet he shall easily retire himself and surely keep within the bounds limited to him by their last letter.

This morning, being ready to set forwards in his journey, received intelligence from the Earl of Morton that he would be at Edinburgh on Thursday next. Trusts to confer secretly with him before his departure for Dalkeith, occasioning him thereby to stay his journey till to-morrow. The Earl of Morton has received the King's letter requiring him to be with him on the 8th instant to receive Lord Scrope and himself; and for that especial cause the King has written to and called the most of the nobility to attend on him against their coming. Because the King will, perhaps, desire to understand by him the certain time of Lord Scrope's coming, or of his stay, requests to be speedily directed herein.

Is newly advertised that great alteration in the Council and in the King's house is intended to be done at this convention. Dunfermline, the Secretary, to be removed, and Newbottle to be placed therein; but Dunfermline has so wrought with them that he is put in hope to find favour.

Tullibardine, the Comptroller, foreseeing the strength of his adversaries, has given up his office to the King, who has given the same to Tullibardine's eldest son, and confirmed his gift by his writing executed with his hand and seal, whereby the new officer is prevented therein. Cambuskenneth, one of the Council and collector of the thirds of the Kirk, is to be displaced; but he stands to his "tacklyng," trusting that the house of Mar will join with him; who have earnestly dealt with all their friends for the same.

The Master of the Request is again to be changed; whereof no great matter is made. Because the four Masters of the King's stable, James Murray and others depending on the house of Mar, are thought to be over often in the King's ear and so well heard by him that many plots devised be oftentimes by their means defeated, therefore all these are meant to be put further from the King's person. Nevertheless, is given to understand that the knowledge of the repair of Lord Scrope and himself has moved the preferrers of these alterations to come to a new consultation, and that some of them begin to stagger and doubt to proceed in this attempt at this time. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 78, b. Extract from the same.

Sept. 6. **588.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

For the present it seems to him that some peril is threatened by the late alteration of the former resolution sent to him, and to have been put in practice. Albeit he had in general terms given some taste thereof to the Earl of Morton and others, and thereon found them partly frank to deal with him, yet is still within himself to retire and hold the course prescribed, which he will obey, and shall also temper

Elizabeth.
1580. to the most profit he can advance it, doubting that when the chief instruments and workmen in ripe harvest shall perceive his coldness in matters wherein they chiefly seek to be satisfied, thereby they shall be consumed in their former conceits, thinking that the Queen of England will not endure charge for those affairs, and thereon suddenly —according to the nature and custom of that nation—run to provide for their own safety, without regard to the common cause that presently lies on bleeding in that realm, and may not suffer any drift of time or delay of remedy.

The good counsel came in good season to him, otherwise he had surely passed himself, and layed more on performance than haply should have well acquitted his credit. But is warned, and heartily thanks him. Agrees with him in the experience of Drumwhassell; yet the Earl of Morton laments his case, thinking better of him, whereby he [Bowes] is drawn to suspend his judgment until he has tried his doings.

¾ *p. In Bowes' hand. Indorsed:* "6 Sept., 1580. From Mr. Bowes": *No address or flyleaf.*

Sept. 10. **589.** [PRIVY COUNCIL] TO ROBERT BOWES.

The Queen of England seems to be greatly perplexed with these causes of Scotland, and does not now refuse to do anything that may tend to the staying of that State. Lord Hunsdon goes about to persuade her that the Earl of Morton is so weak that it will be hard to strengthen him sufficiently to do any good; which is the point that most troubles them. Requests his opinion what he thinks of it, and, if he can, to remove the doubt, with some good probable reasons; also to set down his advice which way and by what means he thinks most good might be done for redress of the evil that seems to be already so far past. If things in Scotland may be brought to some reasonable stay, sees great cause to hope that the matter of marriage will then come to nothing. Requests him, therefore, since there shall ensue so great good of it, to do what he can to prove the thing feasible to them, and to set down the best "worse" [? course] that he thinks is to be taken in it.

½ *p. Copy. In the margin:* "M. Lettre to Mr. Bowes the 10 of Sept., 1580." [*With No. 594.*]

Sept. 10. **590.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

After he had acquainted the Queen of England with his letters of the 4th instant, for that it appears by Dunfermline's letter that the performance of the sending of Lord Scrope will be looked for, or some cause alleged for his stay, her majesty, for the satisfaction of the King and the Lords of Scotland, would have him let him understand that the strange course he is now entered into by the delivering of Dumbarton into the hands of a subject of another Prince, by whose advice, it seems, he is altogether directed, and those neglected who in the time of his minority preserved Scotland in peace and his person in surety, gives her just cause to doubt what account she may make of his friendship towards her, and has therefore thought good to stay the sending of Lord Scrope until she may hear from him, assuring

Elizabeth.
1580. him that in case she shall find him inclinable to follow her advice, he shall find her most ready to persevere in the continuance of her former care and love towards him. On the other side, if by the persuasions of him who, under the colour of kindred, seeks rather his own greatness than his surety, she shall find him so carried away with his counsels that he shall neglect her advice, she will then take another course, moved through his ingratitude, that will work him more prejudice than his young years can look into. In case the King shall reply—as it is like he will—that Lennox is his nearest kinsman, and therefore cannot but repose trust in him, is to let him understand that if kindred be a thing he so greatly weighs, then, if he look rightly into the matter, he will see that there is no kindred that he ought to prefer before hers, who by effect has always showed true proofs of love towards him. Besides, her quality and means to do him either good or harm, if they be well weighed, may give him just cause to prefer the kindred of the Queen of England before an Earl of Lennox; and if it be true, as has been reported, that he affects to be second person, she would have him then let him understand that there is more cause he should fear his ambition than take comfort or delight in his affection, whatsoever outward show of love he avows. Is to continue in Scotland till he receives order for his revocation.

2 *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "10 September, 1580. M[inute] to Mr. Bowes."

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 79. Copy of the same.

Sept. 13. **591.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 80. Entered Scotland on Wednesday last, and the next day arrived at this city. Albeit he had purposed to have spoken with "45"* before his arrival here, yet the access was found so perilous by divers accidents that he was driven to forbear the same, much contrary to all their desires. Nevertheless, has acquainted them by secret means of the matter, as he is directed, that he might have their presence and assistance for the expedition of the good success in his errand; wherein he finds their readiness and goodwill pressed to do all in their power.

On his coming hither found many councillors, but few others than such as are affected to the Earl of Lennox. Laboured with those few to employ themselves to set forward the cause to best effect for the benefit of religion and the King. But Lennox stands so high in the King's favour and strong in Council that few or none will openly withstand anything that he would have forwards, and such as be willing to give the attempt distrust both their own power and company at home, and also their backing abroad. Wherein, albeit he has used all the persuasions he can, according to his direction, laying before them the great benefits growing on their labours, yet they appear confused and unwilling to hazard and put themselves further than their powers may carry them out, remaining, nevertheless, ready on surety of sufficient support to do their best endeavour.

On Friday last desired the time to be appointed for access to the King's presence and for audience. His pleasure was that he should

* Morton.

Elizabeth.
1580. be welcome to him the next morning, and have audience on Monday following. Presented the Queen of England's letter to the King on the morrow, accompanying the same with enlargement of the contents and persuasions to move him to hearken to her sound counsel, tending wholly to his own welfare, and in the end dissuaded the progress of alterations suspected and to be at this time attempted. Wherein he received many fair promises to follow her advice with thankfulness, and also to stay the intended alterations, which he said he had hitherto refused upon his former promise made to her majesty in that behalf. These changes be still meant to be advanced if the King can be won to the same.

Returned yesterday at the hour prescribed, praying to have audience before himself and his Council; which was granted. Prayed that the Earl of Lennox might be excluded, for that he had to deliver some matter that particularly touched him. Which being proponed in Council—Lennox sitting there—they sent the Laird of Cleishe to him to know whether he was a messenger or an ambassador. Referred them to the view of the Queen of England's own letters to the King, expressing the cause and manner of his several despatches to him now and before; and finding the mark they shot at, said that by those letters they should find him sent in embassage. Soon after the Abbot of St. Combe—wholly devoted to Lennox—and Lord Cathcart—depending on the Earl of Morton—were sent to him, declaring that the King and Council found it not meet nor standing with their accustomed order to remove any nobleman from his seat in Council before sufficient matter shall be opened against him. Answered that her majesty having directed him to make this request, he has, therefore, done the same, and further had showed particular and sufficient cause, for the King's welfare, for Lennox's removal, besides many other respects more meet to be thankfully remembered by them, than presently mentioned by him. Then they demanded whether he had direction in writing. After he had found fault with this kind of dealing, said that, to remove all scruple, he had direction in writing. They signified that the King and Council would see his direction in writing before they removed Lennox, and asked whether it was under her majesty's hand or not. Denied to show that to the whole Council, especially whilst Lennox was present. Nevertheless, for the King's pleasure, he would let him and such convenient number as he should choose see that part of his instructions, and to the other part of their demand there needed no answer. This offer was also rejected with signification to him, that except he would show his direction in writing to the King and whole Council there sitting, he should not be heard. Still denied to show it in that manner, and likewise refused to deliver his message before Lennox and that assembly that would hear him with such a prejudgment, and had so little regard to her majesty's reasonable request, without satisfaction whereof he would not proceed further with them, praying their determinate resolution to be given him, that he might send the same to her majesty and dispose himself accordingly. At length they brought him answer that the King and Council would consider and advise further on that matter. Attends new day and warning, resting uncertain whether he will be heard or not, unless he shall either show his written direction to Lennox and the rest or else

Elizabeth.
1580. deliver his errand in the presence of Lennox. Requests speedy direction in these and other matters here of weight and difficulty.

This fire begins to rage mightily. For the quenching whereof he finds little remedy at present, other than at the King's own hands, which, in the condition of his young years and strong affection to Lennox, may be thought very doubtful, and the power of others willing to relieve the matter scarcely suffices at this time to do the same without manifest peril to them. Therefore, has thought it expedient for the holding of all things in even balance and quietness to travail and persuade that first in the deliberation and resolution of these warm causes the answer and order to be given thereon may be as agreeable as can be wrought to her majesty's expressed desire, tending simply to the preservation and benefit of religion, the King, and common peace, or else, upon difficulty seen, to compass so much (as he much distrusts the same), that then, for the next, the matter may be referred to the further consideration of the King and a more convenient convention and number of the nobility and Council, to the intent that better effects may be produced by a more indifferent assembly to be gathered within short time, and that in the mean season the eyes of the noblemen and councillors may be unsealed to behold the dangers and mischiefs approaching, and such other good works may be effected as shall be seen expedient. In which part he likewise prays speedy direction, The councillors present at this sitting are the Earls of Morton, Angus, Argyll, Lennox, Atholl, Eglinton, Montrose, and Rothes, Lords Ruthven, Lindsay, Herries, and Cathcart, the Abbots of Dunfermline, St. Combe, and Newbottle, and the Clerk of the Register.

Dunfermline first persuaded that Lennox should sit still, and was very forward to do all things to Lennox's contentment, to whom he now "coucheth" with all lowliness. Morton still was silent until the King pressed him to speak. Whereon he advised first to know whether he had direction to pray that Lennox might be removed, and on return of his answer, he thought it sufficient, persuading the King to further consideration on the next day, and concluding that it was an evil course to fall off with the Queen of England for rising of a man from Council, and before any matter opened. Since this time he has dealt with the King apart. Howbeit the matter still rests doubtful.

Because at his meeting with Lennox following the King he [Bowes] withdrew himself and wonted countenance from him, therefore himself, Lord Herries, and other his friends gathering that the Queen of England had conceived an evil opinion of him, doubted that he was sent to charge him with some great matter, imagining others than he had in charge. Whereupon Lord Ruthven, Lindsay, Herries, Newbottle, St. Combe, Sir James Hume, Cesford, and other friends of Lennox assembled in Council with him, and thereon concluded to stand fast together, and in case he should charge or boast him in her majesty's name, that it should be turned again over the board to him; and to shoulder this matter they resolved to persuade the King to appoint the Earl of Angus his lieutenant immediately, trusting thereby to win Angus to his friends to join directly with them, and for that purpose some of them assayed Angus with many fair words. But being both wise of himself and also well advised before by some

Elizabeth.
1580. means to take the counsel of his known friends, he is not hasty to undertake the charge.

On the sight of this kind of "treatie" towards him sundry light persons—yet oftentimes hard by the King, and some noblemen—showed their readiness to cast off with the Queen of England, thinking the time very apt to win more profitable friends. Doubting that these passions should continue for some time, and, perhaps, come to the hearing of loose borderers who readily would thereon enter into sudden outrage and attempt, therefore thought it meet to give warning to all her majesty's wardens to give the better regard and prevent the evil.

The King and Council of their own accord will consult this day for Border causes, and afterwards conclude for their resolution to be given to him in the matters in question with him yesterday. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 16. **592.** SIR JOHN FOSTER TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 83. The occasion of the greatness of the Earl of Lennox is that the King is so affected towards him that he has left the house of Mar and is at his devotion, and it is bruited that he has altered his household, displaced Tullibardine, and placed the Laird of Troghare to be his Comptroller, and Lord Lindsay shall be made collector, and William Stewart, brother to the Laird of Treghare, shall be made Master of the King's wardrobe in James Murray's place, and that all the four masters of household shall be changed, except Mingo Grahame. The Laird of Kelso [Kilsay] shall be made Master of the Household. These alterations, together with the delivery of the castle of Dumbarton, are a great cause that so many favour him.

Whereas his honour is desirous to be advertised of the estate of the Borders, and how the Carrs and Humes are affected towards the Earl of Lennox, the Carrs, wholly, and the most part of the Humes are at his devotion, and so have showed themselves openly. The greater part of Liddesdale is at Lennox's devotion. But West Tynedale, as the Scotts, the Rutherfords, Turnbulls, and others there depend on the Earls of Morton and Angus. Notwithstanding that the Carrs and Humes are now favourers of the Earl of Lennox—which he thinks they are forced to do rather for particular causes between the Earl of Morton and them, the Carrs for the abbacy of Kelso, and the Humes for the abbacy of Coldingham, rather than for any zeal or affection to Lennox—thinks they may be so practised that they may be brought to the Queen of England's devotion; so that they may be in security that the Earl of Morton growing in authority, she would take such order that their lives and livings be in no danger, but that their causes may be decided and ordered by her, and may the sooner be brought to pass, considering that the Earl of Lennox is French, and also against the glory of God and His Word, and many of their livings are spiritual livings.

1 *p. Copy.*

Elizabeth.
1580.
Sept. 18.

593. DIRECTIONS BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO MR. ROBERT BOWES.

That Robert Bowes may be directed to stand in the terms of his former message, not to deliver anything against Lennox in his own presence, nor to show any writing for the warranting of his message more than the letter of credit. In these points he shall be the more precise, because it is thought better to purpose that by these occasions the King may refuse to have his message; and he also may take occasion to leave it undone, for that it shall behove her majesty on this ground to send to the King some other personage to lay before him and his Council further matter of weight to abuse D'Aubigny's greatness. Bowes shall declare to the King that he means to advertise the Queen's majesty of his negotiations, leaving the King to think that her majesty has great matters against D'Aubigny especially tending for the King's own safety and the weal of his realm. But if before the receipt hereof Bowes shall have done his message, then there is to be considered, upon return of his answer, what is further to be done.

If Bowes shall not have done his message, as it is to be wished that he shall not, because it is to be doubted that this message shall but irritate D'Aubigny and make him fortify himself stronger with his fast friends, and shall make others for fear or favour, though they love him not, adjoin themselves to him, thinking that her majesty will now do no more, but leave off with this her message, or but with a reiteration of it. Therefore it is thought necessary that no means be left off to prosecute this abasing of Lennox.

The perils if Lennox be suffered to continue his greatness are, (1) he will abase all such as bear friendship to the Queen of England, (2) he will nourish unkindness and troubles on the Borders to drive the Queen's majesty to a continual charge to keep force to defend outrages committed on her subjects, (3) he will induce the King to marry in France or elsewhere to make himself able to offend the Queen of England, and when he shall be of some more years, finding her majesty not assisted with some good friendship, to attempt to make present title, as the Queen his mother did when she was married to the Dauphin of France; and whenever he shall attempt this he shall have more helps than his mother had. First, because he will be a young man, in whom England and Scotland shall seem to be knit to avoid all perils by uncertainty of succession. Secondly, he will have the comfort of all discontented persons in England. Thirdly, the Scottish nation is at this day stronger in feats of arms than it was aforetime, by reason of their exercise in civil wars and their being in the Low Countries.

If these or such like shall—as they ought—seem worthy of moment to make the Queen prevent them, then it seems good that for the weight hereof some personage of greater value were sent to prosecute the matter than any message by Robert Bowes. The respect of the persons herein is much, because a number in Scotland who inwardly do not like Lennox will more boldly adjoin themselves to the Queen of England's course upon assured hope that she will thoroughly run the course to the end.

2 *pp. In Burghley's hand. Indorsed by Burghley:* "18 Sept., 1580. A purpos of Counsell at Rychmont for directying of Robert Bowes."

Cott. Julius, F. VI., fol. 26. Another copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 82. Another copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1580. **594.** VARIOUS LETTERS.

April-Sept. [*A collection of copies of various letters calendared in this volume.*]

[Sept.] **595.** [ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.]

Received his letter of the 8th instant, and has done the contents thereof as far as he could. Is in hope of the coming of Lord Ruthven, yet knows great difficulty will be made therein. Whatsoever the Scottish Queen or her friends can do in the Court of England, the same will be employed for the advantage of Lennox, who has intelligence of its affairs and doings. Is of opinion that Lennox had rather a conjecture of the effects of his errand and stay of Lord Scrope than any sure knowledge. Supposes that conceit proceeded from some others hereabouts, who might better guess than truly understand that or other like matters.

The estate in Scotland is much recovered and stayed by the travail of the ministers and others, who have done their diligence therein, and Morton and his friends are so forwards and shall be so well supported on surety of the Queen of England's backing and sight of her resolution to be at some charges for the managing of these affairs that the persons of quality to be sent thither, bringing with them power to satisfy the expectations in these two points, shall find wished success to her majesty's good liking and their own honour. [ ] and others seeing the disposition of good men think that in case her majesty shall in time and with speed make known and give assurance of her determined mind to proceed to the effects recited, that then all these may be done here either by the persons qualified or by any other such means as shall be found expedient; wherein they wish that there be no longer delay used, for drift or faintness seen in the progress of this course taken will, they think, utterly overthrow the cause and cast them into despair. It is meet that they be comforted and kept in the way wherein they are presently walking. Requests to be advertised of the intention and purpose to proceed with effect.

⅔ *p. Copy.*

Sept. 18. **596.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

On receipt of his letters of the 13th instant there was some consultation had by her majesty's order for answer to be made for his further direction, which as yet cannot be resolved on, and therefore has thought good—considering what encouragement is given to good servants by good acceptation of their services—to acquaint him with her well liking of that his standing upon the refusal either to show his direction in the presence of Lennox, or to deliver his message in his presence. If he could have thought that her majesty would not have accompanied his direction with answerable effects, he would not easily have been induced to have been author or consenter to any such counsel. All such as are well willers to the present state are sorry to see that party so weak that should uphold it. As soon as they [the Privy Council] grow to any resolution he shall be advertised thereof. In the meantime he shall do well to make good the course he is entered into, and not to yield in it.

Elizabeth.
1580.

Postscript.—There is some determination to send Sir Walter Mildmay with some noblemen to join with him [Bowes] in the negotiation there, but because they change their purposes often he can assure nothing.

1 *p. Copy. In Walsingham's hand. Indorsed:* "M[inute] to Mr. Bowes of the 18 Sept., 1580, sent away the 19 in the forenone, in answere to his of the 13."

Copy of the same, without the postscript.

Sept. 20. **597.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 84.

On Tuesday last* was again called to the King, who discoursed and showed to him at some length that his Council thought it strange that the removal of any nobleman in the realm should be required before the particular matter of his accusation was opened in his own hearing, and alleging that no such order or practice had been used or received in the Scottish nation. He therefore wished he should pass over that ceremony and tell the substance of his errand and credit to him and his whole Council in the presence of the Earl of Lennox, who, he said, freely offered not only to answer and purge himself before the King and Council in any cause to be objected against him for religion, the person and state of the King, and the amity with the Queen of England, but also to abide the trial of the same before her, and upon manifest conviction to endure due punishment with perpetual dishonour.

Answered, that he could not depart from his direction to require removal of Lennox, and to signify to the King in presence of his Council the credit and message committed to him, approving therewith her majesty's request to be grounded on good reason, and commonly practised in matters of like quality, as well for the advancement of the truth in the examination and trial of the causes objected, as also for prevention of the evils by sudden attempt of execution of the enterprises intended and so discovered. In which respects—and because the request proceeded from her majesty having in some degree interest in the cause in hand—the denial of it should, therefore, first deceive her majesty's expectation, and next, declare the will and purpose of the Earl of Lennox prevailing above the just desire of her majesty—a matter offering great signs of unthankfulness and some dishonour to her—and recounting to him the greatness of her benefits bestowed and hereafter to be conferred on him, persuaded him to follow her counsel, laying before him the fruits thereof, with other large arguments to draw him that way. Whereunto he affirmed very earnestly that he would never be unthankful nor break with her majesty, and would lean chiefly to her advice, and above all things; yet he sought again to lead him to proceed to tell his credit and message to him and his Council, or otherwise to advertise her majesty of the impediment of the progress, and to pray her to alter her direction therein.

Agreed to inform her of the true state of the cause and proceedings thereof, but dare not, he said, adventure to persuade the alteration of

* 13th.

Elizabeth.
1580. the direction, especially in regard of Lennox's course presently taken against her majesty, and also in consideration of the effects to be objected against himself.

Afterwards, Lord Herries, Newbottle, and Clerk Register were sent to him from the King and Council, offering that if he would declare his credit and message to the King and whole Council he should have audience: otherwise, if he would do it to the King alone, he would gladly hear him. They reasoned much that the contents of her majesty's letters to the King should bind him to discover it to the King himself. But let them understand that part of his credit he had already delivered to the King himself, and now was ready to signify some other part in presence of the King, agreeable to his direction; which matters touched the Earl of Lennox particularly, and therefore [he] ought to be removed. But his removal was and is still denied. For which they allege that it is not the order and practice of Scotland, and that none of them will charge the Earl of Lennox with any matter opened by him [Bowes], but leave it to be declared by him in his own hearing.

Then they showed that the King purposed to write to her majesty in this cause, praying him to cause his letter to be conveyed. Whereunto he agreed, on condition that he might know that the contents thereof should be reasonable; and to the intent that he might the better satisfy the King and Council therein, repaired to the King, praying—and likewise moved Dunfermline to "break" with the Council—that in case the letter to be written to her majesty by the King might not be known to him, or that it should contain matter either against the good liking of her majesty or in his own accusation, that then the carriage thereof might be committed to a messenger to be sent by the King. Albeit he has divers times laboured therein, finding the King was pleased to allow of his request, yet, by resolution of the Council, is still pressed for the convoy of the letter, without opening any part of the contents to him. Whereupon, and for some good respects, he makes some danger to give it convoy, notwithstanding that by some means he understands the effect of the letter, which by the note thereof inclosed shall appear to them.

Thus he remains still, and cannot be heard unless he shall utter it before Lennox, contrary to his former resolution and to the conceit of "45."* Doubts to be again urged to send up the letter, notwithstanding that the King has committed the consideration of that cause to better advice of his Council. Prays that his doings herein, being meant for her majesty's best service, may be favourably accepted, and that his error or default, if any be, may be also graciously pardoned.

Soon after the receipt of their last letter, of the 10th instant, which he received on the 14th, acquainted the King with the stay of Lord Scrope, and the cause thereof, occasioned by his strange course entered into by delivery of the castle of Dumbarton to the Earl of Lennox, subject to another Prince, and not affecting the amity. Upon which words, he accused Drumquhassel of great disobedience towards himself, and of like abuse towards Lennox, concluding that

* Morton.

Elizabeth.
1580. Drumquhassel might not be suffered to continue in that charge, and therewith he excused Lennox in all things, commending his loyalty to himself and good affection to the Queen of England and the amity, and also affirmed that if it might be manifestly proved that Lennox had practised against the course of religion or amity, or to bring the French into Scotland, that thereon he should readily remove him, to his grief and displeasure. Which mind in this last part he finds also in all the Council, who think and say that they cannot give credit to matters of suspicion or jealousy, but look for evident actions directly to be proved and made known to them. Whereby it may be gathered that seeing this determination is thus decreed to believe nothing against Lennox without particular matter be manifestly found and proved by his own letters or direct actions, the information and warning to be given to the King and Council against him will not be much esteemed or so deeply weighed as the worthiness thereof deserves, notwithstanding the allegation of the intelligence given to her majesty, and the confirmation of the same by other circumstances and sight of the sequel of the proceedings. Requests further direction.

Lennox and his friends believe, and some of them give forth that all these informations given to the Queen of England against Lennox proceed from the Earl of Morton, Mr. Archibald Douglas or Drumquhassel, because all these are thought to be carried by particular affections against him.

Has travailed with "36," according to such effect as was directed by the note inclosed in their letter; his doings and success wherein will appear by his note "infolden."

Has moved the King and Council sundry times for their timely order for the Borders, and albeit they have conferred often thereof, yet they have not hitherto resolved. But they promise to do it with expedition and certainty.

According to the direction in the last note for drawing the heads of the Borders to the Queen of England's devotion, has conferred with Lord Herries, Sir James Hume, the Laird of Cesford, and Andrew Carr, who all wholly depend on Lennox, and are great countenance and strength to him. They crave to understand some plain fact done by Lennox against religion or the amity before they should shrink from him, saying that they do not follow him but in hope he will be careful to nourish and preserve the amity with her majesty, and the three last have offered their own devotion and offices to her, and also persuaded that she might have Lennox a good instrument to run and advance her course in case it should please her to accept him. Wherein it appears that they came directed by himself [Lennox] in that part.

The Earl of Angus has refused to accept any lieutenancy, and being pressed to enter into band and friendship with Lennox, he said that he was his friend already, and would only serve the King his sovereign; upon which terms he still stands.

The King lately dealt with the Earl of Mar for a reconciliation and amity to be made betwixt Lennox and him, but Mar is departed without any conclusion of the matter. Before his going away he came with his friends to him [Bowes], offering to the Queen of England his good devotion, next his own sovereign. Whereupon,

Elizabeth.
1580. has given him and them the complements requisite, and wish that he may be encouraged to continue.

The Convention still continues, is very great, and still increases, so far that many doubt that before the dissolution thereof either violent effects shall be attempted or else the progress of the alteration intended to be again assayed. But has left such disposition in the King to the contrary, that he distrusts not much the sequel thereof at this time. Incloses a note of the manner of the change purposed.

Sundry of the ministers have been lately with the King, persuading him earnestly to beware of the French practices against religion, and John Dury has so directly charged Montbirneau to the King in his closet with abuses not tolerable, that Montbirneau has his leave to depart, giving out that he will pass through England. Nevertheless, he minds to sail to Dieppe in a ship of Leith, of 70 tons, belonging to Gilbert Cantt, and will enter his voyage in a day or two, or with the next wind. It is thought that he looked to have carried news of greater matters done by Lennox at this time than have succeeded. Lennox, by him, directed his wife to be stayed, notwithstanding she entered on her journey. As "98" tells him, Lennox begins to think it meet for himself to follow soon after. Sees no great appearance of this last point; yet he complains much to his friends that the King drew him to the device of the alteration of the officers, and at the execution of the same to have been now performed he denied to proceed with it, leaving Lennox in all the blame.

The bishop of Glasgow had written to Drumquhassel to hold the castle of Dumbarton, misliking utterly that Lennox should have possession thereof. But he says he did not mean to have hearkened to the bishop, nor to have parted with the possession of the castle if he had not been constrained by the accident already signified. His own letter intercepted was directed to Sir Francis Russell and to have been conveyed by Lady Seton, in whose hands it was taken. The original is burnt, yet he [Bowes] shall hereafter have the copy thereof. And whereas he [the bishop] wrote that the French Court in Scotland daily increased so fast that good regard ought to be given thereto, that part most highly offended Lennox and overthrew himself so far that he is now departed into his country confused and in great disgrace. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$4\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 20. **598.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Requests that by some letters the Earls of Angus, Mar, Argyll, and Montrose, and likewise Lord Ruthven, especially the two first, may perceive that good account is made of them. Surely "98" has been deceitfully used at all hands, and is most grieved that he cannot perform the duties that he owes to the Queen of England, and "81" begins to understand that the like measure is meant towards him; whereupon he is careful to prevent the evil. Beseeches him to hasten the return of his direction with expedition and certainty, as a matter importing much her majesty's service. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig. C. VI., fol. 83, b. Copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1580. Sept. 20. **599.** [ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.]

This State undoubtedly standing in dangerous case, requiring either speedy remedy before the increase of the disease, or else the delay will soon show the mischief thereof. If the building shall be founded on Lennox and his friends, as some would persuade, the success will soon after discover the effects of the work; and if "45"* be employed, then his entertainment and charge may not be long deferred; for on sight of the weighty contents of Walsingham's last letter he has drawn him thus far, much beyond his own mind, which will not believe in any wise that the Queen of England will be at charges and proceed. These hawks will range out of the country upon sight of empty lure. Is well assured that words are of no value in this realm at this time. The present burden shall be only for him "45"* and his friends, which no great sum may and will well suffice. The other expenses may be suspended, and [are] not needful to be defrayed but upon surety of good fruit succeeding to yield sufficient recompense. He stands to be speedily answered, and therewith to be directed, whereunto he will prepare himself. Requests answer with speed, for before the receipt thereof he dare not enter into any promise.

⅔ *p. In Bowes' hand. No indorsement, etc.*

Sept. 24. **600.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Forasmuch as by the last clause of his letter of the 13th instant it appears to the Queen of England that he awaits the King's resolution for Border causes the same day, and that he would further advertise the same, for the misdoubt she has that his letters are intercepted or that he is deterred withal, she stays the sending of her resolution till she may hear from him. Richmond.

Postscript.—Sir Walter Mildmay will be here to-morrow, who with Lord Hunsdon is appointed to repair to Scotland, if there grow no occasions of change. Requests him to advertise how many letters he has written to this Court since his repair into Scotland, for they are persuaded here that there be some of his letters intercepted.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Copie to Mr. Bowes, 24 Sept., 1580, dispatched the 25."

Sept. 25. **601.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 87.

Because he cannot have audience before the King and Council without the presence of the Earl of Lennox, therefore continues still in his former case, neither has he been urged of late with the convoy of the King's letter mentioned in his last.

Lord Herries and the Abbot of Dunfermline, being sent by the King and Council, brought to him the provost of this town accompanied with many burgesses of several boroughs, complaining greatly as well of the late piracies done by Moyle, as also of other like robberies by sea, committed before by English pirates; against whom they affirm they could receive no justice or redress in England, notwithstanding their great expenses and long suit for the same; and making the matter very great, they prayed that he would commend it to the Queen of England, that speedy restitution or relief might be made.

* Morton.

Elizabeth.
1580. After he had let them see how generally this disease of piracy reigned in all realms and could not be suppressed in the condition of this age and civil troubles, and recounting therewith her majesty's care and favourable dealings towards these persons then complaining, and also to all others of the Scottish nation, he agreed to recommend their request to her. Whereupon they have resolved to draw the effects of the complaints to certain heads, and after the same have been considered by the Council, to deliver them to him to be sent to her majesty. But since their being with him little or nothing more is done.

After the departure of the Earl of Mar and sundry other noblemen and of the Council from this convention, and that the Earl of Lennox and his friends saw that the King would not agree to the alteration intended, then they devised to resort to another course, which, being found good, was speedily imparted to the King, and his assent obtained—as to a matter tending to no change, but for an increase of his strength and surety without charge—it was with like speed proposed yesterday, in the forenoon, by the Abbot of Dunfermline, that it should be convenient to appoint a Lord Chamberlain, and a vice-chamberlain in the King's house, and that there might be twenty-four gentlemen, sons of earls, lords, and barons, who might attend on the king for safety of his person, and at their own expenses. Whereupon it was resolved by the King and Council, in the afternoon, that the Earl of Lennox should be the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of Mar the vice-chamberlain, and restored to his old room. Which two officers are already received and have taken their oaths, and order is given for the choice of the twenty-four gentlemen, who shall be chosen at the denomination of Lennox. There were no more present at this Counucil than the Earls of Argyll, Lennox, and Eglinton, Lords Ruthven and Cathcart, the Abbots of Newbottle and St. Combe, the Comptroller, and Clerk Register. For albeit the Abbot of Dunfermline proponed the matter, yet he tarried not the resolution. All except Lord Cathcart and the Comptroller agreed to the choice of Lennox. The Earl of Morton was absent, as occupied that morning in the apprehension of a disobedient person within his rule; yet he was not ignorant of this purpose as some others also were who departed, the rather because they would not be present at the erection and choice of this new officer.

The flexible nature of the King in these tender years and the yielding disposition in most of the Council may now appear to be such that in this time little or no resistance may be made against Lennox, who climbs so fast that some look for his sudden fall.

The extraordinaries in the King's house and all the ordinary officers noted and suspecting to be changed think this to be the preparation of their discharge and avoidance; whereat they and many others grudge. Likewise the ministers—having by all means in their power forewarned the King and Council—and many well affected greatly lament this state, condemning the nobility and Council as men blinded or bewitched, and albeit some begin to think of some remedy to prevent the progress of the mischief appearing, yet the lack of company and good assistance discourages them to give any speedy attempt; to the which none can be drawn without sight of better backing; a matter worthy grave consideration, and also requiring timely provision of seasonable remedy, which without repair hither of greater than himself,

Elizabeth.
1580. or surety and direct promise of larger support and maintenance than he can hitherto yield, will be hardly effected.

Yesterday, whilst these matters were in handling, the Earl of Morton —having dined in the house where he lodges—came to him before his departure to his own house at Dalkeith, and, after long conference, he thought that Lennox was near the height of his rising, and that albeit the loss of opportunity oftentimes offered before had brought on this perilous state, yet he is still in comfort that the cause is not desperate, and appears willing to employ himself and power for the recovery. For which purpose he said that he had already sent for the Earl of Bothwell to return with speed, and had some conference with Lord Robert Stewart, thereby to raise a party in the house of Stewart. But he seemed and said that he was not resolved with himself what to think of a war betwixt the nations, or of the surprise mentioned in his [Bowes'] last letter. Which violent medicines, not thoroughly determined on by Morton, he commends to wise consideration, trusting that they and all other means found meet for redress of the inconveniences arising shall be well weighed, and speedy order be taken for the further handling of these weighty affairs, which require a stronger than himself to encourage them to enter and proceed in the course to be put in practice. The King and Council have oftentimes consulted for Border causes, and, nevertheless, left them without any conclusion, saving that the Earl of Angus—being sent to by the King—has promised that the Laird of Bonjedworth* shall enable the Warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland to answer for all under the Earl, and John Carmichael has accepted the charge of Lyddisdale, but he is presently so visited with sickness that he is thought to be in great danger of death. Cesford, the warden, returned nothing satisfied, leaving his servant to seek further resolution. He promises his best endeavour to do justice and preserve the peace. The Earl of Angus was moved to have taken the lieutenancy of the West Borders for a time, and in the variance betwixt Lord Maxwell and the Laird of Johnston, now warden there. But he refused the charge. Which being afterwards offered to Argyll, he has accepted. Sees slender order taken for the Borders.

Lennox has solicited the Earl of Angus very earnestly for his bond of friendship, but Angus has denied to give any bond in writing. Nevertheless, he has promised to be his friend, on condition that it does not extend to prejudice or hurt the Earl of Morton or any of his dependents.

Angus begins to get good credit with the King and in all Scotland by his constancy, wisdom, and good behaviour.

The Earls of Morton and Lennox likewise stand in very friendly terms, and presently Lennox is about to get the bands of the barons and gentlemen in Lothian, trusting to advance himself to such strength as shall maintain him in all his actions. He has now stayed Montbirneau and has sent two others of his servants, Frenchmen, into France in a ship of one Lambe of Leith, which will sail this day for Dieppe and may haply touch some part of England.

The Master of Mar promises his devotion to the Queen of England to the uttermost of his power. He is sufficiently warned of the

* Douglas.

Elizabeth.
1580. practice of Lennox to draw the castle into his charge. He may now by his nearness about the King do good offices, and proof will be had shortly of his disposition, which, in the weakness of his nature, is much distrusted by his friends.

Lord Herries departed before the erection of these new officers, affirming that he remained at the Queen of England's devotion, and so greatly misliked of these doings that he had plainly dealt with Lennox, and more plainly with Argyll, whom he said that he would accuse and charge with abuse of the King in case any evil succeeded in these matters, and the Earl of Morton has a good opinion of his sound meaning herein.

John Maitland, brother to the Laird of Lethington, deceased, and not much inferior in wit and practice, and Robert Melvin are lately entertained and grow great in counsel and credit about Lennox, who busily seeks all men and all means to uphold his greatness in Scotland.

It is verily thought that this new erection is devised to serve not only to prevent her majesty's course and planting of any about the King, or by entertaining of himself—a matter much doubted and condemned by some—to advance any other plots that shall be found convenient to those who have effected this matter. For the stay whereof, and for his own further direction in these difficult causes—hard to be bettered in this evil time and state without greater strength—he prays speedy advertisement to the end he may dispose himself and his doings as her majesty shall best like, and satisfy such as look for the certainty of her resolution, and stay others who in the fear or weakness of ther minds may come further with the rest than may easily be recovered. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[Sept.] **602.** [ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.]

By his joint letter of the date hereof he may see that the Queen of England may once again have her choice in this realm and gain such interest and hold as shall be found most convenient. The several dispositions and qualities of all the parties are so small known that there needs no further information to be given for determination of the resolution. If this opportunity shall be let slip or delayed he will be utterly desperate of any good success to be offered afterwards. Prays that upon such course taken he may be acquitted of the blame of all evil sequel and delivered from the charge. In case her majesty goes forward effectually in these affairs it shall be very meet that, for the execution of the plot resolved, some personage of estimation may be employed with speed, who, he trusts, shall draw sweet water out of these troubled brooks.

½ *p. In Bowes' hand. No indorsement, etc.*

[Sept.] **603.** [ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 97. This last course taken by the Queen of England against Lennox has stirred the wolves, according to his former letters and opinion signified upon the first view and receipt of the commission; and albeit many were and are grieved therewith, looking that this smoke

Elizabeth.
1580. shall be turned into boasts, yet the progress thereof works other conceits in them, and by good handling good fruits may be brought forth thereof.

Before his letters come to his hands Lennox is oftentimes advertised of the contents thereof; for before his receipt of the letters of the last of August he foretold the story of Lord Scrope, and also his errand and commission to come alone to accuse him. From whence this comes, he knows not; but wishes that it might be prevented, for he has frequent and good intelligence from England. Likewise he received oftentimes advertisements from the King's mother, which are carried first into France.

Cannot as yet learn the effects of the packets and commission sent by La Croix embarked the other day at Leith for Dieppe, and who will haste to the French Court. The ambassador in France may haply by good espial get some knowledge which might do great good here.

"45" [Morton] longs for resolution; wherein it is time that he was well satisfied. But words may not prevail to work any good matter.

1 *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 27. **604.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.]

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 90. Upon sight of the progress of this vehement course headlong entered and run in this realm, has not forborne to reprove the great unthankfulness and rashness of the King's Council, who, having delivered one of the principal keys and ports of Scotland to the hands of the Earl of Lennox, a subject of another Prince, and infected with right dangerous practices, and after friendly admonition given by the Queen of England, and discovery of the inconveniences of the same, tending to the overthrow of religion and rearing of unquenchable troubles, they have, nevertheless, not only rejected her good counsel and for the pleasure of Lennox unadvisedly denied her reasonable request, made only for the preservation of the religion, the King, and common quietness, but also with like negligence of their care for these causes or amity with her, have now drawn the person of the King into the possession of Lennox, that the King and realm may be thereby disposed at his will and arbitrament, and that the King be pulled away from her advice, contrary to his own promise and good liking lately uttered to him [Bowes]; the mischiefs whereof and the indilate approach and expectation of the same he has at large opened as well to sundry of the nobility and other discreet personages of good calling, as also to the ministers and well affected—which last have already and will hereafter travail diligently for prevention of the evils—and has let it fall that upon experience of this apparent ingratitude towards her majesty and casting aside of all care for the welfare of the public causes, her majesty will be enforced—against her wonted mind and purpose—to change her course, and to think of such remedy as may speedily teach them their errors and let it be known that Lennox and this wilful Council depending on him have more deeply wounded the state of the King and his realm than can be cured by them and all their friends. All which are brought to the understanding of Lennox and

Elizabeth.
1580. his nearest friends of the Scottish nation, who now begin to espy the offences arising in sundry sorts of this people grieved therewith, and also to foresee the dangers growing to themselves by any breach hereupon to be made with the Queen of England or the amity. Since which time he has been assured diversely by Lennox's friends, who labour earnestly to purge him of any defection towards her majesty and offer liberally to advance any course that she pleases to have forward in Scotland; for the surety whereof especial messengers are tendered to be sent to her with such other assurance and in such manner and to such effects as may best content her. Besides, was advised that Lord Ruthven, Lord Treasurer, would come and confer with him in these behalfs. So, indeed, he came: to whom he opened the effects before recited. He affirmed that of his own knowledge he saw no other mind in Lennox than to serve the King truly, honour the Queen of England, and maintain the amity, adding therewith that Lennox had little power of himself to do any great matters in Scotland without the assistance of the nobility and other friends joined with him, who once espying any purpose in him to practise anything against the religion or amity with her majesty, would soon leave him alone and withstand his practices; and he frankly offered his own devotion to her, leaving the same, nevertheless, in general terms, and promising to come again and declare himself ready to advance anything that might be for the benefit of his sovereign and pleasure to her majesty.

Soon after, Robert Melville, one especially depending on Lord Ruthven, returned to him, and recounting the sum of the conference passed with Lord Ruthven that forenoon—who was, he said, slow ot promise, and ready to perform—and showed him that Lord Ruthven had agreed with him and directly offered that in any course to be devised for the benefit of the King and for maintenance of the amity with England, he and all his friends would join to set forward the same, and if any apt and convenient marriage for the King could be found in England and should be tendered by the Queen of England with meet conditions, that he and his friends would be ready to set forward the prosperous success thereof, trusting to effect it to her majesty's own contentment, and persuading that there remained no mean so strong as this to bind the realm to the course and devotion of her majesty; wherein he wished that good expedition might be used—because the King had declared to Lord Ruthven that he was very desirous to have his marriage thought of and taken in hand with speed—and also showed himself willing and contented to bestow his own journey and travail to the Queen of England for the advancement of these weighty causes, to which the Earls of Argyll and Lennox and others were privy and consenting. To enforce this matter it was added, that in case her majesty pleased to accept them and their offers, they would faithfully perform all promises with her, and do all things to her best pleasure. But if her majesty pleased to deface and pursue the Earl of Lennox, without manifest cause made known, that thereby her highness should wound, and could not have the hearts of his friends—who are great, he said, and the strongest party in that realm—and also make a hole in the King's heart that some day might be revived. Further, by this mean the nobility might be united in concord and brought to the King's service and the Queen of England's own devotion.

Elizabeth.
1580. Because this offer proceeded from Lord Ruthven—a personage of great power, discreet, and honourable—therefore he received the motion with better mind and countenance, and also thought it expedient to recommend the same to their knowledge and good consideration, to determine thereon as for her majesty's best service in Scotland. Nevertheless, still continues his former course as well against Lennox and all these proceedings, as also with "45"* and all others on that side, attending still her majesty's direction in all things.

The strife in the nobility and others about the King at present is raised and nourished by the inordinate desire occupying each several party and faction to attain and hold the ear and nearness of the King, which they would turn to their own advantage and for their private respects, according to their several and secret intentions, agreeable to their plots devised, and for the gaining whereof all, in manner, who serve for it, wholly neglect the public causes. This was one of the marks that the associates at the Falkirk shot at; which fellowship still remains conjoined, and who, for their leader, and to supply the decay of Atholl, deceased, have chosen Lennox, who has not only drawn Glencairn, Ruthven, Dunfermline, and other great strength to them, but also is now entered into the possession of the custody and affection of the King in such fulness as they desired, and thereby hold under, for this time, all others bent against them. Now these in this force and qualities, sufficiently known to them, offer themselves to her majesty in sort expressed. The other side, weakened by the greatness of their adversaries, are ready to be employed in manner signified in his last letter.

This day "72" [Angus] sent an especial messenger to him for his advice, whether he should accept the lieutenancy of the West Borders that is again pressed upon him by the King's earnest letters, and at the persuasion of Lennox. Wherein, because he saw the same urged by Lennox to draw the other to run with him in his government and to carry him further from "45" [Morton], therefore his counsel was to refuse that charge with meet terms for satisfaction of the King and his own duty; which advice the messenger seemed to allow, and should be followed. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$3\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 27. **605.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Forasmuch as he is commanded to remain here till he shall be revoked, in case his abode shall be continued any long time he would therein dispose himself and poor household—being now kept to his excessive charge—to some better order, and settle himself to follow her majesty's service. Requests him to be a mean that he may timely understand her majesty's meaning in this part. Received his letter of the 18th instant. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

* Morton.

Elizabeth.
1580.
Oct. 1.

606. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 95.

Since his letter of the 27th of last month the King has called the Earl of Angus to him by his letters, pressing him earnestly to accept the lieutenancy of the East and Middle Marches. But, forasmuch as it is suspected that under colour of that charge some larger commission and power shall be committed to him than usually is granted to lieutenants for reformation of the Borders--which carries a suspicious meaning in the condition of this time and State—and that little support requisite for the execution of the ordinary office is offered to him, therefore he is still unwilling to receive it. Nevertheless, with advice, he is contented to undertake it, in case he may be sufficiently enabled, and shall see the effect of his commission to tend only for redress and reformation of the Borders, to the quietness of Scotland and preservation of the amity with her majesty, and that his service shall be to her pleasure, and by her favour to be furthered by the concurrence of her majesty's opposite Wardens; which he has promised shall be chiefly performed to him.

The Council will convene again on the 10th of this month, and then give full resolution for Border causes—which he trusts will be kept quiet in the meantime—and also determine on further answer and order to be given to him. Before which time he prays to be directed what he shall further do in these affairs.

At the sermon in this town on Wednesday bypast John Dury exhorted the magistrates and inhabitants that in the choice of their officers to be elected on Michaelmas Day, they should foresee that none were chosen at the denomination and favour of any faction in Scotland, neither to be D'Aubignys nor Mortons; and he inveighed so greatly against the Papists—with great "ruffes and syde bellyes"—in the presence of the King, that the matter being construed to have been meant for Lennox, Montbirneau, and Keyr, the King was informed, and the elders of the church were dealt withal to check the preacher in their assembly on the next day. But in the sermon yesterday Mr. James Lowson not only approved the doings of John Dury but also reproved more vehemently and in general manner the receipt and access of Papists so near the King; namely, Montbirneau, whom by name he condemned, protesting openly in pulpit that whereas it had been said that the ambassador of England had enticed the preachers to use these exhortations, the report was directly untrue, purging him [Bowes] very largely, as indeed he might well do. Hereof the King was soon advertised, and new offence is conceived; but thinks the matter will fall timely to a calm.

The Earl of Lennox, notwithstanding his grief, has sent to the preachers to entreat them to entertain and bring to him a French preacher from London, to whom he offers large stipend, and promises to declare his profession by the fruits of his life and behaviour. Nevertheless, sundry of his friends are highly grieved with the preachers for these things, and the King is not pleased therewith, notwithstanding he does not openly discover the same.

Robert Melvin—pretending great devotion to the Queen of England, and like care to preserve the amity betwixt the Princes—showed him how deeply the course of his [Bowes'] last commission and the sequel of these accidents had wounded the heart of the King and stirred Lennox

Elizabeth.
1580. and his friends to despair of the Queen of England's favour towards Lennox, and also to arm themselves for their most safety. Whereupon he persuaded that great inconveniences might hastily arise to the common disquietness of both realms; which nations might easily, he thought in this time and upon this apt occasion be most firmly bound together. After long discourse and many arguments betwixt them, he advised that the King, and Lennox, offering his purgation to her majesty, and the noblemen, his friends, promising for him due performances of all good offices to her majesty, the amity, and all other good causes, Lennox might thereon be received to her favour, and that he [Bowes] would partly move some of the noblemen here to draw on this matter in the King and Lennox; which he refused.

Afterwards, it was offered that Lennox should offer and make his purgation to her majesty in manner to her best contentment, that he should employ himself, power, and friends to maintain the amity, and that the noblemen, his friends, should undertake and promise his performance of the same. All which he assured him would be done to her majesty's good liking, and for prevention of all evils in case it might be known that the same should be well accepted, and pressed him very much to understand how he would like hereof. But, having no warrant to enter into the course, and being, nevertheless, loth to give occasion either of further grief in the King before the fervency of his affection might be assuaged, or yet of sudden trouble by any desperate determination entering into those parties, professing great interest in the King, and nobility, and boroughs, has, therefore, kept the matter in even terms, suspending his answer till better advisement, upon probability of good effects to be seen to ensue hereon. Is sure he will press him to give him resolute answer, to the intent he may proceed to effect this offer, or otherwise leave the cause to Lennox's own provision. Begs to be directed with all expedition what he shall do in this behalf. The King purposes to be at the marriage of the Earl of Mar, at the house of the Earl of Montrose, the last Sunday in this month, where the King and others will labour earnestly to unite the houses of Angus, Lennox, and Mar in band of friendship, and it will be proponed and sought so earnestly by the King that an agreement and amity is like to be made in some degree.

The Earl of Argyll begins to mislike of the greatness of Lennox and of his dry behaviour towards him. Argyll offers his goodwill and devotion to the Queen of England with all readiness. Edinburgh.
Signed: Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 1. **607.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letter of the 24th ult. Has sent four several packets to the Court before this letter since his repair to Scotland, viz., of the 13th, 20th, 25th, and 27th of September, and has sent only two to himself, viz., of the 20th and 27th September. Requests to be speedily directed in all the contents thereof, for which here is great longing and expectation in sundry parties who seek to be satisfied by him. Because he is and shall be daily pressed for his full resolution and answer to be made to Lord Ruthven touching his offer, and also and chiefly to the late motion of Robert Melyn

Elizabeth. 1580. [Melville] expressed in his present letter to the Lord Treasurer and himself, and touching the Earl of Lennox's offer, requests that he may have speedy direction.

The burgesses robbed by English pirates sue in very earnest way to be relieved by her majesty by the King's means and commendation or otherwise to be suffered to provide their own redresses, and being in controversy with Adam Fullerton for the sums of money received by him in England, they have prayed him to send the inclosed note to him, praying him to satisfy them in certainty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 6. **608.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 98. Since the despatch of his letter of the 1st instant little alteration or matters of importance have appeared or fallen out in Scotland.

The Earl of Angus praying to be advised in the acceptance of the lieutenancy of the East and Middle Marches until the assembly of the Council, is licensed to give in his answer at that time, and the determinate resolution for the Borders is still suspended until the meeting of the Council on the 10th instant, which Convention is pretended to be gathered only for the said resolution to be concluded and executed for the Borders, and for answer and further order to be given to him [Bowes], that he may be despatched and the King delivered of that cause, which they think much troubles him and his realm, before the King's departure from hence, on the 18th instant, to the Earl of Mar's marriage.

Because it may be—as some of Lennox's friends persuade—that he shall have audience granted without the presence of Lennox, wherein it is evident that he shall speak and deliver his errand with such prejudgment and little profit as may well appear to him, therefore prays speedy direction what he shall do in this part. Albeit it is given forth that this assembly is called only for these two causes aforesaid, yet other matters are meant to be effected thereby; as first, the confirmation by general vote of the erection of the office of Lord Chamberlain, and the establishment of the twenty-four gentlemen to attend on the King; wherein the names of forty-eight have been showed to the King, that he may make his choice. Nevertheless, the twenty-four to be elected—being all dependers on Lennox—are already determined. Next, the band of friendship to be mediated by the King betwixt the Earls of Lennox and Mar, with the conjunction of Angus in the same. For which purpose the King minding to write to Mar to be here, is purposed to entreat him in very earnest manner to do it at his request, and for his sake. Howbeit, is persuaded that it will not be done in writing, and in such liberal sort as shall be required, yet that something will be granted to please the King. Also, Lennox is purposed to make his state and condition known to his friends to be brought together at this meeting, and thereon to have their counsel for the best order and disposition of his course to be taken, and for their promises to assist him in the progress and execution of their advice resolved. Whereupon he will more willingly agree to send away Montbirneau into France with perfect intelligence in all things; and some have whispered in his ear that an

Elizabeth.
1580. especial secret and mystery, hoped to succeed to their comfort, is in working, and shall appear within ten or twelve days, or else in March next. But hitherto neither his informer nor yet himself can sound the bottom thereof; for the which he will employ apt instruments. It is likely that Sir James Balfour can give perfect light as well in this as also in all the doings of Lennox; to whom he has given instructions for guiding his course in this nation and affairs, and betwixt which parties there is frequent and secret intelligence.

The Earl of Lennox, as he is advised, despatched La Croix, his servant, to France for provision of powder and shot to furnish the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, which presently are altogether defurnished. Secondly, to inform the French King and Lennox's friends there of the present state in Scotland and favourable disposition of the King of Scots to the love of the French King and that nation, and thereon to feel the French King's mind, upon this knowledge given and apt occasion serving. Lastly, to bring over hither his eldest son and dispose his household to remain with his wife in France.

Sundry of the ministers chosen by the Synodal Assembly holden here on Tuesday last were sent to the King to make petition for reformation in sundry causes. Who, for the first, accusing Montbirneau of papistry and other manifest and odious crimes, prayed that he might be removed from the King's chamber and presence, or else to be reformed. Wherein the King alleged that he was a stranger, and that they had no law to compel him; and after long arguments and show of discontentment, he said that order should be taken therein. It is likely that after the end of this Convention, and sight of the settling of Lennox's state in Scotland, and with the Queen of England, Montbirneau shall depart to France. Surely, in case he shall abide here, and in his accustomed life and dealings, he will find some sharp measure offered at length. He would persuade the King that he is a Protestant, and albeit he will not be drawn to that profession by the compulsion of the ministers, yet for the King he will subscribe to the religion, which, perhaps, will not be accepted.

Afterwards, the said ministers let the King know that the Earl of Lennox had not kept promise with them, nor hitherto showed any fruit of his conversion; for he still received and kept the Papists and practisers in Scotland; neither had he entertained a preacher nor reformed his house in Scotland or in France, as he promised The King said he would travail with him, and bring him to satisfy them.

They prayed also that notorious Papists, murderers, and such like—whose names they presented to the King—might be worthily punished and speedily removed from the King, and adding sundry other petitions for reformation, the King agreed to command speedy redress. In the end, the Earls of Morton and Lennox charged John Dury, the minister, for terming them factious, in that he persuaded the magistrates to forbear to elect any Mortonists or D'Aubignyists for officers in this town; wherein the Earl of Morton passed some bitter speech against John Dury. But the Earl of Lennox, drawing himself apart to them, offered all possible kindness as well to themselves as to the advancement of their common causes.

The Earl of Angus having obtained letters from the King and

Elizabeth.
1580. Council to the Abbot of Jedburgh to forbear to keep Sheriffs' Courts in the Merse in the right of Lord Hume, whose father forfeited the office, and which was given to Angus, nevertheless, the Abbot had intended to have holden a court the other day at Duns [Dunce]; but Angus, assembling 500 men, would not suffer him, and the matter rests quiet.

In late conference, and upon exhortation to the King to give some and timely testimony of his thankfulness and love towards the Queen of England, finds him always willing and promising to perform the same with great goodwill, offering therewith to write privately with his own hand to satisfy her therein, or to do any other thing in his power to her contentment. Nevertheless, the persuasions of others, with the authority of the advice of his Council, and affection to Lennox, carry him still to show the effects of his tender years, yielding to that which they urge him to. Against which he sees little surety of speedy recovery and amendment in the present condition of the King's age and of the estate of Scotland without good provision of convenient remedy to be devised and applied for the same. Because it is thought that the delay of this medicine nourishes still the humours of distrust in good instruments, and engenders danger in the good success to be sought for in this service, therefore he prays them to further the expedition of this direction and despatch, without which his stay here does not profit as he would, especially by the late jealousies that are conceived against him by this Court, which has set continual watch to bar all access to him, and straitly examines each nobleman and others that are seen or known to have any conference with him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 6. **609.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Being still desirous to know for what time and how he shall be employed in these affairs, prays him to relieve him therein with timely advertisement. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[Oct.] **610.** [ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.]

Upon the late overtures laid before him by Robert Melyn [Melville] and other friends of Lennox, has made the same known to him by his former letters, to the intent that they might be well weighed in the determination of the Queen of England's resolution for this realm, and that he also may be acquitted in his duty by the same. Trusts, nevertheless, that it shall be considered that Lennox's nature and manners must be changed before he can be drawn directly to change his course professed, and it is very likely that the delay time, or like temporizing, shall rather give him advantage to effect and execute his purposes intended, than serve her majesty to prevent the same or reduce Scotland to her cause.

⅓ *p. In Bowes' hand. No indorsement, etc.*

Elizabeth.
1580. Oct. 7.

611. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Yesternight late, after the despatch of his last, received his of the 1st instant; whereupon he has this day imparted the occurrents of the descent of the Spaniards into Ireland to the King of Scots, "45" [Morton], "24," and others, to the intent he might by seasonable and good discovery thereof prevent the dangers of the novelty of the matter and take away the credit of untrue additions and bruits of that news which within few days will be largely given out in this realm. Has travailed to stay the repair of these countrymen into Ireland, and will also labour to stay the combination of those realms; wherein he has found the King very frank, offering at the first to do all that the Queen of England pleases to call for at his hands and in his power, and to that effect he is presently aminded to write to her majesty by his own hand, which he knows he will perform if he be not be dissuaded; for, surely, of himself he bears especial and very great love and affection to the Queen of England.

The Earl of Morton and Lord Ruthven are well bent to advance these and all others to the Queen's good contentment; wherein he wishes that the good occasion offered again be no longer delayed. For surely he has been advised that some about the King have used very dangerous speeches to entice the King to renew old amity with France, and to revenge the great slaughters and piracies done by England; wherewith the King appeared nothing pleased, suffering the matter, nevertheless, to pass away with silence.

Lord Robert Stewart, of Orkney, Lord Cathcart—one singularly well devoted to her majesty, and worthy to be comforted by some good mean—and divers others near about the King have informed him that the King daily speaks of his marriage, declaring always his chief desire to be to match in England by the Queen of England's advice; and the King is still desirous that his marriage may be had in consideration. It is looked that an ambassador shall be shortly sent thither from the King of Denmark for marriage with the King of Scots, intelligence whereof is come from Denmark.

Depends wholly on her majesty's resolution to be directed what to do as well in the progress and travail in these affairs for her service and to her pleasure, and also for the disposition of himself and poor estate; wherein he requests speedy advertisement, as good leisure and other causes may suffer, especially in the weighty matters concerning her service, wherein, surely, delay will hazard great prejudice, and long drift will doubtless destroy the foundations laid.

Beseeches him to let it always be remembered that words are of no price in Scotland. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 100. Extract from the same.

Oct. 7.

612. PRIVY COUNCIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

The Queen of England finding that the persuasions he has used to the King and Council of Scotland have nothing prevailed to draw them to yield him audience in such form as was directed, whereby his longer stay there cannot but greatly touch her in honour, her pleasure is that he immediately on receipt hereof return to his charge, thinking

Elizabeth.
1580. it, notwithstanding, very expedient, before his departure, that he let the King understand how just cause she has to charge him and his Council with unthankfulness, and not carrying that due regard to her desert and quality that appertains; who have not only denied a most just request, tending to no other end but to lay open before the King the peril that might light on his own person and his realm, if by some timely and provident course the same were not prevented, but also have, in a kind of contempt, after her show of misliking of Lennox, laid upon him greater honour than he enjoyed before; a manner of proceeding that she could not have looked for at any other Prince's hand (only in respect of ordinary compliments) much less at the hands of one who has been so greatly bound to her for the great care she has always had for the preservation of his person against many attempts, and the continuance of his realm in quietness, a matter well known to all the world, in the accomplishing whereof neither treasure nor the lives of her subjects—which she holds most precious—were spared, and therefore, as the benefits received have been public, so the ignominy and blemish of honour that will fall on him by such an unthankful acquittal towards one of her desert cannot but be the greater and more public, whose error hereafter will appear more foul when riper years and the inconvenience and prejudice he shall receive by the lack of her majesty's favour, how light soever now it is weighed, shall lead him to know what it is to prefer any Earl of Lennox before a Queen of England; and if this strange and dishonourable kind of proceeding had not been held, he should, by Bowes' message, not only have been acquainted with the apparent danger that her majesty sees hangs over his person and realm, but should also by him have understood such friendly offers to him from her as could not but have fallen out greatly to his liking, which now he is commanded to keep in silence. If, after this speech, he shall be drawn—rather than suffer him to depart with matter of so ill satisfaction to her—to yield him audience in such order as was demanded by him, is to allege that he is restrained so to do, and shall depart without acquainting him with any part of that matter he was appointed to deliver to him. For that it is to be thought that Lord Ruthven and such others as are now devoted to Lennox will take occasion to have some speech with him, he is to let those of that faction know how much the Queen of England thinks her honour touched by such contemptuous proceeding as has been used to him, especially in seeing Lennox advanced to greater trust and honour than he enjoyed before, after signification of her misliking of him; which error she cannot so much ascribe to the King, because his youth and lack of experience cannot yet descern what is most profitable for his estate, but must needs ascribe it to such noblemen and counsellors as now possess his ear, who, to maintain their particular quarrels, do not care what becomes of the King and his estate, the reproach and smart whereof they themselves may, perhaps, hereafter receive, when more years in the King and the hard effects that the rejection of her favour may work towards him shall lead him to see how ill he has been counselled.

For that the Earl of Morton, if he should not be beforehand made acquainted with the course now prescribed, may be drawn to think that the Queen of England, on this evil usage, has put on a resolution to forbear any further dealing with the King and that State for the

Elizabeth.
1580. abasing of Lennox, and thereby conceive that he is given over as it were a prey to Lennox and his faction, he is to let him know that her meaning is not to abandon the King and let him run the danger of Lennox's course, but only for the saving of her own honour, which she thinks very much touched by this kind of proceeding, especially in advancing Lennox, which cannot be but reputed a plain contempt, and that she means to send persons of greater quality to put in execution the advice given by him; assuring him that for that great constancy she has always found in him, and readiness in doing good offices, to the maintenance of good amity, she will never see him abandoned, and to the end he may see the great trust she reposes in his wisdom and affection towards her, she has willed him [Bowes] to make him acquainted with this course wherein he is directed, before the execution thereof, and to take his advice therein, not doubting but that he will have a special regard to the conservation of her honour.

As the Queen knows no way so apt to save her honour, and whereby she may have some good occasion to send to the King some persons of quality to do their endeavours for the stay of the intended alteration in that realm, as if, by some means to be devised by him without showing himself a doer therein, the King may be persuaded to send some gentleman to excuse his error, she would have him employ himself to the uttermost to bring that to effect.

On the advertisement he has given of the great devotion that the Earls of Angus and Mar bear towards the Queen of England, he is to use all good speeches that may tend to the continuance of the same to her, to whom she would have written her particular letters, but that she doubts—the present humours of that realm considered—they would make some scruple to receive the same.

5¼ *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed by* (Burghley's clerk): "7 Oct. 1580. M[inute] to M[r] Bowes"; *and in another hand:* "Bowes revoked."

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 100. Copy of the same.

Oct. 17. **613.** G. BEVERLEY TO WALSINGHAM.

"Advertizmentes gathered of some Scothmen latlie arrived here."

There are some other Scotchmen and French to come from France shortly, who will land at Rye or Dover. They are described as follows:—Captain Lawther, a Papist, an archer of the guard, and pensioner to the Scottish Queen. The Laird of Forrett, archer of the guard, cousin to the bishop of Glasgow. Sandie Bogg, pensioner to the Scottish Queen—carries letters from the bishop of Glasgow. The young Laird of Balcony [Bawcomye] carries letters from the Lady of Farnyhurst. Nevis, a Frenchman, servant to the Earl of Lennox—carries letters to his master.

John Drisdale, a man of practice, takes on him to be conductor to the rest of this company. The Earl of Crawford and young Fentre, a Papist, are lately gone to Rome. The young Earl of Huntly goes to mass in Orleans. Madame "Antran," wife of the Earl of Lennox, last summer, preparing to pass to Scotland, had also prepared certain

Elizabeth.
1580. mass priests to go with her, and that journey is put off till next spring.

½ *p. Addressed:* "To the righte honnorable his good master Sir Francis Wallsingham, knighte," *etc. Indorsed:* "17 October, 1580. From G. Beverley, advertisementes."

Oct. 18. **614.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 102. On receipt of their letter of the 7th instant, brought to his hands on the 13th, immediately acquainted the Earl of Morton with such part of the Queen of England's resolution and pleasure as is directed by their letter. Did the same by mean of his son, appointed to be minister betwixt them, to avoid suspicion and the quarrel of his enemies, who, minding a pique against him, had lately moved the King to have burdened him before the King and Council for conference betwixt them. The earl, liking well of the matter advertised by him, advised him to proceed with the King, and to take some apt time for their secret meeting the next night, as afterwards they did.

Repaired to the King that day, letting him understand at length—and agreeable to the direction given him—how just cause the Queen of England had to charge him and his Council with unthankfulness, with contempt of her and her good advice, and with neglect of the due regard that to her desert and quality appertains, recounting therewith at large the particularities proving these points recited, to the intent he might plainly behold how this dishonourable kind of dealing had wounded her honour, and given greater offence than she might easily "disgest," both to the open shame of himself and Council, and also to his manifest mischief and loss. Wherein he has observed to lay before him all the contents of their said letter commanded to be imparted to him, and has also concluded that in respect of these strange and unkind parts found in him and his Council, her majesty had commanded him to return speedily to his charge, and to keep in silence such friendly offers to have been presented from her to him as might have been to his good liking. This sudden motion much appalled and troubled him, and thereon he descended to excuse himself and his doings towards her, adding many large promises and words to perform and do all things that might please her and testify to the world his care to requite her great benefits, which he acknowledged had been done to him and his realm, and in the end he prayed his advice. But denied to counsel him, because he perceived her majesty was inwardly grieved with his doings, and that he had not hearkened to her counsel, that would have been to his surety and profit. Nevertheless, let him know that her majesty rather ascribed this error to his passionate and factious Council than to himself, whose young years and want of experience cannot discern what is most profitable for him, and, therefore, referred him to the advice of his own Council, and chiefly of such as he knew more loved and sought his preservation than their own private causes, and offered therewith to have taken his leave and to depart the next day. But because he seemed desirous to speak with his Council herein, and also with himself before his departure, agreed to see him again the next morning; for he meant to speak that night with the Earl of Morton and others, and to work that some gentleman might be sent to the Queen of England by the King with his excuse, as by their

Elizabeth.
1580. letter is directed to him, and as he has in that short time brought, he trust, to good effect.

On the morrow, at the King's rising, went to take his full leave, and recounted again with great earnestness as well the foulness of his unkind dealings with her majesty, as also the hasty inconveniences that thereby should come to the religion, his person, estate, and realm. All which evils he set forth and opened at large and particularly to him, letting him see how he was drawn to the same by the inordinate affection of passionate counsellors whom he himself knew and saw to labour more for the advancement of their own particulars than to care for the preferment of his welfare or public causes, persuading him to beware and eschew his sudden ruin, and timely to recover her majesty's good favour, which would be most for his safety and profit, and also retain the good opinion that the world had conceived of his promise and towardness in virtues. Whereupon he first declared a fervent desire to satisfy her to her best contentment, and next he showed that he would send a gentleman or nobleman with his letters to her, and to such effect as should well please her, asking his advice whether he should send a nobleman or a gentleman. Albeit he seemed nice to give any counsel at all in the matter, yet advised that he should employ some apt nobleman, which he said he would do, promising directly to send some shortly to her.

Great dificulty will be made for the choice of this messenger. Lennox and his friends had first agreed to send Robert Melville, but have changed their purpose. Afterwards they thought on the Abbots of St. Combe and Newbottle, two wholly devoted to Lennox, and therefore more assured to be commanded by Lennox than to be liked by the rest of the Council, who, at his departure, were not made privy to the King's determination to send to her majesty, as he had promised to him [Bowes]. Howbeit, finds the most part assenting to and well liking the matter, on condition that the person to be employed and the contents of his errand be seen convenient.

The next night, conferred at length with the Earl of Morton, to whom he has signified as well all the contents of their letter aforesaid, as is commanded to him—seeking to have his advice in his proceedings in the same—as also all his doings and success with the King. He remains constant in his former mind, with great care for the conservation of her majesty's honour and for the preservation of the amity with his sovereign; for the which he will be ready to employ himself himself and his whole power, trusting verily to find sufficient company to advance these good causes against all the adversaries thereof, and wishing that no time be delayed for the execution of the same. He liked well that the King should write and send to the Queen of England to the intent that her majesty might thereon have the better occasion and countenance to dispatch persons of quality to set forward these causes in Scotland to her best contentment; which persons at their coming shall have his best advice and assistance, and, as he thinks—if they come shortly—be assured of good success to her good liking.

Has dealt with Dunfermline, but in some outward and rough manner, because he has seen him running the course of Lennox in some parts; which he perceives he does more in desire thereby to retain his office and credit, than in love to join with or set forward Lennox's devices. He affirms directly that Lennox's greatness and

Elizabeth.
1580. these evils grow and increase by the power of "affectioned" councillors and support adjoined to Lennox. Against the which the good sort being partly at present suppressed may not safely arise and resist without surety of good backing. Upon sight whereof there is, he says, a sufficient number and power of good men who will undertake to bring the public causes to good reformation, wishing that the Queen of England would vouchsafe to send again some to confer for the remedy, and to put the good men in assurance of her backing, to the intent the plot thereof resolved may be put in execution with speed, and he thinks it perilous to consult or determine on the course to be taken before they be ready to execute the resolution.

According to their direction, has at great length let Lord Ruthven understand how narrowly the Queen of England's honour is touched by those unthankful doings, and especially by the Councillors and others who support Lennox, drawing him thereby to that greatness that shall overthrow religion, the King, and realm, and break the amity with her, wherein they cannot but be reputed chief instruments and thought worthy great blame and due chastisement, with such other notes as are given him in charge to be signified to him.

Has dealt to like effect, but in more rough sort, with Lord Lindsay, St. Combe, Cesford, Andrew Carre, and others adhering to Lennox; all which wholly excuse themselves, alleging that they suspect no evil in Lennox, and protesting that if they may be taught and let see that he seeks the prejudice of religion, the King or amity with her majesty thereon, they will declare themselves his open enemies; and albeit he has ended with them in some round terms, trusting that medicine shall work best effects, yet he passed something more calmly with Lord Ruthven, who may be made an especial good instrument for the Queen of England, and who already leans much to her course and offers all good offices in the same. Besides thinking him a very apt and meet person to be employed for the message to her majesty, has let him know that in case that lot shall fall on him, he shall find himself honourably welcomed and used by her: by the which he may be drawn and fastened to her devotion and also to the course of the Earl of Morton, for whose welfare and safety he has ever been, and still is careful and pressed, notwithstanding that for his office and to hold together that which he has gathered, he has of late showed great friendship to Lennox. Has done and will do his endeavour by such secret means that he may not be seen to be a doer, to prefer Lord Ruthven to be sent to her majesty.

Has given to the Earls of Angus and Mar such compliments and notice of the Queen of England's good favour towards them as shall, he trusts, continue and increase their good devotion to her. Angus is not yet resolved in the acceptance of the lieutenancy of the East and Middle Marches.

Mar, looking to be entreated by the King to band with Lennox, will answer, that upon the Queen of England's letters to his father persuading him to be careful for the King's safety and to beware to join or band with any suspected, his father promised her that he or his house should not enter into any band without her privity, and therefore he will desire that he may be acquitted of that promise before he makes any band, other than for the King's service, and so

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1580. put over the matter, which he thinks will not take such effect as Lennox looked for. In consideration whereof, and for other greater respects, Lennox seeks to counsel the King to abide still in Edinburgh, and not to be at the marriage of the Earl of Mar, contrary to the King's promise and desire.

The Provost and burgesses of Edinburgh being advertised of his sudden departure, and with no good contentment, came to him, letting him know that they, for themselves and the rest of the burghs in that realm, would not only do their best endeavour to preserve the happy amity with her majesty and remain thankful for the great benefits that she had bestowed on Scotland, and especially on that town, but also would employ themselves and whole force to withstand the practices and enterprises of any such as should attempt or seek to dissolve the amity, offering therewith all good offices to her majesty, as to the Prince to whom, next their own sovereign, they stood most bound and devoted. Which signs of thankfulness he greatly commended, promising to recommend and make the same known to her majesty, who with accustomed favour and gratuity would acquit their goodwill.

In like manner the ministers have professed their care to maintain the amity, and also, by public exhortations and earnest suit and petition to the King, have travailed diligently to persuade the King, the nobility, and all others to nourish the amity. Among others showing good devotion to the Queen of England, Lord Cathcart is very forward, who in Council and all other ways is ready to testify his goodwill to her and the amity, and on hearing of the arrival of the Spaniards in Ireland, prayed the King to give him leave, and offered to serve her majesty against them on horseback or foot with such companies of that nation as should best please her to have. Has thought it meet to give them knowledge of all these good parts, that the parties may be continued and comforted in their good minds with worthy thanks, and that others may thereby be encouraged and drawn to semblable devotion.

The King and Council have not hitherto set down any resolute order for mutual reformation to be made on the Borders, notwithstanding that he has daily called for the same; and upon his late and sharp accusatiou of their negligence therein—noting the same to be a sign of small care in them for the continuance of the peace and amity, or welfare of other public causes—on Saturday last they sent the Abbot of St. Combe and the Clerk of the Register to let him know that they had appointed the Earl of Angus lieutenant for the East and Middle Marches, and the Earl of Argyll for the West, and demanded to know whether he had commission, and would assure them that the opposite wardens of England should concur with them in accustomed offices in that part. Whereon he asked them whether they had now resolved on any course for mutual redresses to be made by commissioners, by their lieutenants, or by the ordinary power of the wardens, so that the wardens of both realms might meet and execute justice. They said that no full resolution was taken as yet. Answered that seeing no order taken for redress and justice, he could not give any assurance of concurrency before provision made for the causes remembered. Nevertheless, her majesty's wardens would be ready to accomplish all things that should apper-

Elizabeth.
1580. tain to the same; and, at their especial request, agreed to make the state of this matter and these proceedings known to her majesty, and to return to them more direct answer for the concurrency aforesaid. Requests to be speedily directed in this behalf, that therewith he may satisfy them in their demand and procure better order for the prevention of troubles like to arise in this dangerous time of the year and broken state by the looseness appearing in these causes. Soon after, the Laird of Cesford, coming in great haste even at his departure, showed him that the King and Council had given him power to do justice for all attempts within the middle wardenry; whereupon he would meet the Wardens opposite and do them all justice: so that he trusted thereby all things should be reformed and settled in quietness within those Marches. But, as touching the East March and removing of the questions staying the meeting of the Wardens, and administration of justice therein, nothing is done.

It has been frankly offered to him by Mr. John Graham, servant and especial instrument to the Earl of Argyll, that the Earl would be ready not only to stay his own people within his rule, and to persuade all his friends and others who would be advised by him, to forbear to give any aid to the Queen of England's rebels in Ireland, but also to do all other good offices about the King and on the Borders for maintenance of peace, and to pleasure her in all things he can. Wherein he perceives the Earl to be the more forward by some dryness lately fallen betwixt him and Lennox, which may, peradventure, be nourished to make divorce of the great kindness betwixt them, and let it be seen that Lennox begins "to mewe his fethers."

Mr. Graham trusts also to recover the Earl of Montrose to the Queen of England's assured devotion and course, notwithstanding his inwardness with Lennox, and late earnestness declared in Council against the removal of Lennox at her request. Because he attends for more resolute answer than hitherto he can give him on these offers, requests speedy direction.

Cannot yet espy any such secret mystery as had been whispered in his ear, and whereof he made mention in his last letter.

The good instruments in Scotland and others well affected appear so willing and ready at present to maintain the amity with her majesty, and to adventure themselves and power against all the adversaries thereof, that upon sight of sure backing and other like effects to be assured from her, it is holden easy to prevent the mischief and dangers of foreign courses and to advance her majesty's best contentment. Therefore, that he may still nourish and continue this mind reigning in them, prays to be directed in the same.

Because the King and Council are not yet resolved on the choice and naming of the twenty-four gentlemen-in-ordinary and six extraordinary to attend on the King, reserves sending their names till the same be made certain; wherein hitherto great change and alteration have been daily seen.

Being ready and desirous to finish the accounts of his office here, has prayed her majesty's leave in the same. Has returned hither to his charge, and looks for direction in the several articles expressed. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

7 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

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1580.
Oct. 24.

615. ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 106.

Is lately advertised that the King and Council of Scotland have chosen Alexander Hume of North Berwick, a man very discreet and honest, and much addicted to the Earl of Lennox, to make his speedy repair to the Queen of England with several letters from the King and the Earl of Lennox, wherein the King seeks her majesty's satisfaction with an earnest protestation of his whole endeavour for advancement of religion, *etc.* The residue of the errand is contained in sundry articles delivered to him, commanding the enlarging of the parts for the contentment of her majesty towards the King and Council, and for recovery of her good opinion towards the Earl of Lennox, upon his justification and trial to be made to her best liking, with approbation of the King's purpose to remain thankful to her for her great benefits, and with offer of the Earl's devotion to her; for which he and his friends are ready to give such testimony as may be well liked by her. Is given to understand that he is directed to travail diligently to abate her majesty's good conceit towards such as have given information to her, wherein the Earl of Morton, Mr. Archibald Douglas, the Laird of Drumquhasill, and James Murray are chiefly suspected. All which four are to be called and charged by the King and Council to avouch and approve before them such intelligence and reports as by them or their means have been commended to her knowledge. Which examination was meant to have been taken before Mr. Hume's departure, but the success of this device is like to be such as shall give no such advantage as was looked. He has some instructions for the Borders, and also direction —upon apt occasion ministered—to persuade the entertainment and device for the increase of the love and affection betwixt the Princes and preservation of the amity.

The Earl of Lennox entering very shortly to the rehearsal and declaration of his [Bowes'] doings in Scotland, tending, as he presumes, to charge him with dissimulation in religion and with want of good affection to the amity—a matter drawn on, as he thinks, by sinister information given to the Queen of England of him by such as cannot approve the same—denies the effects of the accusations of his adversaries, and offers to purge himself and to abide trial by all means, or to defend it in his person against any of his quality and degree who shall avouch the same, with protestation of his good mind and devotion to her, next the King of Scotland and some others; and herein some would persuade him that he leans partly to charge him [Bowes] with some hard manner of dealing against him. Wherein, in case he shall note in him any matter contrary to his duty to her majesty, he will be ready to purge and acquit himself as shall appertain.

Mr. Hume is appointed to make such speed that he may be with the King again, at Edinburgh, about the 15th of next month, at which time the King will return from Stirling and to the marriage of the Earl of Mar, notwithstanding the means that were made to the contrary. The repair of the lieutenants of the Marches is deferred till the 18th of next month. The Earl of Lennox, not being invited to the Earl of Mar's marriage, is purposed to resort to Dumbarton, and to expend his time there during the King's abode at that

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1580. marriage. He is now established Lord Chamberlain. The Earl of Glencairn, Lord Robert Stewart, and the Master of Mar are added to the Council, and choice is made of thirty persons, ordinary and extraordinary, to attend on the King's person, according to the note inclosed. Wherein, albeit the King misliked greatly of some persons named, viz., the Masters of Cassillis, Livingston, Elphinstone and Ogilvy, and George Douglas, yet by Lennox's persuasion and means they are received.

Is advertised that no forces have gone over of late from Scotland to Ireland, nor is there any number ready to pass, notwithstanding the bruit given forth to the contrary. Streatlam. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Inclosure with the same:—

(Gentlemen of James VI.'s Chamber.)

Ordinaries:—The Masters of Marishal, Rothes (or his brother), Cassillis, Lindsay, Livingston, Elphinstone, Herries, Ogilvy, the Lairds of Coldenknowes, Rendane, Strethard, Kilsyth, and Minto, Alexander Hume of North Berwick, George Douglas of Rungally, brother to Lochleven, Alexander Ruthven, brother to Lord Ruthven, Mr. Mark Ker of Preston Grange, the Commendator of Inchaffray, the Prior of Coldingham, Captain James Stewart of Ahiltry, the Laird of Bargany. the Laird of Bomby, James Chisholme, and the Laird of Moncrieff.

Extraordinaries:—Lord Maxwell, the Laird of Cesford, the Laird of Ardkinlas, Alexander Hume of Manderston, and William Stewart of Cabirston, Captain of Dumbarton.

¾ *p.*

Oct. 24. **616.** LENNOX TO ELIZABETH.

Feels most unhappy at what has been told of him to her majesty by some of his enemies. Is so unhappy that she has formed the opinion that he is other than her very humble and very obedient servant, always ready to show her that he has never thought of undertaking anything that could bring prejudice to her service, nor to the King's, nor to the public good of this realm, nor likewise against the religion. If it pleases her to do him the honour to send to the King of Scots the accusations which Mr. Bowes said he wishes to put in practice, and also to hold agreeable that those who accuse him be confronted before his majesty and his Council, he hopes that God will let her know that he is not anywise guilty of what they have accused him of, and he will always be ready to receive such punishment as shall please her majesty and the King to appoint him, if it is found that what they accuse him of is true; begging very humbly her majesty, until the truth be known, not to put any trust in any of these reports which they have made to her concerning him, and to believe that if he is so honoured as to be employed for her service, his duty reserved, he will serve her with as much and more

Elizabeth.
1580. fidelity than those will do who accuse him to her; whom, if they have as much courage as to wish him to maintain their talk, with her permission and his majesty's, he is ready to fight a duel with them in his presence and hers, if they hold it agreeable, seeing that this would be against one who is known to be a man of honour. Prays her very humbly not to think ill of him for daring to undertake to write to her, and to pardon him if he fails in this, and to excuse what is the liking he has to be justified in what they calumniate him, which he hopes she will do, seeing that by the letter which it pleased her to write to him, dated the 19th of April last, she told him that she would be very sorry to condemn him without having first heard him, which is all he desires, being assured that if it pleases her to permit him to write, with the help of God, he will make it appear to her that he is a man of honour and that he has no other wish than to live her very humble and obedient servant.

1½ *pp. French. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Oct. 25. **617.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

Upon occasion of your letters of the last of August lately presented to us by Robert Bowes, and some other our affairs, we have presently directed towards you Alexander Hume of North Berwick instructed with our mind, whom we desire you affectionately to hear favourably, and to credit him in that which he shall speak on our behalf. Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Your loving and maist affectionat brother and cousin, James R."

¼ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 108, b. Copy of the same.

Oct. 27. **618.** LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO [ELIZABETH].

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 109. "Rycht excellent, rycht heigh and maist mychty Princes"; please your majesty, as your highness showed me [something] should be done for the relief of my lord my brother, me, and others in the like case at my last departure from your majesty, I directed a servant to him in France to certify him of the same, and he "luikit" ere this to have known by me what he might look for in that matter; which I could not let him understand, seeing there is nothing further proceeded thereanent, nor was at my last advertisement, which is "ane hevy cace" to us, who only depend upon your majesty's mediation, and so have continued in good hope this long time; but [are] now in a manner destitute of all appearance of any relief unless your highness finds some hasty remedy; "beseikand" your majesty most humbly to have consideration upon the necessity of the cause, and to take such order therewith so that we may be relieved as reason and good conscience would were done, seeing our upright dealing, we being always ready to abide trial of the same before your highness. Alnwick. *Signed:* Claud Hamilton.

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

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1580.
Oct. 31.

619. BISHOP OF GLASGOW TO [ ].

C.P., vol. XI.

Copy of a letter sent to Rome by the Bishop of Glasgow, dated the last of October, 1580.

[*In the margin*] The name of him to whom it was sent is in cipher.

Sir, the doubt that I have lest so good a commencement of affairs should be destroyed by lack of diligence, makes me write to you as often as I do. That which I wrote to you last of the boarding of our vessels, as well as of the men of the Queen of England who were lost, is perfectly true. On that account it is question more than ever of using diligence in sending advice of the whole into Spain, and let me know, if you please, by the first commodity how much and what assistance has been resolved for [the Grand Master of] Malta.

Touching the Bishop of Ross, I assure you that he never knew anything of our affairs—at least through me; for having seen him for a long time incur rather great expenditure, and not knowing from where he could receive such means, I do not doubt that he receives some provisions from England.

As for the Princes, our friends of this Court, I cannot make them condescend to undertake anything for our affairs, as much for being enveloped in many domestic affairs as for the opinion that they have that our enterprise is to bring our Queen to slaughter, alleging for it the hazard that she passed when the Duke of Norfolk wished to levy arms, and have never been able to make them understand that when the said Queen comes to die, the difficulties will then be greater in which Queen Elizabeth will find herself fallen by reason of many other competitors greatly to be feared, so much that it is necessary that his holiness should write to them of it again, and to those who are far seeing. They remit themselves to the time, when to govern themselves better they say that it would be necessary that our Prince escapes from Scotland before undertaking anything, forasmuch as then his surety would secure that of his mother, that the Catholic party would further raise their head in England, and that even becoming Catholic, he would soon be aided by all the Christian Princes, as they have promised for the most part to his holiness, assuring himself by this means of both one and the other crown.

I do not know what advice they have, but they are very pronounced (?) in their opinions, as much from the above fact, which they still say is necessary before such a retreat of our Prince, which they desire very much, that Ireland be in Catholic possession. And, perhaps, during such lengths of time some misfortune would befall us which would upset everything.

His Catholic majesty, certainly moved by good zeal made offer to give for the maintenance of our Prince every year as much as all the revenues of Scotland can amount to, the charges deducted, to be his part when he would be willing, making himself a Catholic and withdrawing himself from the place where he is. And although I judge that this would be the greatest good which could happen to us, the Sieur D'Aubigny knowing that the Earl of Morton has 600,000 crowns of ready money, by means of which he will move all the country, cannot also resolve upon it, wherefore I have been anxious to advertise you to advise his holiness of it.

Elizabeth.
1580.

Were it to happen that there was occasion for such an escape, the estate is closed and hindered from the form in which the country ought to remain, which is such, according to the advice of all our friends, as you will see afterwards.

In the north country will be left the Earl of Huntly and the Lord Adam Gordon his uncle to govern everything. In the south part the Sieur D'Aubigny and Lord Montgomery making excursions into places which will be needed, and aiding themselves by the counsel of Lords Gray, Herries, Maxwell, and the Laird of Farnyhurst.

In the country of Galloway remains the Laird of Lochinvar at the fore, being advised to put in surety the Castle of Edinburgh and the port of Dumbarton.

The Sieur D'Aubigny still finds an extremely difficult case in the event of the Prince becoming Catholic, from the opinion that would seize upon all those who hold church demesne, of which you will inform his holiness, not knowing however whether they would be content to leave them half the revenue therefrom during their lives, if they would be content with that, and of this advertise also his holiness, especially since he is of opinion, as he may be, that the Prince immediately his departure has taken place would change his religion.

Procure, if you please, with all diligence that money may be sent to Father Saunders, and give the inclosed to the bishop of Dunblain, if he has not left.

Moreover, if [the Grand Master of] Malta can go to Ireland, since thus it is necessary that his Catholic majesty should defend all the Mediterranean Sea, I am assured that Rome will one day find itself even in England.

2¼ *pp.* *French.* *Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 110. Another copy of the same.

Cott. Titus, C. VII., fol. 32. Another copy of the same.

Nov. 7. **620.** MESSAGE FROM ELIZABETH TO ALEXANDER HUME.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 111. "To be sayd to the Ambassador of Scotland, Alexander Hume, by the Lord Treasurer of England and Mr. Secr. Walsyngham."

Cause of his sending.—That although he himself may easily conceive what the cause is that her majesty forbears to admit him to her speech or presence, yet she thought it not unmeet to let him know by her Treasurer some part of the causes that moved her thereto.

Her majesty does not mislike of his person or quality, having had proof of his integrity heretofore, as well by his profession of the true religion as for his fidelity to his native country and to the young King, his sovereign, and to the furtherance of the amity, with allowance of her benefits in delivering Scotland from foreign force and tyranny of the pope, who otherwise had exercised his power tyrannously upon their bodies and souls, the remembrance whereof were not needful if there were not manifest cause given her from the King [of Scots] and his counsellors to think that the same are either forgotten or not

* S.P. Scotland, Eliz., vol. 28, No. 100.

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1580. esteemed. Hereupon her majesty conceives just cause, until she may have better satisfaction, not to admit, as in former times she has most willingly done, this gentleman coming, as is alleged, from the King, in whom she has of late found so small regard of her good meaning and princely and motherly care of him, that she knows not what to think thereof without grief, for love she bears him, and offence—yea almost indignation—for the misusage of her in her late message to him. If it were not for his young years her majesty should enter into a further offence even towards himself, and would turn all her former causes of her kindness and liberality into unkindness and hardness. But she is contented to divide the imputation of the late offence committed partly to the King, but most of all to some new counsellors, who lately have gotten the possession of his body and mind from his best friends and counsellors, who have made proof of their fidelity by long hazard of their lives.

Particular causes of refusal.—Considering her majesty has of late found the King and his Council, by whom he is now newly possessed, to refuse to hear her ambassador declare his message, and therewith to use frivolous exceptions to his authority, requiring sight of his instructions, being matters always as sacred to the ambassadors themselves, therefore, at present, her majesty thinks it also meet to answer this indignity showed her without cause, by requiring, upon this just cause, what authority he has to come hither at this time? and so he [Burghley] requires him to show the same, and also to show what he has committed to him in writing to be declared to the Queen of England; which he, her Treasurer, accompanied with her Principal Secretary, has authority to demand; and if he shall refuse to do so, then it shall be said that her majesty is thereof to be advertised, and he thereupon to receive her pleasure.

If he shall show his coming to be to satisfy her majesty for her offence, it shall be said, that before his answer can be accepted, it must be accorded by him what he takes to be the particular things he has authority to answer, and so he is to be urged to express them; which, if he shall not amply do, he is to hear some of the same particularly.

The last offence which her majesty has conceived has many parts in it. First, refusal to hear her ambassador declare his message in sort to him limited, and that at sundry times. Secondly, exacting from him what authority he had, whether he was an ambassador or not. Next, exacting to see all his writings.

This was meant for the King's own good and for avoiding the dangers seen by her majesty and not by him; and such were the dangers, by cunning and craft devised, and plots, that the only mean to avoid them was to have accepted her message. Without that means there was no hope to remedy them; although it is likely that her offer has in some part retarded, or at least covered the danger more secretly. Though these late offences are of themselves over great to be suffered amongst friends without some notable amends, yet surely her majesty has found in these very late years—comprehending the same within the time of Monsieur D'Aubigny, being a Frenchman born and married into a French stock, both Papists by profession, yea he a person who is by his faction reputed next heir to the King, a circumstance of more weight in Scotland, by examples past, than in any

Elizabeth.
1580. other Christian country—many strange acts done, dangerous to the religion, directly repugnant to covenants passed betwixt her majesty and the King, and wholly contrary to maintenance of love betwixt the subjects of both realms, especially on both the Borders.

Notes of special matters.--The revocation of the estate of Charles, Earl of Lennox. The granting of the same to Monsieur D'Aubigny before any proof of his service. Misorders on the Borders maintained by him. Delay of reformations manifestly wrought by him. Exaltation of him after the King, knowing her majesty's misliking of him.

3 *pp. Draft in Burghley's hand.*

Nov. 8. **621.** [ ] TO THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW.

C.P., vol. XI. Copy of a letter sent to the Bishop of Glasgow, Ambassador in France for the Queen of Scots, dated the 8th of November, 1580.

My lord, I presented these days past to his holiness and also to the ambassador of Spain your letters and memorials together with those of Monsieur D'Aubigny, on which we found ourselves in the palace of his reverence of Ferrara in company with the said ambassador, together with monseigneur the Grand Commander of St. Giles, where there was treated what follows:—

His reverence of Ferrara made in the first place, a protestation in the name of his holiness of the entire devotion, if he has to achieve a work so holy which he has commenced, that will never be retarded by anything that may be in his power, wishing that henceforth they call our affairs the sacred expedition.

Cordially begged, that Father Sanders may not be in any wise hazarded, but preserved, as if it were himself, sending him by the first opportunity a coadjutor and money; and was then charged to write to Ireland not to risk anything until they had received new assistance.

That he shall send at the first commodity new forces, awaiting more certain resolutions of the Catholic King, who however will be advertised by his ambassador, to hold in readiness the Biscayan ships that he has promised; likewise to cause Ballota a Breton merchant to furnish the eight thousand crowns destined for the victuals and munitions.

That it was not possible yet that his holiness should be able to make greater demonstration of his goodwill, as also it was necessary to believe that the Apostolic arm would not alone serve to carry the burden of this war. So that his Catholic majesty was begged by him very affectionately to establish as soon as possible the pretended league, especially as already following what had been ordained his own people taken refuge and were fortified in Ireland.

To which the ambassador of Spain has made reply that according to what has already been agreed his master would not fail to behave well in a thing in which he had much more interest than his holiness; but that the affairs of Portugal and of Flanders kept him still so much occupied, that he was confined to much less than he wished to do, even in contemplation of the new levy of the Duke of

Elizabeth.
1580. Alençon; that in the Council of Spain it had been agreed and found good not to attempt anything nor to move on a large scale before first they had the means to secure good lodgment in Ireland, of which one was obliged to have a strong good hope as well by reason of the good commencement that had already taken place there as also in pursuance of the promises of his highness the Grand Master of Malta.

That it was not yet necessary that the treaty of the said Grand Master should be made known, his holiness fearing that the prudence of the Queen of England would work unitedly to trouble their enterprise.

The abovesaid grand Commander of St. Giles presented then a letter from his serene great Master.

Copy of the said letter.

Our very dear and very beloved, following the memorial that you sent the other day as much of the intentions of his holiness as of his Catholic majesty, having communicated the whole to those that the consequence of the affair has hitherto permitted, we have found in the first place, and such is our belief, that our hearts, our forces, and our lives being employed for the war in Ireland, it will be less to watch and work for the universal church and the Christian religion to which we are obliged before God and man, than to remain here in this island to resist the Turkish invasion. Recognising in all humility our holy father as our chief and his Catholic majesty lord sovereign of our isle, and the right arm of our force and defence, for that reason we should never fail to obey them in all that shall be enjoined upon us.

We thank them very humbly with all sincerity of heart for the protection that it has pleased them to give our holy College, for certainly without the Spanish force we should very soon be swallowed up by the barbarians.

We protest however in all reverence to their sovereign highnesses, that our companions nourished in this hot climate here, replenished with all commodities for human life, would find themselves perhaps too grieved and injured by being forced to live in Ireland, a cold wet country and not otherwise fertile.

So much that instead of drawing divers nations to this war by the devise of our said companions, with the assistance of the high consideration of their sovereign highness, there would happen to the contrary a general discontent and revolt against such a deliberation, so much that under better advice it seems to us that it will be enough for a commencement, in the best season of next year, to send there those of ours whom we shall judge most fit to bear the incommodities of war, their charges being distributed, as their sovereign highnesses shall judge.

We would point out again with all Christian subjection, that our armaments accustomed to be employed with our galleys will not be so fitting to the "round ships" (vaisseaux rondes) as needs must. And because according to what has been proposed before, having regard to the goodness of the English ships, will it please his Catholic majesty to make provision with all diligence for the workmen of that same nation, even that following the course of the enterprise, the Turk being hindered besides with new beginnings from being able

Elizabeth. 1580. for a long time to unravel his affairs on the coast of the Levant, his majesty can easily understand that it is necessary for him to reduce the most part of the expense of the galleys that he may spend it on that of round vessels and ships well unshackled (estraffis).

His reverence of Ferrara said then that his holiness had greatly approved of the above, and thereupon assured the ambassador of Spain that the Lord Taxis who was going to reside in France had plenty of money for the abovesaid workmen, the Laird of Fernyhurst being charged with their conduct, and that for the rest he would make it all more fully known to the King his master.

3 *pp. French. Indorsed:* "Copie d'une lettre mandee a l'evesgue de Glasco [*etc.*], du 8^{me} de Novembre 1580."

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 113. Another copy of the same.

Nov. 21. **622.** COUNCIL IN THE NORTH.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 592. *Commission by Queen Elizabeth appointing the Council in the North, with instructions for Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, President, and all named to be of the said Council.*

27 *pp. Copy.*

Nov. 22. **623.** ALEXANDER HUME'S CREDIT.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 114, b. "The summe of my credith, deliveret to your majestie at Richemont the 22th. of Novembr. 1580."

Whereas her servant Robert Bowes lately directed to the King of Scots to give him intelligence of some mischiefs and inconveniences likely to fall out in Scotland, together with her advice towards preventing the danger, after delivery of his letters, was required most affectionately by his majesty to specify to him the said mischiefs and inconveniences and her advice how the same might be prevented, offering to hear him by himself or in Council, he refused to do so unless his majesty's dear cousin, the Earl of Lennox, was first removed from the Council, pretending her special command. Whereupon, the King and Council finding it somewhat strange that any such desire should proceed from her before he should be charged and heard upon his own purgation, took occasion to write to her, earnestly requiring that this delay might be amended. Which letters being presented to Mr. Bowes to be sent to her, he refused to be the mean except he were made privy to the contents thereof, affirming that he would cause nothing to be carried that tended to his accusation. Thus the King's letter staying, and he remaining still at Court nearly a month, had access and conference of his majesty when he pleased. At last he departed, neither communicating to his highness the said mischiefs nor that which was thought fit by her for the prevention thereof. The King has taken occasion thereupon to direct him to her to notify the same and to require her earnestly to let the King understand her information touching the said mischiefs and inconveniences, and of whom she has received the same, together with her best advice touching the mean whereby the dangerous effects thereof may be avoided, assuring her that if by any good and sufficient

* With a copy of the document immediately preceding.

Elizabeth.
1580. proof it shall appear that either the Earl of Lennox or any other his highness' subject have attempted anything prejudicial to the Christian and reformed religion or against their royal persons and estates, and the amity betwixt their majesties, or to the disquieting of the peaceable state of her dominions, they shall retain neither place of honour, credit nor favour with his majesty, but receive the due punishment that such disloyal and treasonable dealing rightly merits. Herein he is commanded earnestly to insist with her to be plain in this point with the King as she tenders the standing and welfare of both of them.

Because the disordered people inhabiting the Borders foreanent England continue still in the unquieting of the good subjects of both the realms, whereby his highness' Wardens finding it difficult to make them answerable for making of redress, far less to punish them by justice, the King, by advice of his Council, has resolved to direct some noblemen of his Privy Council to the Borders with sufficient forces for the better forth setting of justice and punishment of the offenders. But, because at such times as they are "extremelie put at," they always have some hope to find "resset" for them, their families, and goods in England, therefore requires her that all her Wardens may be commanded not only to make strait proclamations that none of the disobedient subjects of Scotland nor their goods be received in England, but also that her Wardens be "instructit" with her forces within the several bounds, together with some soldiers of Berwick and some horsemen to be allowed to Lord Scrope to assist the said noblemen of his Council, whereby the better redress may be made for bygone attempts done against the peace and the greater quietness observed in time coming, and that the Wardens may be commanded to certify the King of Scots what shall be assuredly looked for at their hands in this behalf.

Requests that her majesty will have due consideration for the great hardships and calamities sustained by the merchants and mariners of Scotland at the hands of English pirates. Namely, to grant some restitution for the spoil and piracy committed in June last on two ships of Dundee and St. Johnstone by an English barque called *the George*, whereof one Mr. Moyle, of Trent, was captain, having with him five soldiers of Berwick and others, the "laiding" whereof, amounting to 10,000*l.* sterling, and intromitted with by the said pirates, was sent to "Dorschyre" as lawful prize.

Requests express command to Sir John Foster to deliver "Ekkie" Turnebull, a wicked and unworthy man to live, and standing his highness rebel, as fugitive for a vile and shameful murder committed by him, who is received and maintained within his bounds, to the Warden of the Middle March of Scotland.

2¾ *pp.* *Copy.*

Nov. 22. **624.** MESSAGE BY THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND TO ALEXANDER HUME.

"Postils made to the heades of the message propounded by Mr. Alexander Hume."

(1) The Queen of England, notwithstanding anything that has been declared by the said Hume in excuse of the denial made of the

Elizabeth.
1580. said request, sees no cause but to think the same grounded on more reason than the King's denial, especially considering that the end of the said demands tended only to his benefit and safety, and appeals to all men of judgment who know what appertains to honour, whether a Prince of her deserving towards a King and State has been thankfully dealt withal, or whether any Prince receiving admonition from one who has made apparent to the world the singular care she has always had for his preservation, would in such slender sort have weighed the same as to carry more respect to a King being inferior in quality and desert, than to a Prince of her state and calling, or his own safety, not knowing how dangerously the matter directed to be revealed to him might have reached to his person.

(2) The strange usage of her servant, by asking in what quality he came, what direction he had touching the request proponed, and whether the same were by writing signed by her majesty, with demand to see it—a manner of proceeding not usual towards the ministers of Princes who stand in good terms of amity—and the refusal of her request gave him just cause to deny the sending of the letters without sight of the contents thereof.

(3) The request for appointing commissioners grew first from the King, and was allowed by the Queen of England, for that she saw it very apt to work a final end of all former grievances, and to set a perfect order for prevention of all inconveniences for the time to come, and therefore was sorry that the intended meetings, disappointed by the King, did not take place; without which it is to be feared that the ordinary meetings of the Wardens will not work the effect desired; yet order shall be given for the timely renewing and due observation of the meetings on behalf of the Queen of England's Wardens.

(4) As particular plaints shall be exhibited there shall be as good order taken for their satisfaction as by justice can be devised; wherein, to the Queen's knowledge, there has been hitherto no fault justly to be found, and in case any slackness has been used in administration of justice for their behoof, it shall be redressed. In case like delivery be made by the opposite Wardens of Scotland, the Queen will give that order therein as shall be agreeable with justice.

2 *pp. Draft. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 114. Copy of the same.

Nov. 26. **625.** JAMES VI. TO ROBERT BOWES.

The bearer hereof, Mr. Robert Danielstoun, our procurator fiscal, being desirous to visit the Court of England and do some other his own affairs in that country, we have, therefore, thought expedient to recommend him heartily to you, and to pray you to give him your sure and free pass toward London, "be the quhilk in his cuming, remaning and departing he may have favorable and reddye passage but hurt or dainger in his body and guidis," with the honest and good entertainment which we doubt not his estate and good behaviour shall always worthily deserve. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1580. Nov. 27. C.P., vol. XI.

626. SHREWSBURY TO LEICESTER.

Perceives by his servant his noble goodwill towards him, and how willing and ready he is to further any cause of his. His goodwill to him and his is such many ways that he wishes it more lying in him otherwise to requite it. Requests his help for the diet money. Has presumed to write once to the Queen of England, yet it is delayed, by what means he knows not. Surely it grieves him not a little that his true, painful, and faithful service is so little thought of, for if it had, this diet money had not been stayed, but he had found her majesty bountiful to him, which she shows so graciously to the meanest that serves her. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 28. C.P., vol. XI.

627. SHREWSBURY TO BURGHLEY.

Received his letter of the 23rd instant on the 27th, at night, whereby he gives him understanding, as from the Queen of England, that one Marten, his attendant, is a busier dealer some way than is fit, and, considering his charge, that he should take order for removing of him with speed; which was not long in doing. This much he must say of the gentleman, that he has showed great care of his duty to the Queen of England, and also professed great love and took great pains about him when he has been troubled with the gout; at whose hands he has been eased most when he had grief, which has not been this half year. Yet when he had it last, perceiving some love entering betwixt him and Jane Kenyte, the Scottish Queen's woman, he called him before him and told him the peril thereof, and he swore to him on a book he would have no further dealing with her therein; yet he never trusted him so well but he had good spial over him of his dealings in his house, and so was contented to give him leave to be all this summer from him, and at his return again, before he would grant him to continue in his house, he called him and her face to face to know what assurance of goodwill was betwixt them. They vowed there was no assurance betwixt them and openly acquitted each other, and since, for anything he knows or by spial can learn, he has performed it for his part. Because it was a matter of so small moment he thought it not good to have any further ado therein, and if he had not preceived he had given over his folly he should not have tarried with him, so his trust is her majesty will think of him, whatsoever his enemies give out, for he knows he is envied for doing his true service to her majesty. Cares neither for secret enemy at home nor for any enemy elsewhere, and his doings shall be such in her majesty's service that he wishes daily she might behold the same, and surely no earthly thing can give him that comfort as to be in her presence to acknowledge his duty. Desires him to utter to her that his only trust and comfort is in her. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewesbury.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

[Nov.]

628. INSTRUCTIONS FOR HUNSDON.

Being doubtful that this late alteration happened in Scotland may bring forth some dangerous effects, unless the same may be met withal by some timely prevention, the Queen of England has, therefore,

Elizabeth.
1580. found it expedient to send him to Scotland to do his best endeavour for the stay of the same, and to the end that the King may be let know how she mistakes the said alteration, he shall let him understand that although she had received some foreknowledge of the alteration now happened, and of other effects likely to ensue thereby that do not yet appear, yet so greatly did she believe in his promises contained in sundry of his letters, the great assurance given her by his minister and the frequent report of her ministers in Scotland that nothing of importance should be altered without her privity, that she could by no means be induced to believe that any such alteration should have fallen out without her advice. As for the King's reasons alleged at such time as he was charged by Bowes with breach of his promise, is to show him that she does not find them of any such force as may in reason yield satisfaction either to her or to any other who shall judge of them without passion. Whereas the King alleges that the cause of this change proceeded upon the bruits given out that the Earl of Angus and certain other noblemen were to repair, in respect of private quarrel between themselves, to St. Andrews with forces, if upon the knowledge received that those bruits were false—as in truth they so fell out—the King had not proceeded to the demission of the said Earl, together with the Earl of Mar, not long after their arrival, then might the same have yielded just cause of satisfaction.

As for the allegation that he would be known to be a universal King and not to be led by nor addicted to any three Earls, he may show him that she found that speech very strange, considering that, as Bowes very well reminded him, she never bound him by advice to any particular counsel, party or person contrary to his own affection, but rather offered to him, upon some hints given out that he was held prisoner, that in case the Lords or any of the noblemen, councillors or company about him were offensive to him, or that he desired to have others with him for his better contentment, she would do her best endeavour to remove them and seek to call such to him as he should fancy, so far forth as might stand with his honour and safety, wherewith he seemed to rest greatly satisfied, and promised that he would not remove them without her privity. This falling out much contrary to her expectation gives her cause to think that others about him were not the best affected towards her; yet now, the King having more judgment, she is led to think that others' persuasions could not prevail so far as they have done if he stood as constantly and sincerely affected to her as he outwardly proposes, and therefore she grieved that she should be carried into so jealous a conceit of so near a neighbour and kinsman; and to make it more evidently appear to him that her jealousy is not grounded on slight conjectures, he is to let him further understand that, as the removing of the said two Earls from about the King gives her just cause to doubt how he stands affected to her; so when she looks upon the time and manner of proceeding, she cannot but judge that the same proceeds from lack of goodwill to embrace her friendship in the sound sort, as the same is offered by her, when such as are noted to stand best affected to her should be ordered to withdraw from about him. In this point he is to conclude with him, that whatsoever he protests, if his deeds shall not maintain his words, neither she nor any other can make any certainty of his friendship. If he yields her satisfaction as one who deserves the

Elizabeth.
1580. continuance of her former goodwill towards him, then he is to signify to him that whereas she understands that the particular quarrels between sundry of his subjects of best quality are like to breed some dangerous alteration in his government, and not without peril to his person, unless they be speedily accorded, she, therefore, without regard had to such just causes as are given her to withdraw all care for his well doing, being desirous that his realm may continue in peace, which can hardly fall out if the principal members of the same shall be carried into division, has thought good that he should offer on her behalf all offers of mediation that may best tend to the compounding of such difference as reign amongst them. As she is given to understand that there be great confederacies and very dangerous plots laid for the oppression and overthrow of the religion in both realms, for the accomplishment whereof, amongst other principal points, no one thing is thought so apt to effect the same as to breed a division and an interruption of the amity between their two crowns, as also particular alterations by stirring up of factions in either of their kingdoms, therefore it would behove her, not only for such reasons as ought to move wise and politic Princes to seek nothing more than the avoiding of evil dissension, and to maintain public peace in their realms, but also most chiefly for the love which she ought to bear to the maintenance and continuance of the Gospel, carefully to study how those malicious practices may be prevented, and that they may all concur together in common defence for the maintenance of religion. If the passions of certain particular persons transported through ambition or won by corruption shall seek to impeach this Christian and necessary consideration, it will behove her with all severity to correct all such impeachers, and to join in common defence, as the conservation of her religion and State necessarily require.

If he finds the King not willing that she should in any sort intermeddle in compounding the feuds, whereby it shall appear to him that he is no way disposed to embrace and continue in friendship with her nor to follow her advice, as he has heretofore protested, but shall rather have a disposition to run some other course, then he is to do his best endeavour to procure some party in Scotland who may oppose themselves to those who seek the overthrow of the religion and the interruption of the amity, and in case he finds they will be able to make good head against the ill affected there, then he is to comfort them by assuring them they shall want no backing or assistance that she can yield, in case for the King's good and the maintenance of religion they shall seek to remove from about him such as through ambition, corruption, and particular revenge will seek to carry him into such a course as in the end cannot but work his overthrow and alteration of the religion they professed. For the better strengthening of the party which he shall find well satisfied, she thinks it meet that he should by some such good mean as by conference with Bowes shall be thought most apt for the purpose, seek to draw to her devotion such of the adverse party as for their wit, credit, and courage may be thought worthy the recovery. For which purpose she can be content to be at some charges, after she learns from him that the winning of them may answer such charges as she shall be at for the same. If he gives ear to this her advice, then he may take an apt occasion to put

Elizabeth. 1580. him in mind of the league that was propounded by his ministers. If he shows any desire to proceed in the same, he is to let him understand that she means, upon knowledge thereof, to depute some commissioners to join with him [Hunsdon] in the said treaty at some such time and place as hereafter may be agreed on between them.

9 *pp. Draft. Many corrections. Indorsed:* "Draught of Instructyon for the Lord Hunsdon, 1580."

[Nov.] **629.** ADDITIONS TO HUNSDON'S INSTRUCTIONS.

"Her Majesties addytyons to the instructyons."

(1) The care to put the King in remembrance that the Earl of Morton took upon him the regency through her persuasion, who, otherwise, seeing what befel those who supplied the place before him, would not have accepted the charge, and therefore it is a great wrong done to her to have her committed, and she not to be made acquainted with the cause, having deserved so well at the King's hands, and she esteems her honour to be greatly touched thereby; the rather so far that the King promised her not long since that he would forbear to proceed to any alteration in his estate without her counsel. Which falling out otherwise, she cannot but repute it a plain contempt.

(2) Whereas he is directed by his instructions to charge the King with undutiful dealing, for that the Earl of Morton is charged—as a matter offensive to that State—with secret conference with her in December last, he is to do that as of himself, taking no knowledge that the Queen of England had any advertisement thereof, for that if she had had any such advertisement she could not in honour but esteem him a defiance. He will do well to let them understand that if they do not deal more kindly with her than of late they have done, order will be taken by this Parliament to cut off the expectation he may have of this crown.

2 *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

Dec. 1. **630.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Has received his late letters sent by Alexander Hume, and also understood by him what he had to say in excuse as well of a denial made to Robert Bowes of a most reasonable request propounded to him in her name in a matter tending only to his good and safety, as also of some other points concerning the Borders and spoils committed by pirates, informed to be her subjects, on certain subjects of Scotland. How little satisfaction she has received by what he has declared to her from him in excuse of the said denial, and how greatly she thinks her honour touched by the strange usage of Bowes, and also what answer she has made touching the other points propounded by him, he shall understand by him and by the "postills" * made to the heads of his message, signed by one of her secretaries. Notwithstanding, if due reparation of her honour shall be made her, she can be content not only to put those late unkind offices received at his hands quite out of her remembrance, but also extend the continuance of her honourable and princely care over him to the further benefiting

* No. 623.

Elizabeth.
1580. of his State and crown, in some like respects as were moved by Dunfermline at his being here. "Geven under our Signet." Richmond.

Postscript.—After she had thus ended this letter Hume gave her to understand that to have the continuance of her favour he would make her acquainted with his greater matters, and will be ordered by her advice. If he will do so, and on due reparation of her honour—whereof she expects to hear—then can she be content not to impute to him the matter of these unkind offices, but will extend and continue her care over him.

1 *p.* *Broadsheet. Copy. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Another minute of the same, without the postscript.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 116. Another copy of the same.

Dec. 7. **631.** NOBILITY OF SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 116, b. Earls.—Lennox, March, Atholl, Angus, Morton, Montrose, Sutherland, Rothes, Mar, Glencairn, and Erroll.

Lords.—Ruthven, Hume, Lindsay, Cathcart, Robert Stewart, Innermeith, Herries, Maxwell, and Oliphant.

Bishops.—Orkney, Murray, and Brechin.

Abbots.—Dunfermline, Newbottel, Jedburgh, St. Combe's Inch, Lindores ["Lundaryf"], Balmerino, Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, Inchaffray, Coldingham, Pluscarden, Blantyre, and Kilwinning.

The Lord Oliphant is "by vard of Counsell put in the King's will."

The Earls of Angus and Morton are thoroughly agreed.

Lords Maxwell and Herries and the Laird of Lochinvar have taken in hand to pacify the West Marches, and to make the inhabitants thereof obedient and answerable to the laws of Scotland and England.

The Laird of Cesford joined with Lords Maxwell and Herries, with the support of Lord Hume, to pacify Liddisdale and Tiviedale.

The Earls of Lennox and Mar are agreed and [have] shaken hands before the King for all debates between them, and especially for the breaking up of the Earl of Mar's chamber door.

The Earls of Angus, Morton, and Mar, and many of the nobility have ridden home, except these following:—the Earls of Lennox, Montrose, Glencairn, March, Erroll, and Sutherland; Lords Herries, Maxwell, Ruthven, and Cathcart.

The gentlemen of the King's chamber have given their oaths for faithful service; and every eight serve two months. In the first quarter these that follow serve;—the Masters of Marishal, Lindsay, and Cassillis, the Laird of Cowdenknowes, the Master of Ogilvy, the Prior of Coldingham, the Laird of Bargany, and George Douglas of Lochleven.

Note in the margin.—These noble and others abovesaid were at this last Convention.

1 *p.* *Copy in the hand* (of Burghley's clerk).

Elizabeth.
1580. Dec. 21.

632. THE LAIRD OF BARNBOGLE TO WALSINGHAM.

"Ples your honnour wisdome, with my humbill commandecionis off sairvecis." Having the commodity by some of our countrymen passing towards London, I write these few lines giving your honour most hearty and humble thanks for your goodwill shown to my son. "Ze var glad to du my plesure as als I resaifit be your honnour moar commodete yane ever I resaifit fre ony in my lyf tym, saiffare my maistres ye queenis majeste off off [*sic*] Scotland." I pray God I may have the occasion that I may let your honour know that you have a man to do your honour service and pleasure to the "utermost off lyff." My master the King's majesty is in good health, thanks to God; and this I will assure your honour on my conscience, "lat brat com as pleises men to report," the Queen's majesty of England shall find nothing with the King's majesty but to keep peace as her highness would wish. God willing, I shall follow your counsel you gave me at my departing, if your "wisdomis honnour" thinks good to move the Queen's majesty to send an ambassador to my master, the King's majesty; "for as quhan as hyr majeste spaik with me, hyr majeste fand gret fault yat hyr majiste imbassador was not resaifit." Now I will assure your honour he will be thankfully received, "and the quenn's maeiste woll think hyr hynes travell well waret." If an ambassador comes your honour shall see and have some taste and experience of what your goodwill has done. Barnbougall. *Signed:* Barnebowgall.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address:* "To his spetiall gud frend and lord my lord secretar Velsyngeim in Lundun this be delyverit."

Dec. 28.

633. ALEXANDER HAY TO WALSINGHAM.

This gentleman, Mr. Robert Danielstoun, having a desire to visit France, is recommended by the King of Scots for his passage. Requests his favour for his expedition, with such hackneys as shall be "testeful" to be brought by him from Scotland. Holyrood House. *Signed:* S. Hay.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

634. L'ABBADIA TO MARY.

C.P. vol. XI.

I presented your letter to him and let him understand my legation according to the charge which your majesty had given me; who told me that he would always be at your devotion, and all that depended on him, giving me, nevertheless, poor hope, making show the Catholic King had brought to his devotion the chief of the country, and that the rest would be easy to him as being discontented, which makes me think he is of the number, as formerly I had known.

I shall often let your majesty understand the news. I visited Monsieur de "24" and Madame La ——* at Dallerid, where they are with the governors, to whom I have given your letters and let them understand verbally the charge that I had. They have taken very great pleasure and make you

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1580. answer as you will see by their letters which I send you, of which Madame La ——* told me she would give you ample resolution for her part upon what had passed between the Sieur Don Rodriques de Lancraste and——, and that there was not need to write these things by various letters—not that anyone distrusted me, and told me particularly that they were and would always be at your devotion.

The Duke of Braganza has given me a book which he has had printed concerning the right of pretenders, which I send you. By which you will see the estate which they make of yours; to which it is sufficient to answer. They expect much that justice should remain to them. I make them much esteem yours (*i.e.* your justice). I do not find at all that in the people there is much inclination to the devotion of the said seigneur; forces he has none, except his subjects.

I will always entertain them with the object of finding out their intention.

All the lords to whom your majesty wrote are retired to their houses. When I see them I will present your letters, although there is a party of them of the party of P. Touching the Sieur Don Antonio, I have visited him at St. Arin, where he has retired, of whom pursuit is made to cause revoke the sentence which was given against him by the late King Henry, and sue for justice in respect of his recognition); the judges of which are the pope's nuncio and the archbishop of ——* and praying that there shall soon be an end to the delay. I have presented to him the letter which your majesty wrote him, and let him understand particularly your goodwill in his behalf; which I have not found less affectionate to you; and being communicated more particularly with him, he has let me understand his intention; which is to have the right to put himself altogether in your hands to do your will therein, not desiring to displease you in anything. I might have made such accord with him as I might have wished, but having found him in this wish, it seems to me to be necessary to remit the affair to yonr majesty to order therein, inasmuch as he is despatching the consul express.

2½ *pp. French. Cipher deciphered. Indorsed:* "Anno 1580. Copie sent to the Q. mother by L' Abbadia, from Portugall. Cifre."

635. [ ] TO ELIZABETH.

C.P. vol. XI. If your royal majesty, O most clement Elizabeth, perchance wonders that I a foreigner and unknown have dared to address this my letter to so great a queen, I humbly ask you to be persuaded that I have been impelled to performing this duty by the piety towards God with which I am gifted, by the love which through the grace of the Holy Spirit I bear towards the Church of Christ, and by that regard with which I have ever followed your royal majesty. The things which I have lately heard and read, and which have compelled me to call on God for the safety both of your royal majesty and of the whole church in this kingdom, those things as becomes me, I leave to God for punishment, but the things which have come into my mind while I was calling upon God, and examining the causes of evils, those

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1580. I cannot dissimulate without the greatest guilt: not because your royal majesty has need of the knowledge of them, but because I am not ignorant of what God requires of me. I will state in a few words what that is. What happened to Saul, king of Israel, because he did not slay Agag, king of the Amalecites, as the Lord had commanded him, your royal majesty knows from i. Sam. 15. God has set up kings and gives them his sword into their hand, not that they may use it each according to his judgment but according to the command of God: nor does he wish that kings constituted by him should either be more merciful than God himself or fear men more than God himself, but he wishes them simply to obey him, because he knows even better what is good for us than all the wise men of the world can know. Let your royal majesty see to it, therefore, lest while you wish to spare those who are worthy of death, you destroy both yourself and your people, who are worthy of life: and lest while you wish to gain a good name for mercy, you gain a bad name by neglecting the duty of justice. A serpent in the bosom can assuredly be for the good of none, save perhaps for other serpents, but exceedingly ruinous to him that bears it: and clemency towards the guilty is often cruelty towards the innocent. The throne on which your royal majesty sits is the throne of God: nor does Elizabeth sit there in her own name, but in the name of God. She ought therefore to pronounce and act from thence as she knows God would pronounce and act if he sat there. Nor is there need of long deliberation there where the will and counsel of God is manifest. Why is the faith of Abraham so much praised? Because it was joined with obedience: so that when he received the command of God concerning the slaying of his only son whom he loved, even Isaac, at once without disputing he seized a sword and girded himself to sacrifice him. To punish indeed adulterers, paracides, blasphemers and traitors, enemies of God and the church: do not the prophets call sacrifices most pleasing to God? That word too of the prophet: "Ye know not neither do ye consider that it is good for you that one man should die for the people and that the whole nation perish not." John did not reject but commended as having proceeded as it were from a spirit not human but prophetic. Let your royal majesty therefore weigh and also diligently consider whether it is good against the command of God to spare one worthy of many deaths to the distruction of the whole people, or rather by obeying the divine will, nature, and the laws of all nations to free both herself and her people and neighbours from great and manifest dangers, nay from open slaughter, and to consult the good of the whole church.

The Italians have a proverb, "homo mosto non fa guerra": only let him be understood as dead, not unjustly, but justly, and in accordance with the command of God, and the proverb is to be approved and not condemned. Nor does true clemency refuse to remove the guilty. Who among men is declared in his writings as more merciful than Moses? Yet he when he received the command of God about the punishment of crimes soon obeyed, so that he used the help of the Levites also to destroy the idolaters, even his own brothers; and slew three thousand men in one day. But what is more merciful than God? Yet he brought to the Cross his own son, in himself most innocent, only because he had received our sins upon himself that he

Elizabeth.
1580. might free us from them and the punishment owed for them. God therefore did not spare his own innocent son for the safety of the church, and will your royal majesty spare the very crimes to the ruin of the church and your own innocent people? But if your royal majesty wishes to use clemency, you have at home material worthy of it—God-fearing men, adorned with right reason and every virtue, and who deserve well of the church, upon whom you can and ought to exercise it with the greatest praise. I humbly implore you, most gracious aud noble queen, not to despise your own safety and that of your people and all your neighbours, nay, of the whole Church of Christ. How great is the ruin which is wont to follow upon the death of pious princes, examples from which we may learn are not far to seek.

Pious princes and kings must therefore the more diligently take care for their own safety, and it is our duty to intercede with the heavenly Father for their safety and long life, in proportion as their safety is necessary to the safety of the church. The love of Christ, the love of the church, the love and regard which I bestow upon your royal majesty have compelled me to work these things freely, so that had I not done what I have done, I would have erred most grievously and would have had a conscience always accusing and condemning me; and for this cause your majesty ought to take this my boldness in good part. Now having performed this duty I will ask the Lord Jesus to preserve your royal majesty and to turn and move you to those things which are pleasant to yourself and salutary to the church. Nor indeed ought your royal majesty to wonder that I have not signed my name. For I have omitted it partly because it was not expedient or necessary to express it; partly that your royal majesty may not be hindered by the cloud of my obscure name from looking more freely into the matter, and may be able to follow out as it were the revealed will of God. I am the servant of Jesus Christ, a child of sixty-six years, who have suffered not a few things for Christ but always with the highest joy of the spirit, ready, if he should will to honour me with such a gift, to pour forth my life and blood for him. and to offer, too, if he bids me, my six dear children. For to me to live is Christ; and to die, gain. *Signed:* "N."

1½ *pp. Latin. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

C.P., vol. XI. **636.** RELIGIOUS REFLECTIONS BY MARY.

He who desires that his work may not justly be mocked or reproached by anybody, ought, it seems to me, before all other respects, to make so good choice of the matter that he pretends to treat of, that one cannot say to him this advice which follows "let the shoemaker stick to his last," leaving the desire to treat of philosophy to the philosophers, of laws to the lawyers, to the poets to make songs enriched with fictions, metamorphosis, histories and profitable teachings, in short, giving thus place to each to give some testimony according to his vocation of that in which he is most versed and has profited. I have thought not to be able better to employ my time, ceasing from idleness, now that I have not the means to exercise the charge to which God has called me from the cradle, than to discover the diversity of afflictions and of the different events thereof; and for this

Elizabeth.
1580. enterprise none, methinks, would be able justly to reprove me, as being a subject so familiar to me, and of which I have as much experience as anyone of our age, especially of my quality, and from which at least the benevolent could draw matter to exercise their charity, accomplishing that commandment which is given us to weep with those that weep, principally when they shall come to consider in what difficulties we are daily subjected in our duty, for which also they will take occasion in times to come to return to God in order by orisons and devout prayers to withdraw His wrath from us. And the afflicted ones like me who will come to read this little discourse will see the examples of those who have suffered in like manner before them, and thereby will find that their remedy has always been to return to God, who will invite them to do so. But because there are several kinds of afflictions, some touching more nearly the spirit of man, the most noble part, and for this respect the most dangerous, the others less, which only belong to the body, I have determined to make no confusion to portray each sort of adversity by itself, commencing with the most grievous, from which there follows an unhappy end to those who, obstinate in their malice, and by that kept back from God, having been driven by it to bring about an evil end, despairing of themselves or not willing to acknowledge it and to amend; if we shall endeavour to draw always some other examples, as both from the Scriptures as from the ancient heathen, or great personages of modern times, and . . . then we shall discourse, on the other hand, of those who, being troubled with similar or any adversities, have received them as just and kindly chastisement from this good God and Father that they recognise to have so often grievously offended, and by this means tribulations have served to them as a furnace to prove their virtue . . . ,* and even to make those open their eyes, which were before blind, to know themselves and their faults, which is the commencement of all good, and the means to learn to despise this world and its vanities, in order to resign oneself entirely from everything below and to the good pleasure of their Creator, who in recompense has given them worldly and spiritual blessings, which are much better worth, and then we shall conclude with the grace of God.

However, following my previous protestation, I put in the first rank of adversities, for the greatest that man can have, the evil and guilty conscience, for that is a worm which always gnaws, and for good or happiness, whoever which may possess is vexed thereby, never has he repose nor can sleep in quiet without sudden start and suspicion witnessing the tyrant within and so many others, for, as Cicero said, conscience has a thousand witnesses. And by this pernicious pest Abimelech was brought to despair, even to cause himself to be killed by one of his men after having killed his brother, being only a little wounded by a dart that a woman let fall upon his head. Aschitofel, seeing his counsel not received, which he had falsely given against King David, hanged himself. Zimri, who as a traitor killed his King, at the end of seven days caused himself to be miserably burnt in the royal house; and worst of all Judas, was he not attacked by this misfortune when, throwing the 30 pieces of silver in the Temple, he cried out that he had betrayed the holy, just and innocent? But

* Illegible.

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1580. leaving the Bible, we see one Publicus Magnus amongst the heathens, who, having killed Marcius Marcelle, had such horror of the deed that he did as much to himself. Cataline seeing his conspiracy discovered, liked better to take his life than to suffer remorse; and amongst the moderns read P. Joune, and that which he said of the tyrant Poloninus, and which, I say, ambitious of honour, feeling themselves accused, despised, or suspected of any act against, or to the prejudice of, themselves, have so far forgotten themselves, and have so little hope in the justice of God, who at last delivers the innocent from all slander and forgives the sins of those who in humility turn to him according to the promise which he made us when he said, all you who are laden come to me and I will unburden you, that they, impatient of such misfortune, which truly is great, for even Our Lord showed himself careful of his reputation when he enquired of his disciples what the world said of him. They run into a greater misfortune who succeed to the prejudice of another and of himself, and by this means the devil that they think to chase away returns with seven other worse, as we see in the example of Cain, who, envious of the honour that his brother had received by the testimony that God rendered him, holding his sacrifice more agreeable than his own, instead of asking for his own, and by that recovering like grace, he was so carried away that he committed a crime truly worthy of a child, for he shed the blood of his brother, of which being rebuked by God, so careful of that, who always is ready to advise us in time to return to him, instead of acknowledging his fault refused to humble himself or to ask pardon, saying, "whosoever finds me will kill me," which God did not wish to permit him for his greater shame, with which it was necessary he should live for a long time in opprobrium with all the world. Oh heart, too superbly covetous of the shadow of honour, which in place thereof loses the true honour, this is, to do as the dog which holding a piece of meat in his mouth, which in the water seems to him greater, he lets it fall to run after its shadow, which is nothing!

Jeroboam also being reproved publicly by the prophet of his sin, such admonition seeming to dishonour him, committed a crime, instead of withdrawing his previous deeds, truly abominable, commanding that the holy man should be killed, not remembering that the true dishonour is to sin, and which ought to end, and being committed ought to be effaced by tears and penitence, which ought to be to us as a shadow. Herod, indeed, contending to conceal his villainous incest that St. John was publishing by his rebukes, was, at the persuasion of his unhappy and incestuous companion, induced to behead that holy and worthy prophet, but instead of evading he doubled his dishonour, for his sin was thereby publicly known, and by adding this sin he refused the grace and pardon of God, deprived of which he died miserably, and his name remains with us as an example of villainous and abominable life. The people of the Jews could not suffer [that in addressing a people, and that the peculiar and well beloved of God]*, to be reproved by St. Stephen, so they stoned him, procuring by this means their eternal ruin . . . †

Because for everything there is remedy, seeing that God says to us that if our sins were more red than scarlet he will render them whiter

* The words in square brackets are probably meant to be crossed out. † Illegible.

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1580. than snow, and to the innocent their glory will be greater if they bear the Cross patiently. And not to omit the heathen, I will speak of Scipio Africanus seeing himself wrongfully accused towards his country, wishing to evade the displeasure of seeing himself despised by his own, lost the name of magnanimous, giving himself to a voluntary exile, and incurred the blame, to the great prejudice of the republic, which for his honour he ought in no respect to have failed her in need, otherwise he did not know how to be called a good citizen, which is the most honourable title that man can gain save that of good Christian. Coriolanus fell into like error, and worse, because he from despair made himself an enemy of his country, to ruin which he came with a great army, when the women showed themselves more worthy citizens than he, who obscured by this impatience and diversity his previous praisworthy deeds. But, as I remember, for the heathen the deed is not so worthy of apprehension, I will speak to you of the Christians, and amongst others of one who has come to my memory for the love he had not long since. There was there one Pierre Desvignes, Chancellor of the Empire, a man of base conditions, but, nevertheless, of so good learning that he was for that found worthy of such charge, and, what is more, carried himself so well that the Emperor Frederic II., moved by his sufficiency and fidelity, gave him all credit and authority to do and undo what he willed in his Council, which moved (a common matter in the Courts of the great) such envy in the hearts of others that they falsely imposed letters and witnesses found and suborned, who accused him to the Emperor of having intelligence with Pope Innocent, his chief enemy, to whom they feigned that he had revealed his secrets and communicated his letters. The Emperor, very suddenly losing faith in him, turned cruel eyes on him, whereby the poor man felt himself despised by everyone and deprived of the honour that his fidelity had deserved, the want of which caused him so much pain that his good cause was thereby made a bad one, and being unable to live in such ill reputation he took his place where the Emperor entering the church could see him, and accused him of an imfamous dishonour by the name of murderer or deserter of himself, and knocking his head against a pillar in such sort that he killed himself on the spot. But what dare I put before your eyes, a noble and virtuous prince, and with whom I feel myself honoured to be a partner, who could not suffer a small dishonour in words, and discharge a blame and mark upon his illustrious name—an evil subject in the worst terms, that it would not be honest for me to repeat, but when at last he proceeded to avenge an injury then he destroyed his goods and his name.*

This is how it happens when we do not receive the afflictions and chastisements of God in humility and patience, whatsoever they may be. And not to be too long on so many different points we will speak of the act unworthy of a Christian, to whom only it is not permitted to murmur of the rods of God, except to think that he may have deserved them, and that there is neither crime nor dishonour but by amending and doing penance; for it can be effaced, as God tells us that if our sins were more red than scarlet, if they do not cling to us, he will render them whiter than snow, and if we are innocent our

* The French of this passage is vague.

Elizabeth.
1580. recompense therein will be greater and our glory more excellent from having patiently borne the Cross which is imposed upon us to increase our merit and put us to proof.

Oh, what misfortune we see every day that for this honour that men have forged in their heads, the wisest, most virtuous and greatest personages will lose the life and hazard the soul, and in consequence of a lie or words lightly spoken make no conscience, leaving the law of God apart as something strange, not only to seek their particular revenge but to turn upside down the states for such a small thing as a word which is only wind, and which he who has spoken it will willingly deny if on the other side that law an enemy of man and that of Jesus did not turn them from it! Alas! we shall have to answer for it one day, we who permit the prince of this world to rule as much over the flock that we have in such strict charge from the Heavenly Shepherd; God knows it, for I am for my part in great foreboding. But it is time now to speak of another point which in my opinion no less affects everybody of good disposition and who has any cause to think that God, as the good father of a family, has variously distributed these talents, that is to say, his graces, and who receives them and puts them to profit and returns them to the eternal hand of him who causes them to profit by receiving double hire and is put forth and called in the infinite law, as we are taught by the likeness of a rich man who, going into a far country, left to one of his servants three talents and to another one, *etc.* St. Matt. xxv., St. Luke xix., as says St. Peter, "All Scriptures are written for our learning."

As humility is the virtue most agreeable to God, that from which all others take root, increase, and perfection, so the proud heart is the source and augmentation af all unhappiness and sin. But, nevertheless, so must we be on our guard and consider in prudent judgment that to be able to avoid the one we ought not to engulf ourselves in the other, until we fall into the vile ditch of . . . enmity, a thing too contrary to generous spirits, such as they ought to be who by divine provision are called to wield the sceptre of royalty and authority over the people.

14½ *pp.* *French.* *Many erasures and alterations.*

C.P. vol. XI. **637.** PROCLAMATION BY ELIZABETH.

Whereas certain obstinate and irrepentant traitors after their notorious rebellions made against this their natural country have fled out of the same and have remained in foreign parts with a wilful determination to contrive all the mischiefs that they can imagine to impeach and subvert the universal peace, and have wasted their whole time for the prosecuting of their rooted malice by assembling themselves together in routs, with shows of conventicles, and condemning such of their former companions as have dutifully sought for mercy for their offences, and by combination with others of like disposition, being found as persons vagrant and wilful fugitives, seeking with them to excite by all kind of sinister means divers estates and governors abroad to mislike and enter into enmity against the Queen of England, her realm, and people, and that notwithstanding the same they say that they neither have [prevailed], nor could prevail, as they desired, by reason of the wisdom, honour, and grave consideration of the said

Elizabeth.
1580. persons of estate, whom they have much annoyed with their importune suits and clamours, and especially with their false, malicious, and traitorous suggestions and calumniations against the Queen of England; therefore being desperate of those their former travails and practices, and finding her majesty's amity is had in estimation by other great Princes and Estates, they are fallen into another crooked course of their malicious persecuting the happy estate of this country and government by choosing out certain shameless, spiteful and furious brains, having a trade in penning of infamous libels, not only in the English but also in the Latin and other strange languages, and by these means they have lately caused certain seditious books and libels to be compiled and printed, wherein their final intention appears to be to blaspheme, and, as it were, to accurse their native country with all manner of reproachful terms against the possible government thereof, condemning generally the whole policy of the present estate as having no religion or piety, no justice or order, no good ministers at all, either for divine or human causes, and yet to abuse such as are strayers to the estate they have glossed some of their late libelled books with arguments of discoveries of treasons intended by some special persons, being counsellors, against the Queen of England and the state of her crown and realm, with reproachful terms of most notorious false assertions to have them misliked by her majesty, contrary to the manifest deserts supposed by long and manifest experience which her majesty and all the rest of her good counsellors and her nobility and other the states of the realm have had and daily have of the said counsellors, who also are the more to be allowed by her majesty in that she sees and understands that the matters wherewith the libellers labour to charge the said counsellors are utterly false, as in like manner, generally, all other her counsellors, ministers, and subjects of understanding in every degree know the same to be. Wherefore her majesty having regard to be thankful to Almighty God for his protection, *etc.*, charges all manner of persons to destroy such books and libels for their manifest slanders and untruths, and that none willingly do bring into England or disperse or deliver to any other person, or keep any of the said books or libels, except the same person be a Councillor of her majesty or otherwise licensed to peruse and reprove them, upon pain to be punished as sowers of sedition and abettors to the treasons uttered in the same.

3¾ *pp. Draft in the hand of* (Burghley's clerk). *Many corrections in Burghley's hand.*

With the same—

(Notes by Burghley.)

"Seditiouss matters in the bookes."

That the government of the realm is without all religion, and that it is a Machiavelian State, and that there is no religion in the hearts of the rulers.

That a new religion is pretended to set up a lawless faction of Machiavelian libertines.

That in this government it is sure to slander, belie, forswear, accuse, corrupt, oppress, rob, invade, murder.

Elizabeth.
1580. That the Queen of Scots is undoubtedly next heir apparent to this crown; that she never gave any token of seeking the crown of England by style, by title, or by any other way.

The author protests that whatsoever term shall pass him in the treatise, he means not in anywise to prejudice any act, sentence or other thing done or declared by the see apostolic.

The Queen's subjects are free in conscience from obeying her, since she was excommunicated.

That the Queen of Scots is kept without being suffered to have necessary servants for surety of her person, and without money or meat to be sent her.

The Queen of England was induced against her own affection to alter any part of religion at her coming to her crown, and against the advice of her nobility she changed the religion of the realm. She was also persuaded to change all the Council and chief officers of the realm.

Slanderous and false.

That the Duke of Norfolk made all that were of the Privy Council privy to the marriage before any lest attempt thereof, besides many others of the nobility by whom he was moved and invited to attempt the same.

That when the Queen of England had spoken with him at Tichfield she had given order that he should the next night be taken in his bed by the guard and carried to the Tower.

He defends the rebellion in the north.

He "numbers" many causes reasonable thereof why the nobles in the north took arms. Whereof these are part. (1) Because they saw that the Queen had committed the government of the realm to some few mean persons, who used those few from the necessity that way reserved as captives. (2) Because they saw she was induced to alter the state of religion. (3) They saw all artisans of the realm oppressed to utter beggary by more than 40,000 strangers being the scum of all nations. (4) The Queen never married nor admitted any known successor. (5) When they saw many devices to the dispersion and destruction of the Queen of Scots. (6) When they saw that the Queen of England was, against all laws of nature, seduced to dispossess the Queen of Scotland. (7) When they saw that she contemned the persons and left the advice of her nobility who laboured the restitution of the Queen of Scots, and that all notable injuries and oppression done to such a desolate widow did not suffice to qualify the thirst for her destruction. (8) When the Duke of Norfolk and the other nobility for ten years and more saw the Queen's reputation touched, her security endangered, the treasure of the crown contemned, the people impoverished, their families and successors in peril of ruin thereupon, each lamenting to other the sequel, a plot was devised and resolved that two or three persons of mean condition should be removed. And this not taking effect, then the Queen was persuaded that the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with the Duke of Norfolk was intended to the Queen's derogation, and so he was committed to the Tower, and then letters [were] sent to call in the principal of the nobility in the north; who called such companies of their friends, servants, and tenants as might be able to defend them, and on the

Elizabeth.
1580. gathering of that multitude there followed that those nobles in the north.—[*Ends.*]

The Queen of England changed all the Council and chief officers of the realm.

The Queen was but a queen in name.

The Queen gave to a bastard in Scotland a larger pension than ever England gave to any.

She gave him 4000*l.* pension.

She contemned the service and advice of her nobility who laboured the restitution of the Queen of Scots.

Secret forces freely levied to take the nobles in the north by force.

There was no reasonable cause why the Duke [of Norfolk] should not have married the Scottish Queen; neither had the Queen of England any authority to let it.

It is no offence at all to convey away the Queen of Scots.

All the three Regents had pensions of England.

The treasons against the Queen.

To persuade her that it was her peril to keep herself free from marriage; to procure that she have no successor to her body to be her defence; to get her next heir into prison; to devise by a new law that there shall be no successor known judicially, which law is most pernicious to a prince; the known heir of the realm is laboured to be made not known.

The law makes no title clear, to the end the trial may come to the sword now there is no child, cousin nor heir so near to succeed her as the Queen of Scotland is to revenge any violence offered to her.

Particular lies and slanders against the Councillors of the Queen of England.

That they are of base degree, and the first gentlemen of the genealogy; they attempt to alter the succession of the crown by extinction of the line of King Henry in the Queen of England and of Henry's sister Queen Mary in the Scottish Queen and her children, and, consequently, later to set up a third line of Suffolk, with which they are allied and their children incorporated. If it cannot be brought to pass they will have the realm governed by a popular State. Whatsoever he shall improve in the State and government, he imputes the same only to those two; those two be jugglers, Catelines, Machiavelians, conspirators, traitors, and such like; they have little honesty, no conscience; these two contrived the death of David, the Queen of Scots' secretary, the murder of Lord Darnley, the imprisoning of the Scottish Queen, and her deprivation; these two have persuaded the Queen [of England] not to marry; they have stayed the establishing of a successor; the Duke of Norfolk was first invited by some of them to think of the marriage with the Queen of Scots; one of those induced the Queen of England to alter religion against the advice of her nobility, and against her own disposition; they be corrupt in all their judgments; the nobility attend at their doors; the Council sit in their houses; some of them were Catholic, then Lutherans, then Calvinists, then Puritans, now Mahiavelians, if not Anabaptists; they

Elizabeth.
1580. and their confederates have at their commandment all the officers of the realm, the ports, fortresses, treasure, armour, munition, and the navy; they have created almost anew half of the nobility of the realm.

Certain matters meet to be answered.

That we are base and ungrateful persons. He charges us with terms of conjurations and conspiracies; that we labour to defame and discredit the Queen's majesty of Scotland being heir apparent to the crown of England; to slander the Duke of Norfolk; to abuse the rest of the nobility presently apprehended.

He terms us "Captain Jugglers," charges us with words of "coosening," with practice to alter the succession of the crown by untimely extinguishing the two first lines, and to confirm by title of a third family the perpetual regiment of the crown to certain base persons.

That when the two first shall be weeded out for the third, it also shall be weeded out for another, and that fourth for a fifth, till none be left of the blood royal, and so the realm to be governed by a foreigner or popular State.

That a new religion was pretended to set up a lawless faction of Machiavelian libertines. No religion at all appears to rule in the hearts of the rulers.

That it is free in this regiment to slander, belie, forswear, accuse, corrupt, oppress, rob, invade, depose, imprison, murder.

The author promises first to answer accusations and to clear the crimes of the accused. Secondly, to give a taste of the treasons intended, yea in hand and hammering, and well set forward already. He proposes to set these forth more largely in another tongue.

He imputes to two persons specially whatsoever of importance has come forth, and to them only, in effect, are his process and speech meant.

He will hereafter more at large set down the truth of this story.

That he was not altogether a stranger to the first treaty of the marriage between the Queen of Scotland and the Duke of Norfolk.

"That a lye of a lyne is not easely answered in a leaff or two some tymes."

He resembles the captain, contriver of the calamity, to the story of Synon's deceiving of the Trojans, and baptizes the sly "Slym" with old Sinon's name.

The party Protestant resembled to the Greekish nation; the Catholic to the Trojans.

By sundry cruel laws made by Henry VIII., Edward, and Queen Elizabeth, assaults made on the Catholic faith. Old Synon a Greek born, the new Synon beginning to be a Protestant from his childhood, and has ever been an enemy to the posterity of the blood royal. Baseness of parentage, ambition of mind, subtlety of will, smoothness of tongue, shameless face, little honesty, no conscience. This Synon has no care what God or the world sees or says of him. There are daily detected to have been contrived by him depositions of Princes, transpositions of States, hired murders, and infinite villainages. He feigns to be sick for sorrow or lame of the gout for every list thwartward of his superior.

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1580. Note:—he will not prejudice any act, sentence, or other thing declared by the see Apostolic. A wishing to those two all honour and advancement that they can wish to themselves. He doubts that his treatise will not be suffered to be seen and sold as others are, and so truth will be oppressed. Her turn not cared for, but theirs; not her honour, but their ambition; not her security, but theirs: not her kindred, but their families.

End of the prologue.

He says that an honest man lost his ears on the pillory for saying that he thought the Duke to be of more honour than Mr. Recorder's report was in the Guildhall. He names the party, Robert Goodfellow, for R. G.

It is a lie that the Duke made all the Privy Council acquainted with his intention before any least attempt thereof, and that at Oatlands [Otland] it should be said that the Queen did not allow thereof, but would at some other time speak with him. A lie made of the Queen that she had given order that he should be taken the next night in his bed.

He says there is no manner of colour in any place to be heard of that she ever sought the crown from the Queen, other than by joining of the arms of England and Scotland. That the whole world bears witness that she never gave any token of seeking the crown of England by style, by title or by any other way: by which the author confesses such enterprises are wont to be made.

He charges the Queen that the Queen of Scots has been denied by her to have necessary servants of known confidence. He says she is kept captive without release upon any condition: which is false. "A rable of lyes,"—to charge the Queen or any of her counsellors or subjects that they have raised war against her and hers in raising her subjects against her, in dispossessing her state and dignity, *etc.*

He says that no man has at any time showed himself to interrupt the Queen's quiet enjoying of her State. *Nota*:—the Queen of Scots' refusal to confirm the treaty of Leith; the bull published; Felton's affirmation at his death.

He charges the Queen of England with frivolous delays, being required to make her her successor. *Nota*:—the Queen could never do it without Parliament. The author threatens that he could lay forth many fraudulent letters and other violences under the Queen's name to enforce the Queen of Scots' subjects from their obedience. *Nota*:—why does he spare to speak when he spends so much speech in other superfluous railing?

He notes the contriving of the slaughter of David [Riccio] the secretary to be by the Governor of Berwick, the murder of the King solicited by some Englishmen, the setting up of Murray to be Regent with a 4000*l.* pension.—All lies.

The English ambassador that moved her to resign her crown. The surprising of Dumbarton and Hume, the rasing of Dunbar, the constitution of Lennox to be Regent,—barbarous wasting of her country. Imprisonment of her ambassador, *etc.* Why was she not condemned at York before the commissioners?

The accord of articles for the Queen of Scots' proof. He means those at Chatsworth. The assurances of the Queen of Scots' word and

Elizabeth.
1580. promise known to the French and Scottish nobles. He says the nobles in the north suffered by the pretence of justice, and that the severity surmounted the desert of the fact.

Some mean persons persuaded the Queen to change all the Council and chief officers of the realm, and to depose all the bishops and hold their persons in prison twelve years together. Of the dregs of the vilest sort to erect a new clergy. Against the advice of all her ancient nobility, the Queen's name was abused to levy sundry exactions of all the people, to suborn numbers of the noblest subjects of France, *etc.* The King of Spain's money forcibly taken, and the same paid to the King's rebels. The realm filled with 40,000 strangers. The Queen not married: no known successor admitted. The Queen procured the dispossessing and imprisonment of the Queen of Scots. The Duke of Norfolk and the other nobility two years and more saw the treasure of the crown consumed, the people impoverished.

The causes of the rebellion in the north.

A general consent of many of the Council and nobility resolved to remove from the Queen two or three who had intruded themselves into her favour; and this was in a sort once assayed to be put in execution, but it was by a crafty means shifted over and eluded.

When the Queen misliked the intention of the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with the Queen of Scots and had put him in prison, then she was procured to write out letters to call in sundry others of the nobility in the north parts. A show of displeasure to the Earl of Leicester. The nobles in the north had been all entrapped if they had not armed themselves. Certain secret forces privily levied to take the nobles by force.

The nobility of the north were most opposed to those who ruled about the Queen.

The causes that moved the nobility in the north to take arms. Their proclamations. 600 or 700 lost their lives and lands.

The Queen [of England's] letters openly written in the Scottish Queen's favour, but private letters to the contrary. The mischiefs in Scotland; all in effect practised by the Queen's ambassadors and counsellors. The Scottish Queen's friends persecuted by open forces, her ambassador imprisoned, her noblemen's lands spoiled, houses burned, castles battered. All speaking with her, all writing, all receiving and hearing from her, all relief sent her in money or meat, all commendation of her person, beauty, wisdom, *etc.*, accounted seditious and traitorous.

The examples of double dealing. Earl of Arran seduced to flee out of France. The winning of the Earl of Murray to rebel against the Scottish Queen.

Nota.—Sir Nicholas Throgmorton. A special messenger, by name, who moved the Scottish Queen to subscribe her resignation.

The bishop of Ross imprisoned. Charles Bayly, a stranger, afflicted for publishing of a pamphlet in defence of the Scottish Queen's title. His name that entered into Scotland with an army and rased Dunbar? His name that spoiled the Hamiltons' and Maxwells' lands? The Earl of Lennox set up, and betrayed Dumbarton. By means of whom the Queen of Scots is kept in prison.

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1580. Causes why the English are not named.

A rabble of names.

The Duke was first invited to think of it and thereto animated by some of note. If the Duke renounced it in his first trouble, why was he kept in prison two years after? A scoffing that the marriage betwixt the Duke and the Scottish Queen is not to be impugned as unlawful. Consanguinity. Affinity. No impediment but they might marry. *Nota*:—the Earl of Hertford's case. Mention of a nameless discourser. Concerning the question whether it be competent for the Scottish Queen to marry with a subject or a stranger. From "hobgobling" to the discourse. Mocking the Queen's authority; imputing it to have rule of brutish coupling of beasts. The marriage between the Queen of Scots and the Duke manifestly beneficial to the Queen [of England] and commonwealth. The discourser noted of folly and lack of wit. He would have some letter or writer to testify the danger of landing of any men at a port. Strangers brought in to serve a turn at a day. A flood of foreigners oppressing the people. Till he sees some better proof he affirms that there was no messenger sent to Rome, *etc.*

Malice borne by the chief authors of the libels to the Duke since he discovered his misliking of some of those at Greenwich. 1569. The bishop of Ross the chief of the consp[irators]. The bishop of Ross' doings and travels. *Nota*:—the bishop's own letter. A Scottish answers that letters of credit were sent, *etc.*

The King of Spain charged with "Ireland matters," and so answered that there was no reason to reply.

Nota:—H. Cobham.

What any traitor or spy, whatsoever poor prisoner can be forced to say, is alleged for truth against the Queen and the Duke.

The conveying away of the Scottish Queen could have been no treason; no, it was no offence or trespass.

Nota:—by judgment it is accounted—Sir H. Percy, *etc.*

A contrariety noted in stealing away the Queen by disguising and by force. *Nota*:—that both have one end, for by both ways she might have been proclaimed Queen.

Lies published by authority:—(1) That Newhaven was taken to the use of the French King. (2) That the Duke of Guise was coming to conquer England. (3) That Condé and the Admiral prevailed in every battle against the French King. (4) That by the lottery no man should lose above 2*s.* (5) That the Prince of Orange should drive the Duke of Alva out of Flanders. (6) The King of Spain's money was taken to preserve it with the French. (7) That the Duke of Alva was coming to conquer England. (8) That he and the Spanish ambassador were the causes of the spoils done upon their King's subjects. (9) That no pirates should be maintained in your ports. (10) That the Queen of Scots was with child by the Earl of Shrewsbury. (11) That a Portugal ambassador should have poisoned the Queen. (12) London should be burned by men with balls. (13) That the King of Spain had poisoned his wife that now is. *Nota*,—he means the French King's sister. (14) That the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley should have been killed, *etc.* *Nota*:—in the margin it is said that these lies were published by authority;

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1580. and in the end it is said that some were by print, some by letters, some by lewd men.

Order to try the offenders may be imperfect by the inability of the party to answer, or by some error in inferior ministers, or by error of the Prince, or by malice of some in authority. The libel says that if they be not fully reported, then all is not reported that is requisite.

The three Regents had presents from England. Lords Gray and Hume can testify that James, Earl of Murray, determined to kill the young King.

Nota:—their own depositions to the contrary. "Ster chamber talkes to be condemned."

Nota:—the author says he has reason to speak in their defence, whilst nothing is passed that convinces them.

The Duke of Norfolk was an instrument to create a feminine primacy for the Queen.

Second part. The author promises to prove that the two Machiavelians or English Catalines are the secret workers of treasons wherwith they charge others. First, in wresting the crown from the race wherein the laws have established it, they have circumvented the Queen, stained her honour, oppressed her people, impoverished her realm. The Queen's quiet State at her entry, the whole being Catholic, the Protestant party base and low. *Nota*:—what was the Duke of Norfolk then?

(2) The whole commonweal settled in the ancient religion. *Nota*:—that one should have been burnt a few days before Queen Mary's death. King Henry the eighth sought his negotiation from Rome, and had obtained it if death had not prevented. [*With other notes from the same book.*]

25½ *pp. The proclamation is in the hand of* (Burghley's clerk), *with corrections in Burghley's hand. The notes are entirely in Burghley's hand. The book was published in 1572.*

[1580.] **637**. ABSTRACT OF LETTERS FROM THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

C.P. vol. XI. The Baron of Aisneval, son-in-law to Monsieur Pinart, is sent into Scotland ambassador from the French King.

Ruisseau, brother-in-law to Nau, writes to the Queen of Scots that some of her servants are ready, attending for the rest and for their passport from Monsieur de Chaunneuse, without which they would be loth to come over.

From Ruisseau to Nau.—I have drawn your letters from a little packet 1½ feet long and half a foot round and thick, "en un demy cent de plumes," which shall be sent with the other goods, which we hope to send you shortly for her majesty.

[*Marginal Note.*]—This sentence carries a hard sense, but it seems that there is a meaning to convey hither letters in some cunning sort.

The said Ruisseau makes mention of a tailor whom Nau desires.

Nau's brother makes mention of a son of his intended to be sent hither, whom Nau desires to be brought up by him according to his own desire.

One Roussell writes to Bastian [Pages], his kinsman, that he has received his letters together with the letters and cipher sent to

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1580. Monsieur de Beave, which Beave willed him to use when he had occasion to write to Bastian; which he promises to do.

The French ambassador sends to the Queen of Scots a discourse sent to him out of France of the repulse given to the Prince of Condé, in which he concludes that the said Prince is gone, no man knows whither.

In his letters to the Queen of Scots he writes that her majesty has not spoken to him any more concerning her packets, and that he believes they shall still pass the same way as heretofore they have done, knowing that nothing shall be contained in them that may be offensive to the King his master and her majesty.

From Nau to Cordaillot, secretary to the French ambassador.—I esteem much the means which you have found to cause us to receive your letters. I shall do as much on my part with a reciprocal memorandum, especially of that which shall happen here, which I cannot otherwise do except by the packets which shall come to us. [*Marginal note.*] I cannot forbear to be mistrustful, but I think he means the manner now in use amongst them of writing one to the other by memorials to be sent by the carrier, which are always perused by myself before they are delivered.

From Claud Hamilton out of France to this Queen, 8 October.—I will not omit at the least to let your majesty know what goodwill I have always to be employed in that which may any way tend to your highness' relief and liberty, being the thing in this world I most earnestly wish.

Francis Mowbray, a Scot, makes great suit to serve this Queen.

Fountenay, Nau's brother, has given over his suit for service here, and is placed in office in France.

2¾ *pp. Part French. Indorsed:* "An abstract of the Frenche lettres."

638. STATE OF THE SCOTTISH COMMONWEALTH.

"The generall staite of the Scottish Common wealth with the causes of ther often mutinies and other disorders."

Making and abrogating laws, wherein the Prince's authority is so limited that he has not so much as a negative, but must ratify that which is agreed on by suffrage of the greater part of the nobility and commons in their Parliaments. His pre-eminence is in summoning and dissolving the conventions, and publishing such laws and orders as are agreed upon; wherein they are content that the Prince use some more show of authority in the prefaces to their laws than he has.

Creating and deposing magistrates and public officers; whereof the principal are hereditary. The Lords of Session at Edinburgh are to be approved by their own Senate, and are sometimes put off the Bench, notwithstanding they be commended by the Prince.

The Prince has no universal authority in pardon and execution in matter of life and death, for that divers of the nobility have *jus hereditarium* in matters criminal to execute and pardon within their precincts and jurisdictions as absolutely as the King, which cannot be taken from them nor suspended by the Prince.

The Prince has no absolute authority in league and war making, but is to have the consent of Parliament. The Prince's wars are

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1580. limited to 30 days, wherein the subjects are to follow him upon their own provision, and no longer, except themselves agree to it.

Appeal lies not universally supreme to the Prince, for that divers of the nobility hold and execute "haulte" justice absolutely, without appeal to the Prince, within their jurisdictions, by charter hereditary, which the Prince cannot take from them or avoid; as, for example, in the Earl of Morton's charter, which James III. tore openly in Parliament, offended with the largeness and absoluteness of it, especially with the point of no appellation to the Prince, adding that he himself could have no more; but before he removed from the palace where he tore it, he was forced by the nobility to sit down and sew it up again with his own hand, and for that cause it is yet called the "sewed Charter." The sentence of the Lords of Session is not appealable nor remissible by the Prince, save where it concerns his own privity. These limitations and restraints he suffers in the more southerly parts. Among the highlanders and islanders he seems to have no more authority than he can get *precario aut vi*, and he must be content with that which they will afford him, as lacking forces to bring them to order.

Crown land, about 50,000*l.* Scottish by year, which comes to 5500*l.* sterling. At present the King's land stands leased out for long terms by the late Regent in consideration of large fines, whereof was present need, to the King's great disadvantage now.

The custom cannot be great by reason of the small exportation which the country yields. Viz., of fish, salt, hide, *etc.*, which amounts to 200,000*l.* [Scots] by year at the most.

Certifications and wardships are for the most part "craved" *pene imperative* by the nobility in whose jurisdictions they fall. The certifications are annihilated and returned many times, as the factions prevail, whereby little "cleaveth" to the King's Exchequer in the end.

The mines of lead are farmed to one Eustace, whereof no profit comes yet to the King. Of gold and silver there is great likelihood if the mines were opened, for that in certain burns and small streams westward are found small pieces of pure gold among the sand. That which they have comes out of the copper mines, and it seems that the question is scarce decided whether the mines do [pertain] to the Prince or no, there being certain of another mind by reason of the words that run in the noblemen's charters, viz., "to hold and possesse ther landes, etc., *a summo celo usque ad imos inferos.*"

Little or nothing came to the crown from Church lands at the dissolution of the abbeys, as they were divided among the nobility by authority of Parliament. In lieu of tenths the King has the thirds of such benefices as exceed 300*l.* Scottish by the year, which are very few. The whole number of benefices in the realm above and under that sum does not pass 900.

Tax and imposition are sometimes imposed in the southern parts for the King's relief, but the sum very small. The want of money and revenue causes the want of authority in the Prince to keep that in order which he has, and to recover that he has not. The excess in proportion of the nobility (a) in number being more than so small a kingdom can well bear, viz., more than in England, and the country less fertile, must needs breed great inconvenience to her common-

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1580. wealth. (1) It eclipses the Prince's authority. (2) It makes the government more heavy upon his hand by reason of many of the mightier sort. (3) It overcharges the country, *etc.* (4) It lays the State open to division and faction. There are 23 Earls and 30 Barons [*named*], besides Lairds, whereof many are Barons, and of equal credit and revenue with the Lords. (b) In authority. (1) They are all born counsellors to the State. (2) In making public laws, *etc.*, their authority is joint and necessary with the Prince's, and more than can stand in a just monarchy; the rather because the boroughs and burgess towns are wholly at the devotion of some nobleman or or other (very few excepted), as Cupar in Fife at the Earl of Rothes' command, St. Johntone's at the Earl of Montrose's, Dundee at the Earl of Crawford's; the northern towns all at the Earl of Huntly's, *etc.*, whereby they have both their own and the commons' voices in Parliament, and nothing can pass that may prejudice the state of the nobility or enlarge the Prince's. (3) Their authority over the tenants, clients, vassals, *etc.* is so great that they regard as much or more their patron or nobleman than their Prince. (*c*) In revenue, some have 16, some 18, some 20 score caldrons of victuals by the year, more or less, besides some part in money, which may amount to 20,000*l.* Scottish, and which, considering the great company of nobility and lairds, and the quality and quantity of that country—less plentiful than England—seems to be the chief cause of all the Scottish distemper, contentions, *etc.* Defect in proportion among the commonalty.—Burghers, viz., merchants and other mechanical or handicraftsmen are few and mean for wealth by reason of the small exportation which the country affords, viz., fish, salt, hide, skins and coarse wool; which goes out again, all or most part, for foreign commodities imported. He is counted a rich merchant who is worth 1000*l.* sterling. Handicraftsmen have but small trading by reason that the people are but poor and accustomed to live hardly, without much variety of diet, apparel, *etc.* Their chief trades are coarse cloth making, armory, working of linen, *etc.* Of lawyers there are but few, and those about the Court of Session, at Edinburgh, for that in the shires all matters are ordered after the great men's pleasures. These are of mean wealth and bear more duty and respect towards the Prince.

Tillers or husbandmen are very poor, and live very hardly; for that, being very few freeholders, called "good men," they are but as *servi prediales* or *partiales* to the lord, and, in a manner, pay all the commodities that rise from their labours to him, reserving to themselves at the year's end, in a manner, nothing else but to live. Hereof it comes that children increasing with this poorer sort of people, they not having wherewith to feed and maintain them, the country is so stored with infinite numbers of begging and vagrant poor, who by reason of their extreme want and misery are very bold in their behaviour and impudent, their laws rather restraining them than providing for them, save that they are appointed by order to repair to their native place or parish, where, finding nothing but beggary, they are driven out again, forasmuch as the lord receives all, but contributes nothing. This deficit in the commonalty, viz., that there are so few of the middle rank of the subjects among them who are able to live competently and honestly

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1580. off their own, is another great cause of the disquietness of Scotland; for that by this means the whole commonalty, in a manner, a few excepted, being beggarly and rascal are ever apt for faction and tumult when occasion serves, hoping to get somewhat when they may fish in troubled water. So follow the lords' quarrels either among themselves or against the Prince, whereby the Prince and commonwealth is ever waving like a boat on the sea tossed to and fro *vento nobilitatis et vulgi fluctibus.*

6 *pp. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "Disorders in the Government of Scotland."

640. THOMAS RANDOLPH TO [GEORGE BUCHANAN].

Is not a little beholden to him for his late remembrance of him and his son by his pretty and fine device to make him learn to read before he knows or handles his book. How he will prove learned hereafter, he knows not, but he is far unlike to resemble him from whom he takes the pattern, who long before his boy's years far passed him in learning and judgment, whereof such increase ensued as in this age is wonderful, and among Prince's most rare. Looks not for the like in his son, but will think himself happy if he resembles the King in one of a number that more brightly shine than the twinkling stars. That his worthy and noble King is become so skilful in so short time is not a little to be attributed to the great diligence and care of his master, who, besides the gifts of nature, added as much as by art could be devised. In this consists his praise, and in this shall his fame remain immortal, though many other things in this world have made him famous for ever. How well he likes the last little treatise, "De jure regni apud Scotos," that last came into the world, he cannot say as he thinks. Complains that he shall not have so much as a taste of his "Hystorie of our whole Isle" before his eyes are shut up, which now are become for age very dim. What makes him doubt to let it come forth a spectacle to the world no less famous than Apollo's table was? Begs him to defer it no longer.

2 *pp. Draft in Randolph's hand.*

641. THOMAS RANDOLPH TO MR. PETER YOUNG.

Being lately moved with the remembrance of his master, Mr. G. Buchanan, by the sight of a book of his, "De jure, *etc.*," and calling to mind the notable acts of his life, his study, his travail, his danger, his wisdom, his learning, and, to be short, as much as could be wished in a man, he thought the King, his master, more happy who had Buchanan for his master, than Alexander the Great, who had Aristotle. Thought him [Young] very lucky who had his daily company in office of like service. Thanks God not a little for himself that ever he was acquainted with him. For one who has so well deserved in the world and so great acquaintance as he has with many learned companions of his life, marvels that no man has written of it, being a thing so common to all famous persons. Might chiefly blame him his good friend Mr. Young, so near to him, so dear to him, that nothing can be hid of that which he desires to know. If he says that time yet serves and

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1580. that he yet lives whose life he wishes to set forth, he says that if it be done after his death many things may be omitted that are worthy of famous memory. The most of the writing against Grey Friars is known to many; but, afterwards, how they prevailed against him that he was forced to leave his country, how he escaped with great hazard of life at God's hand, the plague in the north of England, thieves on the Borders, what relief he found at the hands of Sir John Rainsford, the only man who maintained him against the fury of the Papists, none know as well as himself, and none can give better notes of his life than himself. As he lives virtuously so he doubts not but he will die christianly. This is desired by many, especially to be looked for at his hands.

2 *pp. Draft in Randolph's hand. Indorsed in the same hand:* "To Mr. George Bocanan and Thomas his nephew for Mr. George's lyefe."

642. TREATIES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

A list of treaties between the Kings of England and Scotland from the year 1043 till 1580.

Malcolm; of homage to Edward, son of Egeldrid, 1043.
Homage of John Baliol, 1296.
Homage of Robert Bruce, 1319.
Remission to the Kings of Scotland of fealty to the Kings of England, 1340.
Homage of peers, 1346.
Surrender into the hands of Edward III. by Edward Baliol, King of Scots, 1355.
Copy of the homage given to King Edward of all estates of Scotland.
Copy of a writing whereby a gentleman in Scotland indicted for becoming King Edward's liege was acquitted.
Provision and allowance assigned to Kings of Scotland coming to the Parliament.
Charter of covenant between the King of England, son of the Empress Matilda, and William, King of Scots.
Charter of covenant between Henry, King of England, and Robert, Earl of Flanders.
Abstinence from wars, 5 Edward IV. 14 Edward IV.
Same, 1, 2 and 3 Henry VII.
For treating with the King of Scots' commissioners.
Two others of the like nature.
For treating for the "fitigarthe" of Eske.
Abstinence from war, 1491.
Truce for 50 years, 7 Henry VII.
Treaty of matrimony between Henry VII. and James, King of Scots, for Margaret, his daughter, 1502.
1 Henry VIII. Treaty between Henry VIII. and James, King of Scots.
Between Henry VIII. and Matthew, Earl of Lennox.
Treaty of marriage to be contracted between Edward, Prince of Wales, and Mary, Queen of Scots.

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1580. Between Henry VIII. and the young Queen of Scots.

1547, commission to treat with Scotland.

Instructions given by the King to the Bishop of Durham and Robert Bowes, knt., Lord Warden of the Middle Marches.

An acceptation of the comprehension by the Scottish Queen according to a treaty between Edw. VI. and the French King.

Commission for the King of England.

Commission for the Queen of Scots, 1551.

Confirmation of a treaty with Scotland, 1551.

Copy of the Scottish commissioners' "countergaine" for the petitions of the debateable lands.

Acts concluded between commissioners of both the realms at a convention on the Borders, 4 Dec., 1553.

A discourse against the government of the French in Scotland before the wars of Leith.

The Scottish Lords' contract with England before the wars of Leith.

Confirmation of the compact betwixt the Duke of Norfolk and the Scottish Lords.

Commission to treat with Scotland upon the treaty of Cambresis.

8 Aug. 1559. Commission to take the oaths of the King and Queen of Scots.

Confirmation of a treaty by them, 1559.

Commission to treat upon the wars at Leith.

Instructions by the Queen of England to Sir William Cecil and Doctor Wotton, 26 May 1560.

A commission from France.

Commission to the bishop of Valanie and others to treat touching the matters of Scotland.

Accord betwixt the French King and the Queen of Scots and the Lords of Scotland.

Treaty between Francis II. and the Queen of the French and Elizabeth, Queen of England.

Commission of the Queen of England.

Contract for the meeting of the Queen of England and the Scottish Queen at York, 1562.

Commission to treat with Scotland for matters of the Borders.

Instructions by the Queen of England to Lord Scrope.

Warden of the West Marches of England, *etc.*, sent as commissioners to the West Borders.

Copy of a treaty of amity between Queen Elizabeth and James VI.

"A Booke of ancient treaties between England and Scotland."

[*Contains notes of treaties as calendared herein.*] "A Booke intituled 'Littera C.' The treaty of marriage between Edward the 6th and M. Queen of Scotland."

[*Contains notes of treaties between* 1543 *and* 1559.]

23½ *pp.*

[1580.] **643.** BORDER MATTERS.

Cott. Calig., B. VIII., fol. 214. "The answeare of the L. Hunsdon L. Warden of the East Merches to the articles before written."

Elizabeth.
1580.

The chief cause of the decay of horsemen in the East March is because such as have offices take such fines or so great rents that the tenants are not able to live with such furniture as they were wont. Another cause is that the Scots will give more rent for the land than any Englishman, because they live in more security. It is not possible to have inclosures on these Marches, because the greatest part of the inhabitants are Scots, and are here today and in Scotland to-morrow. There is never a house of strength on these Borders but is ready to fall down. If this be not presently remedied the frontiers will be readier for the Scots than the English.

Never a man who has any charge within the frontiers and dwells on the same, but lets out the lands to men of no countenance, as Sir Henry Percy has Norham Castle and dwells at Tynemouth. There are at least 1500 Scots within 10 miles of this town upon this frontier.

1⅓ *pp.* *Copy.*

[1580.] **644.** BORDER MATTERS.

Cott. Calig., B. VIII., fol. 215.

"The answeare of Sir John Foster, L. Warden of the Mydde Marches, to the Articles before aforesaid."

The English people are only weak in horses, but not in numbers. The decay is partly by reason that the landlords take excessive fines and girsomes from their tenants, and some of the landlords let their lands to the tenant "the one halfe for the other occupying." Landlords should not take fines or girsomes. Inclosures are not kept up. There are no decayed houses in the Middle March pertaining to the Queen of England, saving Berwick. Cannot without convenient time make true report of the number of Scottish people in this March. But there are sundry dwelling on the sea coasts as fishers and colliers.

The castle of Harbottle is now builded and repaired.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.*

[1580.] **645.** MARY TO MONSIEUR DE MAUVISSIÈRE.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 544.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, I feel myself very obliged to the Queen of England, my good sister, for having let you understand her intention concerning the bad impressions which they try to give her of my deportments towards her, and to you for having given me particular advice by your letter of the 28th of last month. For the greatest consolation that I can receive in the sorrow that such misfortunes give me, is to be advertised of them in order that I may endeavour to cause the truth to be known, and I would not have failed by this opportunity to write thereof fully to the Queen, my good sister, if the state of my impaired health for some days had aided the desire that I had. Wherefore, I pray you to excuse me to her, and thank her very affectionately on my part as well for the courtesy which she has shown towards Beton, my Master of the Household, when he presented my letters to her, as for the speech she made to you concerning the practices and intelligences that they wished to make her imagine were carried on by me or in my name; wherein I find as little appearance in foundation as in the other letters, advice, and

Elizabeth.
1580. memoirs which hers say they have received. This being so, it must be that they are pure inventions of my enemies to give colour to their lies published expressly in order to trouble me and remove me from the good grace and friendship of the Queen, my good sister, whom I beg to assure herself (and to believe me in this respect as a most upright Princess) that I have never written, caused to be written or given power to write and treat in my name with those they have named to her, nor received any letters from them in respect of any thing whatsoever approaching the said practices, which would be, peradventure, as prejudicial to me as to herself if I would enter into discourse concerning the particularities which depend, wherefore I refer myself to you. Also to testify to the ill contentment that I have of the occasion that can have been given her not to accept in this matter after any remembrance from me; and there is not one of mine that I would not cause to avenge such indiscreet proposals, if I knew who was the author, seeing that it is without my consent. For the rest you must not forget, if you please, to requite me in respect to Monsieur Le* — and Mr. W[alsingham] for the honest language they have spoken to you, against which and their duty I will never importune them, any more than I would engage myself with any other for any reason, whatever it may be. And for your regard, Monsieur de Mauvissière, rest assured that I will never misuse the support and credit which it shall please the King my good brother to give me in those who hold equal rank in this realm with you for his service. Also I know you are so prudent and discreet that you will not add a word to such tales, seeing likewise the said Sieur de W[alsingham] is able to serve you in this regard with his good testimony; by whose hands you receive all my letters.

It grieves me very much that the King my brother's affairs do not set forward to some more peaceable and assured state than you tell me. I pray God to have him in his holy protection, and to give you what you desire.

1 *p. French. Copy. Indorsed:* "From the Q. of Scottes to M. de Mauvissier, French ambassadour."

1580–1. **646.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Jan. 1. By credible means I am given to understand that the Earl of Morton, by the advice of Lennox and Ruthven, was surprised in his chamber in the Court at Holyrood House yesternight about six or seven o'clock, and carried to the chamber above the King's lodging, against whom Captain James Stewart offered to object and prove eleven several articles of treason.

This matter should have been executed in the Council's chamber on Monday last with the King's consent, but that day the King rode forth on hunting, and on Tuesday the King took the Earl of Morton on hunting with him, where Lord Robert Stewart and the Abbot of St. Combe revealed the enterprise to Morton, who made so light thereof that few doubted the sequel.

It is doubted that his life shall not be long in case he be now living.

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Mr. Archibald Douglas will be also sought for, who, upon the understanding of the apprehension of the Earl of Morton, is departed to his friends in Scotland for his safety.

My servant being presently in Scotland had secret warning to provide for himself, and therefore returned suddenly with this news.

For the relief and comfort of the Earl I have sent to him by the best means I can, but I doubt much to be prevented.

It is also informed me that Sir James Balfour arrived at the Mayse on Wednesday last, and that he is secretly in Scotland.

It is thought that the bishop of Ross and Sir Thomas Carre are looked for to be in Scotland within short time, and sundry sa ythat Sir Thomas Carre is already come. Some also think that Sir James Balfour has brought a mass of French crowns with him, and that he has already spoken with the King in great secret.

Montbirneau prepares to return into France by sea on Tuesday or Wednesday next. He purposes to bring with him Lennox's wife or his eldest son; and thereupon they purpose to proceed frankly into their actions. But in case Lennox be put to any distress before that time, then he is resolved to relieve himself in Dumbarton.

Lennox is said to esteem lightly on her majesty's late answer and offence against him, and that he partly distrusts the diligence of Alexander Hume and care to advance his cause to her majesty as he looked for.

The King had purposed to have written to her majesty signifying that he is ready to preserve the amity, with other like general terms to little effect; but the same is now stayed.

The Lord Ruthven is very earnest in these causes against the Earl of Morton. Wherein advice was given that they should make him sure before he could get into England, or that England could send him succours.

What will ensue herein, I leave to further time and your wise considerations, finding all with whom I dealt in intelligence so fearful and discomforted that they desire to be forborne and holden excused from henceforth, so that I find myself thereby greatly disabled to perform the duties haply looked for at my hands, and which gladly I would do for her majesty's service to the best of my power. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Jan. 3. **647.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.]

The Earl of Morton is taken and now committed to the Castle of Edinburgh to answer sundry articles of treason touching especially the murders of the King's father and the late Earl of Atholl, with some other matters of less importance, and therefore thought meet to be kept in secret for a while. He was sufficiently warned, yet his confidence in the King and of his own innocency drew him to continue his presence about with the King without any provision for his safeguard against the practices.

The Earl of Angus was come to Edinburgh before his apprehension, holding himself quiet and in such secret manner that hitherto few can espy what he will do in these causes.

Elizabeth. 1580–1.

Mr. Archibald Douglas's house at Morham was seized by Alexander Hume of Manderston, who has taken possession of the house and all things therein, and left the custody thereof to his son [Alexander Hume, yr.], Prior of Coldingham. Mr. Archibald is likewise accused for the King's murder, which offence is grievously set forth against these and other like favourers of England, and yet many others known to be infected with the same have good countenance and grace in Court, a matter worthy to be noted, which he leaves to their wise consideration and timely provision for prevention of evils foretold and likely to ensue hastily.

[Sir James] Balfour and one Stewart, lately arrived in Scotland from France, offer to make proof of some part of the articles objected against the Earl, and Captain James Stewart stands to verify the rest. The matter is so "disgested" with most of the Council present—being in a manner all friends and at the devotion of Lennox—that it seems that the accusations shall be speedily published, and such trial afterwards follow as may best please the King and that Council. It has been moved and thought meet by some that the King should write—or rather send, to her majesty, but the resolution therein is deferred for a season.

Great expectation of novelties occupies many in that realm, who look not only for the welter and change of the Court, but also of the whole state and governance there, and to what effect the same shall fall by the conduction of Lennox, who now leads and rules all, he leaves to their wisdom. Berwick.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "Copye of a lettre from Mr. Bowes, 3° Janu., 1580."

Jan. 5. **648.** COMMISSION BY THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE DUKE OF GUISE.

Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 618.

Appoints him her lieutenant-general and special procurator to act in her name with her son and the Lords and Estates of Scotland. Sheffield. *Signed:* Marie R.

⅓ *p. Broadsheet. Torn in two. Written on parchment.*

Jan. 6. **649.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Being of late given to understand of some alteration to have happened within that realm, we continuing our former care both for your safety and the common tranquility and peace of that State, knowing how dangerous innovations are in all kingdoms, especially in the young years of a Prince, could not but send this bearer, our servant Thomas Randolphe, Master of our Posts, and one who heretofore has done good offices between the two crowns, as well to inform himself of the proceedings there, as also to acquaint you with some matters of importance come very lately to our knowledge that concern greatly your State, and therefore we pray you to give credit to this bearer in that which he shall declare to you, even as you would do to our own self. Westminster Palace.

¾ *p. Draft in the hand of* (Burghley's clerk). *Indorsed:* "M[inute] from her majesty to ye K[ing] of Scotts, 6 Jan. 1580. "A letter of credence for Mr. Randolph, ambassador."

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Jan. 6. **650.** SUSSEX TO WALSINGHAM.

I despatched to you presently Mr. Birkebury with answer to the first part of your letter, for that it required expedition, and [is] a matter fit for his acquaintance. For your Scotland causes, which was the second part, I am heartily sorry that her majesty has overslipped her best opportunity to prevent all ill meanings there, and that it did not please her to enter into the execution of matters fit for her surety before they caught hold of the contrary. It is now too late to wish that things had been done which be not done, and therefore [it is] necessary to see if anything may be done that is left to be done and may do good. Wherein, as her majesty's writing and sending into Scotland and the diverting of my Lords of Huntingdon and Hunsdon be necessary, so do I wish that no other thing were omitted that might alter that course, in which courage in deed and not in words, a manifest show of arms in areadiness, and correction must bear with that people the chief sway.

Whether they be so far forward that it is either too late for us to begin or for them to return, I must leave to you to judge who have daily intelligence of their particular actions. But so far as I can gather by that which I have seen in the letters, her majesty must do quickly that she will do, for "mora trahit periculum." I would my blood might stop this gap. *Signed:* T. Sussex.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

[Jan. 6.] **651.** INSTRUCTIONS BY ELIZABETH FOR THOMAS RANDOLPH.

[*The first page is missing*]* . . . to the good estate of himself and his realm, and in [respect] of the former good offices the said E[arl] of Morton had performed for the maintenance of good amity between both our realms, so at this present we thought good to renew the memory thereof to him [the King], that in time he may foresee the mischief that may ensue by removing from him so faithful a servant and so worthy a Councillor. And for that it plainly appears to us that both this practice and execution have proceeded from D'Aubigny and his adherents, you shall declare to him that we cannot sufficiently marvail how it could be wrought in the heart of so young a Prince to put on so hard a mind against a personage of such quality and of so great desert as the said Earl of Morton is, being not only a subject and nobleman born, but also the person in whose hands the managing of that whole realm has for the greatest part of his minority lain, and not without honour to him and profit to his State, and all this to be wrought by one so suddenly come thither, being a stranger by birth, and also by marriage, how near soever he be [by] nature or blood, no less behind the other in good parts me [et] for government than he is in years. But the matter we principally weigh in this case, and whereof we think meet to advertise the King, is to let him understand that the end and chief cause of D'Aubigny's repair into the realm is but to breed some alteration in the State, howsoever it be dissembled in the meantime, and to turn him away from the true service of God, and to re-establish in that realm the Romish religion. For truth and good proof whereof you shall lay before the King the copies of such advertisement—which shall be

* *See* Addenda.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. delivered to you—as we have received from foreign parts, most plainly discovering the secret of this practised overthrow of that State. Which thing, if he rightly considers, he cannot but see of what evil consequence it will be to him, for that it cannot be compassed without the bloodshed of infinite numbers, the overthrow of the Gospel, and an unrecoverable dishonour to his name and the provoking of God's wrathful indignation against him and his posterity. And for that no trouble can happen in that realm especially tending to the alteration of religion, but that it is meant also should reach to us, we cannot—besides the care we have of his well doing—but for our own surety seek by all the means we may to prevent the same; and hereupon, if you shall be so advised by those that you know [to be] well affected towards us, you may use some threats. For the second point:—if you shall not find him inclining to restore the Earl to his favour, then you shall seek to enter into conference with the party which you shall find and know to wish well to the King, and have a desire to have the practices of D'Aubigny encountered, and to know of them what they can be resolved to do, and what party they are able to make in case "her majesty" sends a power into that realm to preserve both the King and that realm from the mischief of these foreign practices; whom you may likewise assure that we have already given order to the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hunsdon to put a power in readiness to be forthwith sent into that realm in case a milder course will not be taken by the King in discerning his friends from his enemies by good effects. And in case it shall be objected—as a pretended reason for the committing of the said Earl—that he had over secret dealing, and more than became a subject, with such our ministers as from time to time we sent thither, you shall declare to him that we cannot but find it strange that he should be charged with his conferences with our ministers as with a fault, considering we have been during the whole time of his minority, and since, so far from being enemy to him, as that he must needs confess, as a thing known to all the world, that he has received at our hands only, and by no means else, both the quieting of his troubled State and the continual preservation of the same from daily troubles and invasion most dangerously practised by those that through these beginnings will let him see to his utter ruin and destruction in the end what they have of long time intended, but have been kept from putting it in execution through God's goodness, and the watchful care we have had of him and his State; and for so good offices to be recompensed with that dishonour that the conference of a subject of that realm with a minister of ours having nothing committed to his charge nor intending anything but conservation of the mutual peace betwixt the realms, should be thought a cause sufficient for his imprisonment, as we think it very strange so he may be well assured we will not "put it up" if we be not otherwise and more honourably satisfied.

And for that it is to be doubted that those who have entered this violent course against the Earl of Morton mean with no less extremity to prosecute the matter against all those who are either affected to him or have showed themselves to embrace the cause of religion and to be devoted to us, we have thought meet, for the prevention of the inconvenience that might ensue thereby, to give

Elizabeth.
1580–1. order and full authority to our President of York* to send into that realm such forces, and at such time, as by you shall be thought [meet], without attending any direction from hence to that purpose, lest that by the delay that might be used therein the opportunity of using timely assistance might be taken away. Our pleasure, therefore is that in your way thitherward you shall confer with our said President in that behalf, willing him in any case to make choice of such special captains and men to be employed in that service as are known to be devoted to us, and specially well affected in religion.

6½ *pp. Draft. Corrections and additions in Burghley's hand. Imperfect and stained by damp.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 118. Original of the same. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

[Jan.] **652.** THE SCOPE OF ELIZABETH'S MEANING IN THE INSTRUCTIONS TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

The scope of the Queen of England's meaning set down in the instructions tends to the maintenance of amity and religion. To which end, albeit she refers him [Randolph] to his own direction when he should see the state of things, yet his instructions impart two special points. (1) That no violent course be taken with the Earl of Morton. (2) To entertain all such as rest well affected to the King.

1. For the Earl; there are set down reasons to persuade the King, some grounded on his own deserts and service, some also touching her majesty's honour, if her mediation might not avail him, for just causes.

In comforting those who rest well affected to the King he may encourage them with the promise of the Queen of England's assistance to her uttermost power to maintain them therein.

Because her majesty, through the care she has for the King, has grown into a jealousy of the Earl of Lennox, the King is to be made acquainted with such practices and information as she has received of him. If all these persuasions for the one, and reasons alleged against the other, shall not be available with the King to look into his own danger, because the same touches her majesty's estate also, therefore, with advice, he is to use some threats.

2. If, notwithstanding all this, the King rests hardened against Morton, then he is to see what party may be made against D'Aubigny to join with her majesty in expelling him, letting them understand what directions have been given to the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hunsdon to that effect.

An answer to an objection touching Morton's trouble for intelligence with her majesty's messengers, showing how much this touches her in honour if that should be made a cause to accuse him by. [*In the margin in Walsingham's hand.*] "This should be spoken of as of yourself, and not so instructed."

If he finds that nothing can be obtained but extremity against Morton and his friends, to prevent the inconveniences that may

* Huntingdon.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. follow, he is to send for such forces as the Lord Lieutenant shall have in readiness.

2 *pp. Indorsed by Randolph:* "A briefe of my Instructions."

[Jan.] **653.** PRIVATE MEMORANDUM FOR THOMAS RANDOLPH.

"A private memoriall for Mr. Randolph."

Is to win by persuasion and otherwise the Captains of Dumbarton and Edinburgh Castle to be at the Queen of England's devotion; to practise by all means he may to cause Ruthven to fall away from Lennox, and also such of the nobility as are men of spirit and action, especially the Earl of Montrose; if the King cannot be won to deal graciously with Morton, then to work with such as by him shall be thought meet to persuade the King that he may be put to his trial by Parliament; if the bishop of Ross and Farnyhurst repair to Scotland, to lay before those who are well affected to the religion or to Scotland what likelihood there is of any good to grow to that State either in religion or otherwise when persons who are known to be practisers with the Pope and the King of Spain—the greatest enemies of the Gospel—are adherents to D'Aubigny; the like to be propounded against Sir James Balfour; to deal earnestly with the Ministers of the religion there, and to make them acquainted with the practices of D'Aubigny at Rome and elsewhere.

¾ *p. Indorsed by* (Burghley's clerk): "1580. A private memoriall."

Jan. 7. **654.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM.]

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 3. "It may please your honour"; by my other letters sent herewith you will perceive the present state of Scotland, and chiefly the distressed case of the Earl of Morton.

Because my repair to London to answer the untrue suggestion of Rowland Johnson, and especially for my presence in Parliament, being a burgess thereof for the borough of Appleby, in Westmorland, may, peradventure, be looked for, wherein I am loth to offend or fail in my duty, therefore I humbly pray you to be mean that I may know whether I shall come or remain here. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. No flyleaf or address. Stained.*

Jan. 7. **655.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM].

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 4. "It may please your lordship and your honour."

Yesterday Mr. Archibald Douglas came out of Tyvidale hither openly to Berwick to seek her majesty's relief to the Earl of Morton in his present distress, and her highness' succour to himself.

Before his repair hither he had written to the Earl of Angus offering with loyalty to present himself to the King and laws of that realm, and to abide any lawful trial for all or any offence to be objected against him, and thereon prayed the Earl to be mean to the King for him, that he might have justice ministered agreeable to the rule

Elizabeth.
1580–1. of the laws and persons of his quality, without torments or such like severity intended to be executed to draw him by the pains thereof either to untrue and unhonest accusations, or else to intolerable griefs.

Albeit he was at the first in good hope that this suit, in the equity thereof, should have been favourably allowed, yet seeing soon after both his goods and possessions seized and disposed before any charge or summons given him, contrary to the course of their laws, and also many other strange extremities prosecuted against him beyond order and ordinary justice; therefore, distrusting that, in the present fury of his enemies prevailing now in Court, the like outrage should be practised on his person and life, as wrongfully is done in his possessions aforesaid, he made choice to resort to her majesty's support, and thereon came hither, attending now her good pleasure as well for grant of timely relief to the Earl of Morton—who trusts assuredly that in this needful case her majesty will neither forget his former services done to her, nor yet abandon him, according to her mind and resolution lately commanded by her to be signified to him by myself —as also for such further disposition of himself and his cause as shall best "like" and content her. Wherein he yields that upon any demand to be made to her majesty, he may be at all times delivered by her to answer and underlie the laws to be executed in ordinary and lawful manner, and without tortures or such like severities. In which respects I have with better will received him, and do thereon receive and keep him in this town, humbly praying to be directed what I shall further do to and with him.

He still looks for the King's answer to his said petition, and rests, nevertheless, to be disposed as shall please her majesty. Moreover, he is very desirous to be licensed to repair to her majesty that with better effect he may follow and solicit the suits of the Earl of Morton and himself to her majesty. Wherein also I humbly pray speedy direction. My servant lately addressed into Scotland to learn the certainty of these new accidents returned yesternight, giving me to understand that on Saturday the last day of December—as before has been signified—Captain James Stewart, with the privity and special commandment of the King, and in the Council Chamber, in the presence of the King and that Council, accused the Earl of Morton for the murder of the King's father, not opening particularly at that time any other offence against him, as once was intended, and as is pretended to be done hereafter.

After large discourse made by the Earl for his own acquittal, he concluded with such sharp words against the captain, his accuser, that the captain returning to him like and bitter terms, they were ready to pass to blows; which was chiefly stayed by the Lords Lindsay and Cathcart, and the Earl was removed into the chapel to his own servants, and the captain put out of the other door to the Gordons and others, who waited there in great number and looked for the beginning of the broil.

Albeit many of the friends and servants of the Earl, being a great strength and able to have delivered him at his pleasure, persuaded the Earl to put himself in safety, yet he refused to tarry with them, and returned to the Council; and James Stewart, understanding of his presence there, rushed in again. Whereupon a new ruffle began, which was likewise stayed by the lords aforesaid; and hereupon all

Elizabeth.
1580–1. the Earl's servants and friends were commanded upon pain of treason to depart, and whereunto the Earl commanded them to obey.

The Earl of Argyll, Lord Chancellor, the chief instrument against Morton, asked the Earl of Angus, then sitting in the Council with them, what should be done. But Angus alleging that the matter so narrowly touched and concerned him that he would not vote therein. Likewise the Earl of Lennox refused to vote. At length the Earl of Eglinton persuaded that the King's Advocate and counsel might be conferred with. Which Advocate being ready, affirmed that upon such accusations of treasons the party accused ought to be committed to safe custody and afterwards tried, as to the laws and case should appertain. Whereupon the Earl of Morton was committed to a chamber in the Holyrood House and there kept until the next Monday, on which day he was conveyed to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remains.

The town of Edinburgh and many others offered liberally for his delivery. Nevertheless, he always refused to be delivered in any sort, other than by the order of the laws.

Mr. John Cragge in his sermon on the Sunday following, upon the leading of his text, inveighed greatly against false accusations; whereon Captain James Stewart, as it is informed for truth, threatened him with his dagger drawn, charging him to forbear to touch him, or otherwise he should receive his reward.

The Earl of Angus suiting to the King to have the possession of the houses of the Earl of Morton, for preservation of them and all other things until his trial, obtained the King's grant with some difficulty, and with condition that it should not prejudice the King's right. Nevertheless, the Council there resident will not assent thereto.

Angus continues in Court and in hope to relieve the Earl of Morton by peaceable means; which he thinks may be easily affected in case Morton shall agree to run the course with others that shall neither please her majesty nor profit his own sovereign, neither turn to the good of the public wealth. But if he cannot prevail to win the Earl's liberty in quiet and honest sort, then he purposes to assay other means, trusting therein greatly on her majesty's comfort and aid; and he rests, as he has sent me word, at her majesty's devotion with his heart and service next his own sovereign.

The Lord Boyd—accused also for the murder of the King's father—is summoned to appear, and not yet come.

Many of the nobility, the town of Edinburgh, the ministers, and others of good account and forces lament and condemn this sort of dealing against the Earl of Morton, whose troubles, they think, grow much more upon his inward affection to her majesty and the irreconcilable suspicion thereby continued betwixt him and Lennox, than upon any just and true cause or matter objected against him.

It was with subtle practice devised and given forth that Sir James Balfour was returned into Scotland with store of treasure and to approve the accusation against Morton, and the same is still maintained so far that sundry have affirmed that they have seen and spoken with him. Nevertheless, it is affirmed to me for certain that he is not come into Scotland. It is likewise given out that Mr. Alexander Hume shall be returned again; but I am also in that part

Elizabeth.
1580–1. informed, that whereas the King and Council had resolved to have written to her majesty, chiefly in Border causes, the Earl of Lennox, after the resolution, willed Dunfermline in the King's name to forbear to give thanks generally to, or to seek anything of her majesty other than the peace and quietness of the Borders.

It is now thought as dangerous in Scotland to confer with an Englishman as "to rubbe on the infected with the plague," and most men fly the English company; yet there is a remnant that abide at her majesty's devotion, which may be continued and enlarged at her pleasure. I send inclosed the double of a letter written by Mr. Archibald Douglas. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Jan. 7. **656.** [ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BOWES].

Cott. Calig., C. IX., fol. 17. The Earl of Morton and he are charged with abominable conspiracies and executing the murder of King Henry. The authors of the accusation know their innocency. Nine persons were executors of that abominable fact and put to death. This untrue accusation is intended for a cloak to other pretended intentions. The ground thereof is a "precogitate" malice conceived by the Earl of Lennox against the Earl of Morton, whereof the Earl was advertised by a friend, who showed him that the Earl of Lennox was informed that he should have moved the Queen of England to anger against him, that he should have stirred up the ministers against him, and that he had raised up and laboured a number of the Council and a faction of the nobility to conjoin together and say to the King that it was not convenient for his majesty to make equality betwixt the Queen of England's father and the Earl of Lennox's company, but rather that he should abandon the one to get the other. In all these things he [Douglas] was burdened as the chief doer and travailer.

To prevent this last suspicion and to make haste to advance their other ill designs all this matter was devised against the Earl of Morton and him, to have been put in execution as suddenly as they could, in this manner, that the Earl of Morton should either be executed without form of justice or apprehended in the Council, that men should be directed to apprehend him [Douglas], and if he made resistance to have cut him off. From which cruelty it pleased Almighty God to preserve him by escaping out of his own house on 31st of October, at midnight, being advertised from Edinburgh of the fury used against the Earl of Morton. Since his escape great diligence has been used to apprehend him, and by torments to draw forth some untruth that may accuse the Earl of Morton. For avoiding such inconveniences, has retired to Berwick, from whence he may by writing crave of the King of Scotland that it may please him and his Council to appoint any time and place in Scotland where he may in surety receive trial by the laws of Scotland. Requests relief from the Queen of England. Will solicit every one of the Council of Scotland that he may have trial according to the laws of Scotland. Berwick.

2¼ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.* *Imperfect.*

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Jan. 8.

657. WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

For his better instruction sends him a copy of a letter received from Mr. Bowes since his [Randolph's] departure, touching the pretended causes of the late apprehension and imprisoning of the Earl of Morton, and for that the principal matter they charge him withal is to have been an actor in the murder of the King's father, whereof, though perhaps he was made privy that such a thing was intended, as Ruthven and others who now favour D'Aubigny's party were in like sort, yet he does not think that they can ever bring him within the compass of being an actor in it, by proving that it was done either by his consent or assistance. Does not, therefore, doubt but that if this point be chiefly urged against him he [Randolph] will be well able to answer for him therein, and to object to them, that if it were justice only that they sought, they should execute the same indifferently as well on others who are as deeply to be touched with the matter as on Morton, and not to address themselves to him only.

If on his way he shall meet any of Mr. Bowes' packets directed to the Lord Treasurer and him, or to either of them, he may, for his better direction, open them, returning them hither with the superscription to Walsingham only, and he will tell the Lord Treasurer that he opened them.

When he meets the Lord President* is to advise him that if he thinks these leaders who are presently in the north unfit or insufficient to be used in this service he is to write hither for some to be sent to him from hence, amongst whom it were very fit that his lordship had Captain Shute in respect of his skill and experience in the wars. Whitehall. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 8.

658. HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 10.

Received his letters of the 5th instant about 4 o'clock this morning, by which he gives him notice of her majesty's purpose to send him to Newcastle, *etc.*, that he may aforehand put himself in readiness for that service. Thanks him for the warning, and, by the grace of God, he will be ready to serve her in any place and in any sort she shall please to command him, to the spending of his life and all that he has.

But, for the saving of Morton, he thinks that will be past help before she can send any thither. Yet, if it be so, he could wish that she were pleased to show herself now to be as willing and as able to strike the stroke in the government of that State as heretofore she has been. Has no doubt she can do it if she pleases. Though Morton be gone, as he fears he will be, yet her majesty may in nowise suffer D'Aubigny to have the rule. Is bold to write to him what he thinks, and although he cannot think that all Scotland can yield her majesty such an instrument as Morton was in many respects, yet some may be found fit enough to serve that turn, and, perhaps, in some respects better than Morton, if he may be better backed than of late Morton has been. But, howsoever that be, D'Aubigny must not have the

* Huntingdon.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. chief rule. If he be in error, he should be glad to understand it. Is of opinion that if he holds the course he begins, the King and State shall be utterly alienated from her majesty, to their ruin and the great trouble of England, which now may haply be prevented. Surely if Morton should lose his life, how much soever D'Aubigny may flatter with her majesty, there is no course can prove so good as either to procure the utter rejection of him, or to establish another equal with him. The bell is calling him to the sermon. York. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 11. **659.** ROBERT BOWES TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 6. This day there is a great assembly at Edinburgh, chiefly of the Earl of Morton's adversaries, who seek to cut him off by trial of an inquest, not agreeable to order of law. His barony of Aberdore is given to James Stewart, his accuser, and the parsonage of Glasgow, appertaining to Mr. Archibald Douglas, is bestowed on the Laird of Minto and his brother the Prior of Blantyre. The life of the Earl of Morton gets in great peril. Angus has been greatly sought to abandon Morton and to join with Lennox; but all in vain, for Angus has resolved to stand fast to Morton. Boyd has not yet come in, but he is looked for. Lindsay misliking the order of dealing against Morton is departed home discontented. Archibald Steward will be chosen Provost of Edinburgh.

It seems that the time serves very aptly to move the Queen of England for a marshal to be appointed for this town. Requests his lordship to have Sir Henry Widdrington in remembrance for that post. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 11. **660.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 8. Has this day received very credible intelligence that the adversaries of the Earl of Morton think to put him very shortly to the knowledge, as they term it, of an inquest to be appointed by themselves for the surety and advancement of their purpose, and neither to have respect to form or law, nor yet to give him trial by his peers. They have already "disponed" his barony of Aberdore to Captain James Stewart, his suborned accuser. The Earl's friends sue and pray that the Queen of England send some personage of wisdom and reputation to Scotland to stay their inordinate proceedings, and withal to plant good forces on the Borders for succours, as occasion shall require.

All the friends of Lennox, Argyll, Lord Robert Stewart, and the Abbots of St. Combe and Newbottle, principal enemies to the Earl of Morton, will be together at Edinburgh this day to resolve for the progress in the cause against Morton. Some persuade to remove him to Dumbarton or Blackness, but most advise to give him indilate trial at Edinburgh, and like despatch to cut him off. James Stewart has said plainly that if they who put him to this office done against Morton do not now make an end of him, he will make an end of some of those who set him on in the execution of this office.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. The Earl of Angus has the keeping of Dalkeith and other houses of the Earl of Morton, and the King of Scots has dealt very earnestly and by many secret and subtle ways to persuade Angus to abandon the Earl of Morton and to join firmly with Lennox, according to their late bond and promise of friendship. Sundry doubted that Angus would have been overtaken with fair speeches; but he is now warned and armed against the same, and has also put on a resolution to relieve the Earl, his uncle, by all the means he can. For which purpose he has retired to Tantallon, seeking his uncle's relief. He has some want of powder to serve him in his house and otherwise, and he lacks money to entertain such horsemen ss he would levy. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:*—1 last, 500*l.*]. For his supply whereof he purposes to require him [Bowes] to support him. Requests them to give him direction with speed what he shall do upon any such request coming to him.

Lord Boyd is not yet come in. Lord Lindsay will not return to the rest of the Council about the King, notwithstanding he has been sent for and persuaded to the same. Many other noblemen show themselves greatly displeased, so that the matter is like to work trouble and great confusion among them.

The King and Council seeking to have Edinburgh at their devotion, and against Morton, intend to remove "Sanders" Clarke, provost of Edinburgh, and to put Archibald Stewart, brother to the Abbot of St. Combe, in his place.

Montbirneau has hitherto been stayed, partly by default of a ready wind, but chiefly to see and carry with him the report of the success of the trial of Morton. He is ready to sail for Flanders in a ship of Leith, called the *Mary's Grace*, appertaining to Andrew Lambe of Leith. The owner of the ship informs for certain that he shall touch in Flanders. He shall be fraught with letters and with the whole despatch into France. Leaves to their good consideration and order whether a good service might haply be found to meet with him and his pack. Is advertised, yet not so credibly that he can affirm it for truth, that Montbirneau is directed to the Dukes of Guise and Aumale, to travail that the Duke of Aumale with 1000 Frenchmen may be speedily sent to the King of Scotland for his guard and surety. Besides that, the French King has offered to give to the King of Scotland 30,000 crowns yearly in pension, and also to pay the King of Scotland the 100,000 guilders payable yearly to his mother, in case she will consent thereto.

"98" has lately offered very frankly and with good hope of assured success to —* in case the same shall be thought good for the Queen of England's service. Upon the accomplishment of the execution whereof he desires to be enabled by her majesty to retain it as he shall be directed, and that either in the prosperous event of the enterprise or the defeat of the same on the attempt given and discovered, he may be received and relieved by her as his service shall deserve. It is thought that the matter may be achieved within few days, and without great difficulty. Albeit he entertains it to be attempted in season, and as her majesty shall best like, yet he is not hasty to make any resolute promise or be seen to deal therein directly with her

* Some words in cipher.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. majesty's privity before he sees good surety of the success and understands her pleasure in the same. Requests to be directed what to do in this behalf. It has been signified to him that a lawyer lately returned from the schools in France, and newly elected to be an advocate, in his theme chosen to be declared before the Lords of the Sessions, according to the manner there used in the allowance of every advocate, propounded and maintained that the King of Scotland was rightly King of Scotland and also of England; and albeit he was advised by some wise before his coming to that place not to treat of any such matter, yet he proceeded with his purpose; for the which he has hitherto received little blame. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 12. **661.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 14. This packet is the longer on the way as he met it almost at Doncaster, and finding it of so much importance and needful for the Lord President [Huntingdon] to know, has brought it back with him to York, and the Lord President being now fully informed of the state of that cause, he remits it to him again. Departs this morning. Neither good horse, fair way nor good weather. Has charged the posts to let no man ride without commission. Has willed that all "packes" from the north pass by York to the Lord [President] until his lordship comes to Newcastle. York. *Signed:* Thos. Randolphe.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 13. **662.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 12. Forgot to let him know in his last what he purposed after the receipt of the commission and instructions from the Queen of England for the order of this country, that the people appointed for war, as appears by the last certificate, should be in readiness for any sudden service so furnished as was then certified. Hopes the action in hand will not require so great an aid, yet because he knows the unreadiness of the country for lack of furniture, and may doubt what should be needful, he thought it not unfit to call upon them. But thinks surely, except the furniture for the corselet, pike, caliver, and murriane come from her majesty, it will be long before this country be furnished in such sort as is certified, save only for the money, which he thinks will be always ready to be answered for that number. Mr. Randolph spoke to him of Captain Shute to be employed: if he finds by letters from Berwick any likelihood of having any service here, he shall do well to send the man, and he shall not want his furtherance to do what he desires for him.

Thinks that Morton will not live long, yet does not hear of his death but by false bruits which are rifely spread thereof. Would make more haste to Newcastle than he does if he heard of Lord Hunsdon's coming. The letters sent with these were forgotten to be sent with the last packet. York. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Jan. 13.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 16.

663. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO HUNTINGDON.

Whereas in the instructions lately sent to him from the Queen of England it was signified to him that a mass of treasure should be sent to him for her service, as the matters of Scotland should fall out, they have thought meet to let him understand that 5000*l.* are delivered to Lord Hunsdon, whereof 3000*l.* are appointed to be delivered over to him, which he is to employ for such service as he, with the consent of Lord Hunsdon and the other Wardens appointed to repair to Newcastle for his better assistance, shall be thought meet to be put in execution; and to the intent that a due account may be kept, when any cause of employment shall fall out, the said 3000*l.* should be delivered to Robert Bowes, treasurer of Berwick.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 14.

664. HUNTINGDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Thanks him for his two letters, one dated at Topcliffe, and the other at Northallerton. The last came yesternight "at fyve howres in the evenynge," with a letter inclosed from Mr. Bowes, which he liked well of; but has since received another from him, which he has missed. Likes this worse than the former, and now doubts that his errand for Morton will prove to be but lost labour, for he fears he will be headless before he [Randolph] arrives at Edinburgh. Has heard nothing from Lord Hunsdon, neither is there any speech on the way of his coming that he can learn, which is very strange to him, and until he hears of him he can do little at Newcastle. Desires to hear from him daily. York. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

¾ *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Randolph.*

Jan. 14.

665. WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Received advertisements this afternoon from the Low Countries that a gentleman out of Scotland lately arrived there to make provision corselets and as many [ ]*, which makes him think that the King of Scots means to go forward with the action he has entered into, in despite of those who favour Morton, as also considering the small portion of treasure "Millenarius" is thought to be furnished withal, he does it not without foreign support. The Council have written to the Prince of Orange to make stay of the said provision, putting him in mind how prejudicial it may be to the [ ]* of [ ]* that any [ ]* should be wrought between England and Scotland, and also to send some gentleman to the King of Scots to advise him to beware of the counsels of D'Aubigny, for he has received some secret advertisements of an intended alteration in that estate, whereof he is sent thither to be a principal member.

An ambassador sent thither from the Duke of Savoy with the Garter desired leave to pass into Scotland, which was denied him The demanding thereof at this time makes them suspect wrong measure. Whitehall.

¾ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.* *Partly in cipher.*

* In cipher.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. [Jan.]

666. COMMISSION TO HUNSDON BY ELIZABETH.

Directed to her trusty and right welbeloved Councillor, Henry, Lord of Hunsdon, of the honourable Order of the Garter, knight, Lord Warden of the East Marches towards Scotland. For the special trust and confidence that she has conceived in his approved wisdom and experience by former service done to her in the wars, she constitutes and ordains him her Lieutenant and Captain General of her army, levied and to be levied by Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of her Council in the north parts for the defence of the Borders aforesaid, and further to lead the same army into Scotland, there to invade, if it shall be thought meet and convenient by the Lord President and the rest of the Council there for the defence of her realm, giving full power and authority to him to assemble and cause, for the purpose aforesaid, from time to time, according to his discretion, all and singular captains, petty captains, men-of-arms, archers, soldiers, horsemen, footmen, and all other persons levied or retained in his army by the Earl of Huntingdon, and the same to be under his charge, rule, leading, and government, and to cause them to be well and sufficiently armed and weaponed, and not only to lead and conduct the same army not only for the defence, safety, and sure keeping of her said Borders, but also with the army to invade and give battle or otherwise to annoy and resist all her enemies in the realm of Scotland or the dominions thereof, and all such as now be or hereafter during the time of this her commission shall fortune to be her enemies, and their countries and dominions, as often as it shall be thought meet and convenient by the said Lord President, him her Lieutenant General, and the rest of her Council in the north, and to make orders, laws, and proclamations from time to time for the leading, order, rule, and good government of her said army, and to make and constitute all such captains, petty captains, and officers as to his discretion shall seem meetest. Further, she gives full power and authority to him not only to hear, examine, and determine by himself or his sufficient deputy or deputies all causes criminal, murmurances, mutinies, disobediences, and departures from captains, rulers, and governors of her said army, and all other unlawful acts and deeds, of what nature, name or quality soever they be, done and committed by any persons of her said army, and to judge, execute, and punish the offenders by death, imprisonment, or other corporal means whatsoever, according to the laws martial, but also to hear and determine all such contracts, matters, causes, and complaints as shall happen to arise between any persons of her said army, and generally to do all and every other thing and things which to the office of her Lieutenant or Captain General of her army appertain and belong. Gives him power by his letters or bills not only to cause so much of her money and treasure as shall be delivered to him by the Earl of Huntingdon to be laid out and disbursed, but also so much of artillery and munition to be employed and set forth and bestowed for the maintaining of her said army in needful pay as to him [Hunsdon] shall be thought meet, necessary, and convenient. Charges and commands all and singular captains, *etc.*, and all subjects and soldiers in her said army to be aiding, helping, and assisting and at the commandment of her said Lieutenant and Captain General in the due execution thereof, as

Elizabeth.
1580–1. they will answer to the contrary at their uttermost peril. These her letters patent shall be a sufficient warrant for the performing thereof. This commission is to continue during her pleasure.

2¾ *pp.* *Fair copy.*

Jan. 15. **667.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO MR. ROBERT BOWES, TREASURER OF BERWICK.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 18.

On receipt of his letters of the 11th instant touching the matters of Scotland, they have after some consultation thought good to answer the principal parts of the same, as follows. First;—for the strengthening of the Borders, order is already given to the Earl of Huntingdon for the levying and placing of 2000 footmen and 500 horsemen in those parts. Is to confer with Mr. Vernon, the victualler, how provision of two months' victuals may be in readiness for that number at Berwick. Order is given for the defraying thereof. Are desirous of having some certificate from Mr. Vernon what quantity of victuals remains in his hands. Is to advertise the Earl of Huntingdon by what time the provision will be made.

Whereas he writes that the Earl of Angus desires to be relieved from the Queen of England with some money and powder, they think it meet that he put him in comfort to be supplied with the one and the other. Is to use his credit in the best sort he may for furnishing him with 200*l.* Is to help him with half a last or more of powder out of the store at Berwick.

1¼ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk.)

Jan. 15. **668.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 20.

Whereas by letters of the 11th instant from Mr. Bowes the Queen of England has been given to understand of the disorderly proceedings in Scotland, her pleasure is that 2000 footmen and 500 horsemen be presently laid on the Borders. The horsemen are to be levied as follows,—in the East Marches, 100; in the Middle Marches, 100; in the West Marches, 100; and in Yorkshire 200. For the footmen, 1600 are to be levied in Yorkshire; 200 at Berwick and thereabouts, by the drum; and 200 in the Bishopric of Durham. Is to use as great expedition as may be in the levying thereof, and to have especial care that the gear is committed to such as are known to be well-given in religion and affected to her majesty's service.

Because they are of opinion that Sir Robert Stapleton and Sir William Mallerie are men meet to be employed in this service, they have required them to repair down into the country, who, they suppose, are able by their tenants, kinsfolk, and friends to furnish 200 horse. Nevertheless, the employment of them is referred to his lordship's good consideration, who is best acquainted with the state of that country, and what sort every man is fit to serve.

Because it is thought that there will hardly be found so many armed and furnished men as are appointed, and it is requisite to have forthwith put in order, if there shall be any want within the counties, there shall be order given to the Master of the Ordnance at Berwick, upon his lordship's warrant, to deliver out of her majesty's store at Newcastle a sufficient quantity of corselets and shots for their better

Elizabeth.
1580–1. provision, if they shall want it. Have written to Mr. Bowes to confer with Mr. Vernon, the victualler of Berwick, about the provision for two months.

Whereas one Montbirneau is shortly to be despatched from Leith, who is thought to carry with him somewhat worth discovering, like as they have given order for the setting out of a barque secretly from Hawick to lie in wait for him, so they think it meet that the like should be done at Newcastle or Hull, and therefore pray him to cause someone to be forthwith laid upon that coast for the intercepting of him.

1½ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* "M[inute] to the Erle of Huntingdon. Forces to be layd uppon the Borders."

Jan. 15. **669.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 22. Having presently written to the Earl of Huntingdon of all matters come to his knowledge, forbears to trouble him with needless repetition. Because he is one of the burgesses of the Parliament for the borough of Appleby, co. Westmorland, and understands that the Parliament now holds, and that the borough may be amerced if he shall not be excused, requests that he may either be pardoned for his absence by her majesty's service or licensed to repair to the Parliament. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 16. **670.** ROBERT BOWES TO HUNTINGDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 24. On Saturday last Mr. Robert Danielson, Procurator Fiscal to the King of Scots, and Francis Cockburn, son of Captain Cockburn, deceased, came hither with the King's letters to him in their commendation, and for their passports to the Court. Because their passports were [ ] and the time of their coming suspicious he stayed them awhile and conferred with Mr. Randolph touching the manner of their despatch. In the meantime intercepted two letters sent to them severally from the Laird of Clarkston [Clarkinton] containing no matter of any great importance, and after their examination they were despatched to his lordship.

Is credibly advised that the adversaries of the Earl of Morton basely seek his life by all covert and indirect means. Some persuade to remove him to Dumbarton, some to Blackness, and some would have him transported by Montbirneau to France. The Earl of Angus is very careful to prevent these dangers, having for that purpose been lately in Fife and solicited his friends to join with him. He likewise sent to the Earl of Mar to join with him, who with sundry others of the nobility are well disposed in this case.

The Earl of Morton and his best friends understand her majesty's care and purpose to relieve him, and the coming of Mr. Randolph to that purpose, whereby they are greatly comforted and crave his speedy access.

Sir James Balfour being arrived in Scotland and secretly conveyed to Edinburgh, is not willing to justify the accusation of James Stewart against the Earl so largely as was looked for. He is ready to show a writing and band made and subscribed by Morton and

Elizabeth.
1580–1. sundry other noblemen, being after the slaughter of the King's father, and tending to maintain the King's mother and her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, and also his justification ratified by Act of Parliament. For the contracting of which band, before the making of the same, he has the King's mother's commandment and her licence in writing; and because this instrument to be produced by Balfour does not prove any treason in Morton, as was objected, his accusers are said to be in some dissension, and chiefly Balfour and Stewart, and thereby driven by indirect means to affect their desires.

Newbottle and some other principal instruments of these troubles would now be thought to have been no dealers in this matter, yet Morton and his friends seeing their doings little credit them. The summons for the appearance of the Earl and Countess of Mar is not prosecuted, as was intended, for that manner of proceeding was seen to offend the nobility and State so generally that it was thought meet to forbear it for a season.

The King has appointed six Councillors to supply the default of his presence in all Councils, giving them power to vote and do all things in Council for him and the State as if he were present. This new authority is condemned, and not like to be long practised. Sundry of the Council, Lords of the Sessions, and others about the King should have been removed, but the King misliking the same, it is deferred. On Saturday last Carmichael received a discharge of his keeping of Tiviedale, and the same is intended to be committed to the Laird of Cesford, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland.

Balfour is called in by Lennox without the King's knowledge; for the King being advertised of his being in Edinburgh and that he was a principal executioner of his father's slaughter, denied with an oath to be acquainted therewith, affirming that it should be an acceptable service to make it known where he was.

It is confirmed to him that Richard King, a lawyer, interpreting [the bishop of] Ross' book and commenting the same, laboured to prove that the King had good title after the death of his mother to the crowns of these two realms, adding an exhortation to the King to seek the possession thereof, and also great praise of the King of Spain. Montbirneau is ready to take ship with pretence to sail for Flanders, but his purpose is for France. It is advertised that Lord Herries being moved to come in embassage to the Queen of England from the King, refused. He seems to dissent much from the rest in this course against Morton, and purposes for that cause to retire to his house.

1¾ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "16 January, 1580. Extract of M^r^ Robert Bowes lettre to the L. Lieutenant of the North."

Jan. 17. **671.** LORD SCROPE TO THOMAS RANDOLPH

Has this day received his letter dated at Morpeth the 14th instant, after ten o'clock in the forenoon, whereby he may perceive what negligence is in the posts, now even in this busy time, which requires a great deal more diligence, wherein he trusts he will take better order with them.

Understands by his said letter his repair hither and some part of

Elizabeth.
1580–1. his errand, and withal his request that he should retain in devotion towards the Queen of England the lords his neighbours and others in Scotland. As in this his errand he wishes him good success, so he thinks good to signify to him what he has done in the others since the Earl of Morton's captivity.

Immediately after understanding given him of his committal, hearing by a secret friend that Lord Herries was to be suspected a principal against him, although he was then at Terregles, he sent to him, as of himself, by a servant of his own, advising him to take good regard that he had no dealings any way to the prejudice of the Earl of Morton, assuring him that in his opinion her majesty would take his committing very grievously, and account all the practisers and dealers therein to be her unfriends. Hears that he [Herries] is more "qualified." But Randolph will soon decipher him.

Cannot assure him of any faithful friends of calling that the Earl has in these parts, but only his own brother Mr. George Douglas, the young Laird of Drumlanrig, and the Laird of Johnstone, now Warden, whom he finds very faithfully bent to the conservation of the amity between these two realms. Lord Maxwell shows himself an open enemy.

Sundry practices have been devised to break the borderers on both sides, specially to ride upon the Earl's dependers and friends, which for his part he has somewhat prevented with the borderers under his charge, and will do diligence so to keep them, so that whosoever shall attempt anything in that sort against him or any of his shall feel the smart of their deservings.

According to his advice he has sent this bearer, his servant "Gares" Richie to him, by whom he prays him to signify to him by his letters how he finds things there, and what course he would have him use, which he will assuredly follow. The time is so short before he sets forth to meet the Lord Lieutenant [Huntingdon], that he cannot have conference with any of his neighbours of that realm. But, truly, in his opinion, what countenance or show soever any of them make—the three before named excepted—they bear no goodwill to the Earl or his course. So long as D'Aubigny and his assistants be there in Court and carry credit, small hope of amity towards the Queen of England or England is to be expected, and so much he wrote to Hunsdon of his opinion. Carlisle. *Signed:* H. Scrope.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 22. **672.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.

At my arrival at Berwick I wrote to your honour. Since my coming to Edinburgh, which was on Wednesday* last, I have made two despatches to my Lord Lieutenant [Huntingdon], to which I trust your honour is and shall be privy from his lordship, to save my double labour, which I am not able to perform, having both my hands and head so full that more I am sure you would not wish to be layed on one man.

I received your honour's letter of the 14th. I cannot learn here that any such provision is making in Flanders of armour as you write

* 18th.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. of, nor such store of money among them. Notwithstanding, it shall be well to stay it there, as also hasten some man from thence to this King, which will do very much good, as also to stay him who comes from the Duke until the forces be laid upon the Borders, which requires speed. D'Aubigny requires to speak with me; which yet I have refused. The more that can be found, the better ground for me to deal upon. For the rest I refer your honour to that which I have written to my Lord Lieutenant. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

Postscript.—I pray you vouchsafe me in your superscriptions the name of an ambassador to save my throat from cutting, "yf I be otherwyse taken, or be thoughte to be but compagnion to Churchyarde that is here greate in Courte, and as he saythe hym self the King's man. I praye your honour lette me knowe what he was that he laste slewe, whiche as he saythe is the cawse of his commynge hyther." I pray your honour be good to the state of St. Peter's Hill. I commit to your charge my whole authority of the stewardship of Milton in Kent, and constableship of the castle of Queenborough, reserving the fee to myself. If I die I pray you get it to yourself that you may be good to my son Tom, whom I give to you when I am dead. During Sir Robert Constable's life the fee is mine, though the patent is not in my own name. I have written to the bailiff of Milton, my servant John Woode, to attend upon your honour if the knight of the isle of Shepey disturb my rest. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 22. **673.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO THE LORD PRESIDENT.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 124. Had audience again of the King of Scots yesterday, many being present, but none privy to their speech. Reminded him shortly of what he had said before touching the Earl of Morton, both for his innocency and the Queen of England's grief that such a personage should be otherwise dealt with than with all favour and honour. His grace's answer was that nothing should be done to him. Declared what misliking the Queen of England would have when she should understand that he was removed from Edinburgh Castle to Dumbarton, not an hour before his [Randolph's] arrival. To which he said that his Council so advised him, doubting what practices his friends would use either to give him intelligence or to convey him away. Took occasion hereupon to say that if all intelligence were taken away between the good subjects of both the realms, the amity could not long continue; which manifestly appeared, for that many noblemen, gentlemen, and others with whom heretofore he had been familiar are all now as strange to him as if he had set fire in their chief city. He said to him that it should not be so, and that it was not his meaning. Said that he had to open to his grace a matter of greater consequence than any that had yet been spoken of, tending to greater mischief, even to the overthrow of himself and his estate if in time it were not foreseen. Which was this, that the Queen of England has discovered by certain intelligence from many parts that such

* The Earl of Huntingdon.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. instruments were crept into his realm as sought the subversion of religion, restoring of the papacy, and bringing home of such as had been authors of all the mischiefs and so much bloodshed in Scotland.

Continued long in this purpose and talk, with some earnestness of speech to let him see the danger he was in, and prayed his grace to think upon the remedies in due time, and to purge his realm of such as disturbed the quietness thereof, whereunto he should lack neither help nor counsel if he would make account of the Queen of England in very deed, as often as he had promised.

His answer was, "Mr. Randolphe, these are matters endeede of great weight: will ye that I expound them to any of my Counsell, or will ye doe it?" Referred that to his majesty's will, with request also, that, if he thought it good, he might have a time to speak with them as well of this as of other things necessary to be spoken of; which he found very good, and said he would send some of them to him.

Made no mention of D'Aubigny in all this talk, forbearing that and much more which he minds [not] to speak until he be assured that his lordship has placed sufficient forces on the Borders, which he prays him to see done with speed, and as secretly as may be, lest these men, being thoroughly crabbed, as he minds to make them, if Morton be not delivered, prevent his lordship before his men be placed. Is not minded to make the fire greater than he has water to quench it.

If he were sure he would back him he would make him a party sufficient to do as his lordship advises him, more or less; but his chiefest purpose is to set Morton at liberty before he seeks to remove D'Aubigny; without which, farewell all friendship between the countries. The better to convey his matter he sends some countenance to D'Aubigny, only to drive time till he strengthens the Borders and knows further his lordship's mind.

The King doubts that somewhat is intended by his lordship's coming to Newcastle, but leaves him so to guess what he likes. He sent the Laird of Cesford to the Borders six days past, and Andrew Carre of Fauldonside yesternight. If Sir John Foster now demands a meeting, he may, perchance, find what they intend.

Yesterday afternoon there came to his lodging the Commendator of Dunfermline, the Abbot of Newbottel, and Lord Herries, as the King had promised. Received good words of them by the King of the Queen of England's favour and love towards their sovereign, and the great desire he had for the continuance of amity between the two countries, with many like good purposes, which he liked well of, and prayed God that he might see it in effect. Told them the cause of his present coming, and, in effect, the whole conference had with the King at both times of his audience. Let them know how dangerous a matter it is to bring their King into suspicion of his subjects, or subjects into fear of him, as now the Earl of Angus is, who dare not come into the King's presence though his innocency be most assured. Told them that it was a strait law to put a nobleman in prison upon a private man's occasion, and bade them look to it who are noblemen. Prayed them to advertise well their King to beware how he enters into blood. Having ended, they said that they would faithfully report what he had said. But, being ready to

Elizabeth.
1580–1. depart, the Commendator took him aside and said that the Earl of Lennox would gladly speak with him to purge himself of that suspicion the Queen of England had of him; or if he would not, that he would send Captain Errington. Both which he refused, and said plainly that he had matter to charge him of many evil offices tending to the breach of peace, and worse than that; and for that he was loth to burden the King's ears with too much at once he forbore that until a further time. Begs him to strengthen his Borders as soon as he can, for now he has no more matter to protract the time. Is informed he will submit himself to the Queen of England and offer all trial of his innocency. Believes little Montbirneau has been departing these ten days. Thinks he stays but to hear what he proponed to the King, and what suit is made for Morton. He is a perilous knave in great credit here. If some contrary wind would blow him into "Adrinopalis" it were happy for them. Incloses a copy of Mr. Secretary Walsingham's letter to him, and requests him to send it to the Prince of Orange. Requests his advice in all these matters, especially for sending or speaking to D'Aubigny.

The Earl of Angus still lies out, and dare not go to the King. In the day he keeps the house at Dalkeith, and at night the fields with his friends. The Earl of Rothes, his father-in-law, has been with him to persuade him to come. He rests on his [Randolph's] advice and such assurance as he will give in her majesty's name to maintain him if he abide out. If his lordship will assure him of good maintenance, doubts not but to bring the best and greatest part of this nation to be at her majesty's devotion. Requests advice with speed.

The Earl of Mar is come to the King, and is well used. His love is great towards the Earl of Angus. Henry Keir, servant to the Earl of Lennox, came to him using this speech, that forasmuch as the Earl knew that the Queen of England had been heavily informed against him, and many untrue reports were made of him, to his great grief, who so much honours her majesty, he desired that he would be content to hear what he would say in his purgation. To which he answered, that he knew what cause her majesty has to be offended, and that he meant very shortly to open it to the King, before himself, sufficiently to be verified by that which he has to show, and that being done, he would refuse no speech or conference with him, and so dismissed the messenger. Edinburgh.

5⅓ *pp.* *Copy.*

Jan. 25. **674.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Is sorry to hear of the removal of the Earl of Morton to the Castle of Dumbarton, advertised to the Lord Lieutenant [Huntingdon] by his letters of the 18th and 19th instant, which gives him little cause to hope that his mediation for him in the Queen of England's name will take that effect that is desired, men showing themselves to be so passionately carried into that action as he writes they are, and therefore, it being likely that they must fall to a more violent course to prevent the mischiefs that otherwise threaten to follow these new stirs, the 2000 footmen and 500 horsemen appointed to be hasted to the Borders will, he fears, prove too weak a power to do any good

Elizabeth.
1580–1. withal, if occasion should require, since the Queen of England, for aught that he can hitherto gather by his letters, is not likely to find any great party in Scotland. In which behalf he may do well to lay down particularly to the Council, as soon as he can, what the Queen of England may trust to and look for at their hands, and how the towns and nobility are affected in that cause, and also what course any of them is likely to run in case they may be assured of her assistance. Wherein they are to be dealt with what number [of soldiers] they will require; and for that it may fall out that they will attempt the transporting of Morton into France, what likelihood he sees of it, and whether it were not fit to have some ships in readiness to receive him and disappoint their purpose. Prays him also to write his opinion whether the Hamiltons might be used to good purpose for the strengthening of the Queen of England's party, and how he would wish that matter to be used. Whitehall. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p.* *The greater part in cipher.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 25. **675.** HUNTINGDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Received his letters of the 22nd yesterday morning, by which he learns what conference he had with the King of Scots the day before, and afterwards with Dunfermline. Is sure he knows the Scottish and French conditions so well that their speeches will not abuse him. But as he sees their deeds follow, so their words shall have credit with him when matters of such nature are in hand as now he has to deal with them for.

He [Randolph] has in hand both a general and a particular cause, and, in his mind, the handling of the last, well or ill, makes or mars the other. By the last, meaning his dealing for the Earl of Morton and using of D'Aubigny touching Morton, doubts what good he will do; and with the other he must be wary how he deals much, for the "phylide" and that company suspect more than in truth there is cause. But he [Randolph] knows how easily a jealousy may enter, and what that may work in some men's heads he can consider.

Also, he now knows how fit it is for the Queen of England to have a party. Whom can he find to be so fit as the Earl of Angus and those of that side, except the boroughs and barons, whom he may also make to stagger easily if he be too familar with D'Aubigny? He is to deal "parce" with this person, or not at all, unless he has other direction from the south, which he will be sorry to hear of, for that course will never do good. D'Aubigny cannot but practise till time may serve to bring foreign power thither. Therefore this is his counsel once again—to deal "parce" or not at all, but openly before others. If he deals by any occasion in private he is to let Angus and that side be so handled that they may have no cause to suspect him, which he thinks he can hardly avoid, for he knows diversity of humours are in divers persons, and the purpose which he is sure he most affects to be effected cannot proceed from him who depends on the Duke of Guise.

As for him he [Randolph] wishes to light in England, he thinks as he does. It may be so if God will. He must take good heed that the King of Scots be none of his company. Thinks in reason it should not be so;

Elizabeth.
1580–1. yet by some matter that was yesternight brought to this town by some that would to France, he [Huntingdon] may have cause to suspect such a matter. Urges him to look well to it. In the meantime has provided to meet therewith if God say "Amen." Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

Postscript.—Opened this again after it was sealed.

Lord Hunsdon came yesternight to this town. On Friday he goes towards Berwick. He has the Queen of England's commission by which he is appointed to be the Lieutenant and Captain General of the men now sent to the Borders. By this commission he has power to invade Scotland with his [Huntingdon's] advice, *etc.* He is an utter enemy to [D'Aubigny],* and so will show himself, as he says. Directs him to write to Hunsdon when he writes to him, or else he will open the packet as he did his last, and took a copy of it, which was sent to Mr. Secretary, and which he [Huntingdon] read last night.

1¾ *pp. Partly in cipher. Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 28. **676.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

The Queen of England being made acquainted with the contents of his letters of the 22nd instant written to the Lord-Lieutenant [Huntingdon] very well likes and allows his proceedings with the King of Scots, but is sorry to see the King so much inclined to give ear to ill counsel as to proceed in that violent sort he does against Morton for things whereof he is accused by only one witness, yet she doubts not but that when he shall have considered this advertisement sent to her from foreign parts that he has had in charge to acquaint him with and deeply weighed her friendly advice, he will then take some other course that shall be more for his safety hereafter, unless he be diverted from it by the persuasions of such as in giving him these violent counsels seem little to tender his well doing.

The Queen is glad of all the good hope he writes there is that she shall find a sufficient party in Scotland if they may be thoroughly backed and countenanced by her, which her pleasure is he shall in her name assure them of. But being desirous to understand the certainty of what strength it is likely to be, her majesty has willed him to renew again that which he wrote to him in his last, that he advertise particularly which of the nobility and what towns will incline to her. "She sends to the Prince of Orange about these." Stay of the provision of armour that is said to be made for the King [of Scots] in the Low Countries was performed more than a fortnight since. Whitehall. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p. One half in cipher. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 28. **677.** HUNTINGDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Received his of the 25th yesterday, by which he learns he was ready to go to the Court, so that by this time he sees what is like to

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. follow from his demands and persuasions. Hopes for better than some of the Court give out by letters which they write to their friends, some whereof he has seen. Guesses that [D'Aubigny] after this conference should lay many baits for him [Randolph], both by his own speeches and all other means that he can. Has no doubt of Randolph's wisdom and strength to overcome him and all his flattery, *etc.* For *decretum est*, the authority of [D'Aubigny] and the amity cannot agree together.

Their men [the English army] will be at the Borders this next week. 300 horse will be there on Monday or Tuesday next, he hopes: in every march 100, and another 200 shall come with all speed that may be.

Lord Hunsdon would have all the horsemen and footmen to come to Berwick, because he is Captain General of them; but that were not to strengthen the whole Borders. Hopes he will be otherwise persuaded when the men are come, and so in his mind it is meet he should be.

Has returned his [Randolph's] letters from Mr. Secretary. Prays him to remember the postscript in the last when he writes to him [Huntingdon] or any other.

To-morrow night Lord Hunsdon will be at Berwick. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 29. **678.** HUNTINGDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Arrived here yesternight to hasten the Yorkshire men, for there be so few gentlemen in the country by reason of the Parliament and term that the speed he looked for is not used; but trusts they will be at the Borders before Sunday, and to-morrow or Tuesday he will be at Newcastle again.

Will long to hear what follows from his conference; but guesses that as fair flattering answers shall be made as he can desire, yet trusts, except somewhat be done as well as said, he will "take words for no deeds."

Randolph writes that he believes the Queen of England may have this man at her devotion. If by that he means Lord Seton, who was the last named in his letter before, he can for his part wish it may prove so, but if he meant D'Aubigny, he would have answered "non credo." But in accepting the other he sees no danger, and therefore sees no cause to mislike his offer. Of this Randolph knows his mind, which he cannot alter, but he must do as wiser men advise and higher authority commands.

To satisfy his desire he will send him a letter in the cause of the Earl of Morton, but will not stay this post, because there is a great packet to him from Court. Will write to him again in the morning. Aukland. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

Postscript.—The stay of the Scottish ships was only because of the corn they had. Others that came in were stayed by the mayor, but dismissed by him the next day, and granted that those burdened with corn should seek the market and take the best price they could get. Willed the mayor not to interrupt them therein. If war should fall out corn will grow scant in Northumberland, *etc.* Advises all

Elizabeth.
1580–1. courtesy to be used to them and those who came before him, and [they] are passed into Scotland. Thinks they will not say that they are evil used, though stayed and only spoken with. Likes well that all courtesy should be used while there is hope by that means to do good, for he is a hearty favourer of the amity.

It shall be well done that he always write two letters to him if he has cause. He may do well to direct that which he would not have "Stratiotes" know to his [Randolph's] wife. Wishes him to write somewhat to Lord Hunsdon. If he sends therein a letter for his wife he will send it safe, for his wife is now at London. The ambassadors from the Duke of Savoy have returned.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham. Some words in cipher.*

679. JAMES VI. TO MARY.

C.P. vol. XI. Madam, I beg you very humbly to believe that it is not at all with my goodwill that your secretary has returned without having given me your letter and made known what you commanded him to tell me, having had much regret for what has happened; for I was very much displeased that anyone should think I would not bear you the honour and duty that I owe you, having hope that, in time, God will give me grace to give you proof of my good and affectionate friendship, knowing well enough that, after Him, all the honour that I have in this world I hold from you. I received the ring which it pleased you to send me, which I will keep well from honour to you, and I send you another which I beg you very humbly to be pleased to receive in as good part as I received yours. You have well made me see by the advertisements that it has pleased you to give me by your last letters how much you are my good mother, begging you very humbly that if you learn any more, to advertise me of it, to give therein the best order that will be possible for me, which I have already commenced, as you will learn by the Earl of Lennox. Begging you to be helpful to me, and to give me your good counsel and advice, which I want to follow to the end, to render you more certain that in everything which it pleases you to command me you will always find me your very obedient son.

Humbly kissing your hand and praying God, madam, to give you long and happy life. Edinburgh. *Signed:* always your obedient son, Jaques R.

Postscript in James VI's hand.—Madam, I recommend you the fidelity of my little monkey who only moves near me, by whom you will often send me your news.

1 *p. French. Addressed. Indorsed. No flyleaf.*

Jan. 29. **680.** HUNSDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Received his letter of the 29th at 8 o'clock this morning, for which he thanks him greatly, and prays that as he has occasion to write he may hear from him, for otherwise he is commanded to open all his letters that he sends, either to the Court or to the Lord Lieutenant [Huntingdon], for that the Queen of England has referred the direction of her causes to the Lord Lieutenant himself, and

Elizabeth.
1580–1. some others of her Council of the north. If they should stay here a resolution from the Court her majesty's service might be greatly hindered. The Queen has appointed him her Lieutenant and Captain General of her army, with full power to invade any part of Scotland as often as the Earl of Huntingdon, he, and the rest of the Council of the north shall think expedient. Requests his advice whether he should conceal the same for a time or cause it to be openly read at Berwick on Saturday, being market day.

It may be that the same being known to the King of Scots and his Council will make them the sooner take some good order for the Earl of Morton, and be some encouragement to the Queen of England's party there. Has thought good to advertise him of a very great outrage committed here lately within his wardenry by certain of West Tividale, whose names he thinks Mr. Bowes and Mr. Selby have given him notice of. They came in the daytime about 10 or 11 o'clock with six or seven score horse to a town called Heathpool, and there took three score oxen besides other cattle from the poor men going to plough, and hurt and wounded sundry the poor men, her majesty's subjects—an open breach of the peace, dishonourable to her majesty, injurious to her subjects, and discredit to him, her officer, to suffer the same unsatisfied or unrevenged. Prays him to let the King of Scots and his Council understand that as this fact is outrageous and not in manner of "stufte" or theft, but with open foray, as if it were open war; so it touches him and his Council, if they mean the continuance of the amity between the two realms, not only to cause present restitution of the goods, but also to command some of the principal doers thereof—who, though they be gentlemen, are but common thieves—to be delivered to his hands, at Berwick, to receive such punishment as to such a notorious fact appertains, and the laws of the Borders permit and appoint. If the King or his Council shall refuse this, he protests to them he will be revenged thereof ere it be long, as they shall have small joy to hear of it, for he will not suffer too great indignity used to her majesty nor so great dishonour to himself unrepaired or unrevenged. On Saturday last he caused 200 soldiers of Berwick to be laid on the Borders, though a little too late. As the rest, who come out of Yorkshire and other places, will be at Newcastle to-morrow, so he will plant them in places convenient, and then he doubts not but they will be ready and glad to minister justice, whereof they [the English] have had but a little —only fair words and promises, whereof they have store, which must no longer go for payment. Is ready to take his horse towards Berwick. Widdrington [Witherington]. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1580–1.] **681.** AFFAIRS OF THE BORDERS.
Jan. 31. "Answere to the Scotts K^s^. demands."
Cott. Calig., C. III., fol. 142.

The requisition of the King's servant accompanied with his master's instructions and letters prevailed so far with her majesty that the imprisonment of the gentlemen complained on shortly followed, before they were heard in their own cause, or convicted of the crime objected either by course of Border law or by virtue of the last treaty,

Elizabeth.
1580–1. wherein, if her majesty observed not the rules of equity, it was by doing wrong to her own subjects for the King's pleasure, so much did she bear more than due respect to his complaint; the ungrateful acceptation whereof may justly work in his majesty a repentance of his overforwardness and a watchfulness how to avoid the like error. The example of the delivery of Cesford and Buccleuch is impertinent to this case. The King makes but a show of desire of quietness on the Borders. [*Sets out certain conditions.*]

In the offence now complained of, the English found the Scots 100 at least in number, in English ground, killing her majesty's deer, cutting down and carrying away her woods, pursued them, killed those found with "the red hand" and resisting the recovery of the deer and wood: the men slain [were] very mean, the one a taillor, and the other a meaner fellow.

Mr. Ainsley and his neighbours were robbed by the Scottish thieves. Mr. Ferdinando Reuely, a very able gentleman, was murdered. John Robson and Harry Robson of Tindall were murdered by the Scots.

6½ *pp.* *Copy.*

Jan. 31. **682.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

The Queen of England's pleasure is that he should let fall some speeches to some who he thinks will repeat them to the King of Scots, to the effect that he understands the people of England greatly mislike the manner of procedure against Morton, whereupon there are vehement presumptions conceived that somewhat will be done this Parliament to the prejudice of the King's title to the crown of England, unless he show himself more thankful towards her majesty than hitherto it seems he is, and willing to satisfy her in her intercession for Morton. Which being done by the authority of a Parliament, they can consider of what importance it will be to him, and that therefore he [Randolph] doubts not but that they will have regard thereto accordingly, and make their profit of this his friendly advice, which he is moved to deliver to them in respect of the zeal he carries to the King's well doing and safety. For he must take upon him that this proceeds from himself without any direction from hence, her majesty conceiving that the support that is to be given to such party as he shall procure her in Scotland will require expedition.

She has given order to Lord Hunsdon to make his undelayed repair into Scotland to join with the said party, according to such direction as he shall receive from him [Randolph], whereof she has willed him to give him notice, requiring him further to acquaint Lord Hunsdon with the proceedings in that realm, in like sort as he is directed to impart the same to the Earl of Huntingdon.

It is greatly doubted that upon the laying of the forces in the Borders they will devise to steal away the King and carry him into France; wherefore he will do well to have a great care of the matter, and upon perceiving of any inclining that they have [to] such a meaning, to advertise the Council speedily of it, to the end that they may lay some ships by the sea to disappoint their purpose.

The Parliament of England has yet brought forth nothing worthy the advertisement.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. The Catholic Princes in Germany have banished out of their countries all such as make profession of the Gospel, which is greatly marvelled at by the other Princes, who conceive this to be a beginning of the execution of the Council of Trent.

It seems by a letter written to the Earl of Leicester that Randolph conceives some hope that the Duke of Lennox might be won to be at her majesty's devotion, which the Council suppose that he delivers by way of mirth, for they cannot be persuaded that any sure foundation can be made that way, though it may stand him [Lennox] to very great purpose to entertain the Council with that abusing hope until they [Lennox's party] may receive support from their foreign friends, and therefore prays him to harp no more on that string.

Marvels they have heard nothing of "Agesilas." For anything Randolph advertises he seems to be no actor in this new begun tragedy. Would to God he might be won soundly to affect "10010." The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

2 *pp. The first part in cipher. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[Jan.] **683.** PETITION BY ROBERT SCOTT AND OTHERS TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

"It will plais your lordship be rememberrit" of that pitiful request for certain of our neighbours who were lately "pilliet" in May last in their voyage from here to Lynne, and most cruelly used in the town of Lynne, as also in their home coming from Lynne to Leith. "The quhilk man of weir callit the Deana was tane be hir majesteis penmageis [pinnace] callit the Skout quha disponit upoun the haill guidis zit retent in hir at the present tyme of hir taking." The names of the merchants, owners of the goods pillaged, are Robert Scott, Andrew Lawsoun, John Wood [Wod], James Horne, and John Adamsone, burgesses of Edinburgh, who humbly request your lordship that it would please your lordship to understand that this great cruelty and oppression "was be hir majestie at greit lenth as also be ws debattit wnto ye lait imbassidour quha maist eirnistlie imbracit ye same with pitie, and promeist to recommend ye same as ane suit maist airneistlie and justlie requeistit be his majestie at hir hienes hand" for the redress of the same. "Upoun the quhilk hoip and guid expereence the forsaidis complenaris in yair namis hes now presentlie at cowrt depending upoun hir majesteis clemencie for redress of ye same." Requesting your lordship most affectionately to write to our very good lord her highness' Secretary, Walsingham, that it would please his lordship to embrace these poor "complenaris" most equitable cause and complaint, "to dispace ye said Robart Scott now presentlie yer in yair names," like as his majesty by his letters "missavis" to her highness has before written to the same effect, and now of late renewed and recommended, and desired your lordship for recommending of the same—that either the poor complainers may have their "suddane dispace" for eschewing of such expenses in respect of their great loss, which they are not able to bear, "with sic support to haif yair awin or sic uyer casualitie as of her clemencie and at ye requeist of his hienes lieges of befoir." The good success of this humble suit and "dispace" of the said Robert, now at

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Court depending on the Lord Secretary, lies only in your hands to recommend the same as a special suit requested by his highness, Provost, baillies, and Council of Edinburgh; for the which his highness will acquit with the like, and we at all times will not be "ingrait" of most humble thanks.

[*In Randolph's hand*]. The Provost of this town, baillies, and divers citizens having been here with me to visit me and bid me welcome, recommended this suit for some of their neighbours, among whom one Scott is presently at London following the suit for himself and rest. Let him be examined what the whole goods that they all lost were worth; and where they demand 10,000 marks Scots, it will prove not above 200 marks sterling.

1 *p.* *Indorsed.* "To the right ho. Mr. Thomas Randolph, Emb., and sent from hym to the right honourable Mr. Secretarie Walsinghame."

[Jan.] **684.** ADVICE BY [ ] BISHOP TO WALSINGHAM.

"To conferre with Mr. Secretarie."

First:—Render most humble thanks for his great goodness, *etc.* Call to his remembrance my first note sent to his honour mentioning the oration for the suppressing of the French in Scotland eighteen years ago, which his honour has seen. Advises framing another declaring the Queen of England's godly and noble proceedings in repressing the French from Scotland, infringing of the French servitude, her virtuous government, the quiet estate of the Scots through her admonition to resist the enemy if they would intrude hereafter. The Bishop of Ross' lying and slanderous oration with his covert meaning is to be touched. Has opened his simple opinion concerning the matters in Ulster. Unless the Queen of England causes the islesmen of Scotland to be cut off, "and have some foote men of the Scottis Irishe as I can devise and gett, and by that meanes and with hir hieghnes owin powar there at the fyrst spwle them of their bestialles and goodes and plant Yngles menne in places necessarie, and soo abandom them, hir majestie otherwyse shalbe at greate charges and losse of menne, and hardlie bring them, nor yet quietlie reteyne the sowtht of Yrlande in dew and ferme obedience, besyde gyving open entre to the French menne at the west seas."

Unless the English maintain the estate, rulers, and ministers of Scotland, especially from the malice of evil subjects there who lie in wait for mischief, an entry will be made for the French and the Scottish Queen.

Dumbarton Castle "was taken by my instruction to the Erle of Levenax," the French cast from the same, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews executed. Edinburgh Castle [was taken] valiantly by the Queen of England's force to the great quiet of the realm. As for Stirling Castle, if turn of time so serves for the Queen of England's service, he can do something for the obtaining thereof.

In that note rest the suborning practices of the Scottish Queen and the busy man Ross.

Elizabeth.
1580–1.

Walsingham has well begun in apprehending the factors left by the bishop of Ross, which will be terror to others. If such a one as Mr. Randolph be placed in France, he may do good service. They be a people politic and cunning above all others in practice, and therefore will be contented with a good and deep head. If this "leagiour" here could be removed it would be to great purpose, for he has very covertly practised many things, and now with experience [is] too cunning, and has notable intelligence which is possible to be deciphered. He is the receptacle and head of all the Queen of Scots' apostles or men, as he has heard.

Learn the Scotsman's house in Shoe Lane, and the resort there; the "Black Bell" in Fish Street; decipher Sutton and Old Cheap; learn the special carrier of Sheffield; mark such Scots as are allowed about the Scottish Queen, their conference, and transports from her gentlewomen from her and to her; seek to trap the device used in buttons very crafty; learn where a brother—either natural or in law—of Lord Lumley dwells, and of his resort, if he be alive; whether the old vicar beside Winkfield lives or not; decipher all her lurking friends everywhere, both in Court and every other place—Yarmouth and the frequented inns of the Scots from the north of Scotland, "and soo goetht that waye towardes the Scottish Quene from Huntlie, Atholl, and from Rossis self"; learn the passage through the West Marches of England from Herries and others her friends in the west parts of Scotland; the intended purpose against the Earl of Morton should be taken heed to. Learn how this last matter proceeded, or if there be any covert meaning in the same.

There have been some others who have been doers, and who, now, perhaps, may serve the estate, and can do well if they list. Doubts these are to be taken heed of, and their traffic with Anthony Gwarres and a French villain about the Tower Hill, who it is thought was an espial to the murder of the Huguenots in France, and abhorred here by the Protestants, as he hears.

There is one Ferroune, Frenchman and broker, he suspects for a spy.

The bishop of Ross and that side have evil used him, and he intends to requite them if he can be suffered; and although supplanting, searching, and spying out of men's doings be but evil offices and scarce honest, yet Cicero in his offices affirms that for preservation of the commonwealth or for the quiet of the Princes, men in that cast may not only do these things, but also may be an accuser. Therefore, if his honour thinks it good, information shall be made by his advice and direction to all things—Ross, Hamilton, Scottish Queen and all her explorators beyond the seas shall be ridden and deciphered, and the French hopes discovered, the Papists and other temporizers and enemies known and prevented—and this way politicly and truly serve the Queen of England, and seek the preservation of her who has preserved him.

2½ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Bysshop's conference."

[Jan.] **685.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS' TITLE TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

C.P. vol. XI. "A breef declaracion touching the Queenes of Scotlande title."

Her right, if it please God to call to his mercy our gracious Queen without lawful issue, is plain and evident, as growing by her grand-

Elizabeth.
1580-1. mother, Lady Margaret, eldest sister of King Henry the eighth. But to this the adversaries object, that there is a maxim in the law that whosoever is born out of England, and of father and mother not being of the obedience of England, cannot be capable to inherit anything in England. Howbeit, this is not true, for every stranger and alien is able to purchase the inheritance of lands in the realm; and in case it were a maxim, yet it is not so general but that it has exception, and all the adversaries' authorities appertain to subjects only, and not so to the crown.

General maxims and rules cannot extend to bind the King or the crown unless the same be specially mentioned, as appears first by the rule of the tenant by courtesy, and by the example of King Philip and Queen Mary; in that the lands shall be equally divided among the daughters; that the wife shall have the third part; in the rule of *possessio fratris*, as appears by Ethelred, brother and successor to King Edward the Martyr, Edward the Confessor, brother to King Edmund, *etc.*

It is objected that by the statute 26 Edw. III. no person born out of the allegiance of the King of England, whose father and mother were not of the same allegiance, is able to demand any heritage within the said allegiance. To this it is answered that Scotland is and ever was accounted by all Englishmen to be within the allegiance of England. [*Gives authorities.*] At the time when King Henry the seventh was minded to give his daughter the Lady Margaret to James IV., King of Scotland, some of his Council did not like thereof by reason that through that marriage England might devolve to the Lady Margaret and to her children, and so England might be subjected to Scotland. Whereupon the King answered that if any such devolution should happen it would be nothing prejudicial to England, for England as the chief and worthiest part of the isle would draw Scotland to it, as it did Normandy. [*Arguments as to King Henry the VIII.'s will.*]

12½ *pp. Indorsed. Injured by damp.*

Copy of the same.

[Jan.] **686.** DECLARATIONS BY MARY.

C.P. vol. XI. "Declaratyons made by the Queen of Scotland, Dowager of Frawnce, towching the right that apperteynes unto her in the successyon of the crowne of England to be presented on her behalf to the Queen of England, her good sister, and with her permission to the Lords as well spirituall as temporall and the commons that shalbe assembled in the next parlyament of the realme."

First,—the Queen of Scotland "being yssewed" by divers branches of the blood of England, and as well for that respect as many others, having the common weal, rest, and prosperity of the same realm in no less recommendation than any faithful subject of the same has, and not desiring for any interest of her own or particular advantage to bring alteration thereto, protests that she will not in any sort whatsoever make declaration and pursuit of her said right than with the good pleasure of the Queen of England, and unless also the cause

Elizabeth.
1580–1. of succession be proponed from elsewhere to the Lords of the Parliament, and if this should happen she beseeches the Queen of England to permit her to depute or send some one of hers to the said Queen and the Lords of Parliament to inform them in that case particularly of the proofs, reasons, and allegations that concern the right that appertains to her, and from her to her son, to succeed to the crown of England, if the Queen, her good sister, should die without lawful issue. In virtue of which right the Queen of Scotland might justly pretend the title of nearest, lawful, and apparent heir to the said crown, and to require of the Parliament adjudication and public sentence thereof; not for the hope that she has to survive the Queen of England—feeling by her long and continual afflictions that the course of her life is greatly wasted—but to assure and conserve her right to the Prince her son, as in conscience and duty she feels herself bound, reputing him one same thing with herself, and being the cause why she principally travails for him by these instances and means.

She would remind the Lords of Parliament that she being grandchild and heir general of Margaret Queen of Scotland, eldest sister of King Henry VIII., and consequently seised of all the rights, pretensions, names, and actions of the said Queen, there remains no manner of doubt at all that, the direct line of King Henry failing in his issue, the succession of the crown of England should "rest" to the said Queen Margaret, if she lived, as the nearest in the colateral line, and descended of right to the present Queen of Scotland, representing and holding at this day the place and degree of Queen Margaret.

The Queen of Scotland's enemies being unable to impugn the same right of proximity of blood and descent have been constrained, to the end they might defraud and make her incapable of her turn, to have recourse to some vain subtilties and malicious interpretations out of some of the laws and statutes of the same realm, by them falsely alleged or ill understood. To which the Queen of Scotland sustains that she being born in this island neither ought to be nor may be esteemed for an alien, nor yet be concluded within the compass of those laws made against such as are born beyond the seas or without the bounds and allegiance of England, and for a full and plain reason, the said laws, making no mention at all of the crown in this behalf, may not be extended to the succession of the same, but rather only to be applied to their general terms, and to the intention of those who made them for the goods and patrimonies of subjects only. It is seen throughout Christendom that Kings and Queens have no common or vulgar ordinance for their succession of their kingdoms.

The right of the Queen of Scotland to the succession of the crown of England appearing to be so clear and just, there remains only that she be conserved against the unbridled practices and factious drifts of her adversaries by the Queen of England and the Parliament, whom she earnestly entreats to consider well how that upon the assurance of the Queen of England sent her by a gentleman expressly with a known token from her, she of her own free will and disposition entered England as into a sanctuary of refuge and haven of trust, and that notwithstanding her hard detainment and the entreaty read here as well touching her person as her affairs in England and Scotland

Elizabeth.
1580–1. she has not left by all good offices to travail still carefully with patience—and with subjection, it may be said—to merit the good favour and amity of the Queen of England, applying herself exactly to each disposition that she could conceive to be agreeable to her, and to serve as well her private contentment as the common good of the realm, albeit her adversaries by divers attempts seeking her life, and with all kinds of injuries, indignities, and rigors, have gone about to give her occasion to forbear her obsequiousness, and by this means to withdraw her from the entire and sincere affection that she bears, and will bear as long as she lives, to the Queen of England, knowing how much their mutual amity and intelligence is necessary and imports to the good surety and greatness of this island; so that if there be any who dare maintain these accusations and surmises preferred from day to day against the Queen of Scotland by her enemies, or if those who curiously search out her actions and behaviour towards England will charge her with any practice to the prejudice of the same or of the Queen of England, she earnestly prays the Lords of Parliament to give free access and audience to all complainers who shall present themselves against her, and to procure that their propositions may be brought to a full proof and trial, so that the truth, which otherwise is and may be disguised, may thoroughly appear before so honourable an assembly, to whom the Queen of Scots is and shall be ever ready to yield a particular account of all her actions touching England.

As for the troubles that are said to be newly raised in Ireland by certain strangers, or for any other greater enterprise that may depend thereon, the Queen of England knows that the Queen of Scotland has by letters offered to interpose herself herein and to declare the same as a party openly against the said strangers, if she might serve for any mean and use, be it either by the Prince her son and her subjects in Scotland, or by other her friends and allies in Christendom, to impeach them; and if there be any co-mixed quarrel for religion in this war, albeit the Queen of Scotland is as much affected as may be to her own professed religion, yet was she never of opinion, as she has well expressed in Scotland, either on the one side or the other, there should be any proceedings by way of force and arms for religion, especially where the same is already peaceably established, and that consequently it concerns innovation to the State.

Touching the regard duly to be had to the ordinance and testament of King Henry VIII., which is alleged against the Queen of Scotland, she so honours the memory of the said King, that considering the sufficient witnesses and most clear proof produced to the contrary of this, she assures herself that there is not any in England, no not the Queen her good sister, but is perfectly satisfied and believes that such an ordinance or statute so unjust composed in his will was ever made with the knowledge and consent of the said King, being divided far from equity and sense, that he would of his own instinct, having no just allegation for the same, become unnatural to his blood, and directly against the most wise and provident intention of King Henry VII., who declared himself plainly in favour of the eldest daughter and of the issue descending from her. For proof whereof it is a thing manifest and known to the principal Councillors of State that the original of the said statute or testament could never

Elizabeth.
1580–1. be exhibited, but, indeed, some supposed and forged copies have been foisted in, the author whereof has been pardoned; so that since that time no Act or Acts have been to approve or confirm matter publicly that might prejudice the Queen of Scotland. But, touching the validity of the said declaration, if it were alleged—which is false and cannot be verified—that any mark, act or proper signature of the said King in his last sickness, being then past all memory, were added to his will and testament, those who have any skill in the common laws and justice of the realm are easily able to comprehend that this cannot be in any way against the Queen of Scotland, nor of any effect in a matter of so great moment, as well for default of form as for that it is directly against the good meaning and the good and profit of the estate of the realm. The declaration of King Henry VIII. not being ratified, it is to be reformed or moderated. If so just a reformation should be ill accepted of some, the Queen of Scotland would have them judge of what more importance and greater innovation it were to detract so many judgments and Acts of divers Parliaments against the enemies of King Henry VII. and his race, whose successors seek even at this day to make good their old quarrel, and to chase the true heirs and race from the house and State where the greatest honours that those of that side may pretend is to be conserved in nature of subjects and servants.

The Queen of Scotland shows further that she having now been entertained 14 years in captivity here, whereby her hands and senses have been bound up that she could not be permitted to understand or provide for the least thing that might appertain to her affairs in Scotland or England, and that likewise her son by reason of his base age and of the prison that he has been so long pent in, could take as small order on his side, then the one and the other ought to have the more care had of them, and to be in nearer recommendation to the Queen of England under whose protection they are reduced, as sundry times they have declared and protested, and now do the rather, seeing that all liberty of their own to provide for themselves is taken from them, and that in the meantime their enemies usurp a licencious impunity to do, say, and write the worst against them they may, thereby to advance their unjust, false, and imaginary pretension.

The Queen of Scotland reposing full confidence in the natural goodness of the Queen of England, in the wisdom and integrity of the Councillors of England, in the conscience of the nobility, lords, and gentlemen, and in the duty and disposition of all the good and faithful subjects of this crown, beseeches them that it may please them, according to their authority and the regard of the rank that she holds, to ordain that till such time as the Queen of England is to have children lawful and capable to succeed her, the said Queen of Scots be named, recognised and avowed right heir of the crown [*8 lines perished*] children lawfully procreated of their bodies, according to the order of succession in the same form and manner that it was enjoyed by King Henry VIII., and so again to come to the heirs of the colateral line from line, as is to be required by the same course of succession. Provided that none other of what state, quality or condition soever (not any excepted) presume or pretend by any way to aspire to the degree or title of heir apparent, or to

Elizabeth.
1580–1. attempt the fruition of the said crown to the prejudice of the said Queen and Prince of Scotland, their heirs, and all others descended of King Henry VII and of Queen Elizabeth his wife, or to procure any trouble, hindrance or impeachment to any of them. Sheffield.

7½ *pp. Indorsed. Injured by damp.*

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., B. VIII., fol. 233. Another copy of the same with some variations.

Feb. 3. **687.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 28. Received his packet of the 28th ult. on the 2nd. instant. Is sorry that the Queen of England has so small consideration for her own service or for his travail and toil which he is like to have in this place, having no more aid, that she will not resolve on a Marshal, without whom she is to look for small service here; for there are sundry services to be done, which are incident to the Marshal, and can be done by no other. Took order yesterday with Mr. Treasurer [Sir Valentine Brown] for the delivery of 300*l.* to Mr. Vernon. Has delivered the 5000*l.* according to the directions of the Lords of the Council. Has ordered Mr. Bowes and Mr. Selby to place 200 soldiers at Norham and Wark, and such other places of this wardenry as they thought fit; which was done on Saturday last. There is no one place in Norham that any man dare lie in for fear of falling on their heads. If he had not, seven years since, propped up the hall, parlour, kitchen, and other places of the house with ship masts, they had been down long since, and now with continual raining through the leads the floors are so rotten that they will no longer bear the props, so that he must make what shift he can with the keep or dungeon, wherein are some few chambers, upon which he has bestowed some small reparations at his own charge, and will with some small charges to her majesty be made serviceable for the time. Has had no leisure to ride to Wark since he came, but Mr. Selby and others tell him that it is so far in decay that it will cost no small piece of money to repair it; for the keep, which is the only place of service, and where all her majesty's ordnance lies, is so greatly decayed that they dare not shoot off a warning-piece, whatsoever should happen, for fear of overthrowing the whole keep. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 3. **688.** ROBERT VERNON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 26. Has received warning from Mr. Robert Bowes to have a proportion of victuals in readiness with all expedition for 2000 footmen and 500 horse for two months, besides the ordinary garrison here placed by the establishment; and because in the bargain with the Queen of England he is bound to victual this garrison, being 1500 men, at certain rates; and also her majesty has granted that if at any time she increased the said garrison about that number, he should have sufficient price for the overplus. Has demanded an imprest of the Lord Governor [Hunsdon]. Requests him to be a mean to the Lord

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Treasurer that present order may be given for the imprest and money to be sent. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Vernon.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 3. **689.** [WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH].

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 128. Has received from the Lord Lieutenant [the Earl of Huntingdon] a copy of his letter of the 26th ult. directed to his lordship, containing a report of his negotiation with the King [of Scots] and his Council at his second audience. The Queen of England seemed to mislike that he should so long defer to deal for the enlarging of Morton; but he [Walsingham] answered that he thought he was directed by the advice of Morton's friends in the soliciting of that cause, who knew what time was fittest for him to take to deal therein with most effect and best success. With which answer her majesty, in the end, rested very well satisfied touching that point.

His putting them in the hope that D'Aubigny might easily be won to be at her majesty's devotion was at first interpreted to have been "ironice" spoken by him; but since it seems he insists on it, could wish he was otherwise persuaded of the man, or at least that he had kept that opinion to himself. For, considering that the purpose of his going into Scotland was not only to advance the Queen [of Scots'] liberty and reception into that government to overthrow religion and procure a foreign match with the King of Scots—wherein the inclosed copy, which he may use to good purpose there, will give him some light,—there is no man here can be persuaded that he will change his purpose for so small advantage as he is likely to find by it, and therefore he [Randolph] will do well to forbear to harp any more upon that string.

Fears that the sending of the Prince of Orange will not be in time that it may do any good; for besides that these people are of themselves slow in their resolutions, their own affairs be at present so great, their State so confused, and the Prince's authority so small, that they cannot so soon take order in it, yet for his own part he has not been negligent or careless in the matter, having more than three weeks past sent one about it; from whom, nevertheless, he hears nothing yet. Has given order to Mr. Killigrew to procure the letters he desires should be written thither by the French ministers. Whitehall. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1½ *pp. No flyleaf or address. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

Feb. 3. **690.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Received his letter of the 26th ult., which concerns principally three points; the revoking of his nephew James Randolphe out of Italy; the order between the Bennetts ["Benutes"] and Mead; and the preservation of his liberty in the Hundred of Milton. In answer whereof he shall understand (1) that he has not yet spoken with Mr. Hastings, being let by multitude of business, but will not fail to deal with him. What his answer was to the Council's letter he may perceive by the inclosed. (2) The order set down before his departure is somewhat altered, but not so as may be anything to his prejudice,

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Mead being appointed tenant, and the rent to be paid to him [Randolph], which is set down 400 by the year.

Lastly;—for his liberty in Milton; has spoken with Sir Walter Mildmay, who has promised and given flat answer to Sir Humphrey Gilbert that during his [Randolph's] absence nothing shall pass to his prejudice. The Court. *Signed;* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—By the next he shall receive a copy of the order set down between Lord Mountjoye's sons and Meade.

Touching his fee farm, if he may work Morton's liberty he shall then furnish them [the Council] with a good argument to draw her majesty to assent thereto.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 3. **691.** HUNSDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Received his letter of the last of January on the 1st instant, at night, with a packet for the Earl of Huntingdon, which he has sent him. Perceives what small effect his accusations against D'Aubigny take, and how his denial is more regarded and better credited than his [Randolph's] speeches of him from the Queen of England, whereby it well appears what care those petty fellows that are now about the King have either for her message or for herself; but when the rest of the nobility, barons, and burghs shall find that she will not endure these indignities and great injuries done to her by them about the King, but that she will be revenged thereof to their ruin and destruction, as he doubts not but she will have just cause thereunto, he does not doubt but they will consider better of the matter, and remember better what great benefits and liberalities they have received at her hands, and how long they have lived in quiet and peace to the enriching of their whole realm by her majesty's great charges and the great care that she has had of their great quietness and well doing. They will not, he thinks, refuse and forget all these good turns of her majesty for to retain such a new come guest as D'Aubigny is, who seeks only, as they shall well find, first the overthrow of religion, the subversion of all the nobility saving such as will depend and hang on his sleeve, and *in fine* the utter ruin of the State of that country.

Whereas he requires him to confer with Mr. Bowes to send him some further matter against D'Aubigny, if they know any, surely they who give so little credit to that which he has said in her majesty's behalf already, and will give more credit to his denial than to her message sent by him, will give more credit to anything else that he shall say hereafter, and thereafter whatsoever he is to be charged with is better to be kept in silence, than to be uttered to such as will not believe. Thinks he might do well to charge the King withal, and his Council also, to know whether he and they make no difference between the Queen of England and Lennox, having tasted so long of her love and benefits towards him, or of that new come guest whom they have known so little while, whose open actions in this little time, if they will wisely look into them, will plainly show his inward meaning and intent that he comes for.

It should touch the King and the rest of them that are against Morton to have that practice opened to him "to have Balfour sent for

Elizabeth.
1580–1. thither to accuse Morton for the killing of the King's father," who is well known throughout the whole realm to be one of the principal murderers of him himself. How can the King endure this, or how can the nobility be so blind as not to see this to be an old practice for the overthrow of Morton? which they would do by any means, be it never so villainous.

Surely, in his opinion, it were not amiss that he deal with some of the chiefest of that town what ruin it will be to them and to the whole State of Scotland to be brought into wars for the pleasure of one man, whereby all the goods and quietness of their country which they have possessed these 20 years by her majesty's good means and the care she has had of them, to be now burnt by land and spoiled by sea within a short time.

The preachers also might do well to cry out of these matters in the pulpit, and to stir up the people's minds to have good regard to it and to prevent it in time.

Has thought good to write this much touching his own opinion, being ready to despatch this letter after the sermon.

Sends him inclosed herewith packets from Walsingham and the Earl of Huntingdon, received when he was at the sermon. Also incloses a cipher.

Means to proclaim his commission of lieutenancy on Saturday next, unless he hears otherwise from him in the meantime. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 3. **692.** HUNSDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Though in his former letter he thought it to small purpose to send any further matter to charge Lennox with, having conferred with Mr. Bowes, he sends him some further matter, which the King and nobility should know of; and as they are most true and well to be proved, so, if Lennox had either honour, honesty or conscience in him, he would not for shame deny them.

It is most evident that Morton is not "putt at" for the slaughter of the King, but for consenting and yielding to the putting down of the Queen of Scots and setting up of the King, and no doubt, as he begins now against Morton, so as many of the nobility as were consenting to the putting down of her will follow after by some means or other.

To-morrow being market day his commission shall be openly read. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 3. **693.** INTELLIGENCE TO BE USED AGAINST D'AUBIGNY.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 131. "Sondry notes gathered upon good intelligence geven and in tyme to be better manyfested, beynge nowe thought mete to be in convenyent sort used and layed against D'Aubigny. to prove hym abusynge the Kynge, the nobility, and that State."

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Has been informed by creditable means that D'Aubigny was acquainted with La Nawe, the Queen of Scots' secretary, coming to Scotland, and with his errand there, tending chiefly to persuade the King to esteem it an evil precedent for Princes that subjects might have power to deprive their lawful sovereigns, as they did his mother, who was not minded to defeat him either of the present government of Scotland or of the crown thereof, but rather to assure the same to him, and that for the accomplishment of that assurance the King should have been advised and drawn to have governed for some short time as Prince, calling D'Aubigny to rule as governor of the Prince, by commission from the Queen his mother, until the King's enemies were suppressed. After which time D'Aubigny should have power given to establish and resign that kingdom to the King by his mother's voluntary consent, whereby all such as had before been in action against the Queen [of Scots] or her authority might be brought to stand in the King's mercy; and for that the King might live in more surety, D'Aubigny should be declared second person in succession of the crown of Scotland, and also Lieutenant General of Scotland. D'Aubigny, before his departure from France, received commission from the Queen of Scots to that effect, or near the same.

He [D'Aubigny] had conference with the Bishops of Glasgow and Ross, and Sir James Balfour, with which persons and the Duke of Guise he had, and has frequent intelligence, and by Sir James Balfour he was advised to confer with Lord John Hamilton before his repair to Scotland. Whereunto he agreed; yet afterwards he sent one John Hamilton to Lord John to excuse him, alleging that he forbore to come to meet him lest thereby he should mar or hinder greater efforts to be executed by him in Scotland.

Before D'Aubigny's coming to Scotland the nobility and people were well quieted and united in good accord, with great love betwixt the King and nobility, and among the nobles. But he has drawn the King against sundry of the chiefest of his nobility, who have been most ready, and expended their blood and possessions to preserve religion and defend the King's person, his government, and estate, and also has given occasions of great suspicion and offence to be engendered betwixt the King and his nobility, and especially with such as have been in action against the Queen of Scots or her authority; who have by means of the said commission and practice have been brought into most dangerous condition, and who also may still find themselves in no small peril whilst he possessed the King's ear, abused his presence, and holds such of the principal keys and ports of his realm as presently he enjoys.

He has drawn the King not only to forget the great benefits done to him and his realm by the Queen of England, but also to requite the same with sundry signs of great unthankfulness, wounding therewith her honour, and thereby has adventured to shake the happy amity. In which respect the King and Council having resolved to write to her majesty for her better satisfaction in the late negotiation of Mr. Alexander Hume of North Berwick, had given order to the King's Secretary to frame that letter, he [D'Aubigny] minding to

Elizabeth.
1580–1. break the bond of amity, willed the Secretary to be sure that nothing should be inserted whereby the King should crave anything at her hands.

Under the hope and encouragement of D'Aubigny's protection, Alexander King presumed to make his lewd harangue, and by his means has escaped chastisement.

Sir James Balfour, condemned for the slaughter of the King's father, has been called into that realm by Lennox without the privity of the King. And whereas the said Sir James found in a green velvet desk, late the Earl of Bothwell's, and saw and had in his hands the principal band of the conspirators in that murder, and can best declare and witness who were authors and executors of the same, he is drawn by Lennox to suppress the truth and to accuse such as he himself knows to be innocent, and as by order of law will be so found if they may have due trial, which by Lennox's means is denied.

2⅔ *pp. In the hand of Robert Bowe's clerk. Indorsed.*

Feb. 4. **694.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Is desired by the minister of the French church here, Monsieur La Fontayne, to see the inclosed conveyed to the head of the Church in Edinburgh, which he prays him to cause to be delivered accordingly.

Incloses a letter lately received from Monsieur Du Plessis by which he may perceive how the practices agreed on at the Council of Trent are begun to be put in execution in Germany, and what is done in Scotland to the like purpose Randolph can best discern; so that it behoves all these Princes that make profession of the reformed religion to join together in opposing themselves effectually against their adversaries. If this were so the young King would not then so lightly be carried away by the counsels of D'Aubigny, whose coming out of France was to no other end but to work a division between England and Scotland, thereby the better to establish the Romish religion in Scotland. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 4. **695.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 999, fol. 30. As he was reading letters which he received this morning from the Lord Governor [Hunsdon], his packet dated January 31st was brought to him. Received with the same the letters from the Privy Council, the contents whereof shall be accomplished by him in every point. Incloses a letter from Mr. Randolph. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

⅓ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 4. **696.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 32. Has received his letters with the Lord Lieutenant's and Mr. Secretary Walsingham's, and other writings this day. Has considered them, and minds to do as by them he is advised.

Thought he should have had audience this day, and answer to the

Elizabeth.
1580–1. last matters he propounded to the King [of Scots] and Council; but hears they are of greater weight than the wiser sort of them think to be slightly passed over or not to be answered somewhat to the Queen of England's contentment. Perceives that more account is made of them than before was. Has also more matter to try them with now that they begin to think how much it concerns themselves to account of her majesty as she has deserved. Hears a bone was cast in amongst them yesternight that makes some of them to bethink themselves! "An oxe drawne uppon a paper with a warninge to Argyle (lykened to that beaste) to retyer him selfe home, and to trouble him selfe nor the contrie eny farther, *etc.*" A hare likewise with a device signifying to D'Aubigny that if he tarried he should be coursed, for that there was no seat for him. Though he likes not this kind of dealing, yet "let it prove as it prove what effectes it list," and let those answer it who were the devisers. It will be Monday* before he can see the King.

Tuesday last† was the greatest day of solemnity, though the marriage was made eight days before, on the other side of the water, to the great misliking of the best part of the Earl of Murray's friends to see his daughter so meanly married as to the Abbot of St. Combe's son. The King ran that day at the ring, and, for a child, as he hears, did very well. Montbirneau challenged all comers, yet were there many who did much better than he. The whole afternoon and great part of the night were passed with many pleasures and great delights. The next day the King came to this town to the preaching, accompanied with divers noblemen—Lennox, Seton, and Montbirneau next to him. The preacher, named Mr. Macanckell, made such a sermon as all honest and godly men were glad to hear, laying before the King with a wonderful boldness of heel his duty as well for the continuance of the faith and religion he had professed and subscribed, as also for keeping the amity with the Queen of England, to whom he was so much bound. That afternoon he spent in like pastimes as he had done the day before. On Thursday the King dined at Leith, and after dinner he ran at the ring and beheld such other pastimes as were to be seen, as the assault given to a castle, builded on boats on the river St. Angele, named "the Pope's pallas which was wonne and sett one fyre to the Pope's and Papistes great disgrace."

Divers ran on the water with boats "justing" one against the other. Some ran their horses on the sands. Three gentlemen fell and were sore hurt, which bred an end to their pastimes.

It is reported twice this evening that the Earl of Morton is very sick. Mr. David Macgill makes means to speak with him [Randolph] in the behalf of D'Aubigny, who as yet is said to offer large offers to the Queen of England. Desires to know from Mr. Bowes and Mr. Archibald [Douglas] how far he is to be trusted. Requests that the Lord Lieutenant [Huntingdon] and Mr. Secretary Walsingham may be partakers of what he has here written. Edinburgh.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "The copie of Mr. Randolph's letter to the L. of Hunston."

* 6th. † January 31st.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Feb. 5.

697. HUNTINGDON TO [THOMAS RANDOLPH].

As soon as he received his of the last of January with the articles he immediately despatched a packet to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, in which he sent those articles of grief, and a copy of all the principal contents of his letters. Since then has had no leisure to write to him, having been toiled with despatch of the men to the Borders. Knows no particularities that may serve to such purpose as he thinks he would have them for. Thinks that D'Aubigny and his authority continuing, their peace cannot long hold, for he and the Duke of Guise are one, if this be truth. Is persuaded "forayne" must come. The Queen of Scots is like to seek that which has long been desired, and English aid with Angus, Rothes, *etc.*, will do no good. Nay, perhaps they will not, but if they would they cannot. Randolph knows the case of England "not well agreed with hym selfe"; Ireland in the same case; France and Spain labour the maintenance and increase of division, and Morton must await, perhaps the King also, for France longs for one, and D'Aubigny must have the life of the other.

Is glad to hear that the Earl of Morton shall come to his trial openly. If he does it will much satisfy the world and be a good discharge to those who are taken for his adversaries, whereof Lennox is not taken to be the least.

Retains his two letters to be returned to him at his pleasure or till their meeting. Considered Hunsdon, and will do so still, as behoves him. It shall be good for him [Randolph] to do so also. Desires him to leave nothing undone that is fit for him, yet if he will follow a fool's course he should keep somewhat for a dear year. Montbirneau *non dormit*, but he thinks he will not do as was expected. Wrote to Mr. Bowes concerning Dumbarton. If the captain has been with him [Randolph] then his [Huntingdon's] motion was not forgotten. Trusts all their men [*the English army*] will be at Berwick on Wednesday or Thursday, and Lord Hunsdon, who is the general, shall dispose them as shall be fit. Is willed to lie at Alnwick that he may be near Hunsdon both to advise and receive intelligences from him with more speed than he could do lying here. Thinks to be at the castle as soon as he can get stuff and drink. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

Postscript.—Randolph sees what he thinks of D'Aubigny, and the cause why he may believe him. It is no other reason or persuasion that moves it. As for Archibald Douglas, he can do no more with him [Huntingdon] than D'Aubigny can deceive him [Randolph]. Prays to be of this regard, for he is sure all who be in Scotland are in that predicament with him, where he finds them so disposed as he thinks these be, and him that he courts to be of the Queen of Scots' or the Duke of Guise's party, which he [Randolph] believes in effect are one. Likes "him or them worste," and so he is sure Randolph does, for they are neither good for the Queen of England nor England, and never will be; but it is always better to be conceived of Morton's, Angus's, *etc.* [party], and those who depend on England. Desires him to let him know if he says well. If he is in error let him yield him his opinion. Knows affections reign in all, but the least hurt is like to come of Angus's side to England.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. 1½ *pp. The first page holograph. Partly in cipher, deciphered. No address. Indorsed.*

Feb. 6. **698.** [WALSINGHAM] TO HUNTINGDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 34.

Received his letter of the 2nd instant. Is glad to understand that Mr. Randolph is in good hope to procure the Queen of England a sufficient party in Scotland, though the number of noblemen that he can yet make account of, being but three, may seem to be very small. Would have been very glad that Montrose might also have been drawn to have made one; for that, being a man of wisdom and courage, he might have brought great furtherance to her majesty's service in the cause. But knows Mr. Randolph to be wise and of discretion to judge of their forces there, being present with them; and so there is no doubt but that he will endeavour to bring things to pass the best that he may.

Touching the likelihood that divers barons and borough towns in Scotland will incline to the Queen of England's party if they may be assured [to] see some good hope to be backed and countenanced by her in the action, as his lordship right well conceives that the Queen of England will not slack to yield them the best support and assistance she may, so is there no doubt she will have a care not to suffer her said party to quail for want of sufficient and timely relief from hence. Thinks his going to Berwick to confer with Lord Hunsdon cannot be thought amiss. The Privy Council were once determined, had they not remembered that it would have been more charge to his lordship, to have directed him to reside at Berwick in case Lord Hunsdon should enter into Scotland; yet, not knowing how quiet the north would be in his absence, if things should happen to go otherwise than well in Scotland, they thought it best he should remain at Newcastle or Alnwick for the stay of those parts against all events.

Some fault is found with Mr. Randolph, for that he has not sent any particular advertisements touching the state of Scotland and how they are affected towards the Queen of England, his advertisements consisting only of generalities.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "1580. February 6. M. to the L. of Hunt."

Feb. 6. **699.** HUNSDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Received yesterday a little before supper a packet from the Court with a letter from the Queen of England for enlarging his commission of lieutenancy in some points wherein he found himself hardly restrained, as he will perceive by a copy of the letter inclosed herewith.

Sends him also a packet from Mr. Walsingham and a letter from the Treasurer of Berwick; also a copy of his commission, which he may use at his discretion.

Mr. Bowes has written sufficiently to him [Randolph] for the matter of trust which he required his opinion in. Begs him to take great heed what company and conference he has with Melvin and

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Manderston,* for it will breed great jealousy in the others' heads, which will not fall out well for her majesty's service.

The forces levied by the Earl of Huntingdon will all be here this week, so that the sooner matters be attempted, being well foreseen, the better it will be.

Is sending copies of Randolph's letter received yesternight to the Earl of Huntingdon and Mr. Walsingham.

The Earl of Huntingdon is appointed by the Privy Council to repair to Alnwick. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 6. **700.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 47. Received his letter of the 31st of January on the 5th of the same [*sic*], by which he perceives that he has moved the Queen of England for the enlargement of his authority in some points of his commission, to which her majesty has yielded. Does not mean to execute anything without the Earl of Huntingdon's advice, unless it be on any sudden occasion which requires present remedy, which by tract of time might be utterly disappointed. Incloses a copy of a letter from Mr. Randolph, by which he will perceive that, though Lennox and his faction have been very stout hitherto, and have made small reckoning of the Queen of England's message sent by Mr. Randolph, or of anything that he has charged Lennox with, but have believed his denial more than Mr. Randolph's affirmation thereof, they begin now to look better to the cause, and to bethink themselves to make a better answer to her majesty than they meant to have done. Hopes ere it be long they shall have such bones thrown amongst them that Scotland may remain English, and Lennox be sent to France again—or worse.

All the horsemen and footmen to be levied by the Earl of Huntingdon will be here this week, or the most part of them; whom he lays in such places of this east wardenry as may best receive and victual them, and be nearest to any service that he shall have any occasion to employ them in. Hopes to save her majesty at least 40*s.* a day which the victualler would require for transportation of his victuals, for every township shall fetch it themselves from the victualler. Wrote to the Lord Treasurer and him touching the armour, *etc.*, at Newcastle. Afterwards sent him a note of the armour, powder, calivers, and harquebuses in this town, which he received from Mr. Treasurer [of Berwick] and Captain Reade. [*Gives some further details as to the armour.*]

Mr. Sutton confesses he has greatly overshot himself in trusting to the last year's remainder. Thanks him for his friendly and courteous offer. Requests him to remind her majesty for her resolution for a Marshal [of Berwick]. The supply of horsemen and footmen are daily coming to him. Is writing to her majesty. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

Postscript.—400 footmen have come to this town, whereof few or none are furnished. Is credibly advertised that the other 1400 who are to come are no otherwise furnished. If any of them come

* Alexander Hume of Manderston.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. furnished, it is so ill that they are loth to put it on. If this be true her majesty is like to be served with naked men, who will do but a bad piece of service.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 6. **701.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 49. Forwards a letter from Mr. Bowes. Is sorry that the difficulty to bring further good matters against Lennox is such as it appears to be. Surely if that matter be not well looked to, that person will in short time breed more trouble betwixt these two crowns than will be easily shaken off again. Mr. Randolph writes that he should send him better matter against Lennox, for all that he had laid against him would be answered most sufficiently. If it be so, then some way must be devised to strengthen a party that may be gotten to depend on the Queen of England, which Lennox never will do, speak he never so fair, and in time it is not to be doubted but in these matters he will most apparently discover himself; for no doubt he is in religion no better friend to her majesty and England than all Guisian Romanists are. If his person cannot be taken from the King, whom he by his instruments daily labours to corrupt, yet may Mr. Randolph perform a good office if he can win some of the wisest and most able nobles to be tied to her majesty for advice, *etc.* Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 7. **702.** ANSWER BY JAMES VI. AND HIS COUNCIL TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

(1) The King and his Council having at sundry times heard the Queen of England's ambassador and considered of the matters proponed by him in speech and delivered in writing, conceive the substance of the whole to consist chiefly in charging the Earl of Lennox to have foreign intelligence tending to most dangerous effects. Next, by rehearsal of certain griefs conceived by the Queen of England against the King of Scots, showing his goodwill towards her to be so far altered by others that her advice and counsel is not followed or accepted in good part. Lastly, craving that the Earl of Morton may be tried for the crime and offence laid to his charge, and a day appointed to that effect.

(2) For answer to which the King desires the ambassador to render to the Queen of England most hearty thanks for her friendly and favourable advertisements now as at other times heretofore made to him in matters touching him and his estate, wherein he firmly trusts she will continue, as he for his part neither has given nor ever means to give her occasion to the contrary, but still intends to acknowledge and use her as his mother and dearest cousin, not forgetting her benefits bypast, and to show himself towards her as a constant, kind, and loving son, whereof she may rest well assured. As touching the Earl of Lennox, his kinsmen, he coming in good affection to visit the King, and addicting himself to continue his subject, is for the respect of his blood received into his majesty's good favour, and preferred to

Elizabeth.
1580–1. occupy the state and place of his progenitors in the earldom of Lennox, the same being most kindly to be enjoyed by him next the King's majesty and his uncle. But as for the said Earl's intelligence with James, sometime Archbishop of Glasgow, gathered from the copy of a letter intercepted, alleged to be written by the said bishop to Rome, the Earl being charged therewith utterly denies to have any such intelligence with the said bishop, or to have any ways dealt in the dangerous matters touched in the said letter, refusing no manner of trial that may justify his part in that behalf. Whereanent the King requires the Queen of England to cause such further trial and intelligence to be sought out as possibly may make her satisfied and resolved of the very truth hereof, like as his highness for his part assuredly will do the like, and would be glad to see the original intercepted letters, and if it may be proved that this advertisement is matter in deed, and not forged by the craft of the Earl's ill willers—whereof there is no small presumption—his highness will not fail to render to him or any others his subjects found to be practisers therein the just reward of their treasonable designings. That the King is not moved suddenly to condemn the Earl proceeds from the consideration of the practices and malice of this age. If the bishop wrote any such letters at all, it has been purposely done to be intercepted and to come to the knowledge of the Queen of England or the King of Scots to make him mistrust those who are of his blood and in his favour, thereby to make the more "facile" entry to overthrow him and his estate. None can be more suspected of this form of dealing than the said bishop, who, being the King's declared traitor and rebel, an adversary to his religion, and a favourer and kinsman of the Hamiltons, might think his travail fruitfully bestowed if by such letters and practices he might "cast" his highness in doubt of the truth and loyalty of the Earl, who has left his native country and embraced the true religion with his highness, whereto the bishop is adversary, and has made himself a party with the Hamiltons, the particular enemies to his majesty's race and blood, whom the bishop chiefly favours, and by whom he may have hope some day of restitution to his ancient dignity and living in Scotland.

(3) Request that the said ambassador will declare to the Queen of England the thankful mind and goodwill of the King of Scots, never meaning to give her cause of grief, which she seems to conceive against him, resting still mindful of her favour and benefits received, and ready to follow her good advice in all things tending in reason to her satisfaction and contentment, for he has never preferred the amity of any foreign Prince or potentate to hers, nor in his weighty actions and affairs of importance done anything that her majesty shall mislike, nor has he any ways prohibited the intelligence and mutual conference of the honest and godly subjects of both the realms, but rather allowed the same. If she has any special or certain cause of grief towards the King, they request she will communicate the same to him, whereanent he will be found right willing so to satisfy her in reason as may be to the honour of both of them, and to the profit of their countries and subjects, and in the meantime that she will not credit reports to his prejudice.

(4) As for the Earl of Morton, his late accusation and present stay in ward are not in respect of the Queen of England's misliking

Elizabeth.
1580–1. declared of the usage and dealing of the Earl of Lennox, but simply upon accusation of the murder of the King's father, whereof the Earl of Morton, being long suspected, was at last publicly charged in the King's own presence. Which crime his majesty cannot leave untried, not doubting that the Queen will now heartily allow of his proceedings therein, as heretofore she has not spared her goodwill, treasure, nor the blood of her subjects in all that might further the said trial and tend to the punishment of the devisers and authors of that odious deed. As concerning the present trial of the Earl of Morton, the King does not mean to deal otherwise therein than the laws and customs of Scotland allow. As for the time of the trial, the same undoubtedly had been before now if Mr. Archibald Douglas, specially touched in that matter, had not escaped and fled into England, where presently he remains, without whom the Earl's trial cannot well proceed. Seeing, therefore, that it "consists" in her majesty's own hands to further the same, let the said Mr. Archibald be delivered into the King's power, and he shall be used no otherwise than the laws appoint, which the King requires according to the treaties of peace and amity. Whereby the trial as well of himself as of the said Earl shall be accelerated, all just occasion of further complaints to her removed, and the Queen's reasonable request in this behalf well satisfied.

(5) The King declares that neither the doings or writings of the said bishop or other rebels, whether it be matter in deed or forged, shall ever be able in his default to work divorce of amity betwixt their majesties, but his disposition shall always remain constant to resist the alteration and overthrow of the Christian religion in both the realms, and all raising of commotion in England.

(6) Touching the withdrawing of the King out of Scotland, it shall not, God willing, be in the power of his adversaries by any their force or practice to effect the same. Neither is it possible that of his own goodwill he would charge his first place in his own native kingdom for the uncertain expectation of any the like or better condition to be had in any other Prince's dominion.

(7) The plot thought to be set down to assure the country and to alter religion, the King being removed, shall, God willing, prove in deed as ineffectual as now it wants probability. For, touching the defence of the south by the Earl of Lennox and some other persons, and the purposes specified in the said letter, the whole is so unlikely that it rather appears matter forged by the craft and practice of the Earl of Lennox's adversaries, than that ever such things have ever been in deed, or were able to be performed.

(8) As for the possession of the castle of Edinburgh, it remains in such state as it has done these three years bygone, without meaning of alteration thereanent.

Dumbarton Castle has been an ancient and kindly possession of the Earls of Lennox, standing in the country where they have their title, and where their friends and living lie; and the putting of that castle into the Earl of Lennox's hands in reason cannot be thought strange, his tenderness of blood the King considered, and that now he is become his subject.

(9) How little the Pope's advice has been sought or regarded by the King of Scots is well enough known. He intends, God willing, to go forward unyielding to any who would persuade the contrary.

Elizabeth.
1580–1.

(10) Touching the religion of the Earl of Lennox, it is manifest that after travail taken, and by long conference had by him with the ministers of the Evangel, he has embraced the true and Christian religion professed by the King and his whole realm. Without his conformity in religion, his majesty affirms he had never admitted him to such place and credit as he is in. The King well knows the Earl of Lennox to be as affectionate a friend to the Queen of England and as willing to do all good offices for the conservation of the amity betwixt their majesties as any nobleman in Scotland.

(11) As to the advertisements from other places agreeing with the points expressed in the said letter, the Queen of England knows best the apparent truth thereof, and of what spirits they proceed; for, as advertisements are not to be condemned where the matters advertised are of weight, seeming to touch the state of religion and the country, so should it be eschewed that all advertisements should not suddenly be credited while the apparent truth thereof was not tried.

(12) The King heartily thanks the Queen of England for her advertisement and friendly remembrance touching the provision of corselets and harquebuses in Flanders for the service of Scotland, praying her that upon advertisements and knowledge had of any such thing he may be certified for the better provision for the remedies convenient therefor, if any peril shall appear therein.

(13) If Sir James Balfour be come into Scotland it is without the King's knowledge and allowance, for besides the particular causes mentioned, wherefore he has good occasion to mislike him, his majesty will the rather abstain from showing him or any other favour whom her majesty takes to be her enemies, and he would be glad to know where in particular she has been offended by him.

(14) The late bishop of Ross' books are no ways allowed of by the King; and albeit some of them, and other like books, may "able" be in Scotland, that is not in reason to be imputed to the King, seeing he neither likes nor allows of the author nor his book.

(15) As for that which Mr. Alexander King did, the King in truth did not know of that matter till he heard the ambassador's declaration thereupon. But the King has called for the man and for his oration, and will not fail to cause such due punishment for the offence and folly to be made as the weight of the fact requires.

(16) Thus, seeing the King has never meant nor means to show any unkind dealing towards the Queen of England, his expectation is to find the continuance of her accustomed favour and good neighbourhood towards him and his estate in this his young age, and that she will never condescend to anything to be cut off by her parliament or other ways that may be to his disadvantage or prejudice.

7 *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "The King of Scots and his Councelles aunser to Mr. Randolph."

Feb. 7. **703.** HUNSDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Received his letter of the 6th, with a letter sent to him [Randolph] from six of the King of Scots' Privy Council, whereby it is desired, that forasmuch as there be great deadly feuds amongst his grace's subjects in the Middle March of Scotland, who being brought to the ground may make some misrule among themselves as may stir

Elizabeth.
1580–1. some further perturbation, and therefore require that he and Sir John Foster will be contented to meet with 100 [men] apiece.

Cannot but marvel whereon this should proceed; for, first, it is very short warning, Thursday being the day of his meeting; secondly, he has never been offered this before. For the Warden himself knows when he has been double and treble his company, never a man in his company has had an ill word offered to them, nor has wanted one jot of justice that he could lawfully require, and therefore they need not to doubt any injury to be offered by any of his [men]; for all the Queen of England's subjects under his charge are obedient to him and dare not offend any way contrary to his will and pleasure, and so will he answer for them. Knows and has had long experience that the King of Scots' subjects were never, nor are, at his Wardens' devotion, and therefore he cannot yield to that request, nor will he do otherwise than he has heretofore done, which is to have there as many as he thinks good; and the rather because he understands now by this letter that there is such deadly feud among themselves. Besides, he is not so forgetful [as] to forget Carmichael's late dealing with Sir John Foster, and therefore if the King's Warden of the Middle March has any under his charge that he cannot rule, let him leave them at home. Thinks the Lord Warden of the Middle March will be at the same point. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 7. **704.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig. C. VI., fol. 133. Since his last letter it appears that sundry of the nobility and council in Scotland esteem much better of the informations discovered by Mr. Randolph against Lennox than they did before, thinking them now worthy of right grave consideration, and not to be slightly over passed. A good part of the nobility, gentlemen, and others well affected to the commonwealth are drawing to an association with forward minds to enterprise a bold attempt for reformation of those enormities reigning in Court and that realm. It may haply fall out that after the end of these brave triumphs solemnized by the King, Lennox, Montbirneau, and that side at the marriage betwixt the eldest son of the Abbot of St. Combe and the daughter of the Earl of Murray, deceased, some strange mask may be seen in this Lent, in Holyrood House. But this is hitherto rather in conference and advice than anywise resolved on.

Mr. Randolph has lately written to the Lord Governor [Hunsdon] of the setting up of pictures of an ox warning the Earl of Argyll to haste his return into his country, and also of a hare advising Lennox to seek another country, seeing that realm has no seat for him, and albeit he writes nothing of this association or of any party made for the Queen of England, yet no doubt he is sufficiently acquainted with all these purposes, and will seasonably dispose all the same to the most advantage and for her majesty's good service.

The ministers had intended to have exhibited an humble petition to the King for redress of the sores, and the articles be in framing; nevertheless, it is like that their labour shall be prevented by the expedition of other effects. It seems meet and partly necessary to let them enter into plain and round action among themselves, foreseeing

Elizabeth.
1580–1. that in the end thereof, and upon their resolution for repair and settling of their broken State, and for the establishment of the best form and order of policy and government, the Queen of England's advice may be interponed and followed, whereby they may remain in most strait obligations to her, and the dangers appearing be most surely prevented. Requests him to pardon his rashness in delivering his opinion in so weighty a cause.

The Earl of Angus, with the advice of his friends, has stayed his journey to Douglas, thinking it more expedient timely to bind together a number of friends of the nobility than for light cause to depart from place most fit for execution; whereupon he continues at Dalkeith, and in mind before signified.

The Earl of Morton is said to be dangerously sick; but is informed that he is partly recovered. He has been straitly kept these few days; but now he receives more liberty and ease.

It is thought that Lennox will offer to Mr. Randolph to be mean to restore the Earl of Morton to his liberty and to the King's favour, so that he may thereby obtain her majesty's goodwill, and work a reconciliation and friendship betwixt themselves. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

Feb. 8. **705.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 36. Forwards a packet. Will take some other opportunity to answer his letters of the 3rd. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

⅓ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 8. **706.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 37. Had word brought him on Sunday* morning that in the afternoon the Abbot of Newbottle and the Clerk Register would be with him from the King. At their coming the Abbot made a long discourse of the Queen of England's benefits towards the King of Scots and of the happy amity so long continued, and lamented that the same should be any ways broken upon a surmise or suspicion, where, undoubtedly, on the King's part it was never intended. Whereunto he answered, that whatsoever was done he would impute nothing to the King, who was young and void of experience and judgment, which made the Queen of England have more care that he were not abused. But, for all things that were amiss, and wherewith her majesty was grieved, he could not but lay the fault on such as were about the King and had most credit with him, which, not being remedied, the amity could not stand.

To this it was replied, that more was conceived than any just cause given; but to reason of these matters was not [*the cause of*] their coming, but rather, and chiefly, to know if he had any further matter to charge Lennox with than that he had given in writing. Answered that he thought that enough, yet that he had spoken much more to the King and Council, which he hoped they would weigh as well as the rest. They said they remembered it well, but thought it hard to

* 5th.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. prove. But, said he [Randolph], the doings declare it as well in the coldness of many about the King in religion as the abuse of his person and authority, to the overthrow of his nobility and bringing home of traitors and condemned persons, contrary to the law, and unknown to the King. That, said the Abbot, might be remedied by the King himself without the aid of foreign power or counsel. But, he replied, without foreign force their King had not been King, and that she who by force had made him King had both force and a will to maintain him as a King, and counsel to teach him how he should become a godly and gracious King, neither unjustly to imprison, nor by unlawful means to take away the life of any man.

That, they said, was not so. His imprisonment was by a law, and his trial should also be according to law. Yet, said the Abbot, "we have further to knowe whom and what you meane by these wordes sett downe in your notes—'ruled by strangers and by strange councell.'" Answered that he meant the Earl of Lennox, being a stranger, and strange counsel to be such that no Prince ever used the like, speaking particularly against the Earl of Morton; the bringing home of Balfour to be his accuser, being himself a condemned man; the privy conference with him by Lennox, Seton, and others; the like for Farnyhurst; the maintenance of Montbirneau, a defamed person in all kind of vice and rebaldry, and a most unfit person to be near or about a young King; with much speech to this effect, and more than he can remember. They spent two good hours together, [he] advising them to have care of their King and to be mindful of his best friends, and to put no man in balance with the Queen of England, whose doings and deserts were incomparable to any. Finally, he desired them to move the King that he might the next day have audience and answer to that he had propounded.

On Monday he spoke with the King, and laid before him again the Queen of England's love and benefits towards him, first, in the making of him King, and the care she has to maintain him so; who, as she was of more years, was the better able to consider what was best for him and his estate. Spoke of the particularities and partial dealing of sundry, and added some favourable speeches for the Earl of Morton. Put him in mind of his promises he had made the Queen of England to follow her advice. He took his speeches very well, and said that there should be no fault found in him, asking if he had any further to say to his Council. Said that his coming was in hope to receive answer of what he had delivered to him and his Council. Wherewith, taking him with him to the Council Chamber and placing him next himself, at the left hand, he prayed him to say what he would. Where he declared again summarily what he had sundry times said before to him and his Council, as well by word as writing, touching the cause of his coming, and hoped then to receive some answer. But the King urging to know if he had anything more to say against the Earl of Lennox, said that he thought he had said sufficient. But seeing it was his desire, was content to make known what he was informed, to wit, that he was a Papist and brought up in papistry, cloaked of late with a subscription to religion, and sometimes going to sermons, the better to work the overthrow thereof, having professed before his coming out of France the continuance and maintenance of the Catholic and Roman religion; that he is friend to the King's mother,

Elizabeth.
1580–1. and has as ministers Ross, Balfour, Farnyhurst, and others; that he abuses the King's years, not knowing what is good for himself or his country. This being spoken with that earnestness that he thought meet, the Earl stood up and offered to speak, but was forbidden by the King, saying to him [Randolph] that he should shortly receive answer, and therefore prayed him to have patience for a while.

Delivered to the King a supplication sent him by Mr. Nicolas of Northam in Devonshire. Again put the King in mind of Alexander King's oration, aggravating that matter as a special cause of unkindness if the party were not punished. Made suit for Mr. Archibald Douglas. Desired that the proclamation made against the Earl of Morton's servants forbidding them to repair to Edinburgh might be revoked. Edinburgh.

4 *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* "From Mr. Randolph to the L. Governor."

Feb. 8. **707.** HUNTINGDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Imparted his letter of January 26th to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, and as it seems by his letters of the 3rd instant, he acquainted the Queen of England with the contents thereof, and she at first marvelled that he [Randolph] did not then mediate the delivery of the Earl of Morton, but in the end was satisfied with the answer that Mr. Secretary made, which was that it was likely that he directed himself at the time by the advice of the Earl's friends in the negotiation of the matter, who knew what time was fittest to be taken to deal therein with best advantage. Afterwards he [Walsingham] writes thus, "I am sorry that Mr. Randolphe should suffer himself to be carried into an opinion that Lennox may be so easily won to her majesty. I know both he and those that put this conceit into his head will find themselves deceived in the man. For the cause of his coming—as may appear by so many apparent reasons and arguments—being to overthrow religion, to procure a foreign match for the King, and to advance the Queen's title and party, I do not see how we may be led to think that he will so easily alter his purpose." Mr. Secretary concludes with this request, "I beseech your lordship to concur with me in seeking to divert Mr. Randolphe from such a belief."

Has so plainly discoursed his opinion to him that he need say no more thereof. Is glad to see others to be of his mind, for whatsoever Lennox offers, it will prove to be but dissimulation in the end, for he is "feathered on such" both for religion and policy, as there is no reason in the world for him to become such a friend to the Queen of England as Randolph knows the case requires he should be who carries the authority he has now in Scotland. Believes that he may cunningly temporise for a time, but to bind fast with the Queen of England or to perform towards her any such good offices as she most justly has deserved of that State, and which for both these crowns, in respect of religion and policy, in his opinion were most necessarily fit, he can never think that he will do it, and therefore it were to build on the sand to accept him into any secret credit; but trusts he is too wise to be deceived by him. Knows by some of his former letters what his purpose is both for the Earls of Lennox and Morton. Can say no more but "hold that course," unless he should repeat the sentence of St. Paul, "qui stat videat ne cadat," which counsel all

Elizabeth.
1580–1. flesh may be contented to hearken unto, because it comes from the Holy Ghost, and though it is chiefly meant in that place to give warning for constancy in matters of faith, yet the memory thereof may sometimes serve our turn in matters of policy, and that especially when religion and policy are so knit together as in this action which he [Randolph] has in hand he takes them to be. Few words to the wise may be sufficient, and he doubts not but Randolph will take his plainess and meaning in such part as it deserves. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 8. **708.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO [WALSINGHAM].

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 39. The further he enters into these causes, the more uncertain he is. The King is carried so far by this Frenchman that he is thought irrecoverable but with such extremity that what counsel to give is a thing most hard. If the Queen of England invades, the King flies into Argyll or France, which is the thing their enemies seek. If they burn the country their friends will be most endamaged, for from Berwick to Edinburgh he knows not who is their enemy, and he thinks he [Walsingham] does not desire to lose friends. If they mind to conquer the country, the time is not fit for such an enterprise. If fair means cannot win them, England were better to go without them, and let them sink or swim. Finds no way to get Morton liberty but by favour showed to Lennox, which he [Randolph] and all honest men here utterly mislike. If they refuse him [Lennox], the King is lost, being only led by him, and Morton in greater danger than ever he was. There is no counsel to be had here, all men are in such fear and suspicion one of another. Lennox is utterly condemned and feared by all, yet no man seems to take care how to mend it. Particularities are so great that no man regards but his own profit by hook or by crook.

Argyll offers much, and Lennox to be wholly at the Queen of England's devotion, but neither is to be trusted, and what they [the English] accept of them displeases all others. From whom all these inconveniences grow he [Walsingham] knows—who will embrace nothing in time. The more force [the more] they hasten his death whom they wish to preserve. The gentler they handle them the less they will esteem them. It passes any one man's wit to find what way to deal and to do good with them,

Argyll has sent to him offering much service, greatly blaming Morton of hard dealing towards him. Lennox hopes to procure his safety by winning the Queen of England's favour or keeping Morton still in prison. Ruthven has so far failed in honesty that now he is past shame where profit may be had. Angus is the only man who must undertake of all that is amiss.

Received his letter of January 31st. Finds no great good done in letting fall general speeches of misliking the King's speeches against Morton. Has done it to such as he is sure have reported it. Fears that the party here will not fall out so great as he [Walsingham] will look for. Can assure him of Angus and Mar. Morton's friends fear that whatsoever is attempted by them will hurt him. Argyll is as much suspected as Lennox. Montrose is in band and league with

Elizabeth.
1580–1. both. Ruthven, though he now repent, cannot unwrap himself; yet he has some hope to recover him. Rothes is doubtful: has received no certain answer from him. Cannot make more account of the rest, except Lindsay, who says well to them, but finds yet no sufficient back. The boroughs are few. Edinburgh bears no goodwill to Morton; the provost is his utter enemy. The provost of Dundee [is] an old friend, and a great misliker of this Court, but finds his burgesses so given to peace and particularities that hardly for any cause they would be moved. St. Johnstone depends on Lord Ruthven —in this action cold enough.

Lord Hunsdon is not ignorant of anything he [Randolph] writes to the Earl of Huntingdon. Assures himself the conveying of the King will fall out, therefore the sooner they provide for it the better. Some think he will into Argyll. Prays him to consider in time what he does that their friends and godly men take no more harm than their enemies. Knows he will have offers made from Lennox. Minds to hearken to them and to speak with himself, if he requires it, yet without suspicion of the honest.

2¼ *pp. Indorsed:* "Copie of Mr. Randolphs lettre decyphered. Febr. 8, 1580."

Feb. 9. **709.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 41. These inclosed did not come to his hands with such speed as he guesses the writer looked they should, but with him they make no stay. It seems by his letter that he has largely written to him of all things come to his knowledge. Is ready to go and see the two last bands set forwards towards Berwick, which by some accident have been hindered of the speed they should have made. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

⅓ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 9. **710.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 50. Received his letter yesterday with the Queen of England's letter for accepting and placing of Sir Harry Widdrington here as Marshal. Her majesty has thereby made glad hearts in this town, both of captains and soldiers, and eased him of a great deal of toil.

Received his other packet this morning, containing a letter from her majesty touching his absence from the Parliament, and a letter from the Council touching the victualling of the soldiers. Likes very well of the captains, now come to this town. Has made out warrants to the treasurer for the impresting of each of them for a fortnight. Forwards a packet from Mr. Randolph. Her majesty may have as great a party in Scotland as ever she had. What Mr. Randolph does therein, he knows not. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

Postscript.—Has thought good to write this much with his own hand. As the Earl of Angus is at this day the greatest man of power and friendship in Scotland, so is he the only resolute and constant man of his promise of that nation. He is but of few words; but whatsoever he promises he performs, and what he resolves to do, he will not be removed [*from it*]. He is so vehement in this action for his uncle that, though none of the nobility will join with him, he

Elizabeth.
1580–1. will take the matter in hand himself, and such as will follow him, to deliver his uncle by fair or foul means. If the large and liberal promises of the King—as the earldom of Morton and all that Morton possesses—or the vehement and earnest persuasions of the Earl of Rothes, his father-in-law, or of Montrose, Lochleven, and sundry others of his friends, who for their private quarrels love not Morton, could take any root with him to leave Morton, surely he had been gone ere now. But all these fair and large promises nor persuasions can no more remove him than a rock. He has required his friends who have sought to persuade him to deal no more therein; for he will rather die an honest earl than live a defamed King, to have it said hereafter that he had betrayed his kinsman. They have answered him, that they have received so great injuries at Morton's hand that they neither can nor will any way seek to help him in respect of himself, yet will they not see Angus take lack or harm; but will rather take such part as he does. He has surely knit to him the Earls of Montrose, Mar, Glencairn, and Rothes. Lord Boyd, who is as forward in this action as he, Lord Cathcart, and the Laird of Lochleven will not leave him; and he makes good account of Ruthven and Lindsay, and a great sort of other gentlemen who will join with him. He is wholly at the Queen of England's devotion, and whatsoever she will command him to do, he will do it, and has sent to him [Hunsdon] to know what he will have him do; who could give him no direction; but referred him to Mr. Randolph, with whom he has been either once or twice afoot from Dalkeith, disguised.

Having written so much, has word brought in that Angus will be forced upon some occasion to lay himself open and to vow that he will run that course that the Queen of England will have him, and therefore, in his simple opinion, it were not amiss that Mr. Randolph might declare to the King and his Council, that although she will make no war on the King, yet she will not endure that Lennox shall remain there; but will be utter enemy to as many as shall countenance, aid, and assist him, and to all their friends. Surely this would send him packing; for there is never a nobleman but Argyll takes his part, the rest are but "petty Jhonse."

There is some jealousy and fear conceived among Morton's friends that Lennox's fair offers—whereof she shall want none—will take place with her majesty; which must be taken heed of, for so she shall lose them all. For if they find that, they will presently make their way with Lennox, which they may easily do, with great thanks and joy. They have sought lately Morton's friendship with Lennox, who has answered that if he may have his just trial as by law is appointed, if he be found guilty he is contented to receive his desert, and that there shall never any friend of his seek any revenge against any man. If he be found guiltless he will be found reasonable either towards Lennox or to satisfy the King any other way. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

3 *pp. Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 9. **711.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

A copy of his letter of the last of January, directed to the Earl of Huntingdon, came to his hands yesterday, by which he perceives that

Elizabeth.
1580–1. he yet temperately presses the matters committed to his charge, for that the Borders were not furnished with sufficient forces as well for the defence of the same against any sudden attempt as to assist the Queen of England's party. Wherein, as he has done very discreetly and with good regard for necessary circumstances, so when her forces shall be in readiness to execute her commandments it will then be fit to take another course. But ere they can give any further direction therein, it is first looked for that he should particularly advertise who will be Angus's associates in the action. Those who would charge Angus with the late raid made into the English Borders seem to dare say anything that they conceive may serve their turn, be it never so untrue, for all men of judgment may see that in reason it is no time for Angus to offend the Queen of England. Angus's letter to Lord Hunsdon has, besides, yielded sufficient satisfaction to clear him of this slander.

It appears by the King's so earnest protecting of D'Aubigny, and the little regard he seems to have for the advertisements given by her majesty, esteeming them as matters forged, that words are not likely to prevail, what force of proof soever they carry, so that the only way of cure for this disease must be to remove the evil affected about his person, who breed corrupt humours in him. Wherein there is no delay to be used, for no doubt there are means sought to strengthen his party from foreign parties, and therefore upon knowledge to be received from him who will be of the association and hazard themselves in the cause, he does not doubt but that they shall receive from hence speedy resolution of being thoroughly backed and assisted therein.

He did well to hold the King of Scots in suspicion that he had more matter to charge D'Aubigny withal; to which purpose Mr. Bowes' collections and the copy of the bishop of Ross' letter to Cardinal Alciat,* which he lately sent him, will stand him in some stead. But if he shall see them as little regarded as the former advertisements, he may then do well to let the King plainly understand that the Queen of England, being a Prince who does not go about to serve her turn with untruths, cannot but think her honour greatly touched in that he seems to give greater credit to D'Aubigny's denials than to her most true assertions, esteeming her friendly advices but as forged matters, wherein he shows small effects of that thankfulness which her majesty has many ways deserved at his hands; for testimony whereof she may appeal to the whole world to judge between her and him; and therefore, in case she shall see the continuance of such contempt by preferring a D'Aubigny before a Prince of such desert towards him, she neither can nor will endure it.

Can conceive no great good hope of the King's answer that Randolph looks for, for his young years cannot yet discern what prejudice the alienation of the Queen of England's goodwill from him may bring to his State, and therefore there is no satisfaction to be looked for at his hands.

He shall do well to deal very effectually that the trial of Morton may be performed with all sincerity, void of practice and corruption, with due regard to the place where the trial shall be, and of the persons who shall be actors therein. But if he finds that persuasions

* François Alciat.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. grounded upon reason will do no good, then must he not stick to boast "after the countrie fashion"; and in case they shall threaten that if anything be attempted by England against D'Aubigny, Morton is like to smart for it, he may then tell some who he thinks will soonest report it to D'Aubigny, that if they touch one hair of Morton's head it will undoubtedly cost the life of the Queen of Scots here.

As for the satisfaction promised to be yielded by D'Aubigny, he may by former letters judge what they [the Privy Council] think of it, whose misguiding of the King and withdrawing of his mind from the godly virtuous course he was entered into, they are glad that the well affected in Scotland look to, and hope, therefore, that they will concur with those who will join together in removing him.

Touching the King's towardliness that he writes of, they have little cause to take comfort in it, seeing he suffers himself so easily to be carried into a wrong course, wherein he may abuse his good gifts that God has bestowed on him. Whitehall. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—Sends herewith a copy of certain advertisements the Council received yesternight out of Ireland, by which he may perceive how well they are dealt with by the Scots. He may use them to such good purpose as he shall see cause, and they [the English] shall thereby have a just quarrel hereafter to take revenge for their unthankfulness towards them.

3 *pp. Partly in cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 9. **712.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNTINGDON AND HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 43. Yesterday, after the sermon, the Earl of Argyll came with him to his lodging, being his way to the Court. They had some speeches by the way of the earnestness of the preachers, which his lordship termed over great vehemency; but, in their defence, he said that to great sores and diseases sharper medicines must be used. They did not agree on that purpose. Having rested themselves some while in his lodging, many good words passed from him touching the Queen of England's favour to the King of Scots, the country, and, in particular, to himself by the common benefit to all honest men, besides the honour he received on his return through England. Told him he was glad he had so good remembrance of these things, and trusted that the effect of that he had said should now appear, for that he believed that either all her majesty's benefits had been forgotten or smally accounted. He said he took him to mean the Earl of Morton's imprisonment. Said he did, and prayed him to beware of so perilous an example as, on the accusation of a mean gentleman, to suffer that upon so great a man as the Earl of Morton was, which one day might unhappily fall out on an Earl of Argyll. This he said that he might remember that the Earl, his brother, was not void of suspicion of the same crime. He said the laws of the country so bore it; but that he should have no rigour showed him, and that in time he should receive his trial. Told him that he thought the time long, and that it might have been somewhat sooner for the Queen of England's sake. He declared what injuries he had received from the Earl of Morton, what suspicions and bruits he had raised on him of mischief and the murder of the Earl of Lennox, that he never kept promise of any band or assurance that passed between them, and that

Elizabeth.
1580–1. notwithstanding all this, he promised Morton by a trusty servant of his own, at his going out of Edinburgh Castle to Dumbarton, that he would be his friend. Told him he thought well of him for so doing. Charged the Earl of Lennox with as many matters as he could, and said that he, being so great with him, could not but be partaker of all his practices, purposes, and intents, and, therefore, required him, as he loved God, the King, and country, and as he bore goodwill to the Queen of England, that in time he would leave him and put to his good hand to the quietness of the country, and avoid the dangers that might ensue. After long discourse of this matter he said he would, and that he would oftener come to him. Prayed him that if he had a mind to do any good it might appear in deed; for, as he doubted whether his lordship believed every word he spoke, so he was determined to believe nothing he had said, further than he might see good proofs and effects to follow. After an hour and more they departed. After dinner Mr. George Young, Clerk of the Council, came to him and said, that forasmuch as the King had promised to send an answer in writing, he was commanded to bring it to him. Incloses a copy of this answer with a large margin. Trusts to receive their opinion what he shall do therein; for he assures them it is a hell to deal with people *quibus neque mens neque ratio*. Some think that he will hereupon take his leave, but he assures them to the contrary—and more to do them good than any pleasure he takes in his abode. The King has written for all his nobles, barons, and head-boroughs on the 20th instant. Some say that it is for better advice to be taken in these matters he has propounded, if this answer does not please. Others believe it is for what force the King can make if her majesty invades: which he thinks to be the true intent of both. Though their directions be of sufficient force to direct him, yet, if it might be known to her majesty, and answer returned before the 20th, would be glad thereof. Beseeches them for their advice in the meantime.

Mr. George Young delivered him a pamphlet written and presented to the Council by Mr. Alexander King upon his [Randolph's] accusation of him for the oration he had made openly in the Tolbooth; which is verified to be the same that he pronounced; but does not believe it. When he has perused it, they shall receive a copy. Is also promised [the bishop of] Ross' book, out of which it was taken. It is said that the party is committed to the Castle. Spoke after supper with one whom their lordships shall know when he has time to commit the same to cipher. Trusts Mr. Archibald Douglas will know what answer they find concerning him in the fourth article of this answer. Many papers and writings of his were found at the rifling of his chamber, which disclose matter against him, but nothing against the Earl [Morton], though some other suspicious matter of intelligence with England. Seeing these men make the keeping of him [Archibald Douglas] in England to be the stay of Morton's trial, doubts not but their lordships will see that matter fully answered.

It is told him for certain that yesternight it was concluded that Captain James Stewart should be made a lord and sworn of the Council. That he is already made the Earl of Arran's tutor their lordships know, and many of the noblemen grudge it.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. There is now speech who shall be Lieutenant of the King's army; what forces will be made to withstand if they invade; where money, powder, and what munitions are to be had.

Made the Secretary acquainted with Lord Hunsdon's answer for meeting at the day of "true." Car, the solicitor for Cesford, attends here to hear what is done.

Requests him [Hunsdon] to stand good friend to Alexander Hume of Fauldonside. [*Written over in Hunsdon's hand,* "Mawnderston he meanes"]; also to the Laird of Ayton [Eyton].

It is certainly concluded that the King goes to his house at Linlithgow on Monday, in the custody of Lord Robert. It is feared by some that he will from there to Glasgow, and so to Dumbarton; some believe to embark Montbirneau there; others fear worse; and those of the wiser sort, that Morton may be sent away—or the King, if he sees no party against the Queen of England's forces; yet it is said for certainty that he will be here again within five or six days. It is hard to try out the truth suddenly amongst so many false reports.

Lord Herries is gone home, having dealt freely in favour of Morton. Finds it not so in Newbottle. Many are willing, but their hearts serve them not. Many doubt of the Queen of England unless she may be persuaded to alter her determination. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

Postscript (*in Randolph's hand*).—Is advertised this night that the King has altered his purpose to [go to] Linlithgow upon some bruits that he would go farther; some say for speeches of Lady Robert [Stewart's] kind entertainment of D'Aubigny.

6 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Notes in the margin in Walsingham's hand.*

Feb. 11. **713.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 54. Having despatched several packets to him yesterday morning, received that evening a letter from Mr. Randolph with a copy of the answer of the Scottish King and his Council, which, in his simple opinion, is so frivolous as to be far unfit to be given to the Queen of England.

Knows not what commission Mr. Randolph has nor what matters he had to treat of with them; but if they be no other than these, the Earl of Huntingdon and he came hither to little purpose, and her majesty has levied her subjects and been at great charges to little effect, and to her great dishonour, if no further matter follow of it.

Did think that Mr. Randolph had commission to make a party for the Queen of England in Scotland, and thereupon he [Hunsdon] to have joined with them if they had required it; which he knew he might very well have done. But as yet has heard nothing from him thereof in all his letters, nor can he hear that he has done anything therein. If there be no further meant it were fitter that her majesty's army should return again than to put her to so great charges as they are like to do.

It appears by his [Randolph's] letter that there will be an assembly of the three Estates on the 20th instant, which, if it holds, will be the aptest time to make a party for her majesty, and to make D'Aubigny's

Elizabeth.
1580–1. doings openly known, and to have some enterprise taken in hand for the expelling of D'Aubigny. But is afraid that Mr. Randolph will not do it so well as some others might have done.

Dare not give his advice for her majesty's entry into wars; but if this company now assembled be discharged without doing anything, as it shall be no small dishonour to her majesty in all places where it shall be heard of, so it shall set this proud nation the Scots into so great a pride that they will not care what injury they offer her. For, as they did not believe nor could be persuaded that any forces should come hither, but thought them to be but brays till they saw them, so, if they do no feel some smart of their being here, they will care little whensoever any others shall be brought hereafter. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 14. **714.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 56. This inclosed letter was sent to him by Lord [Hunsdon], to whom it was written. Has no liking of the matter written; for he sees thereby that the intention of Scotland is to labour by all means to make England "faine of theire faire wordes" till they have won time and are better prepared. But trusts the Queen of England will foresee to prevent them, and that she may do so, he wishes "no abusing speeches, make Mr. Randolph think better of some than they can ever deserve," because their disposition is so contrary to her majesty and all her good purposes. Knows Randolph to be so wise and well affected that he needs to doubt little hereof. Yet when he considers how much it imports them to begin first with that person so employed as he is, and when he thinks of those who are fast knit to Lennox, though not for love to him, but for malice to Morton, is sometimes drawn to doubt the worst. There is no way so good to withstand all evil events as to make the Queen of England a good party in Scotland.

Walsingham may perceive by what Mr. Randolph writes to Lord Hunsdon how little to the purpose mentioned in Lord Herries' letter Argyll dealt with him in the conference after the sermon. If the assembly holds on the 20th, then were the time fit for a conference to be had for making a party. Alnwick. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same:—

(Lord Herries to Hunsdon.)

Returned from the Court on the 9th inst.

Trusts all things are like to fall forth in good terms and quietness. Trusts the Queen of England will be well satisfied as to the removing of the Earl of Lennox and the liberty of the Earl of Morton. There is no mind in Scotland by the King, Council or Estates of alteration of the loving peace betwixt the Princes, nor any ways to alter their present standing form of religion for papistry or pleasure of any Papists in the world.

Morton and Lennox will agree, and Morton be set forth. Terreglis, 10th of February, 1580.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Postscript—On Wednesday last, after the sermon, saw their Chancellor* pass with their ambassador to his house.

⅔ *p. Copy in Huntingdon's hand. Indorsed.*

Feb. 14. **715.** HUNTINGDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

When he wrote his last to the Lord Governor [Hunsdon] he [Huntingdon] hoped to have seen somewhat of a party that he had made for them [the English], but finds nothing of the matter therein. Perhaps, before the English forces came to the Borders, he made some stay to deal as he would have done. Now that they have arrived he is not to defer doing what is meetest to be effected. Means the procuring of a party; for without that he knows how little is to be done. Although at first he cannot make it so great as he desires, yet, in his [Huntingdon's] opinion, he will do well to accept it as he may. Thinks he may be sure of Angus and all the friends who belong to that blood. If he can join Rothes, Montrose, Glencairn, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Lochleven, as he thinks he may, some for one cause, some for another, he is to do it in God's name: more may follow, but if they do not, "si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos"? Randolph knows what his only errand thither is. If he does not take great heed for Lennox and Morton, and does not use some good speed, he will be greatly disappointed of all his good purposes.

If the King's journey to Glasgow holds, he suspects what may be the end of it, and therefore somewhat must be done in time. The stay of him were best; if not from Glasgow, yet from that which may follow. For Hume of Manderston he [Randolph] desires favour. Let him take heed of all those who for malice to Morton forget the common cause. He knows who prosecuted Morton and for what cause they are led thereto. Means the sundry persons of Scotland. The causes that make Lennox, who came from France, do that he does be plain, for in two words he may write them up and say it is "pro Roma" and "pro regno." The making of a party and to set them on work with assurance of the back of England is the way likeliest to help all. If Randolph finds a better way he will be glad to see it, but by Lennox he looks not for it. Prays him to do as he may for him who wrote the bill inclosed. Alnwick. *Signed*: H. Huntyngdon.

1 *p. Holograph. Partly in cipher. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 14. **716.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO [ ].

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 60. There is now no other way here but utterly to remove the Earl of Lennox. Words will not do it, and to come to him by force will be hard so long as he has sea and land at liberty, and that in his possession. Was the willinger because he knew that Morton should have redeemed his liberty and have entered into league with Lennox; for which cause the King should have g[one] to Glasgow to help the end of the bargain. Morton's friends did not like that; which altered that course. Pressed Morton's trial earnestly, which procured such answer as he sent him; which neither he nor others who are

* Argyll.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. well affected to Morton liked. Some suspended their voices in so hard a matter, and desired the assembly of the States. The difference hereof was great betwixt the Cabinet Councillors, and the wiser sort won in the end, that an Assembly should be on the 20th instant, till which time there is not much to do. Spoke with the King on Saturday last privily in a window, the nobility standing by. Pressed to have some speedy trial for Morton's liberty, and to this purpose [used] many persuasions, and also for the removing of such persons about him [who are] to the great danger of himself [the King], and great mislike of the godly and better sort. Prayed him that as he found the Queen of England a mother far passing her of whom he was born, that he would take her advice in matters of so great weight, cutting away his particularities and relieving his broken realm. He seemed to hear him willingly, and said that he would gladly be advised by the Queen of England, who of all persons was most dear to him; but it was hard to put him away from him whom he loved. Said again that it was better for him to yield now to it [than] to leave him hereafter with greater grief and more danger to h[imself] if what was feared fell out. Desired his grace that he would appoint him one by whom he might be informed and know more particularly from time to time what was necessary for him to know; to which purpose he appointed the Clerk of the Register.

Dined that day with the Earl of Argyll, chiefly to speak with the Earl of Montrose, whom he knew he should find there. Found this Earl, though not friend to Morton, yet unwilling to his imprisonment. Has tried Glencairn: he is a proper wise man; but hardly dealt with by Morton.

Has spoken again with Montrose, whom he finds both grave and wise, of no faction, as he affirms, but only given to the King's service. He knows Morton's faults, though not such as he judges him worthy to be thus dealt with. He promises to deal indifferently, and as a favourer of the amity. He allows of no such example as was showed in his accusage, He promises all indifferency as he would to himself. He is friend and in band of kindness with Lennox. He prays that those things he is charged withal may be made plain, that then men with duty might alter their affections and opinions, and until then he cannot but love him as a man born of the blood and descended of many noblemen of Scotland.

[*In Huntingdon's hand*]. Small credit is given by him and others to that which he has alleged against Lennox, for want of sufficient grounds. What this General Assembly will be, he knows not.

1½ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "14 Feb. 1580. A coppye of Mr. Randolphes letter."

Feb. 14. **717.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 66. Looks for no great matter till the day of the Convention. The talk of sending Lord Seton continues, and he [Seton] looks for it; but nothing is said to him [Randolph] by the King or Council. If it be spoken, will make what stay he can. Requests his advice herein if any other wiser than Seton be sent. Spoke with the King on Saturday alone. Left nothing unremembered to him that might breed unkindness between her majesty and him. Though he be

Elizabeth.
1580–1. young he wants neither words nor answers to anything he can say to him. Will not say he thinks all he speaks. Had many good words; but neither finds his mind anything altered from Lennox, nor his will to do otherwise than he advises. Hears many bruits of making of a lieutenant [and] levying of forces to lie on the Borders; but is contented to write of these things of hearsay more than of truth till he hears further. Received the inclosed yesternight from the Council. His answer was, that he was ignorant of the Border causes, and would not presume so far as to persuade or direct his lordship, who knows best what is to be done; but that he found it strange that to so open and manifest attempt so slender redress should be offered. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—His chiefest dealing is to practise with the Queen of Scots, French and Spanish ambassadors, and others.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed by Hunsdon:* "Mr. Randall too the L. of Hunsdon, the 14 of February, 1580."

Notes in the margin in Hunsdon's hand.

Feb. 15. **718.** [WALSINGHAM] TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 62. Received his letters of the 9th instant directed to the Council and himself. Sees it will be necessary, if that service goes forward, to send him supplies of horsemen out of these parts. Her majesty has heretofore had some disposition to send some skilful men throughout the realm to take a perfect view of the serviceable arms and weapons in every county. The Council think it meet that a proportion of armour and weapons be sent from hence to him, but would first understand from him what quantity and what kinds were fit to be sent. His lordship has done well to allow the captains but fortnightly imprest to victual their soldiers.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Hunsdon."

Feb. 15. **719.** HUNSDON TO RANDOLPH.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 67. Has sent him an answer to deliver to the Council of Scotland touching the bill of Heatepoole, because they shall see that he knows what appertains to his office of wardenry better than they can teach him, and that he has required nothing at their Warden's hand nor refused anything at his hand but what he is warranted by the commissioners' book and the laws of the Borders.

Is of opinion that the Queen of England might well think it a mere mockery to her to have Lord Seton sent thither, and a just cause to aggravate her displeasure against them, being one who has worst deserved at her hands than any man in Scotland, and should be worst welcome to her. Besides, they will but lose their labour in sending him hither; for he shall not pass this town till he knows her majesty's pleasure therein, who, he believes, will not allow of his coming to her.

Knows not to what end or purpose they should send a wiser man. Seeing they have made him, her majesty's ambassador there, so frivolous an answer, it is not likely that they will send any better by any ambassador they shall send. It is only a practice to win time till D'Aubigny's forces and preparations that he has sent for into France may come to him, which are promised him. Berwick.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. 1 *p. Copy. Indorsed in Hunsdon's hand:* "Anser too Mr Randolphes lettre of 14th of February, 1580."

Feb. 15. **720.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 68. The Commendator of Newbottle came to him yesterday from the King of Scots to desire him to write to the Earl of Huntingdon for a safe-conduct for Lord Seton to pass to the Queen of England, and the same to be gotten as soon as might be. Answered that he was loth to write in favour of him whose unfriendly dealings and practices against her majesty's estate were well known to him, and that he would leave it to the King's consideration whether he was a fit man to deal in these causes at this time, who was so generally ill thought of by the most of those with whom he should have to do. This the Commendator took for an answer, and said that he would so report to the King.

About eleven o'clock this day Lord Seton's second son, Sir John Seton, Chevalier de la Spada, came to him with the like message from the King, to whom he made answer as before, adding that he would gladly speak to the King's self, to deliver him more plainly his opinion. Thinks he shall speak with the King to-morrow, with whom he will be so plain—as from himself—that he thinks Lord Seton's great desire to go—offering to go on his own charges—is rather to disturb their estate by his old practices with the Queen of Scots and the French and Spanish ambassadors, than of any good intent to do good offices between their majesties. Will, therefore, utterly refuse to write to his lordship, and if he list, let him send one of his own. Has written the like to the Earl of Huntingdon. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—Requests him to let him have more amply his opinion touching the answer from the King and his Council.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed by Hunsdon:* "Mr. Randall too the L. of Hunsdon, the 15 of February, 1580."

Feb. 15. **721.** LEICESTER TO [THOMAS RANDOLPH.]

I have received your letters, and likewise those inclosed from the young man, whom I am glad you find honest. For my own part I have good liking of him. I pray you let him know my good opinion of him. God grant your journey take good success. I wrote you a letter at some length eight or nine days ago. I doubt not you have received it, albeit no great secrets in it. I left it to you to use if the showing it might have done any good. I have received two from you in cipher, both touching one matter, in some contrariety. The latter was well considered.

It is strange that that D'Aubigny has so "sottyd" so many wise men, and that so many pretending religion can suffer so manifest an overthrow of it as by suffering his tyrannical government. I have known the day when Mr. Thomas Randolph had been able to have done much in Scotland. Well, the Lord is where he was, and let the young King take heed if he prove unthankful to his faithful servants so soon he cannot long tarry in that soil. Let the speed of his predecessors be his warning. *Signed:* R. Leycester.

1 *p. Holograph. No address. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Feb. 15.

722. [WALSINGHAM] TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 64.

Having communicated to the Lords of the Council the contents of his private letters of the 9th instant to himself, and of another he received this day from Mr. Randolph, they have appointed that he should send him a copy of Mr. Randolph's, being now deciphered, which he shall receive herewith, to the end he may perceive what difference there is in the several advertisements that are sent from them both touching the Queen of England's party in Scotland, and also have given order that Mr. Randolph should send him a cipher by which they may confidently communicate one with another concerning these causes, signifying to each other what advertisements and secret intelligence they shall receive of the increasing of the said party. The Council think meet that he should despatch some trusty person to Mr. Randolph to confer with him thereon.

The Council have appointed that Mr. Randolph shall demand of the King to have audience at the Assembly on the 20th instant, and declare before them all the cause of his being sent to Scotland, according to the substance of the project sent him for that purpose, a copy whereof he incloses. If he finds anything meet to be added thereto, is to acquaint Mr. Randolph therewith. Whitehall.

Postscript.—The like was sent to the Earl of Huntingdon, except only for the sending of a messenger to Mr. Randolph.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* "16 [*sic*] February, 1580. M. to my L. Hunsdon."

Feb. 16. **723.** HUNSDON TO [WALSINGHAM.]

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 65.

Received a letter yesterday from Mr. Randolph, a copy of his answer to which he incloses. Has presently received another letter from him, which confirms their intention to send Lord Seton to the Queen of England, a copy whereof he incloses. Does not doubt how her majesty will take heed how she yields to so dangerous a man's coming hither, whose only intent is to practise some matter by the way with the Scottish Queen, and, being there, with the French and Spanish ambassadors and some of the English Papists, to work some trouble amongst themselves [*the English*] to keep them from doing any enterprise on them. Desires to know how to deal therein; for, till he hears from him, neither Seton nor any other ambassador shall pass this way. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

½ *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Feb. 17. **724.** INTENTIONS AND OFFERS OF ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

"The intention of the Queen's majesty of England and hir offirs to the King of Scotland hir deare brother and coosyn, and to his noble men and good counsellors now assembled and so consequently to the whole nation of Scotland."

Her majesty having had by many assured good means within these two years knowledge of the Pope's intention and resolution with certain of his choicest Cardinals and other special ministers of some Kings and sovereign Dukes professing the Roman religion, and

Elizabeth.
1580–1. being sworn to the execution of the Council of Trent, for the abolishing and rooting out of the religion reformed, not acknowledging the Roman, and to the intent how, by the said Pope and those his confederates, it was determined that there should be practised, especially in England and in her majesty's dominions by means of certain English rebels and Papists, and especially by Jesuits, some secret defection of her people from their obedience, and therewith also there should be forces gathered in the dominions of the King of Spain and other potentates of Italy, in the name of the Pope, to invade some part of her dominions upon the quarrel of religion, and that also there should be further practice in Germany to make a division betwixt the Princes professing the Gospel, upon a difference betwixt the Lutherans and Calvinists, and so to weaken the party of the Protestants that the Papists might subdue both; and also that there should be further practised some mean how to break the amity betwixt England and Scotland by procuring some marriage with the King [of Scots] to some papistical Princess, thereby to make him change his religion; and in like sort by sending into Scotland some persons to work some division in Scotland, namely, to begin to overthrow or discredit such as have long been serviceable to the defence of the King in his tender age and for maintaining the straight amity betwixt England and Scotland. Forasmuch as her majesty has evidently seen the most part of these intentions put in execution, namely, the secret workings in England and Ireland by Jesuits, massing priests, and such other secret papistical instruments, who have these two years in a disguised manner dispersed themselves into sundry countries of her realm, and have by feigned holiness, with certain bulls from Rome, procured a great multitude of people to be reconciled to Rome and to profess obedience to the Pope, with a renunciation of their allegiance to the Queen of England, and a profession to serve the Pope or any other foreign Prince sent by him against her and the religion established in her time, whereof she has had most manifest proof, not only by apprehension of some of the rebellious Jesuits confessing the same, for which some of them have worthily suffered death, but also by discovery of great multitudes of her people being so reconciled to the Pope, confessing the same, and whereof a great part, by better instruction, have publicly in the churches acknowledged their faults by hundreds together, and some, nevertheless, remain obstinate in their detestable opinions in defence of the Pope's authority, without regard of any punishment, and therefore they are committed to prisons, either by instruction to be won, or by the sword* to be cut off, and how this practice has taken root in Ireland, first, by the seduction of great multitudes of people there, that they have attempted to take arms, and in open field to withstand her majesty, and to fight under the Pope's banner, renouncing their obedience to the crown of England; it is proved true that great numbers of men of war, ships, victuals, munition [and money]† have been amassed in the Pope's name, in Italy and Spain, and the overthrow of some of the same [forces] arrived and fortified in Ireland has made the same manifest. No man of any good meaning towards the religion of Christ or of any good disposition to withstand these dangerous attempts

* Justice *in the copies.*

† From the copies.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. of the Pope and his adherents, sworn to his see and to the execution of the Council of Trent, can but greatly allow and assist these her majesty's prudent cares, and therewith to interpret [in very good part]* her messages and counsels to the King, and not to be seduced by cunning words only of D'Aubigny and his adherents, when plain matters burst out to show his secret intention to achieve to his enterprise. For how may this late fact be otherwise interpreted—in conspiring to accuse so great a person as the Earl of Morton is of a matter so long kept in silence, and therewith to seise upon his person in the Court, to commit him to prison, and in the end to convey him into captivity in the custody of D'Aubigny, being beforehand notoriously known his deadly enemy, where he remains without any trial, yea where he remains at the will of his adversary to be either murdered or conveyed by him out of the realm? D'Aubigny has from his birth been a professed vassal of the Pope, but in outward facts pretends to be of the reformed religion. Of this kind her majesty has discovered many in her realm, who have confessed dispensation so to dissemble, yea, they are taught that they may without hurt of their Popish conscience deny their faith. It is certainly discovered to the Queen of England that part of the great forces preparing shall light upon Scotland by one means or other. Her majesty has prepared means for defence of England against foreign forces as well by sea as by land, and has also sought all ordinary good means to recover her people who were withdrawn, and to stay the rest who might hereafter be in like manner corrupted. She has not spared, nor will spare charges for Ireland to suppress rebellious and foreign force. For the mischief stirred up in Germany she has also used sundry means with the best affected places to stay that fire kindled there amongst themselves. Whilst she has been thus Christianly occupied not only in the discovery of these papistical plots and in labouring to frustrate the same in time, lest being suffered, the general danger to all people professing Christ against antichrist, the Pope, should follow, to be irrecoverable by any worldly means, when it has been discovered to her majesty that the Pope and his adherents have concluded to attempt the recovery of Scotland to his obedience, and the manner how they meant to proceed was also in some part revealed to her, and that she has seen some part thereof already begun, which was by sending D'Aubigny, a professed Papist, into Scotland, under colour of his kindred to the King, to aspire to some great estate and credit, and partly by dissimulation and courting with the King, and partly by making factions amongst the nobility, but specially to oppose himself to such as were known to be affectionate to maintain amity betwixt her majesty and the King of Scots, thereby to make a ready way to bring strangers into the realm, and consequently to alter religion, and in the end to put the person of the King in danger, and to enable himself to get the crown. Now, all these things considered, and her majesty seeing this dangerous progression in Scotland by D'Aubigny, and that by making his faction as he does he may procure such a division there, specially amongst the nobility, that such as are most sound in religion, most serviceable and loyal to the King, most devoted to keep the country in liberty from access of

* In the copies.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. papistical strange forces, and most affectionate to maintain the good amity betwixt her majesty and the King of Scots, and the profitable intelligence, love, and concord betwixt the people of both the realms, and who also have tasted and thankfully acknowledged her great and many benefits to their King, their religion, and their liberty, may be brought into like danger from D'Aubigny as the Earl of Morton manifestly is; which her majesty evidently sees to be the greatest peril, and the most ready way to consummate the Pope's intentions. Therefore, besides her majesty's warnings and counsels given in this behalf to the King [of Scots] and his Privy Council, she has thought very necessary to have her Christian princely intentions known to more of the nobility there at this assembly, and therewith she requires them in God's name, and by the love which they bear to the continuance of the liberty of the Gospel, and by the duty they owe to the preservation of the King's person from the dangerous practices of all cunning Papists, and by the natural duty they owe to the liberty of their country and to their own posterity to enjoy the use of laws, and not to be subject to tyranny—that they will accept her advice in such good part as, in the presence of God, she means, for the weal of the King her dear brother and his country, and thereupon by their assistance in counsel to provide speedy remedy against these dangers. And if the greatness of Monsieur D'Aubigny shall seem to terrify or stay them from reformation of him, her majesty offers most willingly her aid, as heretofore she has done, not only with money, but with forces of men to assist them in all their actions that shall be attempted against D'Aubigny for the conservation of their religion, for the surety of the King's person, and for the liberty of their country, and namely to procure that the Earl of Morton may be recovered from D'Aubigny's possession, to be openly tried by the laws of Scotland, and as his demerits shall be tried, so to receive his judgment. These her offers she assuredly promises to perform, and that without delay, as cause shall require, meaning as much safety and honour to the King as though he were her proper son.

10 *pp. Draft in Burghley's hand. Indorsed by* (Burghley's clerk): "Directions sent to Mr. Randolph, 17 Feb., 1580."

Copy of the same with many alterations and additions by Burghley.

Another copy of the same with corrections by Burghley.

Fair copy of the second paper.

Another copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 135. Another copy of the same.

Feb. 18. **725.** HEADS OF A LETTER TO THE LORDS OF SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 141. To let them understand the grief that is conceived that the Queen of England's advice, proceeding from a singular affection borne to the King, should be so slenderly regarded. To lay before them the benefits bestowed on [them], and how unthankfully they are requited. To show the peril that may ensue by the division that may grow between the two realms, and how hardly they shall be able

Elizabeth.
1580–1. to answer the King when he shall grow to more years of judgment. The Queen of England's charging of Lennox did not grow of any particular mislike of his person, *etc.* To put them in mind of the danger that may grow to themselves by so perilous a precedent as is used towards the Earl of Morton. To acquaint them with the delay by putting off the meeting of the commissioners for the Border causes.

⅔ *p. Copy.*

Feb. **726.** NOTES BY BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 134. Such as are levied by the Earl of Huntingdon to be instructed. To have authority to govern any others who shall be levied by himself of the garrison of Berwick, or any others who shall be sent to him out of any other countries.

To have advice from the Lord President and Council assembled with him. So that, nevertheless, if any exploit shall be needful, it may [not] be frustrated before he can have answer.

The Earl of Huntingdon may repair to Alnwick, to be nearer to Berwick when Lord Hunsdon shall enter. To move the Queen to have a Marshal for the town, to remain in Berwick in the absence of Lord Hunsdon. That the Earl of Huntingdon may call to him Mr. Sutton, master of the ordnance, to charge him with the lack certified from Lord Hunsdon in the office there of the ordnance and armour.

To answer the Earl of Huntingdon. For power to repair to Berwick or the Borders near thereto. That good soldiers may be bestowed on the Captain of Berwick. Lord Scrope desires to have 100 horsemen and 100 footmen.

Sir John Foster,—100 horsemen to lie at Harbottle.

When Lord Hunsdon shall be in Scotland, the Lord Lieutenant [Huntingdon] shall direct the three wardenries to be strengthened with the accustomed forces that ought to resort to defend them.

1¾ *pp. In Burghley's hand.*

Feb. 18. **727.** EARL OF BEDFORD TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Being himself present at the reading of Lord Hunsdon's letters, he perceived some difference in his [Randolph's]. It is likely that Lord Hunsdon had his intelligence from Archibald Douglas, and he told the Council at that time that he [Randolph] having so much experience of Scotland, he saw no cause why he should not have as good instructions as Lord Hunsdon, but thinks that Hunsdon has no great liking of him, and he could wish he [Hunsdon] were more circumspect than he is. Mr. Secretary Walsingham and others "hold very hard" for Randolph, so that the Queen of England has a very good opinion of all his dealings there. Prays him to keep these things to himself, and to let him hear from him while he is in London as often as he may. The Earl of Leicester is his good friend, and deals very honourably for him.

There is a very good bill for religion, which has the consent of both Houses, but it is thought her majesty will hardly yield to it.

There is a gentleman coming out of Flanders to be Monsieur's agent here, and they say that the commissioners shall follow him out

Elizabeth.
1580–1. of Flanders. They have heard nothing since the last overthrow that was given to the malcontents. Lord Harry Howard's matter is not yet sounded to the depth. Russell House. *Signed:* F. Bedford.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 20. **728.** HUNSDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXXI., fol. 89. Received two packets from the Court, and in each of them one to himself. Received his letter on Saturday, whereof part in cipher. Is sure he now has sufficient matter to work on, being thoroughly instructed from above. At this Convention it will appear what goodwill they bear to the Queen of England or to the quiet state of their own country. If nothing be done now to her better contentment, his [Randolph's] being abroad there will be to small end. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

⅓ *p.* *Addressed* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 20. **729.** CONVENTION AT EDINBURGH.

"The nobilite of Scotland assembled at Edinburgh the xx^{ty} of Febr., 1580."

The Earls of Angus, Lennox, Mar, Argile, Montros, Rothes, Eglinton, Glencarn, and Southerland. "Such as are absent are yonge or in France."

Lords Lyndsay, Rnthwen, Cathcart, Tullibarn, Robert Steward, Ogletree, Seaton, Ogleby, Hume, Boyd, Sincler, Maxwell, Somerwell, and Yester.

Lairds,—a great number,—Lochlevyn, Lochinvar, and Indermeth.

Commissioners of borough towns, "I knowe not howe many."

Abbots or commendators:—Dunfermlyn, Camskenell, Drybrugh, St. Combes Inch, and Newbottell.

1 *p.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk): "The nobilitye of Scotland assembled at the Convention. 20 February, 1580."

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 143, b. Copy of the same.

Feb. 23. **730.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO [WALSINGHAM].

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 69. If all such letters as he has written to the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hunsdon or copies of them, as was agreed on between their lordships and him, be come to his [Walsingham's] hands, neither his honour nor any else can think anything omitted by him that could well be looked for of any truth or importance concerning the state of Scotland or any private man's cause comprised in his commission, or could be warranted by any instruction or ruled by any discretion. Many he knows are wiser than himself and can see further into the events of causes, and their successes, yet, perchance, he may be deceived who shall deal with a Scot.

Has received his letters of the 15th and 16th with a certain project of speech to be uttered [in] this assembly, and, the next day, his letter of the 17th with the declaration of the Queen of England's intention.

The most part of the nobility are now assembled. Finds divers of them well affected to see many things here reformed; but no man so

Elizabeth.
1580–1. hardy as, either in private to the King or in public to the Council, dare say what he thinks. What this Convention will breed, he knows not yet. For that Thursday is the first day of their meeting in Council, having been this morning with the King, after earnest speeches to himself that he be not abused either with fair speech or hope of foreign friendship, desired that he might in presence of the whole assembly declare what he had before spoken to himself and his Council at sundry times. But he answered that it was the first day of the assembly, and, therefore, prayed him to have patience till to-morrow, or the next day at the farthest. Urged it to be to-morrow, and so thinks it will be. The Cabinet Councillors travail for life that he be not heard before the Assembly, for that they find many who no way will deliver their opinion for war or peace, for Morton's liberty or D'Aubigny's departure, before the whole number be present, and, as he supposes, himself be heard. If it be denied him he will observe the order he has written him, and do all he can to argue their unkindness.

Captain James Stewart, the accuser of Morton, and lately made Comptroller, at the outer gate, with a guard of forty harquebusiers receives all men who come in—an earl with six persons, a lord with four, a baron with two, a burgess commissioner alone. The King privately talks with everyone. Others exhort them to stand earnestly to the defence of their King and country, and heap all the matter they can against the Queen of England's unkind dealing. Some are frank enough in their answers to spend life and lands to the uttermost with the King and those who take his part. Others are more temperate and better advised. It stands now on a point, and will shortly advertise him how it falls out.

One demanded of him this day, if the King should m[ove] to write to the Queen of England that commissioners of like honour might meet the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hunsdon on the Borders to take up all matters, what he thought thereof. Desired to know what persons should be used. He wished Montrose, Rothes, and the Clerk Register. Said he thought it but a device to win time and to try frauds abroad, and could say little thereto till he heard whether it be so intended in deed. What will fall out, he knows not. It is but a private motion and advertisement to himself to think upon. If he finds or can perceive good faith in their dealings, and that they intend to repair all injuries done to her majesty, will like it the better. But if it savours of craft, will see that her majesty be not abused. Would be glad to receive his opinion with speed. Meanwhile will shift as he may with the Earl of Huntingdon's advice. Craves pardon that he has not written to her majesty. When he has concluded with these noblemen, that duty shall not be delayed. The Earl of Morton is well. He finds the Earl of Angus his assured good friend that no ungodly means shall be used to shorten his life. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolph.

4 *pp. No flyleaf or address. Partly in cipher.*

Feb. 24. **731.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

The evening before the receipt of his last letter, of the 17th instant, which came to his hands on the 20th, he had written to him,

Elizabeth.
1580–1. and certified all intelligence sent and given to him. Since which time little matter worth advertising has been brought to him.

It is likely that this convention will shortly bring forth other novelties. Is informed that Angus, Mar, Rothes, Glencairn, Montrose, Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, and Cathcart are assembled, and be in Court with sundry friends, and strongly accompanied, and with consent that if one of them shall be touched, the same shall touch them all. They hope to prevail and bear out all things by vote, otherwise it is said that they will have recourse to the Queen of England's aid and support.

Hitherto few things have being propounded at this assembly, but by appointment deferred till yesterday. Howbeit, of their doings and success, and of the accidents there, he is not inquisitive, leaving the intelligence and the report thereof to her majesty's minister [Randolph] present there, who undoubtedly in this hard condition of time and the variable disposition of that people travails carefully in all that business.

In his last letter Walsingham writes that it seems by Mr. Randolph's letters that the Queen of England's party in Scotland will not be so great as was looked for, and as he [Bowes] is put in hope by such intelligence as he has received from thence. This difference is grievous to him; for the avoiding whereof he had determined to stay his pen. Nevertheless, his request and interest in him altered his purpose, drawing him to certify to himself such things as he heard and sought not for, neither deeply examined them, but always referred the understanding of the truth to the report of Mr. Randolph.

By his letters of the 3rd, 12th, and others of this month, he has named particular persons to be well inclined and apt for good offices, and has therewith written that such was the present condition there, that the Queen of England might have a good party of the nobility, boroughs, gentlemen, ministers, *etc.*; at the writing whereof the persons named and sundry in that State were certified to him to be so affected that he might with warrant write the effects mentioned, and it may be that then Mr. Randolph did not much dissent from his conceit touching the hope of a good party to be made for her majesty. But since that time the jealousies and suspicions arising among the nobility and persons in Court and credit have much changed the state of the cause, and altered the minds of many, whereof he gave some warning before, in that he persuaded such expedition, seeing the cause could suffer no delay; for, finding the districts beginning, and natural mutability reigning, he saw the danger increased by drift of time. Nevertheless, he is not yet utterly desperate nor void of hope—according to this proceeding—that a good party may be made for the Queen of England, which he trusts Mr. Randolph shall compass before the end of this convention.

The party enterprising to reform the displeasant deeds of the Queen of Scots and Bothwell her favourite, to crown the King, and such bold attempts in Scotland, was not many in number of the nobility, and yet prevailed to execute the purpose taken in hand. At this time a few number resolute to give a hardy adventure, and supported by the Queen of England's succours may, he thinks, suffice to work the effects desired. But, gathering this opinion rather upon uncertain bruits and conjectures than an examined intelligence,

Elizabeth.
1580–1. which presently he has not, he therefore recommends him to the advice of Mr. Randolph.

Whereas Mr. Randolph is made to think that Morton's liberty may be obtained by temporizing with Lennox, whereby the hastening of Morton's death and the transportation of the King may be prevented, it appears that he is led thereto by very probable reasons, very common with many, and haply persuaded to Mr. Randolph by Morton himself or by advice from him, against whose desire Mr. Randolph will not willingly work. But some of Morton's friends and others of good experience verily think that Morton's safety and the preservation of the King in good estate, and within Scotland, are chiefly to be won by speedy surprise of Lennox and the Court, or by other like forcible means and action of courage—a matter right worthy grave and deep consideration, and, after resolution, right timely execution.

According to Walsingham's opinion signified in his last letter, the forces laid on the Borders will not, he [Bowes] thinks, be sufficient to enter Scotland, except the Queen of England's party be increased. But it shall be dishonour and exceeding dangerous to withdraw them before some effectual matter shall be done, or otherwise apt occasion to be ministered for the "casshynge" of the same.

If the Queen of England may be once assured of, and shall bind with Angus, Mar, Montrose, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Boyd, and that a good "platt" shall be accorded upon, then, he thinks verily that her party shall be daily increased, especially in case they see her forces to be indeed employed; and then the number of these forces gathered, with some augmentation, shall, he trusts, suffice to execute the purpose to be resolved, and to be always able to retire to this place, or to fortify themselves with safety. Wherein, for her majesty's service, he dare, under good government and leading of the skilful, take his part and adventure his life and all that he possesses.

If any such effect should be resolved to be attempted, it shall be then fit to devise a fit proclamation containing as well the causes of the entry of these forces, bent for preservation of the common causes, as also a declaration that they are sent and to be employed only against Lennox and his supporters, who covertly seek the subversion of religion, the ruin of the King, and breach of amity betwixt the crowns, putting all other the King's subjects in surety to be free from all violence, hostility, and damage, the form and substance whereof ought to be framed wisely and with good advice, and likewise provided to be duly put in execution if matters shall grow to that ripeness.

There is an intention in Lennox and others that under pretence to satisfy the Queen of England, and to bring these griefs and matters to peaceable end, the King of Scots and Council shall be moved to send an ambassador to her, and, amongst other errands, to seek that all these causes may be referred to the hearing and order of indifferent noblemen to be mutually authorised by both the sovereigns. But what gain shall be gotten by drift of time, late experience has taught them, and the progress of causes—come to very desperate case—may be a lesson to them.

Craves pardon for his rashness unadvisedly uttered in this letter, whereunto his zeal and earnest desire to advance her majesty's service

Elizabeth.
1580–1. has violently drawn him beyond rule or measure. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. No address. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 142. Extract from the same.

Feb. 25. **732.** HUNTINGDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Lansd. MSS., vol. XLVI., fol. 128. Received his letters and packet sent by the Warden, the Laird of Cesford, from Sir John Foster. Is glad to know his good opinion of him and that house. If they reckon their cards well, it will not be good for them to lose the Queen of England for such a new friend as Lennox, nor for any other; for the amity with England is more fit for them than the favour of any other can be, their own King excepted, against whom the Queen of England never desired the goodwill of any of those subjects, but in all her actions has showed herself desirous to preserve him and that State. Requests him to advise "this lord" and such of his name and friends to continue true and faithful to their sovereign; which they may do and yet continue willing to maintain all good offices of friendship betwixt the two countries.

As for the hard speeches that have been given forth touching the firing of this lord's [Cesford's] house, as he writes, it is more than he knows to be intended, neither does he like of such speaking.

It is plain that her majesty's good mind to Scotland continues, and if anything falls out otherwise than well, the fault is like to be in them, and not in England. Could wish that they and others had more regard to religion and the godly policy established in both realms, as he thinks, chiefly by the mean of the Queen of England, next under God. Could wish the Abbot of Newbottle especially to be drawn to accept of good and sound advice. There be others also whom he could name to him, but time will not suffer him, and hopes he knows them well enough. How unfit it is for them or any others to "malice" Morton more than to regard their King and country, or to like of D'Aubigny and his counsels better than the advice and requests of the Queen of England, he thinks no man of judgment doubts. For his part, he [D'Aubigny] and all others of that nation will find him inclinable to do all good offices towards them, so long and so far as he sees them to love the religion and to be well devoted to the Queen of England, with a due regard of duty to their King and country. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

Postscript.—An answer is required, or else he had not written by this messenger.

1¾ *Addressed. Indorsed. Postscript in Huntingdon's hand.*

Feb. 28. **733.** DECLARATION BY THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXX., fol. 66. "The effecte of the declaracion of Thomas Randolphe her majestes ambassadour delivered more at length to the King and States of Scotlande assembled at Eadenburghe the xxxiijth of Februarye, 1580."

2½. *Indorsed by Randolph.*

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Feb. 28. **734.** LORD SCROPE TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Has received two letters from him, one by post and the other by the Laird of Johnstone. Would gladly have written more at length to him by this bearer, but the present time is so doubtful and uncertain that he forbears.

If he may have convenient knowledge of his repair to England he will send him a gelding such as he trusts he will like. Carlisle. *Signed:* H. Scrop.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 28. **735.** GAVIN HAMILTON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXX., fol. 70.

About a twelvemonth ago, I making known my estate to you, it pleased you to move my Lord Treasurer for me; who, showing my supplication to her majesty, it was her grace's pleasure to will that instructions should be given particularly for my relief, which were at that time directed to Captain Errington, now remaining with you. Howbeit, by reason of great troubles then in Scotland, he could get no answer at that time. But shortly after that his commission was committed to Mr. Bowes, who could get no answer, and so the matter as yet hangs in suspense, and I unrelieved.

I, therefore, most humbly desire your honour—seeing it is her majesty's pleasure—that it would please you to "propone" my peace to the King's majesty and Council there. Your honour knows the cause of my banishment—that it was only for being on the ground when the Earl of Lennox was slain. Albeit I never saw him; and I assure your honour, some committing the like offence have obtained pardon of the same; and though your honour has not any special direction from her majesty to deal herein, yet your honour knows that sundry ambassadors in sundry realms have procured peace for such banished as I am, and I trust your honour will do the like for me; wherein your honour will bind me, my poor wife, and seven children to pray for your good estate.

My wife, as I believe, is in the town, and will be ready from time to time to wait and attend your pleasure, whom I beseech you to comfort in suiting for my relief. Aikland. *Signed:* Gavin Hamiltoun of Replochte.

Postscript.—I wrote before to your honour, doubting of my man to have been taken and imprisoned; but now I am informed of the contrary.

On the back. I beseech your honour to cause this little inclosed packet to be delivered, as is directed, to James Hamiltoun of Ormystoun.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed;* "To the honourable Mr. Thomas Randolph, Lord imbassadour to the Kinge of Scottis at Edenburgh with spede." *Indorsed.*

Feb. 28. **736.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNSDON.

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXXI., fol. 91.

Upon some suspicion that the Earl of Angus had a private advertisement of some secret between the Earl of Montrose and his wife, more than was honourable for a chaste wife, suddenly, on

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Saturday, about midnight, the Earl of Angus took his horse to Dalkeith, thinking to have found his unfriendly guest at unseasonable hour and place inconvenient with his wife, it fell not out as it was looked for; but herself was found in place more suspicious than was convenient for that time of the night, attending the coming of him that she looked for. The knowledge hereof came by letters intercepted, written by her with her own hand to the Earl of Montrose, exhorting him to speed the purpose intended for the taking of him who should be the impediment to their desires. Montrose's own letters answering that within three days it should take effect were also taken, which causes the Earl of Angus to absent himself, and he minds no more to come to the Court.

The King is informed hereof by the Earl of Mar, by request from the Earl of Angus, and the King is greatly offended with Montrose.

Heard the sermons at the Court yesterday, both forenoon and after. Dined with the Earl of Angus. Prays God that all will be performed that is promised. Spoke with Lord Seton, sorely offended that, to his discredit, his journey was stayed, though for his own part glad that so much money was spared. Would he were as he speaks. Spoke with some others, rather to have occasion of longer speech some other time and place. Passing with the King to his chamber, put him in mind to receive an answer. He excused that on Saturday the Council was otherwise occupied, and that that day nothing could be done, being the Sabbath day. He said that this day the matters that he propounded should be considered of, and the next day conference again should be had with him [Randolph] that the answer might be the readier. Took his [leave] of him, praying to have care, that the answer might be such as might give cause of continuance of the Queen of England's good liking.

This much he thought good to write to him till further occasion of greater matter, that no man may challenge him to omit any earnest purpose for lack of advertisement or loss of time.

Postscript.—The King is informed by the Earl of Mar of this foul fact of the Earl of Montrose, which is so manifest that no man can excuse. The Earl of Rothes, father to the woman, rakes the matter grievously against Montrose. Angus wholly absents himself with full resolution to come no more. Rothes is gone to his house without goodwill. Boyd also is departed assured to Angus. Mar remains to see what will become of these matters. Morton is straitlier kept than before.

3 *pp. Copy in Randolph's hand. Indorsed.*

March 1. **737.** THOMAS RANDOLPH'S DEALINGS WITH THE EARL OF ANGUS.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 157.

The Queen of England sending Mr. Randolph into Scotland to procure that no violent course should be taken against the Earl of Morton, and to comfort all such as were well affected to the King and State by assuring them that they should not want any assistance that her majesty could yield, he laboured all that he could for the Earl's safety and speedy trial by all the reasons and arguments he might produce both to the King himself and his Council. But finding that fair means and speeches could no longer work hope of good success or mitigate the evil minds of such as had already determined his undoing,

Elizabeth.
1580–1. following the project of his instructions, he thought it high time to take another course, and by force seek to prevent that which otherwise was past remedy. By this means he sought means by private conference to work a feeling in sundry of the nobility—[*In the margin:*—Argyll, Montrose, Angus, Mar, Glencairn, Ruthven, Lindsay, Herries, Boyd, Lochleven, Rothes]—of the general disorder of the State and their own particular danger, persuading them to join together in the reformation thereof, and promising them all aid and support in the Queen of England's name, who to that had already sent down her forces to the Borders. But for aught that he could either do or say, by reason that from the beginning the King seemed to be a party against them, whose authority in all things was abused by the adversaries, he found no less difficulty to bring this to pass than in the other.

The cold dealing and small will that he found in the greater part of such as came to him made him follow more effectually the hope which yet rested in such as from the beginning he found best affected to the cause, namely—the Earls of Angus, Mar, and Glencairn, Lords Lindsay and Boyd, and Lochleven; but chiefly with the Earl of Angus. For the only opinion and expectation of this man made him assured of the rest, who in all actions, through a mutual love to each other—though equally devoted to her majesty's service—determined to run all one fortune together. Angus, after he had once thoroughly looked into the reasons laid before him, began first to leave the Court and to live warily at home, to advise with his friends, and by secret means to continue intelligence with him [Randolph], adventuring himself divers times in the night to come and confer with him. Notwithstanding all the labour he took to draw him on, the continual advice of his friends, joined with his own innocency in any of the matters that seemed to trouble the State, greatly held him perplexed, and drove him to work with the most assurance he could. For which cause—as at other times—Mr. William Colvile came to him from the Earl, about the 10th of February, to see what assurance the Earl his master should receive of such assistance and promises as he had before made in the Queen of England's name. To whom, for the special care that he had not wilfully or lightly to draw so young a nobleman into such an action without good warrant, he gave in writing to Mr. William Colvin so much of his instructions as it behoved the Earl to know, imparting these words:—"To procure "that no violent course be taken with the Earl of Morton, and to "comfort and strengthen such as be well affected to the King and "State, by assuring them that they shall not want any assistance that "we can yield."—Likewise; "And for that it is to be doubted that "those who have entered into this violent course against the Earl of "Morton, *etc.*, we have thought meet for the preventing of this "mischief and inconvenience that might ensue thereby, to give order "and full authority to our President of York to send into "that realm such forces, and at such time, as by you shall be thought "meet, *etc.*"

This being about the 10th of February, the 20th of the same was appointed for the meeting of the Estates at Edinburgh; against which time, removing every stone, he hoped to have received a better answer than, indeed, fell out. To which Assembly came the Earl of Angus,

Elizabeth.
1580–1. persuaded thereto by the Earl of Rothes, his father-in-law, and with good assurance from the King. Thither came also the Earls of Glencairn and Mar with others who were not so greatly suspected as Angus was. To this convention came also many others of whom he had already conceived good hope to have drawn them to a party with Angus, namely, the Earls of Montrose and Rothes, which, notwithstanding, fell out most unfortunately to the contrary.

Finding the King's forwardness to yield such advantage to the adverse party as made all others cold and backward, he thought it now expedient to make all men acquainted with the Queen of England's intention for the reformation of these disorders, which he set down in form of a discourse as follows.—The Queen of England has been a friend to Scotland ever since she came to her crown; she has borne a special love to the King; she has never sought a foot breadth of the ground of Scotland, nor to hurt the liberty thereof; she has never sought to draw the King into England or elsewhere; she has spent her treasure and the blood of her people to save Scotland; she had means enough to have entered and conquered the country, if she had sought it, when the King was young, his mother in England, and all the nobility and people of Scotland divided; she might have taken occasion of just revenge when her officers and subjects were slain at the Redwsweir. But the contrary disposition has ever been in her through the care she had to preserve the King, *etc.* She found the thankful minds of all his Regents, and they found her assistance. She found the King loving and affectionate to her until D'Aubigny has so far prevailed that he is become master of his grace's person, *etc.* He has alienated the King's mind from the amity of England; has brought him to cast off all such as have preserved his life and State; has made him call home and cast himself into the hands of such as were ever enemies to his estate and authority; has brought him to be weary of his ministers; has brought him to be more dissolute in speech, and will teach him worse conditions too—as to marry some Papist, *etc.* In the meantime no sound advice is taken for quieting the Borders, for punishing of murders and mischiefs, nor how the King's estate shall be maintained; but for poverty either to drive him to leave the land or seek the lands and lives of his nobility and barons. The Queen of England has cause to take this to heart, yet she will not meddle therewith or remedy it by her own force, if the nobility of Scotland will do it themselves. In the doing whereof she will assist such of them as shall take it in hand to the uttermost of her power.

Although this declaration, and another more at large, sent a little before from the Queen of England's Council, were by sundry well liked, and the reasons thought substantial, yet were they not able to work any feeling in any save Angus, Mar, Glencairn, Lindsay, and their friends, who now show their full devotion to her service, the one [Angus] repairing to his clans and friends, and Mar resolving to rest in Stirling till they might meet again.

After a day or two the Earl of Angus, by the Laird of Wedderburn, acquainted him with an enterprise intended, requesting his ring as a token to Lord Hunsdon, at Berwick. His lordship being acquainted with his intention, entered into treaty with him, and confirmed all he [Randolph] had before promised, and the ring being returned, was

Elizabeth.
1580–1. brought to him by Mr. John Colvile, the King's Master of Requests, and pedagogue to the Earl of Mar, fully instructed by them both, with these articles, in both their names, as follows:—"Certayne articles wherein the Erles of Angus and Mar requyres your lordship's answere."

"The answers in way of appostilles made by Mr. Randolph to the Erle of Angus."

(1) His lordship shall be assured of me that I will do him all the service I can during my life. I have no example of the like bands, but must refer it to my return to Berwick and speak with Lord Hunsdon.	(1) That you set him down how you would that the matter should proceed between Lord Hunsdon and him, in what form the bands should be made, whereof he would you should send him an example.
	(2) To whom such bands made shall be delivered.
(3) The more witnesses in subscribing the better.	(3) If it shall be sufficient that his lordship subscribes only, or that other witnesses be adjoined.
(4) This must likewise be known at my coming to Berwick, after conference with his lordship.	(4) What assurance may be expected at Lord Hunsdon's hands toward his lordship.
I will likewise do all that lies in my power for his lordship.	Because the Earl of Mar has no confidence in your lordship, he requires your answer to the point following.
Though my own provision for the present be but small, yet so far as 300*l.* may pleasure them, I will presently, upon any letter or token from those lords, send it to them, and more hereafter, as I may procure it.	His father engaged all his lands and plate for great sums of money during the time of his government, which the King requires now at his hand, and therefore his lordship is now the less able to go through with so great an enterprise with Lord Hunsdon, except he find her majesty presently beneficial to him.

These articles were in this sort "appostilled" and sent to the earls, to their contentment. The Earl of Mar beginning now to assure himself of the castle of Stirling, Angus laboured as fast with his clans and friends in West and East Tiviedale, and in the meantime Mr. Randolph finding his doings to grow suspected and his abode dangerous, with the advice of the two earls retired to Berwick.

The King having by this time understanding of all these proceedings by the confession of the Laird of Whittinghame and John Reade, summoned Stirling Castle, sent for the Earl of Mar, and commanded Angus to commit himself prisoner beyond the river of Spay. But Angus, being thus far entered, thought it not now either for his honour or safety to go back again, albeit many crosses fell out daily against him; for, finding that his clans and friends in West Tiviedale were won from him, and the more part of them to have already offered hostages and bands for their loyalty to the King, his distress was the greater.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Within a day or two after he [Randolph] came to Berwick, a gentleman came to Lord Hunsdon and him from Angus and Mar, and understanding the distress they were in, they resolved not to hazard her majesty's forces, but advised them to make the best way they might for themselves by reconciliation, or otherwise to commit themselves to the Queen of England's protection and to retire into England.

In the margin.—Lord Boyd dealing doubly with the earl, seeing the success of things, framed his own peace accordingly; and entertaining the Earl still, had also secret intelligence with the Earl of Arran, and so working his own security, left the poor Earl of Angus in distress.

7⅓ *pp.*

March 6. **738.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 73. Sends the King of Scots' letter to the Queen of England. Finds no alteration of his mind therein, saving that the clause for removing the forces is left out. His Council abide resolute, and for aught that he can do nor say, will neither remit their rigour nor reform their errors, yet finds no such concord amongst them that one will trust the other. There is now no other appearance here but open war. The drum has stricken these two days to levy soldiers, yet sees no great number that follow their call, nor the captains such as have borne any great name for service, except against the King himself in times past. Eight hundred footmen are appointed to be levied by five captains, namely, Sandy Gordon, Captain Bruce, Fresold, Spens, and [ ]; 300 horse under Captain Greame, who conveyed the dealings between the Earl of Montrose—now lieutenant—and the Earl of Angus's wife; Captain Fleming, who was in Dumbarton Castle when it was lost; and [ ] who wore the Scottish boots,* given by the Earl of Morton, suspected to have intended his death. Mr. Archibald [Douglas] can best inform him of all these worthy captains.

There is much ado here to get money. This town is taxed every man who is worth 200 marks Scots [about 20*l.* sterling] to lend 9*s.* sterling, and so after that rate more or less.

The King minds to make a new coin of silver, 11*d.* fine, and thereby thinks to make great profit, and has let the mint to this town of Edinburgh upon a yearly rent, advancing some money to serve the present need.

After speaking once or twice more with the King, minds to be with his lordship at Berwick to attend her majesty's direction. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 7. **739.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Is sorry to understand by his last letters that he has so great occasion to confirm the information he has given the Council by his former [letters] of the King's settled affection towards D'Aubigny; for, when he looks into the weakness of the remedies that can be

* An instrument of torture.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. thought on to remove the mischief that may ensue thereof, which consist either in persuasions, whereof hitherto they see small effect to follow, or in seeking to win D'Aubigny to be at the Queen of England's devotion, which is vain to look after, or else in resorting to force and violence, wherein they [the Privy Council] are very doubtful and irresolute, he finds the cause many ways subject to so great difficulties that he hardly knows what further advice to give in it, and—to be plain with him—he already sees so far into the matter that he fears the charges the Queen of England has been at in sending forces to the Borders, and Randolph's own travail to do good otherwise, will have no other success than such as they might rather wish they had not dealt at all in the matter.

They now attend what answer he shall receive from the King and the Assembly, to the end they may enter into further consultation what were fit to be done in those causes. But if they grow to no better resolution for the affairs of Scotland than they take for their own here at home, it is greatly to be doubted that the sequel will bring forth little honour to the Queen of England, and less credit to him [Randolph].

Touching the contents of his private letter, he will not fail to procure that he may be put in the commission of the Subsidy, and his adversary left out.

They attend here daily the coming of the French commission, who are said to be the Count of Soissons, brother to the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Montpensier, the Prince Dauphin, his son, the Marshal de Cossé, and ten or twelve others.

It is advertised that Don Antonio has safely retired into France; whereupon the King of Spain is in so great fear to be entertained at home that he has clean given over his intended enterprise against Ireland, and, indeed, by letters come out of Spain, they are advertised that he has dissolved his preparations that he had made by sea, so that they have no cause to doubt any danger that may this year grow in England or Ireland from him. How things pass in the Low Countries he may perceive by the inclosed occurrents. Whitehall. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

March 11. **740.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 75. His honour now sees the end of his negotiation here; only this is won, that the fury of Morton's enemies is somewhat appeased, though their minds be nothing altered to do what mischief they can against him when time shall serve, and dare be bolder than now they are. Sees not but his honour must now resolve to make an open war by land and by sea, both east and west, or else he must hearken to the motion of commissioners.

If he minds to fight, prays him come like themselves and adventure not too much upon any assurance here, though knows that he has many who wish him well, yet shall he find few who will take his part. If boasting or threatening would have done any good, they [*the Scots*] have had enough both in word and writing. He [Walsingham] knows now with whom he has to do, and what people they are.

Some round answer from the Queen of England by writing to the

Elizabeth.
1580–1. King of Scots, noting his ingratitude, *etc.*, perchance, may do some good, as also a grave letter from her Council to the Council and nobility of Scotland noting their particularities and abuse of the King in his tender years. If his simple judgment be anything, it is now no time for wars here, except he minds to take all to himself, which he thinks he does not intend. If they make war it will not be done in a day, nor with a greater number than he trusts shall be this way employed, having so many enemies elsewhere. If in appointing the commissioners it be required that indifferent persons well affected to the religion and amity may be used, it will do well.

As for the English commissioners, none are fitter than her majesty's lieutenants, with any others of good acquaintance in this country; of whom he wishes Mr. Bowes to be one. As for himself, to be used as he pleases, being now old, long from his home, and abiding upon great charges here, far above his allowance; to which he knows what some will say, as before he has heard—the more fool he. Which note of folly proceeding only from the tongue of him who never yet could afford him good word, being himself of a miserable mind, he had rather bear than spare any one groat to his mistress' dishonour or his own discredit so long as he occupies this or the like place.

Incloses a copy of the King's letter, and a copy of the letter he [Randolph] wrote to Lord Hunsdon. This he shall have for an end of his negotiation here, except there be more matter ministered either from the one side or the other. But desires him to procure his return. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho Randolphe.

Postscript in Randolph's hand.—Has more than half the money unbestowed that he brought with him. Requests him to let him know on his arrival at Berwick to whom he shall deliver it.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 13. **741.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 71. Received his letter of the 9th this morning, and thanks him for his good advice to take the death of his son in good part, which he does, and thanks God for all, Who does all things for the best. Thanks her majesty most humbly for seeming to be contented to bestow the keeping of Launceston Castle on one of his sons, which he did not mean to trouble her with, being so mean a thing, the fee being not past 10*l.* or 20 marks a year. But rather than Mr. Killigrew shall "wipe my nose of it" in that sort, hopes she will bestow it on one of his sons. For surely if Mr. Killigrew have it he will gain little by it, and must think that he has better friends in Court than he.

Received a packet from Mr. Randolph, wherein was a letter from the Scottish King to the Queen of England. Touching the meeting of commissioners, her majesty may do as it pleases her; but the principal point of their negotiations will be to persuade her to accept of D'Aubigny's fair promises and offers, whereof she shall want none. But how honourable it will be to her and how sure she will be of those promises, he leaves to wiser heads to consider. Forwards a letter from Mr. Randolph to himself and a copy of his letter to him [Hunsdon], whereby he may see how they seek to levy forces to withstand the Queen of England.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Pullen, who had the keeping of Tynemouth Castle, is thought to be gone into France or Spain. If he is gone to either, it is for some mischief to be done there, being, indeed, the only place for men to land at in all this north part. For, being once entered within the haven, the castle being their friend, they may land as many as they will on the north and south of the shields without any contradiction or gainsaying of any man, and, being landed, they may within four hours enter this town on both sides without any difficulty. Is to suspect the matter of Tynemouth the more, because of late a dozen or more have been apprehended for hearing mass at Warkworth Castle, a principal house of the Earl of Northumberland's, whereof the most part are the earl's men, and sundry of them his principal officers and only doers of all his affairs in this country. Concludes that the keeping thereof should be put into a very sure and trusty man's hand, and the state of it viewed, to make it able to do her majesty service if any attempt should be made to enter the haven. For anything he can understand, there is never a piece there mounted able to be shot off, nor powder either, nor shot, whatsoever should happen. Her majesty was once in hand before some of the Council, whereof, as he remembers, Walsingham was one, to have had the piece of work which her father made for the defence of the haven viewed and seen how it might be amended, being, indeed, a fitter place for the defence of the haven and landing of any enemies than the castle—being, indeed, but the old abbey, and nothing ever done to it for the strengthening thereof. The time serves well now for it, if her majesty will have anything done to it.

Understands very credibly that there is a ship landed lately at Aberdeen; but who is come in her is yet kept secret. But some think the bishop of Ross, and some think it is Farnyhurst, Westmorland, and Dacres. He may soon know from the ambassador in France whether the bishop of Ross be there or not; for if he is not there, then surely it is he. Would be glad it were, for that would make well for their purpose. For, it being known that he is in Scotland, all the ministers, and all the barons and boroughs will soon find that D'Aubigny's coming thither is for the overthrow of religion, and then will they all oppose themselves against him. Whereof he hopes to have some further intelligence shortly.

Having little to do at Berwick till he has answer to his last letters, thought good to make a journey hither to concur on some matters with the Earl of Huntingdon.

If her majesty's grant be not so far passed to Mr. Killigrew, requests him not to let him be so much disgraced as to have a denial of so small a matter, being the first who caused it to be moved to her majesty. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 13. **742.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 77. Has no new matter to write, and would have spared this labour had it not been to make answer to his last, of the 7th instant. His only hope is that some good will be done by the commissioners if the Queen of England will be [ ] to deal that way. If she minds to proceed by force, she shall, perhaps, have more to do than she looks

Elizabeth.
1580–1. for, or else he is deceived. By commissioners her griefs may be eased and the danger avoided; by force they [England] may lose both King and country. Has broken many men's hearts here who were stoutly against England. The preachers do their duty faithfully, with such earnestness as passes. They pray, notwithstanding, that there may be no wars. Their hope is great that it may otherwise be remedied if her majesty will not cast off all care of this country; yea the enemies themselves see the danger they stand in; but wilfulness over-rules them, and pride so blinds them that no advice can guide them or persuasion win them to the right way.

If he had been willing to have had D'Aubigny, perchance, it had not been the worst course; but since he willed him to harp no more on that string, he forbore to deal with him or any of his. Would he had looked better into the matter than to have sent so great forces to the Borders as he did, to so small effect. A few had been enough to have kept the Borders. Has good hope of the commissioners, and so it is the opinion of the best here, and that he should bear it out stoutly till he sees what will be the end of their meeting. Finds such constancy here in great numbers, who, before the religion be overthrown, will adventure all hazards to defend it, come what may come. Doubts not he has the King's answer and his letter to the Queen of England for meeting of commissioners, which he wishes were followed with speed, and hopes good will come thereof. If their case be no better at home it is the less to be wondered at, though those who are not so wise as himself, "bruter," and of less understanding than he is fail in government to provide for mischiefs in due time. Thanks him for other advertisements. He shall hear from him once more before he leaves Scotland. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolph.

2 *pp.* *Addressed. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

March 13. **743.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNTINGDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 79. Has so few letters from him that he may better get what he means thereby "then seme unwilling it should be so." Lord Hunsdon lies so in his way that nothing can escape him. Is against war, except the ground were better than he sees, or the Queen of England's honour might be saved, which is not yet greatly impaired, and friends he is sure she has. If the Queen of England will she may have this country better assured to her than those she hastens after at home. If her majesty yields to the meeting of commissioners he trusts it shall be well. If war follows afterwards the quarrel will be better and their [the English] party greater than now, begin when they will. Fears that Angus ("Phillida") with his confederates will bring nothing to pass, nor yet can he tell whereabout they go. If it be the murdering of any, the Queen of England will not be of their party. If it be to get any into their hands, wishes them good success, for it will do much good; but without their aid [*i.e.* of England] it will not be, and then must follow greater ill than he knows how to avoid. Would his lordship heard their daily sermons in this time of their fast. They pass any that ever he heard for plainness and earnest crying out against wickedness and sin in the vices of this time. Beseeches him to further the commissioners with all the speed he can, or all the kindness with Scotland is lost for ever. Has written

Elizabeth.
1580–1. a letter to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, which he desires him to open and read. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Mostly in cipher, deciphered.*

March 13. **744.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO [WALSINGHAM].

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 81.

If you had been willing to have had D'Aubigny, it had not been the worst course, *etc.* I mean not for all that to leave him desperate, except I found you more resolute than I do, and better prepared to maintain so great a quarrel as this will be if it be not looked to. How Lord Hunsdon is affected your honour knows. Master Bowes [is] not far different, led thereunto by Mr. Archibald Douglas—not the best instrument to appease troubles "that ever hath had delight to fishe in troubled waters."

½ *p. Indorsed:* "Extract of Mr. Randolphes lettres of the 13 March, 1580; deciphered."

March 14. **745.** ROBERT BOWES TO LEICESTER.

The answer of the King of Scots to Mr. Randolph, together with the King's letters to the Queen of England seeking a conference of noble and chosen commissioners to remove all griefs conceived, is at length sent up. Is borne in hand that the chiefest effects to be sought by the King in that conference shall be to persuade her majesty to accept the excuse of Lennox with the offers of himself and friends to do all good offices to her, and to tender his son in hostage for performances thereof. Is informed that it is intended to pursue this matter, albeit it does not hitherto appear, and may, peradventure, upon apt occasions falling, be omitted. The acceptance whereof will, he thinks, breed a great alienation in the hearts of Angus and others in Scotland now well devoted to the Queen of England, and whether any good work may be grounded upon those offers with her honour and surety in the present condition of the case, he leaves to wise consideration, and thinks it meet to be well weighed before the grant of the conference. Albeit the levy of the forces newly assembled in Edinburgh and elsewhere in Scotland, and the planting them about the King to guard his person against suspected surprise or violence greatly threatens the stay or defeat of the purposes intended, and whereof he knows he [Leicester] is advertised, yet it is in good hope that if any opportunity may be found the parties associated will with good courage attempt the matter, wherein he wishes they may be "applyed with the best spurres that may pricke them forwardes, and to drawe them once into action." For they are hitherto occupied to behold what shall be attempted by the forces levied by the Queen of England, and to provide to join all together to withstand the violence thereof, making much ado to gather money and men, and to show more bravery than their power can perform. "But if they once sawe "an association raysed amonge them selfes, and confederate "to advance a publicke cause made manifest to the eyes of that "people, to be proffitable and necessary for the preservation of religion, "the Kynge and State, and for the prevention of all hostility to be "done by her majesty's forces on any good member of that realme, "then every birde wold boldly shewe his owne feathers, whereon (no

Elizabeth.
1580–1. "doubt) a sodayne change should ensue, which happely might be "turned to suche advantage as should produce a good remedy for the "present sores, and a surety to avoyd the dangers dayly increassynge, "without great perill or unprofitable expences."

The beginning and progress of these matters have been more often advertised and better seen than seasonably provided for, and the present condition thereof is now sufficiently known to lie near to her majesty's honour and surety, which ought to be always coupled together and timely cared for before the means of remedy—far spent, yet not all worn out—be wholly past. Therefore he prays God send speedy advice and resolution with expedition of execution, as the necessity and weight of the great case requires. Newcastle. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 14. **746.** SHREWSBURY TO LEICESTER.

C.P. vol. XI. Has received advertisement by his servant of his honourable dealing with the Queen of England concerning his tenants of Glossop, for which he yields him his most hearty thanks, and desires him to procure some sharp punishment upon them, which they have very well deserved, for he has dealt so well with them that they think to have his land for nothing, as hitherto they have had since midsummer two years. Truly, he must think himself hardly dealt with that so many wilful people have been suffered to exclaim against him so long for that which they have no right to but by his sufferance, and which are not remitted to him to be used as should seem best to himself, which could not have had this continuance if all men were his friends. Trusts it shall not be in his evil willers' hands to be able to deny him to dispose his own, which benefit is not withholden from the meanest in England. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewsbury.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 14. **747.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 82. Received his letter of the 7th instant. Is borne in hand that the chiefest effects to be sought on behalf of the King in the conference desired shall be to persuade to accept the excuse and offers of Lennox and his friends on such surety and hostage as shall be tendered; the acceptance whereof will, he believes, breed an alienation towards her majesty in the hearts of Angus and his associates, and whether any good work may be grounded on these offers, with her majesty's honour and surety, in the present condition of the case, he leaves to wise consideration, and thinks it meet to be well weighed before the grant of the conference.

Albeit the levy of the forces newly assembled in Edinburgh and elsewhere in Scotland, and the planting of them about the King to guard his person against suspected surprise or violence greatly threatens the stay or defeat of the purposes intended, yet is in good hope that if any opportunity may be found, the parties associated will with good courage attempt the matter. Wherein he wishes they may be applied with the best spurs that may prick them forwards and

Elizabeth.
1580–1. draw them once into action. For they are hitherto occupied to behold what shall be attempted by the forces levied by the Queen of England, and to provide to join all together to withstand the violence thereof, making much ado to gather money and men, and to show more bravery than their power can perform. But if they once saw an association raised among themselves, and confederated to advance a public cause made manifest to the eyes of that people to be profitable and necessary for the preservation of religion, the King, and State, and for the prevention of all hostility to be done by her majesty's forces on any good member of that realm, then every bird would boldly show his own feathers, whereon, no doubt, a sudden change would ensue, which haply might be turned to such advantage as should produce a good remedy for the present forces, and a surety to avoid the dangers daily increasing, without great peril or unprofitable expenses. The beginning and progress of these matters have been more often advertised and better seen than seasonably provided for, and the present condition thereof is now sufficiently known, and appears to lie near to her majesty's honour and surety, which ought to be always coupled together and timely cared for before the means of remedy—far spent, yet not all worn out—be wholly past. Therefore, prays God send speedy advice and resolution with expedition of execution as the necessity and weight of the great case requires. Newcastle. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

March 15. **748.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Is sorry to understand by his letters that his opinion differs from ——* touching the employing of forces, and order to be taken by way of composition. This last is conceived generally to be dishonourable to her majesty, and the former seems not to be of so much doubt as he makes it, for the small assurance of a competent party is laid forth to be otherwise, and made appear to be of better hope than he makes account of. He [Randolph] casts the reckoning to yield no more than Angus and Mar—a small cord to trust to. "His lordship" makes full reckoning, and so stands assured of Glencairn, Lord Boyd, Cathcart, Lochleven, the tutor of Bothwell, Cassillis, and a number of others, besides the Earl of Mar and that party, who are most nearly combined. But, for that it was advertised by these last letters that the practice was discovered, it has been thought good to her majesty to stay from certainty of resolution until the truth thereof may be received.

Because it appears that he is desirous to return, though he has no commission to warrant his repair to Berwick, yet he thinks he may go thither as of himself, not receiving any such direction from him. Sees conference between "my lord" [Hunsdon] and him [to be] so necessary that he cannot but advise him to repair to Berwick.

It does not appear that he has charged the King and Council with such forces as have been transported out of Scotland into Ireland in favour and assistance of the rebels—a matter tending to the breach of amity.

* In cipher.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Whereas one Crawford has lately returned into Scotland out of Ireland, who took certain forces to Turlough Lynach, and, as it is said, prepares more for that purpose, he shall do well to procure his stay and such further punishment as the quality of his offence requires. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—Her majesty accepts his letters in very good part, and very well allows of his service.

1 *p.* *Partly in Walsingham's hand. Partly in cipher. Addressed.*

[March.] **749.** REPLY TO AN ANSWER OF JAMES VI.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 218. (2) Whereas the King acknowledges to use the Queen of England as his mother and dearest cousin, her majesty has cause to hope that her counsel given to him will be likewise accepted by him as a good son and cousin, considering her majesty means not to give him advice or to require of him anything but what she would require [from], and give to her own son. She does not mislike that the King should receive Monsieur D'Aubigny into his favour, nor to prefer him to place of honour and dignity, so that his actions do not hinder the good estate wherein the King stood in points of amity with her, nor alter the good accord betwixt both the realms, which specially consists upon the unity of religion and mutual justice to be done on the frontiers, in which points the Queen's majesty evidently sees in what sort the advancement of Monsieur has attempted to endanger the same. As to the King having advanced him to the earldom of Lennox, it cannot be well omitted that to that earldom the Lady Arbella, daughter to Lord Charles, last Earl of Lennox, being nearer in blood to the King than Monsieur D'Aubigny, had right by the laws of Parliament of that realm, of which if she be deprived, being an infant, justice has been violated in that she was never called, nor any for her, to answer for defence of that title, which lawfully descended to her.

Whereas, upon the denial of Monsieur D'Aubigny to have had intelligence with the bishop of Glasgow, the King seems desirous to have further proof, the Queen wishes the King to understand, that, except the matters wherewith Monsieur D'Aubigny is charged by her were true, she would not, for respect of her honour, deliver it to the King with that assurance that she does, neither can it be gathered that the letters of the archbishop should be devised of any malice, considering the contents of the same are by other letters and advertisements from Rome and other places well confirmed, besides that the actions of D'Aubigny since he came to Scotland have given just occasion by some of his beginnings to look certainly for the sequel of all thereof.

(3) The ambassador will be glad to signify to the Queen of England the good words delivered in this article, of the King's thankful mind, *etc.*, and thinks that she has well deserved to be preferred. The King may justly avow that he ought not to prefer the amity of any foreign Prince to hers, much less to prefer a stranger, being a private person newly come from France, of a contrary religion to himself, and, though a kinsman in blood, he never bestowed a day's service for him during the King's minority, till he came to Scotland to seek preferment at the King's hands; and therefore the ambassador

Elizabeth.
1580–1. has great reason to think that if he shall prefer the credit of Monsieur D'Aubigny before her majesty's advice shall be followed, she shall think these good words to be rather things of form than of substance.

(4) The accusation of the Earl of Morton is easily to be conjectured from whence and upon what humour it proceeded; for before D'Aubigny's advancement to his singular credit, and his partial making of his faction, nothing was laid to the Earl of Morton's charge, and though a private man was induced by D'Aubigny to take upon him to be the accuser, yet by the delivering of the person of the Earl of Morton into the possession of D'Aubigny, his professed enemy, may well appear, who procured the accusation, and how contrary to all justice his person is delivered without trial to his deadly enemy as a captive, or rather as a prey to the spoil, and that the cause imputed to the Earl of Morton concerning the King's father's death is not the ground of his trouble may well appear in that he was carried away from place of trial where the seat of justice was, and that he is not produced to be tried according to the customs and laws of that realm: and besides that at the very time when he was accused of such a crime as deserves speedy trial and punishment, a principal offender, a man condemned of the said murder, Sir James Balfour, was sent for by means of D'Aubigny and secretly maintained with favours, and no ways impeached nor had yet been withdrawn out of common sight but upon occasion of misliking thereof uttered by the ambassador to the King.

As to the time of the trial being delayed on pretence of Mr. Archibald Douglas fleeing into England, it seems very strange that if the Earl of Morton should be guilty of this fact he cannot be "convinced" thereof whilst Archibald Douglas is in England, except there be no man else in Scotland to be an accuser or a witness against the Earl of Morton—whom no man naturally can blame in that he fled from the persecution of Monsieur D'Aubigny when he saw him possessed of the Earl of Morton. Therefore it will be a very hard thing for the Queen of England to deliver him.

(5) The ambassador allows very well the King's purpose in words not to suffer any divorce of amity betwixt their majesties. Her care is not diminished in that she sees him bent to hold Monsieur D'Aubigny in such singular credit above all the rest of his nobility, who favours such in Scotland as remain contrarily affected in religion, amongst whom Montbirneau may be one, and his wife, children, and family in France remain of his former papistical religion.

(6) If the King shall not be carried out of his realm the Queen's majesty will have most contentation; but until she shall see his person governed by others than Monsieur D'Aubigny she will not be without the fear thereof.

(7) It is only alleged in words that it wants probability that the plot is laid to alter the religion, his highness being removed; but no reason is showed why there is no probability thereof; but contrarily, if Monsieur D'Aubigny, having the principal direction of Scotland under the King, the disposition of all offices, the power to marry the King out of the realm, whereby his person may be [in] danger, and having aid from Rome either to corrupt men in the realm, or to overrule the nation with strange forces, being papistical, it has over much probability that Monsieur D'Aubigny will become a principal

Elizabeth.
1580–1. instrument under the Pope to reduce Scotland to the See of Rome, and it is not without cause to be thought of that Monsieur D'Aubigny —the house of Hamilton being overthrown—shall think himself the next person, saving an old bishop,* to lay hands on the crown of Scotland if the King's person should fail.

(8) The continuance of the castle of Edinburgh in the custody of so noble a family cannot but much content the Queen of England. That the castle of Dumbarton should be committed to Monsieur D'Aubigny is misliked by her majesty, for the doubt she has that it might serve for a gate to receive strange forces.

(9) The ambassador very well knows the constancy of the King in the profession of his religion, which he heartily wishes not to be altered.

(10) The ambassador does not doubt of Monsieur D'Aubigny's profession in religion; but with what persuasion the same has been, time will best try. Since D'Aubigny's coming to his singular credit there have been more evil accidents to the interruption of the amity and to the violation of justice on the frontiers during one or two years, than for sixteen or seventeen years before.

(11) The Queen of England, after so many years of government, is not at this time unable to judge of the nature of advertisements, but can discern from what spirits they proceed.

(12) The ambassador will be ready to advertise hereafter anything that he shall understand concerning this provision of armour or any like thing that may seem prejudicial to the King.

(13) As the King, by the words of the answer, seems to be ignorant of Sir James Balfour coming into Scotland, and that he would abstain to show him favour because the Queen's majesty takes him to be her enemy, her majesty will have great cause to be pleased to see that it may be tried whether he was in Scotland or not, and by whom he was maintained and favoured, and then her majesty will look that the King ought to be counselled to proceed against him as a condemned traitor and murderer of his father, and to judge of those who have either procured him to come into that realm or maintained him in the same as they deserve. He is a person infamous and unmeet to live in Scotland.

(14) Leaves to the King's consideration what shall be done with the bishop of Ross' books.

(15) It satisfies the ambassador that the King is warned of this person, yet he fears that which is delivered to him now to have been his oration is far different from that which was uttered by him.

(16) The Queen of England has hitherto continued her affection to the King, and has directed the ambassador to warn him of perils, to advise him how to shun them, and to offer him continuance of her amity; wherein, if she shall find herself neglected or not regarded, it is uncertain what she may be moved to by her Estates and people now assembled in Parliament to provide remedy for such unkindness.

8 *pp.* *Notes in the margin.*

March 15. **750.** [WALSINGHAM TO HUNTINGDON.]

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 84. His lordship's letters of the 7th and 9th instant, together with the answers made to certain articles propounded by Archibald Douglas,

* The bishop of Caithness.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. being communicated to her majesty, were by her committed to a consultation, wherein the course he took was so greatly liked, and so approved by her majesty, that it was thought that neither fitter counsel for the time nor more pertinent to the demands, nor more honourable for her highness could have been given. Whilst they were in some good way for answerable resolution to be taken for so good and worthy a project, his letters of the 10th arrived, which, being accompanied with an advertisement from a minister of Scotland, caused another course to be taken than was before intended. For, by the said advertisement, it appeared that the surprise intended was discovered; the consequence whereof they feared thus much, that either the matter was to be performed by open force or the composition offered to be entered upon. Both which points seemed to be of hard choice, the one for the honour of her majesty, the other for the effects it is commonly accompanied withal. Yet, because it is not unlikely but that the advertisement may be a wrong information, it has been thought good by her majesty to stay the certainty of her resolution until such time as she shall receive from his lordship a confirmation of the advertisement or the disproof of it. For satisfaction wherein her highness does not doubt but that he will with all speed advertise, to the end that order may be taken for his further direction.

Has advised Mr. Randolph to repair to Berwick to the end he may acquaint him with such reasons as move him rather to incline to a composition, in respect of a doubt he has to procure a sound party, than to the use of force. For their own parts here they utterly mislike of composition, as a matter tending to win time till they may perceive assistance from foreign parts. By the last letters received from Lord Hunsdon, which are of the 19th instant, it appears that the service intended is either to be ended by composition or to be exploited by open force. Lord Hunsdon is of opinion that the composition offered is very dishonourable to the Queen of England, and to that the Council incline. Randolph has his inducements to tend him to think that composition is better than force, and they are these,—the condition and quality of war, and the want of a sufficient party in Scotland for the Queen of England in case her forces should enter the country. Is sorry to see this difference of opinion in them. *Signed:* F. W.

Postscript.—Means shortly to procure either his discharge or such allowance as others have enjoyed who heretofore have supplied like place. Has advised Randolph to repair to Berwick. Her majesty being naturally inclined to take a peaceable course, though many times it is not accompanied with safety, is loth to enter into any further action. She mislikes that any violence should be offered to the King's person, though it be void of any meaning to hurt him. She could be content that D'Aubigny should be surprised, so that it might be executed when he shall be found divided from the King, which will hardly be brought to pass, specially if the intended attempt be discovered.

2 *pp.* *Draft in Walsingham's hand.*

March 16. **751.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNTINGDON AND HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 91. Whether it be on suspicion or that anything be discovered of

Elizabeth.

1580–1. March 15. Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 85.

Angus's intent, he knows not, yesterday it was determined in Council that he should be commanded to ward beyond the river of Spay. Carmichael, the Prior, and the Laird of Mains are commanded not to come to Angus on pain of forfeiture of their goods *ipso facto*. Great search and means are made to apprehend them, but none of them are taken yet. The Laird of Whittinghame is "boastid to weare the bootes." [The Laird of] Spot has had a sight of them, he hears. But, as the causes are not great that he has dealt in or has been credited with, so he trusts there shall be no further trial made of his patience, whether they be for his wearing or not. As the Court is set on mischief Captain Stewart takes upon him as a prince, and no man so forward as he.

Spoke long with the King on Tuesday. There passed nothing from him but very good speeches of the Queen of England, which he exhorted him to show forth in actions and in deed. He promises much if the meeting of the commissioners be. Charged his Council more than himself with the unkindness lately showed to the Queen of England, that no one point of her requests could be yielded to, specially for the Earl of Morton, that not so much as his liberty might be granted on sufficient caution till the day was appointed for his trial. Whereat he again fell into speech of Mr. Archibald Douglas. Answered him with partial dealings and favour showed to Sir James Balfour. Told him in what house he lies, between the church and castle on the right hand. Told who had spoken with him [Balfour]—Lennox, Seton, and others,—and that means would be made shortly to bring him into his own presence. Spoke again of the band in the green box containing the names of all the chief persons consenting to the King's murder, which Sir James [Balfour] either has or can tell of. Told him that he heard daily of new men apprehended, examined, and "boastid" with the boots to find matter against the Earl of Morton, and he who was privy to the murder, and in whose house the King was killed, and was therefore condemned by parliament, was suffered to live unpunished and untouched in his chief town. Told him what injury was offered to the Queen of England in his [Randolph's] person by a shameful, false and slanderous libel set on his lodging door and in divers other places of the town. Demanded how the amity might stand when neither justice was done upon the offenders nor means sought to appease her indignation against those who have been the causes of so many injuries as she has received. Excused him, being young and not of sufficient experience to consider of these matters according to the weight and importance of them, and that it should be some contentment to her majesty to let it some ways appear that in him there is a will to have them reformed, and would be content to take her advice, as he had often before promised. Warned him of all things to beware of ingratitude as of a vice amongst others most intolerable between Princes. His answer was, as before, that he would take advice of his Council what should be done. Demanded leave to depart to Berwick for his health, which he never had since his coming to Scotland. He asked when he would depart, and he said on Monday next. He demanded when he minded to return. Said he knew not. He asked if the letters were sent away for the meeting of commissioners. Said they were; but how they would be accepted,

Elizabeth.
1580–1. he knew not. "I trust well," said he, "for my meaning is good." He wished to speak with him again before he goes, which he minds to do on Saturday, and on Monday departs out of this town if the day be fair. Prayed that he might speak with some of his grace's Council for some matters that willingly he would confer with them of before his departure, which he promised he should have. Hopes it shall be the last that ever he shall have to do with this King or Council. Has again this day spoken with Angus's trusty friend, who gave him some notes touching the bands, and is gone to him. Has given his advice therein. What will be further done therein, he knows not; but is sure Angus will not obey the charge for putting himself in ward.

George Flecke had the boots yesternight, and is said to have confessed that the Earl of Morton was privy to the poisoning of the Earl of Atholl, whereon they have sent for the Earl of Morton's chamberlain, Sandy Jordan, from Dumbarton. They have also in hand Sandy [ ], George Flecke's servant, whom they suspect to know many of Morton's secrets. Edinburgh.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed by Walsingham:* "16 Martii, 1580. Coppie of a letter of Mr. Randolph to the Lord Governor and the Lord Lieutenant."

March. **752.** ANSWER BY JAMES VI. TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXX., fol. 68. Upon consideration had of the reply presented to the King's majesty and his Council by Thomas Randolph, ambassador for the Queen of England, his highness and Council find an ample discourse made of many things tending to the same purposes expressed in the ambassador's first proposition, whereunto his highness has already made such answer as he hopes the Queen will stand satisfied with, and he is loth to spend more time in giving and receiving of "writtis" in this behalf, since the same appears not the readiest means to make their majesties understand the true intention and affection of either of them to each other, or to remove the conceptions of griefs and jealousies seeming to have grown of late between them; "quhairanent" his highness has ever meant, and continues still well willing so to satisfy the Queen of England for his part, as may be in reason, to her contentation, the honour and surety of both their estates, and the weal and quietness of their dominions and good subjects, looking to receive the like at her hands. For the more certain and special resolution hereof, seeing the travails of ambassadors and private messengers these three years has not wrought so full effect as that her highness seems to stand satisfied with his majesty's former answers and messages, neither can the approaching of her forces to the frontiers of his realm in time of so good peace, and the refusal of some of her officers to proceed in justice and redress, appear but strange and uncouth to his highness, no occasion given therefor on his part—requested that commissioners meet on the frontiers to confer, treat and conclude for removing all occasions of misliking, jealousy, and griefs, that the Wardens on the Borders be commanded to proceed in keeping meetings with the King's Wardens for the administration of justice, and that her forces at the Borders may be dissolved.

1⅓ *pp.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1580–1. March 18.

753. FRANCIS MYLLES TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXXI., fol. 112.

The matter of commissioners out of both realms to meet on the Borders is feared here will work no better effect than the removing of the Queen of England's forces now ready to do good in Scotland. After which done, those who trouble the State of Scotland will be worse, and, peradventure, better provided to do more harm. But he sees more than such poor men as he [Mylles] is here. Trusts God will turn all to the best. There is a stay of the French commissioners at Calais. Whitehall. *Signed:* Fra. Mylles.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 18.] **754.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Her majesty finding by your late letters that you rather incline to a composition by the mediation of commissioners than to run a martial course by employing forces, being persuaded as you are that her majesty shall find no great party there, her pleasure, therefore, is that you should set down your opinion what good were like to ensue by the conference required both in the King's answer to you, and in his letters directed to her majesty. For it seems very unlikely that a conference with commissioners—especially being chosen by the advice of D'Aubigny—shall be able to prevail more to the effect you were sent for than the persuasion you delivered to the King himself, and to his nobility and Council as well by speech as by writing, and therefore, seeing there is little hope that any such meeting will do good—which cannot be performed without some good charges—it was found expedient to stay resolution therein till your opinion were known, who, in respect of your late dealing with them, can best judge what is to be hoped for.

By perusing the answer and the letters lately sent, we gather that the chief cause of the meeting should tend to the redressing of the griefs of the Borders—a matter of small importance, considering in what terms we stand otherwise with them, and therefore if other fruit were not likely to follow, then were it better it were forborne, for that it cannot but breed both dishonour and charges.

Such of her majesty's Council as have been made acquainted with the cause, seeing no likelihood that D'Aubigny should ever be won to be at her majesty's devotion, especially considering how her highness has of late sought every manner of way to disgrace him, and finding by many probabilities that his intent is to match the King either with Spain or some other of those Princes who are not the best affected to this crown, whose assistance, joined with those who are aliened from us in that realm, cannot in time to come but be most perilous to her majesty when the quarrel will be, not for matter of Borders, but for the right of this crown—are, therefore, of opinion that it were better for us to deal with them now, being weak, having neither money nor munition, than to attend the fruit of their malice when they shall be assisted with the arm of both Spain and France; besides, a party its double will be found here.

But hereunto it may be objected that her majesty can take no honourable ground to enter into quarrel with a Prince for calling about him a nobleman, his near kinsman, whom by birth and blood

Elizabeth.
1580–1. he is bound to love. This thing being nakedly looked into without due consideration of circumstances, may seem very hard: but if the King's years be considered, the dangerous course that D'Aubigny has led him into by causing him to proceed in such a dishonourable sort with a person of the Earl of Morton's quality, and deceit towards him, and the contempt that is had of her majesty's great benefit bestowed on him and his realm—a matter proceeding from D'Aubigny's advice—it will then appear—the intent of her majesty's using of forces tending nothing to the King's prejudice, but to remove from his person so dangerous an instrument—to those who are not carried away with passion, that her majesty deals both honourably and providently.

It may be further objected that the King, in case the realm should be invaded, would either retire himself into Argyll or else repair into France or Spain. [As] for his repair into Argyll, it is presupposed that if her majesty's forces were entered into the country—not those only that are presently lying on the Borders, but 5000 or 6000 more—and the intent of their coming made known to tend to no other end but for the good of the King, as was above noted, it is not to be doubted but the greatest part of the realm would join and concur with her majesty in so honourable and necessary an action, whereby D'Aubigny shall be reduced to that extremity that he shall be forced, by way of composition, to yield to his return into France.

And as touching the King's passing over the seas, it is thought that, D'Aubigny only excepted, few of the rest of the nobility who are of that party will ever assent thereto; and if they did, yet considering the manifest danger that her majesty were like to throw herself into, for the considerations above mentioned, it is thought more expedient that the same should be hazarded, than to suffer him still to continue about him. The Court, at Westminster. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—Touching your revocation, I cannot put you in any comfort thereof until we see what issue things will here grow to. Commend me to Mr. Bowes, and acquaint him, I pray you, with these my letters.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 87. Draft of the same.

March 18. **755.** WALSINGHAM TO [HUNSDON].

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 86. Her majesty has thought good to make stay of a resolution to his last letters until by conference betwixt him and Mr. Randolph she may be advertised what account may be made of a party in Scotland. Order is given out for 3000*l.* for contenting the soldiers, whereof some part may be bestowed on the sick and unfit for service, in case the rest of the companies are to be still maintained for the intended service. This day the Parliament is ended by way of prorogation. Whitehall. *Signed:* F. W.

½ *p. Draft in Walsingham's hand. Latin notes on the back.*

March 18. **756.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 96. Since his conference with the King on the 15th instant, the

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Commendator of Dunfermline, Newbottel, and the Clerk Register have been with him by motion made by himself. Told them briefly what had passed the King and him at the last audience, and—as he might well do—excused the King that all these causes of unkindness and other great inconveniences could not proceed from him, for want of judgment and years able to discern, so that it could not be but that the fault was in them, being Councillors, who regarded not the King's estate and commonwealth as they ought to do. Went so far with them that they entered into earnest talk of particularities and parts of every man, finding not one who did his duty to the King or country. Required that the King and the rest of the Council might know what he had said, and wished that their doings might be such that their wisdom might now appear in the good government of the King and commonwealth.

They said much in defence of the King of Scots, of themselves, and the rest, and in the end they departed, not well satisfied in words, whatsoever they think in heart or find reasonable in his speech, referring all to the good hope they have on the meeting of the commissioners, and then have offered that it should appear that they are other men in their doings than they are taken for.

Divers causes have altered his purpose to begin his journey to Berwick. Is troubled with a "rheame" fallen down into the one side of his face, neck, and shoulders, and therefore minds to take some advice of Doctor Skene ere he departs.

William [*sic*] Melvin, who serves the Prince of Orange, brother to the Melvins here, has arrived here from his master, sent by advice of the Queen of England to the King of Scots to let him know what other Princes judge of the imprisonment of the Earl of Morton and other doings here. This was enough to stay him for the few days, though there was no other cause. Angus and Mar have not yet met. Received a letter in cipher from Morton this morning praying him to tarry till Thursday.

It is told him for certain that one of the Traguairs* came yesterday morning to the King and assured him that all the clans of the Scots, Trambles [Turnbulls], Rotherfords, and others of West Tiviedale belonging to the Earls of Morton and Angus have offered their services to the King, notwithstanding their bands and promises made to Angus. Whatsoever may be said for the defence of himself and liberty of the Earl of Morton, it is said that Traguair has brought this assurance to the King in writing from them.

Yesterday the charge went towards the Earl of Angus to yield himself a prisoner beyond the water of Spay, which he minds not to obey.

There go so divers opinions and bruits of Fleck's "booting," that he knows not what to write for certain. Time must try it. But in the meantime this kind of dealing moves many and hastens somewhat to be undertaken that may ease men's hearts of many griefs.

The Laird of Weston—as very a fool and as rank a Papist as ever he was—has arrived from France. A Frenchman, called La Croy, servant to the Earl of Lennox, has come with him. He brought with him two little horses for the King, but neither powder nor munition,

* Stewarts of Traquair.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. as it was said. Mr. Henry Keer has been twice with him. The report of sending for Sandy Jordon and Andrew Nesbot, servants with Morton at Dumbarton, is not true, nor that Nesbot had slain himself by the way, rather than be put into the boots and forced to confess anything against his master.

Was never so often visited by honest persons of this town as he has been since the libel was set up on lodging door, "despyting" the authors and all allowers of the same. Incloses a copy of it. Keeps the original himself.

That he wrote of Traguair is confirmed this afternoon, and that they are minded to yield hostages and hand writings. The Laird of Whittinghame had the boots offered to him this day, and without torment has confessed anything that he was able to charge any man with, provided that he might have remission of anything he had committed himself. Which is granted him. It is said that he spared no man that he knows anything by. Carmichael, the Prior, the Laird of Maynes, and another brother of the Prior's [*In the margin, in Hunsdon's hand:* "The Prior and hys brother ar therle of Morton's base sunes."] are commanded upon pain of treason and horning to be here by the last of March.

Dalkeith was this day summoned, and rendered to the King. A proclamation shall be made on Monday that all men who will come in and confess to have been partakers of any conspiracy or practice against the King shall have their remission. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolph.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 19. **757.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 93. Received his letters of the 15th yesterday, by which he perceives that he will now shortly either be discharged of this service or have such allowance as others in his place have had. Whatsoever shall please her majesty, he must not dislike. Neither, he trusts, is it any offence for him to say, as others before him have done, if it be true what was told him, that it is not fit for a subject to serve here in such a place as the lieutenant's is without the aid of his sovereign's purse.

Indeed, it is *indecorum* for the subject to take it upon him, and, without his undoing in a short time, it is a matter impossible for him to deal with, except he will live to the dishonour of his sovereign, the utter shame of himself, and to the hindrance of all good service. Will leave it to his more wise consideration.

Sends him a copy of a letter from Mr. Randolph to Lord Hunsdon, by which he will see what these Scottish matters are like to come to if in short time they be not better looked to. He has cause to see farther into the whole action than he can. He wrote of late of a sudden breaking of a great matter, the manner whereof he did not like, but since that time, though he nor any other write anything thereof, yet is sure it has been written from Court within these eight days to some here, "even of that matter farre otherwyse." Which, if it be true, must needs breed great stoutness in Scotland, and delay in England for this action here. Sees no reason to the contrary, except he be greatly deceived, or that one thing he has heard of be

Elizabeth.
1580–1. true, his conceit is not much awry. But at present will not trouble him with it. Is glad the composition offered is misliked, and so hoped it would be, for it was too dishonourable. Prays her majesty may resolve of the best course to be taken in it without further delay.

If the cipher which Mr. Randolph sent him is common betwixt [Walsingham] and him, then he may say that which is written of Angus ("Phillida") and goes so nigh Morton ("Empedocles") as makes his "chamberman" be sent for, may persuade the speedy comforting of the former, because he is a worthy instrument to be used in some respects, and with honour to stay dealing for the other until the truth be tried. But with regard to [*] the course begun should not be left until that which is desired were obtained, or something for surety settled better than yet is had. What is written in Roman letters in the copy was in cipher. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntingdon.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *No Address.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

March 19. **758**. WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Whereas the inclosed supplication has been exhibited to the Council in the behalf of certain poor merchants of Bridgewater, who, freighting a ship of Barnstable, called the *White Hart*, with wines, salt, and other merchandizes, with intent to traffic with the people of the Isle of Mull, have been very evil intreated, imprisoned, and spoiled of their goods and ship by the Laird Maclane [Macklen], governor of the said isle, upon a pretence of war and hostility between the two crowns,—he is to use all the earnest solicitation he may with the King of Scots and his Council that order may be presently given as well for restitution and satisfaction to be made to the owners, as also for the speedy releasing and setting at liberty of such persons as are detained prisoners in the said isle. He is chiefly wished to procure this to be done for that there is one Nicholls, a very expert master of a ship amongst them, whose miscarrying were a great loss to England. Doubts not but he will travail accordingly, and do his best for the relief of the poor men in respect of the Council's recommendation of their cause, and chiefly for avoiding further inconveniences hereafter which may grow by winking at such insolences. The Court, at Whitehall. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—The parties mean shortly to send one to him [Randolph] to follow the suit.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[March.] **759**. PETITION OF ROBERT BLAKE AND WILLIAM NICHOLLS TO WALSINGHAM.

Most humbly show to your honour, your humble orators, Robert Blake, of Bridgewater, co. Somerset, merchant, and William Nicholls, of Northam, co. Devon, late owner of a ship called the *Whyte Harte*, of Northam, of 50 tons burden and upwards, which ship your orators, about September, 1580, caused to be freighted at Bridgewater with their own merchandizes to the value of 1200*l.* or thereabouts, the

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. ship and her tackle being worth 300*l.* at the least; in which ship the said Nicholls went as master, and having in her 14 men and mariners, conducted the ship to the isle of Mull, intending to have trafficked there in the trade of merchandize, as they had done before, and having arrived there, and the said Nicholls having gone on shore, one Laughlane Macklean, and John Dowe Mackleane, his uncle, inhabitants within the said isle, and subjects of the King of Scots, accompanied with twenty other persons, under pretence to have made merry in the ship, came aboard her, and, being friendly entertained there, caused privily a hundred armed men suddenly in warlike manner to come aboard the ship, who presently with great violence took and kept all the said mariners under hatches, saving one named Geoffrey Walker, whom they then cruelly murdered, cutting his body in many pieces and casting it their dogs, saying that "Englishe mens fleshe woulde make Scottishe dogges runne well," and that done, they took away and spoiled all the said goods, ship, and furniture, and took and imprisoned the said Nicholls and all his company, forbidding all persons to give them any sustenance. By reason whereof they remained in prison forty weeks in most cruel lamentable sort—until two of them died of famine, and so had they all done had not some charitable people taken compassion on them and secretly relieved them with such small portions as maintained life only, and by great chance at length escaped. Ever since which time your orators have made continual suit there to the magistrates for restitution of their ship and goods, and punishment of the offenders, and "at your honnours laste beinge in Scotlande" made their complaint to you in this behalf, whereupon your honour took order with Mr. Randolph, then "lydger" there, for moving the King aud his Council in the premises; which being done accordingly, the hearing of the cause was committed to the Earl of Argyll, who being of kin to the offenders dismissed them, leaving your orators without remedy, they having spent 350*l.* in and about the suit, besides the loss of their goods, ship, furniture, amounting to 1900*l.* Your orators humbly desire that some redress may be had in the premises.

⅔ *p. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

March 20. **760.** HUNSDON TO [WALSINGHAM.]

Harl. MSS., 6999, fol. 95. Received his letter of the 15th yesterday morning, with a letter to Mr. Randolph, which he sent away. Received a letter from Mr. Randolph on the 17th, that he would begin his journey hitherward this day and be here to-morrow. But yesternight late received a letter from him importing some cause of stay, a copy of whereof he incloses.

It appears plainly that Angus and his associates are discovered, so that of necessity they must enter into some open action, or else put their heads into the halter, and then, if they be not supported with some of her majesty's forces, they be utterly undone, for they would not have gone about to combine themselves together but in hope thereof. Which, if they want, let him judge what will become of them, and what trust will be given to the Queen of England in such like case hereafter. Their forces will be great and increase daily; for, no doubt of it, there are a great many in Scotland who

Elizabeth.
1580–1. are so greatly discontented that they but look who will put the bell about the cat's neck, and will discover themselves in the King's own house, in Edinburgh town, and sundry other places, who yet keep themselves secret. Whereof some merchant men in Edinburgh being already suspected are fled.

Whilst he was at Newcastle they apprehended at Edinburgh the Laird of Whittingham, Archibald Douglas's eldest brother, the young Laird of Spot, and George Fleck; all three special friends and servants to the Earl of Morton.

Knows not how it comes to pass, but they are in great hope of a meeting of commissioners, which he would be sorry should be yielded to them. If the Queen once refuses to have any meeting of commissioners, no doubt but a great many of them will look better about them.

Is as loth to give advice that the Queen of England should enter into war as any man, besides his knowledge how hardly she will be brought thereto, yet when he considers how greatly this matter imports herself and her State, cannot but rather give his consent to war with them, than to suffer a few of them to keep this course to the present overthrow of religion in Scotland, the bringing in of strangers, and thereby in the end, force her to take war in hand to her intolerable charges, which, being now taken in hand, it will be easily turned about with small charges to her, and prevent all their practices. For, if she were entered into war with them, she may have peace with them when it pleases her; for their merchants cannot abide any war, for then their traffic is gone, and she may annoy only such as are of D'Aubigny's faction, and so have still friends among them, and then must they cry upon the King to yield to the Queen of England's demands. Surely, for anything that he can see, if they can show once directly that the Queen of England would break with them unless they yield to her demands, they would yield thereto. But this hope of consultation makes them hold out thus stoutly. Sends him herewith a lewd "pasquile" set upon Mr. Randolph's gate. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1⅓ *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.*

March 20. **761.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 100. Finds for certain that whatsoever was intended by the Earl of Angus is discovered by the voluntary confession of the Laird of Whittinghame, who has left nothing unspoken that he knew against any man, and much more than any mon would have done upon so small occasion at all to say anything, being offered neither the boots nor other kind of torment. The ministers have seen it, and in their sermons give God thanks therefor.

The enterprise should have been to have taken the house where the King lies by forged keys, and intelligence by some within to have slain the Earls of Lennox, Montrose, and Argyll, and to have possessed themselves of the King, to have sent him into England. Albeit these things have so small appearance of truth to have been intended in deed, minds to suspend his judgment till further trial be had. He has also confessed that he was here with the Earl of Angus at his [Randolph's] lodging, and what passed between them.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Hereupon ensues, that this day proclamation was made that no man, upon pain of forfeiture of life, lands, and goods, take part with Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, in any enterprise that he has in hand, and commandment also generally given to the boroughs and all others from fourteen to sixty [years] of age to be in readiness with armour and weapon for the service of the King within eight days' warning. Thinks it will fall out that George Fleck has played as honest a part against his master as Whittingham has done for the Earl of Angus, for he has been so sore booted. But his legs serve him well enough to walk up and down; which he knows to be true.

Poor Sandy Jordan came yesterday to this town from Dumbarton, and is lodged near to the Court, on whom the burden is laid to have ministered the bread and drink that poisoned Atholl; so accused by Fleck. What is yet done, he knows not. The suspicion of that poisoning of the Earl of Atholl is thought to be greater, for that it is said John Provend bought it, and he is fled thereupon, no man knowing where he is.

[If the news] of the clans is confirmed to be true, what party Angus will be able to make, his lordship sees. Beseeches him to accept the having of commissioners to meet.

Robert Sempill is put into prison for the making of a ballad, Robert Lethpreuik for the printing thereof is fled, but not found. John Reade, a servant of the Earl of Angus, and by him used in many services, is also taken. The man had warning thereof, yet would not depart.

Andrew Melville is sent to the King of Scots from the Prince of Orange, and landed in Fife, near his brother's house on Thursday last, and is not yet come to this Court. The soldiers march presently to beside Dalkeith, for that it will not be rendered but only to the King. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Indorsed by Hunsdon:* "To the L. of Hunsdon from Mr. Randolphe, 20 Martii."

March 21. **763.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 99. Incloses a letter from Mr Randolph, by which he wiil perceive that that which he feared is now come to pass, which was, that tract of time in so great a cause would breed great danger, so that now he is quite void of any party that is now to be made for the Queen of England, and therefore her majesty must now resolve what she will do, either to yield to meeting of commissioners, and so to take what she may get, or else to give them utter defiance; wherein he dare give no advice, but rests ready to yield to whatsoever he shall be commanded. Yet, as he wrote in his last, they [Angus, *etc.*] must now of necessity either fly hither for succour or else stand to it like men, as they are able, whereof they shall hear shortly. In the meantime it shall be both honourable and profitable to her majesty, imagining the worst, to consult with her Council and resolve what she will do, for they must look for no certainty to work on from hence, where every day matters fall out so uncertainly. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1580–1.
March 21.

763. HUNTINGDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Received his letters of the 13th instant by this bearer, Armorer, who says he is his servant. With the same was a letter to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, which he read. Confesses he has long been silent. The causes have been too special to send by Hunsdon. Had no liking either [to send] by the means Randolph appointed and used, which some began to speak of. All his letters have come safely to his hands, if that which was sent by Mr. Porter Selby [ ] did so, as he guesses it did, for he had a packet directed to the post of Belper to be speedily directed to him, which "belyke" was the same.

Perceives his opinion for the meeting of commissioners continues, and [that] he thinks it to be the most likely way to bring these causes to a good end. Prays God it may prove so, if her majesty accepts that course. Assures him he likes it not but as of *ultimum refugium*. Cannot sink into his heart that any good can be effected by dealing with Lennox any way at all. The Queen of England can hope for no good from a Guisian Romanist. He may "dallye" and speak fair till he has all things fit for the purpose in readiness, and then if he show not himself a man of the Holy League, trust him [Huntingdon] no more. Perhaps Randolph will now think that he would have England make war with Scotland; but that is not so. Nor, above all things, can he consent to murder. *Absit*, and accursed be he who either devises or executes any such device; for *non est faciendum malum ut inde veniat bonum*. But if that which he [Randolph] desired in the name of the Queen of England cannot be obtained, as he looks it will not, why may not some of the nobility of Scotland, advised and assisted by the Queen of England, say to the King of Scots, "your grace ys younge, you can not judge of your "owne State and matters thereto belongyng, and therefore we "humblye praye you not to beare to the advysse of one onelye, who "sheweth hym selfe factious and more affectionatyd to that which "may put your State in perryll then well inclynyd to harkyn to soche "persons and soche advysse as can nott be dowttyd to bee unsounde "to you in your State."

Wherein, for the proofs they have had of the dealings of the Queen of England, they may be bold to justify that no person for greatness, nearness, soundness of friendship by proof most apparent, and for many respects can be meet for them as the amity with her; nor is any counsel that she gives fit to be refused. Why may not such a course be taken to encounter Lennox and his devices? If he replies to this with the harquebus and not with reason—as he cannot—then let the nobility say he must put up his forces and submit himself to hearken to that which they think be fit for their King and country. If he will not yield to this, then let them unarm him if they can; and to this he wishes the Queen of England should give aid, which he thinks she may do with honour and without breach of the amity. For he hopes the wise and godly cannot think that this course of dealing is any other than she has used before towards that State when she sought their delivery from the like inconveniences as now appear to approach them. But the want of such a party as this action requires is the greatest matter it wants, and of this his [Randolph's] late letters give no hope. God send such an end of this

Elizabeth.
1580–1. and all other actions as may be furtherance of the Gospel, hindrance to Popery, and so best for both the realms. Hopes to hear from him from Berwick. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed.*

March 22. **764.** HUNSDON TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Lansd. MSS., vol. XXXI., fol. 93.

Received his letter of the 20th, copies whereof he sent to the Earl of Huntingdon and Mr. Walsingham. Perceives the Laird of Whittinghame has confessed what he knows. Whatsoever he has confessed of Angus's intent or any others' in Scotland among themselves, they have not to deal withal. They must try the truth of it as they may. But whereas it seems that it was intended that the King should have been transported into England, it stands him [Randolph] in hand to stir therein and to seek to have the giver out thereof to be known, for that such a matter cannot be taken in hand by anybody without the Queen of England's privity and the practice of him who is her ambassador there. Therefore, if it shall rest in that sort without anything said thereunto, it will not only sound greatly to her majesty's dishonour, but, being believed, will pull away the hearts of a great many of the good subjects of that realm who loved her majesty very well. Is well assured, and so would wish him to let them understand, that if the whole nobility of Scotland would yield and consent to the transporting of him into England, she would not receive him for sundry considerations, and therefore far unlikely that there should be any such practice in hand for her. But remembers that there was the like speech given out against the Earl of Morton at the King's being at Dalkeith, as he should be hunting, he should be taken and carried into England. Mr. Bowes being there at that time, and hearing of it, went straight to the King and the Council, and did not leave till it was searched out who was the author thereof; and *in fine* it fell out to be Argyll, yet he utterly denied it.

Touching the meeting of commissioners, for anything he can yet find or see, he can neither think it honourable nor convenient for her majesty to yield to it, for he does not see which way it will be in any point to her contentation. For if they would any way yield to any of her demands they would have done it to him, being her ambassador there, and then he sees no reason for her to yield so readily to their demand. Knows it may do great harm by detracting and winning of time, which is the only thing they seek, hoping by that time to receive such succour and aid from foreign Princes of men, munition, and money, which they look for, and are put in hope of; and this is the good her majesty shall receive by it.

Whereas he writes to him in one of his letters that if he [Hunsdon] knew what should be offered upon the meeting of commissioners, he knew more than he does; "shewerly if you knowe not principall partes thereof, you must think you have but slender intelligens, for their treaty can be of nothing but of those matteres which you have negociated all this while, which havinge receivid so slender aunsuers therunto, and as I maie well tearme them so skornefull and unthankefull aunsuers, trulie I am to looke for no better at their handes, lett others hope for what they liste if they have any better grownde than I have."

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Is showed that Lennox can make no greater offers to her majesty for his loyalty and good offices towards her for the maintenance of religion and peace; for the performance whereof he offered bonds of all the nobility who were his friends, and, he thinks, to put in his son to be hostage for the same, which her majesty then would not hearken to, and truly she may with less honour hearken to it now; for if there were any probability of any good to be done, or any piece of honour to redound to her by the meeting of commissioners, he would be as willing for it as any man alive, or else he might be thought to be void of reason and consideration. But when he looks into the bottom of the matter, and cannot find that it be either honourable or possible for her—but very dangerous—he cannot so easily think it convenient.

Is sorry that Angus's enterprise is discovered, for it is utterly disappointed, yet of necessity he must do somewhat, or else put his head in the halter, and that out of hand. But now they may see what tract of time breeds. If they had gone in hand with all roundly it had taken effect no doubt; but now he knows neither what to say nor what to look for at their hands; for if they be no party they must fly hither to save themselves. Sends him a book which he should have sent him at his coming from Newcastle; but looking for him within two days made him keep it till now. Sends a letter from Lord Scrope. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

Postscript.—Received a packet and letters from Mr. Secretary Walsingham for him. It seems that her majesty stays her resolution of matters of the Borders till some conference be had between Randolph and him. In his opinion he may do very well to make his repair hither.

2½ *pp. Partly cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 22. **765.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 103. Thought to have written to him at this instant about his private cause, and withal to have sent his letter to the Council, as he advises by his letter of the 10th, but would have known his mind in this sooner, for some causes. Omits it for the haste which the packet from Berwick requires. Surely, if Morton be justly accused, nothing is to be done that way, but "fiat justitia." Must now say as Mr. Randolph has long said, that to conclude this action it will prove best to appoint commissioners to meet, for this is the likeliest way to save all upright for the present. Newcastle *Signen:* H. Huntyngdon.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 23. **766.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 105. Has written to the Council, though was loth to have troubled them for such a matter, because he hoped the examples of dealings in former times might have been sufficient to procure as much in this for him as others in this place have had appointed for them. Trusts he will receive such answer as will somewhat relieve him in charges. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

Elizabeth.
1580–1. Postscript.—Stayed these letters all yesterday, and till now, in hope to send some advertisements from Lord Hunsdon, but none came. If the matters of Scotland grow to treaty by commission, prays him to let him be no commissioner if he can help it.

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

March 24. **767.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 107. Received a letter from Mr. Randolph yesternight, a copy whereof he incloses; by which it appears that he had wrong intelligence in sundry points of his last letter. Has written to him to come hither, so that he thinks he will be here on Tuesday, by which time he hopes there will be some exploit done westward worthy of the writing, or else for his part he will look for none at all at their hands. All the Court have been in such fear of themselves that the King himself has scant put off his clothes in four or five nights.

After the receipt of Mr. Randolph's letter one was here with him who was at the examination of Whittinghame on Monday last, who affirms as much as Mr. Randolph's writings of his confession, but confirms that he has not confessed anything against Angus, either of any intention for surprising of the King or killing any of the noblemen. Touching the bishop of Glasgow's letter, which he charges his brother Archibald to be deviser of, he [Walsinghame] knows best whether there be any such matter.

Whereas he wrote in his letter that he might diminish some of the bands of some sick folks, thanks be to God, there is no man who has above two or three sick in his band, and the most part none.

The Queen of England's charges here for these new forces are above 2000*l.* a month. Hopes the Council will think him fit to have some allowance among the rest. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same:—

(Thomas Randolph to Hunsdon.)

May boldly confirm as much as he wrote before of the Laird of Whittingham. He has affirmed that the letters which he [Randolph] showed against D'Aubigny were but devised in this town by Mr. Archibald [Douglas], his brother, with the advice of Mr. Bowes. He has further declared—his whole confession being set down under his own hand—all the knowledge that he has had at any time of any matters or intelligence that he had with the Earl of Angus or any friend of the Earl of Morton's since his imprisonment. He has told what talk passed between him and the writer secretly at two several times when of himself he came to him. As he was a man well thought of and trusted by many, so has he deceived many who put confidence in him. He is now at all hands reputed the arrantest knave, villain, and coward that ever was. Notwithstanding, he has received his remission here, is set at liberty, embraced, and well received by the King, with thanks for his service. Went to the Court yesterday and had immediate speech with the King, where he charged Whittingham with his villainy and falsehood, especially in that he alleged that the bishop of Glasgow's letters were but forged

Elizabeth.
1580–1. and made in Scotland by his brother, though he [Randolph] brought them hither with him. Prayed his grace to call some such of his Council as were present to hear what he would say. He called the Secretary, Argyll, Ruthven, Newbottel, St. Combe, and afterwards came Montrose and Captain James Stewart. Told his grace and them that the Queen of England had received so great an indignity that he might not forbear to conceal it, being assured that her majesty would not bear that a false and arrant traitor and liar as Whittingham was, and for the saving of his own life—being before guilty of high treason—should falsely affirm that such letters as he brought with him to manifest the treacherous dealing of D'Aubigny here were invented by his brother in Scotland, sent into England, and so delivered to him. Requested that Whittingham might again be committed to prison until a thorough trial was made of the truth, and that if he was not able to justify that he had spoken his pardon might be revoked and he hanged as a false traitor, slanderer, and liar. On the other part, if he was able to justify that they were of Archibald Douglas's forging, that Archibald should be sent to Scotland to be executed as a traitor. Much time was spent in debating of this matter. Is promised an answer to-morrow.

Told the King and Council of private injuries done to himself, as nocturnal watching of his house, who came to him, what persons of his own went out from him, whither and when, what rumours and bruits were spread that he should conspire with the Earl of Angus to kill the noblemen about the King, and the "fylinge" of this town, thereby to make him odious; as also that he was a stirrer up of enemies and the King's subjects against him, defying all such as would so charge him, being able to justify that whatsoever he had done tended chiefly to the safety of the King and the maintenance of amity.

Required leave to depart to Berwick, seeing that his health served him no better here, nor any usage such as he looked for according to the laws common among Princes. All was excused with many good words, and never better words said either of his will to satisfy the Queen of England in convenient time, or for his own contentment, than he received at that time. Had insisted more for his departure, but that he is desirous to know what answer shall be given for Whittinghame, and likewise how Melvin proceeds in his negotiation here from the Prince of Orange; who had his first audience yesterday with the King and Council.

Notwithstanding the villainy of Whittinghame and knavery of Flecke and others, who have declared their uttermost of anything that they knew to touch Angus, and the knavery of the clans that betrayed him, and have given their assurance to the King; yet the earls proceed in their enterprise—whatsoever it is—and have so assured him by a special man of trust who was with him on Tuesday last. Something had been done before then, had not the clans broken their trust. To better enable them, they have amongst them tasted of the Queen of England's liberality as far as 400*l.*, and trusts to good purpose. Edinburgh, 23rd March, 1580.

2½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "23 Martii. From Mr. Randolph to the L. of Hunsdon."

Elizabeth.
1581.
March 25.

768. HUNSDON TO [WALSINGHAM].

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 111.

Mr. Archibald [Douglas] showed him a letter from Angus, by which it seems that the enterprise that was intended—which was the surprise of Dumbarton—cannot so well be done without peril to Morton as when they are openly in the field, and therefore this day they meet at Stirling, where Angus, Mar, Glencairn, and Boyd gather all their forces together, and doubt not but so soon as they are in the field to have a number of friends in all parts of Scotland to take their part, and would gladly know what aid they may look for at his [Hunsdon's] hand. To whom he has answered that he can make no certain answer to uncertainties; for, as other of their enterprises have been already disappointed, so may this. But when he shall know that they are in the field, and shall know certainly what forces they may gather together, and what their plot is, from Mr. Randolph, will be ready to assist them with such forces as the Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Randolph, he [Angus] and the writer shall find expedient. Desires direction what he shall do if they find that they have a sufficient party to join with them, or [if] any of the Queen of England's forces [are] to be sent to join with them. Surely, if they be but 1000 horse, with some aid from hence they may do what they list, for there are none to make head against them, and there are scant three in Court who trust one another, and they doubt Edinburgh greatly, and Ruthven is greatly mistrusted; so that they are in such fear among themselves that for certain they know not what to do.

They have gotten together 800 or 900 soldiers, but the poorest company that has been seen. If any of Tiviedale or the March would repair to them he may let them understand that he will burn their houses, and so keep those forces from them.

It is bruited for certain among them in Court that the French King has sent word to the Queen of England that if she will not withdraw her forces from hence he will send forces into Scotland, and that they look for a rebellion shortly in England. This comes from Robert Melven, by such friends as he has in England. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 25.

769. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 113.

By the mouth of an honest Scotsman, present at the reading of the confession acknowleged by the Laird of Whittinghame before the Clerk Register, the King's advocate, four ministers of Edinburgh, and others subscribing thereto for testimony of the same, is "done" to understand that Whittinghame, among many other matters, has affirmed that Mr. Archibald Douglas, his brother, had devised and with his own hand drawn the letter and effects lately alleged by Mr. Randolph before the King and Council to have been sent by the bishop of Glasgow to the Pope, and which were afterwards intercepted and brought to the Queen of England, discovering thereby the practices of Lennox, and also that he [Bowes] receiving the said letter at the hands of Mr. Archibald, presented and sent it to her majesty. Albeit his [Walsinghame's] own knowledge in this case will

Elizabeth.
1581. suffice to acquit the parties thus charged; yet finding her majesty's honour and the credit of her ministers to be touched, and the matter laboured to win a good opinion to Lennox against all things propounded by Mr. Randolph, has, therefore, thought it meet to accompany this intelligence with the declaration of his own innocency. Will gladly defend himself as to the duty of a guiltless gentleman rightly appertains.

Angus and the other noblemen intending sundry enterprises about Edinburgh and Dumbarton, have by evil handling of matters and want of secrecy been hitherto defeated, and by the discovery thereof Angus is now ridden openly to Stirling, purposing with the rest of his associates to enter into open arms.

Their late doings and resolutions are not without the advice of Morton, who was in hope of some good fortune towards himself; and albeit the same is suspended, yet it is not utterly out of heed or given over. But, as it is thought that all such matters may be most surely enterprised when the associates are in their forces, so upon their taking of arms and sight of opportunity, that purpose is reserved to be then again attempted.

If these noblemen, assisted with good aids of their friends in Scotland, once take the field, then there is time and good . . . given to persuade surcease of arms and peaceable reconciliation, which by the Queen of England's mediation may be best concluded and wrought to effects best pleasing her. For the compassing whereof the sight of her forces—levied and in readiness, and always ready to cast the balance at her pleasure—will greatly prevail, notwithstanding the same forces shall not be employed or sent suddenly into that realm. Nevertheless, for the necessary maintenance and safe preservation of a good party to be always retained for her majesty in that realm, it may be found requisite to give such succour as with surety shall be seen convenient. For it may be thought dangerous to suffer these noblemen thus devoted to her majesty to perish in default of timely relief.

Dalkeith is rendered to the King by James Douglas, late captain thereof, contrary to Angus's direction. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 25. **770.** PETITION OF JOHN ATKINSON.

"My lord," please your lordship, for the reward of God, to remember that I, Mr. Atkinson, spoke to your lordship with Mr. John Davidsoun, minister of God's Word, touching the spoils done to me by Christopher Andrews and Thomas Martin [Martene], owners of the ship that spoiled me on Midsummer even, 1577. My lord Secretary's honour knows that I was therein pursuing my spoils with Adam Fowlertoun for two years and a half, to my great travail, expenses, and "tynsall" of time, which did me as much hurt as the wanting of my gear, "and I otenit be my greit panis ten scoir ix yairdis of Franche claith, quhilk amounttit to ye some of four scoir poundis sterling or yerby, the haill loise of our haill scheipis about ane thowsand and four scoir poundis sterling," and so, please your lordship, of the sum which I recovered again, which was four score pounds sterling, I made payment to Mr. John Prowand and the rest of my partners,

Elizabeth.
1581. every man conformable to their loss. Now, this is to put your lordship in remembrance that if Mr. John seeks anything for his own particular, that your lordship would remember me, to be satisfied and paid for mine, and that my loss was not 20*l.* sterling less than his, and that I am not so "abill of pourse nor of money" to seek my spoils and losses as he is, for he is a man of good importance yearly, and has no "scheildrene." On the contrary, I have, praised be God, half a dozen children who are chargeable to me. Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Be your l[ordship's] at pour and service to command, Johnie Attkinsoun, burgess of Edinburgh."

1 *p.* *Indorsed.*

March 25. **771.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.

So much matter has fallen out against Morton, as he is credibly informed, by the confession of Whittingham, brother to Archibald Douglas, George Flecke, Andrew Nesbet, John Read, and "Sanders" Jorden, that it is thought nothing can now save his life, the King is so vehement against him, and not one councillor dare open his mouth for him. "All men are apaulid, courage and stomack quyte overthrowen." His [Morton's] enemies pursue these matters hot against him, and his friends [are] able to do him no good. Neither can he [Randolph] be particularly informed of the matters they have against him. Thinks his days will not be long here, yet has he wrought, and yet does [work] for him as for his own life. The good course that was intended for meeting of commissioners is now smally accounted of, alleging now that nothing less was intended than that Morton's case should be committed to treaty. Walsingham has now to consider and advise what is to be done, and that with all expedition.

Angus, Mar, Glencairn, Boyd, and other friends mind to do what they may, earnestly trusting on the favour they look for at the King's hands for their support.

Has been so well dealt with here, that besides the libel set up on his lodging door on Wednesday last, he had a shot bestowed on the window of his chamber, in the place where he is wont to sit and write. His good hap was to be away when it was shot, otherwise either Milles or he had been past writing, for the piece being charged with two bullets struck the wall opposite, before him and behind him, as he is accustomed to sit, the table between them. Some show of search is made for fashion's sake. Has written the rest to Lord Hunsdon, whose letter he hopes he will receive herewithal. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

March 26. **772.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 115. Incloses a letter from Mr. Randolph, and desires to know whether he shall suffer any ambassador to pass, if they send one, as Mr. Randolph writes of.

What shall be done with the Queen of England's forces here requires great consultation, for the matter is great and touches her majesty nearly—the severing of Scotland from England, which, no doubt, will be if D'Aubigny range in this sort there.

Elizabeth.
1581. Knows for certain that D'Aubigny has sent to a secret and inward friend of his, that he will out of Scotland neither by any fair means nor foul means that the Queen of England can use to him; but if the Scottish Queen commanded him to depart, he would not tarry. So that it appears plainly to him that he does nothing but by her direction.

Mr. Randolph did not write to him how he has been used, but the garrison-man who brought him these letters this morning tells him that on Thursday or Friday, as Mr. Randolph was writing in his closet, he was shot at with a piece with two bullets, which struck through the window hard by him, and made two great holes through the wall on the far side, being a mud wall. Will suffer no ambassador to pass this way till he knows her majesty's pleasure. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 26. **773.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO HUNTINGDON AND HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 121. The Queen of England finding by Mr. Randolph's late letters that the practice of the Earl of Angus is discovered, and that there is small hope of any party to be made there to join with such forces as might be sent into Scotland, and so, consequently, that no fitter means can be taken for the reduction of Scotland to some good terms than by meeting of commissioners, has thought good to resolve on that mean, and caused her mind therein to be written to Mr Randolph and imparted to the King of Scots, on such conditions as they shall perceive by the inclosed copies of the letters sent to him. The companies placed on the Borders are to be discharged, unless upon some apparent ground of danger to follow they shall think good to keep them together. Are to have care that her majesty is not charged with more than have served.

1½ *pp. Draft. Corrections and addition in Burghley's hand. Indorsed:* "26th Marche 1531. Draught of a lettre to the L. Lieutenant and the L. Governor of Berwick."

March 26. **774.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 123. Because he has entered into some course of dealings with some of the clans, has thought good to make this known to him, that he is of opinion that if the Queen of England be pleased to have some of them stayed, who by practice of D'Aubigny have been drawn from Angus, they may be either drawn back to their promised course to him or stayed so that D'Aubigny's purpose shall be little furthered thereby. Began to deal in this course somewhat too late, but minds to proceed therein no further without his advice or some direction. Of all the people of Scotland these be the worst to deal with, and yet to use one of them to bridle another was, as he thought, no evil policy, and two or three of their store houses being caught and put in good hands might, perhaps, make those who are in the contrary of her majesty's purpose stay at home when their friends should need them. If he had not seen such likelihood as now he finds by Mr. Randolph's letters of their entry into arms amongst themselves, would not have written to him of this, though he has bestowed some angels out of

Elizabeth.
1581. his own purse to this purpose. Thanks him for his letters of the 21st, and the note of Acts passed. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 26. **775.** PRIVY COUNCIL TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

The Queen of England being made acquainted with his letters lately sent to Lord Hunsdon, whereby it appears that there is no hope of any such party to be made in Scotland that he can give advice that her forces now lying on the Borders—being no greater than they are—should join with them, especially upon the discovery of the Earl of Angus's attempt, and finding also that he conceives good hope that by the meeting of commissioners somewhat might be performed for the stay of divers inconveniences that otherwise are like to ensue, is pleased to assent thereto, if he shall find the King disposed—as by his late letters to her majesty it seems he was—to continue his former desire for the said meeting. Her highness has thought meet that this her disposition of assent should be signified to the King rather by speech by him than by her own letters, and therefore he is to let him understand that when she considers how little account has been made by him and others of his Council most inward with him of the advice she has heretofore given—the same tending chiefly to his particular good—she could not hope that any such conference by commissioners, as was desired, could work any effect, and therefore had not yielded her assent thereto, but through the great assurance given by him [Randolph] that the King's earnest desire for the same was sincerely meant to no other end than to remove the jealousies and griefs lately fallen out between their majesties and the two realms, which, not compounded, might breed some further inconvenience than, perhaps, hitherto were looked into.

Whereof, if there should fall out contrary effects either by using the conference as a means to serve some other turn, or by the choice of such commissioners as should not be inclined to perform such honourable offices as may tend to the conservation of amity between the two crowns and the removing of the said jealousies, it would particularly light very heavily upon him [Randolph], through whose persuasion her majesty is chiefly drawn to yield to the said meeting.

If on the delivery of these speeches he shall not find in the King that earnest desire to have the meeting so forward as before he did, then it is thought expedient that he forbear to show any desire he has that the same should go forward, but to let the matter hang in suspense until he may hear further of the Queen's pleasure.

If he shall find them desirous thereof, the Queen of England and her Council think it meet that he should, as of himself, enter into some speech with the King and such others of his Council as he thinks fit touching such other matters, besides the griefs and disorders of the Borders, which her majesty means should be the principal cause of the said conference, as were fit to be handled at the said assembly; which in her majesty's and the Council's opinion are these.

First,—that there be care had that all such practices as may any way breed any change or alteration of religion may be met withal. Secondly,—that the person of the King be not transported out of the

Elizabeth.
1581. realm with[out] the assent of the three Estates of Scotland and the privity of her majesty. Thirdly,—that they do not proceed to any treaty of marriage for the King of Scots without her majesty's knowledge, in respect of the great benefits the King and the realm have received at her hands, and in consideration of the prejudice that may grow to the King if any such match should be made without her assent. Fourthly,—that all proceeding against the Earl of Morton be forborne until the Queen of England may be made acquainted with the matters wherewith he is charged. Lastly,—that there may be stay made of putting to the horn or the arresting of persons who for their own defence or for the relief of the Earl of Morton—bearing no ill-will to the King—have been lately drawn to enter into such action as may carry suspicion of ill and undutiful meaning.

If he shall find that the propounding of these, either in part or in whole, or in such sort as they are set down, may do harm, they refer the same to be forborne and ordered according to his discretion.

In case anything be omitted—especially tending to the good of those gentlemen who have lately entered into action—they refer it to himself to add to the aforenamed order what shall be thought meet by him.

Whereas by some of his letters sent to Walsingham he conceives that D'Aubigny, Argyll, and their associates would be glad to enjoy the Queen of England's favour and good opinion, he may let them understand, as of himself, that the best way will be to further effectually the points above mentioned, especially in forbearing to prosecute with such extremity such as of late, being doubtful of their own estate, have been forced to stand on their guard, and, perhaps, carried so far forth as to have entered into some practice of revenge, which if he or they shall seek to follow with extremity upon the advantage they have by enjoying the King's ear and the possession of his person, besides the danger that thereby may fall out to the King and the State, it cannot also but be very perilous to their own persons. For their security against those who in way of revenge may attempt anything against them, he may put them in comfort that by the Queen of England's mediation and persuasion such intents may be stayed, whereby the realm may continue in quiet, they freed from the peril that otherwise they may fall into, and he, when her majesty shall see their promises performed, may the better undertake to procure for them her favour, which they in outward show seem so greatly to affect.

For that the meeting of the commissioners, in case the King shall desire it, may not be long deferred, her majesty has made choice of the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, himself [Randolph], and Mr. Robert Bowes, which he may signify to the King, and pray that there may be choice made of persons of like quality and of like disposition.

Is to let the King understand that upon the assurance he [Randolph] has given to her majesty in his name, notwithstanding the inward troubles of Scotland, there shall be nothing attempted to the prejudice of her subjects dwelling on the Borders, she has lately given order for the discharge of the forces lately placed there, praying the King, therefore, that until such time as the commissioners may meet

Elizabeth.
1581. for the ending of those causes which depend undetermined, there may be an especial charge given to the Wardens of Scotland to see that there may be nothing attempted tending to the breach of amity.

4 *pp. Copy.*

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 117. Draft of the same with corrections in Burghley's hand.

March 27. **776.** HUNTINGDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 125. He now sees what tract of time and the deceitful dealing of D'Aubigny in Scotland have brought matters to; yet if they begin to fall out amongst themselves her majesty may by that means—taking hold of the occasion in time—haply bring some good purpose to pass. Surely Morton's life is not like to be long. Has marvelled that they suffered him to live so long. But the manner of their doings gives, in his mind, just cause to suspect that intelligences pass, and more advice is given than Edinburgh can yield. Prays God her majesty may *in tempore oportuno* foresee and meet with all things.

Is sure Lord Hunsdon writes of the piece that was shot at Mr. Randolph. If they begin thus, it is easy to see their intention. Yet it may be but the fact of a lewd varlet. The taking of John Provend will discover the fault of Morton for Atholl's death, whereof, if he were guilty, to lose his head is the just judgment of God, and no more than he deserves. But when he is gone the cause remains which is needful to be looked to. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Huntyngdon.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 29. **777.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 127. Mr. Randolph arrived here yesternight, whose letters he incloses herewith. Mr. Randolph thinks that if the Queen's majesty would show herself so thoroughly offended with them as to give them clearly up, and that there should be no traffic by sea or land between the two realms, they would surely come about and stoop lower than they do—and surely he [Hunsdon] is of the same mind—for they are verily persuaded that what show soever the Queen of England makes, she will attempt nothing against them, and that makes them in this bravery and stoutness. This opinion that they have comes out of England, for Mr. Randolph knows that they are so afraid that her majesty should break with them that they cannot tell what to do; and yet they are so led by a few, who hope only for gain by mischief among themselves, and some of themselves who are nearest about the King infected with the same disease, that they regard more their own profit and commodity than their King's well doing or the commonwealth of their country.

If Angus and Mar be able to do anything, it will be done ere this letter comes to him. Believes the rather that they mean to do somewhat, because he [Randolph] should get him out of the town as soon as he could, lest he might get more harm than they would he should do, and as soon as he should be come hither they [Hunsdon and Randolph] should hear of their full resolution, which he looks for by the latter end of this week; but of no such matter as to stay her majesty's resolution what she will do with her forces here.

Elizabeth.
1581. It appears plainly that they mean to bring Morton to his trial, and then there is no doubt but they will have his head, which will not be long a doing, for they have already as much as Whittinghame, George Flecke, Nesbett, John Reade, and Sandy Jorden can say or know, who are "inward" men with Morton and Angus.

Perceives by Mr. Randolph's letter that they hold on yet to [their] purpose to send one to the Queen of England with a dec[laration] of Morton's offences, and some complaint against Mr. [Randolph] of his dealings there with Angus and others; but they cannot yet resolve who should go. Believes that now that Mr. Randolph is come away they will alter their purpose and send none at all. But howsoever they do, there shall none pass this way till he hears from her majesty therein. Hopes shortly to hear of some resolution from him one way or other. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 29. **778.** HUNSDON TO [WALSINGHAM.]

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 129. Having sealed up his other letter to him, Mr. Archibald Douglas came to him and told him that there was a gentleman come to him with a letter from the Earls of Angus and Mar, and forasmuch as he would have been seen by many if he should have come to his lodging, he went up to Mr. Treasurer's, where Mr. Randolph lies; in whose chamber himself, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Archibald, and the earl's gentleman, whom Mr. Randolph knows very well, had conference with him. It seems that those two earls, with Glencairn and Boyd, would bind themselves with their forces to join with such forces as he should send to them, and not leave them till they had done some good exploit for the welfare of both these realms; and likewise required to know what forces he will support them with, and where they should meet him with their forces.

Mr. Randolph, Mr. Treasurer, and he consulted together what answer was fit to give them. It appears to them that these noblemen have entered far into this matter in hope of support from hence. Whereof being disappointed they are utterly undone, and, he thinks, will be forced to come hither very shortly. On the other side they considered, and do consider, how dangerous a matter it were to hazard her majesty's subjects to join with their forces, not being able to set down to them how many they can make. Likewise, all their enterprises being so discovered that nothing can be done upon any sudden, her majesty can now relieve them with no forces but that it must be openly, and so enter with her whole forces here. Whereunto belong many things to be provided, which cannot be done upon any sudden. Lastly, it is a very slender number to be sent into open hostility, and though there were five times as many, for that they are well assured the whole realm, saving a few with them, would take part with the King, and withal knowing her majesty's inclination rather [to] peace than to war, they resolved and gave them answer, that, the other causes considered, they could not put them [in hope] of any succour from hence, but would advertise her majesty and her Council of their desires and demands, and as he received order from thence, so would he do, whereof they should have knowledge. Until which time he neither could nor dare adventure any of her majesty's subjects in this

Elizabeth.
1581. case, and therefore wished them to take good heed and advice of their good friends how far they waded into this matter, and seek the best means that they can for themselves; wherein he doubted not but they should have her majesty's favour and aid, as far as she may with her honour and the surety of her subjects do.

Whilst they were in this consultation he received his letters of the 24th, by which he has small cause to put them in any hope of having any party from hence; which made him the willinglier to make them that answer, to put them in no further hope, lest they should thereupon enter into some further action than they should be able, for want of aid, to go through withal, and then past any remission at the King's hand. Hopes their friends may procure their safety, for surely the King loves them both very well.

Perceives by his letters that there will be nothing resolved on among them [the Council] until they hear from Mr. Randolph what moves him so much to incline to the meeting of commissioners.

Perceives by him [Randolph] now that he is of another mind in that behalf; for, when he wished the meeting of commissioners, he thought that, amongst the rest, Morton's matter should have been talked of, and so some good have come to him thereby. But being directly answered by them, that, though commissioners should meet, Morton's matter was not to be treated of, but that the King was to deal with his subjects who offended him as he thought good, without intermeddling of any other Prince therewith, Mr. Randolph finds no cause why there should be any meeting of commissioners; and surely, for his [Hunsdon's] own part, he thinks it very dishonourable for her majesty to yield to them therein, who have in no jot showed themselves willing to satisfy her. Hopes they will receive some full resolution from him, as he perceives Mr. Randolph has written to him. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same:—

(Angus aud Mar to Hunsdon.)

We have directed this bearer toward your lordship, instructed with our mind to deal with your lordship in some matters tending to the establishing of religion, preservation of both our sovereigns' most noble persons, and continuance of the happy amity standing betwixt the two nations, whom, together with Mr. Archibald Douglas, we earnestly desire your lordship to credit in the premises as ourselves, and to make us such hasty answer as the necessity of the time and our present estate require. Stirling. *Signed:* Anguss. J. Mar.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 29. **779.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 133. Has arrived at Berwick, and made report to Lord Hunsdon of all that he can say of the state of Scotland. Finds their minds nothing altered in any jot from that which heretofore he has written to him, or that he knows he has been informed of by Lord Hunsdon. As he wrote by his last, it stands now upon her majesty to resolve what

Elizabeth.
1581. course she will take; but his special care and most doubt is what shall become of Angus, Mar, Glencairn, and their adherents, who have now so discovered themselves that he believes there is no life for them in Scotland, being the only noblemen in Scotland of whom best account is to be made for affection to her majesty's service, from whom a special servant has been directed. Trusts he is so fully satisfied by such letters as he last wrote that no good is to be looked for at this King's hands that tends to her majesty's contentation, that he needs not to write what moved him so earnestly to wish that commissioners might have met. To which opinion he was moved with good reason, in his own judgment, until he had discovered their manifest intent to have abused her majesty. Desires to return. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1⅓ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 30. **780.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 135. [Received] his letter, without date, willing him to set down in writing the reasons that moved him to wish the commissioners might meet. Trusts that which he wrote in his last two letters satisfy him sufficiently what made him then write as he did, though he is not now of that mind that then he was, finding such alteration of their [the King and Council of Scotland] minds that makes him also alter his, upon better reason and juster occasion than they do theirs, without ground, reason, or honour. Has spoken to Crawford—brought to him by Captain Crawford, his brother, and one George Loghart, a man of good credit and wealth, of the town of Ayr, and father-in-law to the said Crawford—who alleges the cause of his being in Ireland to have been for revenge of injuries done to him for a ship and goods taken from him by Chester and Doule of Bristol; which cause, after debating, was by none of them found so reasonable as that they would stand to further defence. Yet they have all three promised him that upon a letter of his recommending the cause to the Mayor and his brethren of Bristol—written to such effect as he shall perceive by the note he sends herewith—he will never hereafter serve any more in that country, gaging thereupon their faith and honesty. Thus he thought best to deal at this time with such a people as this is, otherwise by law he might not obtain nor get it by justice at the Council's hands, to whom he complained often, but could get no other answer save that he should be sent for, whereas he [Crawfurd] was in Court every day suing for other causes. Has had word touching William Nicholles of Bridgewater. Has earnestly dealt therein sundry times, but does not find the matter regarded as it ought to be, though Maclane has a day appointed to bring Nicholles to Edinburgh, and to have the ship and goods forthcoming. Answer is not yet returned from Maclane what he means to do.

To take some occasion to know how the world goes in Edinburgh since his departure, he uses his honour's letter and the supplication sent herewith for a colour to send some special man thither to be advertised of that he desires from some friends there, sending the same to the Secretary, and requiring the Council's answer thereto. Berwick.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* "30th Marche, 1581. From Mr. Randolphe."

Elizabeth. 1581.

Inclosure with the same:—

(Thomas Randolph's reasons why the Commissioners should not meet.)

At the time he wrote that commissioners might meet, the King was of mind that all occasions of griefs—whereof the Earl of Morton's imprisonment was the chiefest—should be determined by them.

At that time there were no soldiers levied by them, but there are now 900. No friends or servants of Morton or Angus were apprehended. There was no likelihood of Morton's death, nor matters discovered against him. It was not known where Morton's money was. Then there were no practices discovered which since have fallen out. Then there was no despite or indignity used towards her majesty's ambassador. At that time D'Aubigny offered his devotion to the Queen of England, which now may be doubted of.

The purpose of the Earl of Angus has begun, and been discovered, which has greatly exasperated the King, *etc.*, and is judged by them to have proceeded from the [English] ambassador in seeking to make a party.

⅔ *p.*

March 30. **781.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999. fol. 138.

This morning John Gelson, who dwells at Newark, came hither from Edinburgh, being left there by Mr. Randolph to come after him and bring him some advertisements from some of his friends there; who brought him these that he sends herewith, whereof some are certainly true, and others but reports there. Such as he thinks certainly to be true he notes in the margin.

Now her majesty may see what she is to look for at their hands; for in fortifying of Leith, it can be but for fear that the Queen of England's forces should take it, or else to make it ready for the French or Spaniards. Surely the restoring of Farnyhurst sounds rather for their aid out of Spain than out of France, and their seeking to persuade the clans to join with O'Neil smells likewise of Spain.

His opinion is that the Queen of England should give them up clearly, and forbid all manner of traffic between her subjects and them. She should give her Wardens leave to waste and spoil upon them as they shall find themselves able. If she suffers them in this pride and insolency, fears greatly, and it is almost manifest, that ere long they will seek to invade her, or else force her to lay such garrisons on her Borders as have been wonted to be laid, to the Prince's infinite charges. If her majesty will begin this betimes with them, being in great misery and poverty, before any succour can come to them, she will do that with a pound which she will not do afterward with 100*l.* Walsingham knows that he has been of this opinion from the beginning, ever since he saw their great insolency and pride, and their carelessness to satisfy her majesty any way. Has daily occasion more and more to hold the same opinion.

Doubts not but her majesty now wishes that she had followed the advice of such as wished to make Scotland assured to her, which she and all the Council know right well might have been done for a trifle; but not now with twenty times as much. Prays to God that

Elizabeth.
1581. if her majesty overslips this opportunity and seasonable time, she do not repent it with grief when it will be two late. Craves pardon for this his over bold writing and rash counsel, if it shall be so thought; but the imminent perils and great dangers which he sees likely to proceed to England by the Scottish nation, if they be not prevented, force him to give the advice and counsel, which he refers to wiser men's considerations. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March. **782.** EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF THOMAS RANDOLPH AND ROBERT BOWES.

Angus continues in hope to relieve the Earl of Morton by peaceable means, which he thinks may be easily effected in case Morton shall agree to run the course with others, which shall neither please the Queen of England, profit his own sovereign, nor turn to the good of the public weal. He rests at the Queen of England's devotion next his own sovereign. 7 Jan. Bowes.

Angus rests very ready and forward in his own person to do all good offices for her majesty, and also to draw others to the like. 3 Feb. Bowes.

Angus is the only man who must undertake for all that is amiss. 8 Feb. Randolph.

Angus continues very careful to work his uncle's liberty and deliverance with honour, and is to be employed as her majesty shall direct him, wishing that the nobility may be "laboured" to be made a party for her majesty, wherein he shows himself very forward as well in his own person as in persuading others to the same. 12 Feb. Bowes.

The Queen of England has good cause to make account of Angus and Mar—both worthy young gentlemen, and of great expectation. 23 Feb. Randolph.

It is chiefly he [Angus] who must do them [the English] good, being as worthy a young gentleman as ever Scotland bred. 23 Feb. Randolph.

Angus remains to be employed as the Queen of England shall direct, offering hostage for the performance thereof. 14 March. Bowes.

Angus, Mar, and Glencairn are the only noblemen in Scotland of whom best account is to be made for affection to her majesty's service.

1 *p.* *Indorsed.*

March 31. **783.** [WALSINGHAM] TO HUNTINGDON AND HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 140. Was not unmindful on receipt of [Lord Hunsdon's] letters to acquaint her majesty with the same, and to desire such timely resolution as the hazardous and doubtful state of Scotland and the safety of her country require. But her majesty is not easily drawn to determinate resolution where the adventure of her subjects' lives and the expense of treasure go withal. What has been concluded, after much persuasion, they will perceive by the general letter from the Council, who travailed and do travail, with her

Elizabeth.
1581. highness from time to time that his [Hunsdon's] advice may not be neglected.

The commissioners purpose to embark on Monday next, having thus long attended the coming of the Prince Dauphin, who is said to be accompanied with many of the nobility of that realm.

The state of Scotland, as appears by the last letters, may well be resembled to a diseased body, that one day yields hope of life, and another utter despair of recovery. Sometimes it seems to stand upon indifferent themes which minister comfort of redress, though the inward disease has much weakened it. At other times it appears most desperate, and not to be cured without desperate remedies.

¾ *p. Draft. In Walsingham's hand. Indorsed:* "31° Martii.—81, to the Lords of Huntingdon and Hunsdon." *Torn.*

March 31. **785.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO HUNSDON.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 141. Having had some conference with the Queen of England touching the request of the Earl of Angus and his associates, she very well allows of his answer made to A. Douglas, and her pleasure is that he hold that course, not doubting but that they will foresee carefully that the entrance of the forces into Scotland in their assistance will carry probability to work some good effect by strengthening of the Earl and his associates. Is to provide by hostages or otherwise that after entrance they shall not be abandoned, but so used in Scotland that they may safely return after the service is done.

To the end it may appear to the subjects of Scotland that the sending in of forces is to no other purpose but to remove from the King's person such as by matter apparent, well known to her majesty, and many other probably conjectures, seek to draw the King away from the true service of God, and dissolve the amity betwixt these two realms, it shall be very convenient that some declaration in writing be published to that purpose, which he may cause to be set down with the advice of Mr. Randolph and Mr. Bowes.

Huntingdon and he are to advertise the King of Scots by express messenger that they have no other intent but to use all their forces, and, if need be, their own lives for the safety of his person, and for the establishing of his estate [in] surety. Special care is to be taken that the soldiers may not by spoils and outrages offend such of the subjects of Scotland as are well affected to England.

Is to stay any ambassabor sent from Scotland, under the colour that in such doubtful times he is inhibited to suffer any public messenger to pass without first advertising the Queen of England thereof.

2⅔ *pp. Draft. Corrections in Burghley's hand. Indorsed:* "M[inute] to the L. of Hunsdon, 31° Martii. 1581. Expedition."

[March.] **786.** THOMAS RANDOLPH'S NEGOTIATION WITH JAMES VI. AND THE COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

"A breif declaration of my whole negotiation with the Kingis majesty and Counsaile of Scotland at my last being ther, 1580."

Elizabeth.
1581. Thomas Randolph, Master of her majesty's Posts, on the sudden apprehension of the Earl of Morton, was sent into Scotland. His directions tended to the maintenance of amity and continuance of religion. The special points recommended to him were that no violent course should be taken against the Earl of Morton, and to entertain all such as rested well affected to the King and the State.

To this end, passing by York to confer with the Lord Lieutenant [Huntingdon], as he was commanded, he made his repair with all speed towards Berwick, from whence, after knowledge given to the Secretary of Scotland of his arrival there and his intention to proceed to the King of Scots, he took his journey to Edinburgh on the 17th of January. Was informed by the way of the removing of the Earl of Morton from Edinburgh to Dumbarton Castle; the news whereof made him hasten his journey, suspecting the worst by the sudden change of prison. The next day after his arrival he demanded audience of the King, to whom he told what the Queen of England had conceived by the hard proceedings against a man of those deserts that the Earl of Morton was, persuading him to a middle course. The King gave willing ear to all that he said, and answered that in honour he might do no less for the Earl of Morton than when a man is accused to him, to put him to his trial. Which he promised should not be denied him. As for the Queen of England, he acknowledged all the favour and benefits to him, and held himself so much bound to her that he would be [as] sorry to offend her as any Prince living. These and such other good speeches were used at his first access.

The second audience was on the 21st of January, at which time he dealt largely and earnestly for the Earl of Morton, adding the misliking that the Queen of England would conceive by his sudden removal to Dumbarton, aggravating that matter by all the circumstances he could, laying also before him the dangers imminent to himself and his estate by the particular factions and divisions of his nobility, and the sinister practices wrought against the amity and religion in both the realms. Wherein, as the matter was large and weighty, so he used long speeches to make his grace understand her majesty's care and vigilancy over his safety and estate.

The King in good speeches answered directly to every purpose, confessing his own want of knowledge and acknowledging her majesty's care and love to him, craving nothing so much as the continuance of her friendship and favour, and promising that, for his part, no creature should withdraw him from it. As for the removing of the Earl of Morton, he was so advised, he said, by his Council, to avoid the practices and indirect attempts of his friends, adding that nothing should be done to him without open trial.

At these two audiences he bent himself wholly to feel what good might be wrought for Morton by fair means, before he entered into the other part of his commission against D'Aubigny, and finding by the King and by conference with such of the Council as were sent to him from the King that D'Aubigny sought earnestly to speak with him, thought it might have been to very good purpose to have given him the hearing, and to use his discretion in the beginning, the better to bring things to pass in Morton's behalf, if by others it had been found expedient. About this time the bruit began to grow of the Queen of England's forces about the Borders and the coming down of

Elizabeth.
1581. the Lord Lieutenant [Huntingdon] and the Lord Governor [Hunsdon], which gave the ambassador occasion with greater boldness to proceed as he had begun with the King and nobilty, especially against D'Aubigny, and therefore, the third time of his audience, on the 25th of January, before the King and his Council, after a long discourse of her majesty's benefits bestowed on the King and his country, he showed them how some of the Council then and there present had laboured to overthrow the same with the state of religion, to the endangering of his person, *etc.* Wherewith he chiefly charged the Earl of Lennox, laying before them the intentions and devices attempted by him and through his means, by all the arguments he had gathered together, but chiefly by two letters intercepted, written by the bishop of Glasgow. Lennox, desirous to purge himself, was commanded to silence. At length, because the time was spent, the ambassador calling for the heads of such things that most offended her majesty in writing, and the two letters, recommending the weight and reformation of them to his grace's consideration and further advice of his Council, requested his speedy answer thereto, and so retired.

All this while the rumour of the Queen of England's forces along the Borders increased. Which, causing a general fear of wars, gave them hope that the things propounded would have wrought her majesty's satisfaction the better, and to insist the more for the speedy trial of the Earl of Morton.

Finding the answer long in coming, audience was once more demanded, and was granted on the 30th of January, before the King and Council. At which the King said that, because at his departure he had left them in expectation of some further matter to charge Lennox with, it was thought meet by his Council to hear the "full" of his commission in that point, that an answer might be made to all. Here the ambassador began to repeat what he had before said against Lennox, confirming the same as well as he might by the concurrence of other intelligence, and so recommending the whole to their memories, and presenting withal other things in writing to the King with some speeches in Morton's behalf, and how much it "stood them upon" to satisfy the Queen of England for the trial of the one and the removing of the other, he took his leave.

Things hung in suspense a long time, but hearing by friends that the answer would prove nothing plausible, the ambassador began to proceed according to the third part of his instructions to deal underhand with such of the nobility as came to him, to bewail the general [ ] of the country, the hazard of the King's person, and the particular danger to themselves, besides the dishonour and indignity offered to the Queen of England, who was so unthankfully neglected in all her demands, intending this way to work out a party fit to join with her forces, able [to] reform that by foul means which by fair might not be looked for. In the beginning hereof there was good appearance [of] all men disliking the violent carriage of the King and the partial dealings of those about him, but finding by the daily event and success of these causes that the King grew more and more affectionate to the one and aggravated against the other, courage at all hands began to fail, that no man seemed either willing to enterprise it himself or join with others in this action.

Elizabeth.
1581. As these things were thus underhand in brewing, the King and his Council were no less perplexed in framing their answer; which in the end was set down in writing and sent to the ambassador by a clerk of the Council. For that the Earl had largely offered all manner of trial for his justification both of the substance and circumstances of all the matters laid to his charge, without favour or partiality, it was found to be drawn little to the Queen of England's contentation, and therefore disliked by the ambassador. In the answer Morton's trial is said to be hindered by detaining Archibald Douglas, and the charges against D'Aubigny are said to be forged.

Notwithstanding this answer was delivered in writing, as the King had promised, yet, by the advice of some of his Council, he was persuaded to assemble the General Estates of Scotland, the weight of the matter importing no less. Wherein, for a time, it seemed that some difference arose between the Councillors themselves, the "Cabinet men" impugning and persuading the contrary; whose authority, notwithstanding, failed them in this point, and the King, by the advice of the rest, wrote his letters to all the nobility, barons, and boroughs of his realm to assemble at Edinburgh on the 20th of February. The expectation of this assembly gave the ambassador occasion to hope better than before he had conceived, that labouring in the meantime all that he might in privy conference with such of the nobility as came to him, he might lay the estate of their King and country before them, terrifying them with the greatness of D'Aubigny and how dangerous the example and case of Morton might in time grow to themselves, what just cause the Queen of England had to be offended, who in all her requests was so rejected, and how much it behoved them now to yield her satisfaction.

On the 11th of February he thought it convenient by some privy access to the King to lay before him his estate at large, persuading him to forego D'Aubigny as a man most dangerous to his person and country, for such causes as he had already partly showed, and would yet further acquaint him with, if he might privately and secretly repair to him with freedom. For which cause he prayed the King to name to him one of his Council by whom he might safely from time to time advertise his grace of things convenient for him to know. All which the King took in very good part, and for that purpose named to him the Clerk of Register, to whom he might boldly impart what he would.

During all this time the Earl of Lennox made private means to speak with Mr. Randolph, standing still on his purgation, which, for the commandment he had to the contrary, he still refused. Which, notwithstanding, grieved him not a little, being secretly advertised that a reconciliation was intended between Morton and him, and to have redeemed his liberty; to which end the King should have gone to Glasgow, eight miles from Dumbarton, the better to conceive the matter. In which thing the ambassador should have nothing to do. Albeit this purpose took no effect, for Morton's friends esteeming this course to be dishonourable, broke it off.

During this time the Earl of Lennox, standing still to his justification, it was determined in Court to send Lord Seton to the Queen of England from the King with large instructions and offers. But, neither the man nor message being liked, his journey was, for causes,

Elizabeth.
1581. stayed by Mr. Randolph, to the great offence of the said lord, who upon his own charges had undertaken the journey.

And for the continual bruit that the Queen of England's forces on the Borders, both horse and foot, all men growing doubtful whereto these things might tend, order was taken for the appointing of a lieutenant if wars should ensue, and twelve captains with commissions to levy 120 men.

All this while, as matters grew daily from ill to worse, and all hope depended on the convention, which likewise by all outward appearance grew less and less, Mr. Randolph did not omit underhand to procure a party, labouring by all means to make Morton's case fearful to them, and the greatness of Lennox odious, alluring them by large offers of the Queen of England's support both of men and money to join together in the King's behalf. But, notwithstanding all that might be done or said to allure them *vel prece vel præcio*, such difficulty was found that, though many seemed forward, no man would be foremost, and such as this day seemed very willing, the next day made great difficulties and excuses. Such was the diffidence that generally ran through them all, that, only Angus, Mar, and Glencairn excepted, no account or assurance could be made of the rest, every man alleging the King's settled affection toward Lennox, whereby it seemed he would be a party against them, although being done by his commandment and in his name. The honour of the King, the ill ground her majesty had to build such an enterprise upon, for want of sufficient proofs of the matters she charged Lennox with—in which point, besides the forwardness of the King in his defence, themselves were not fully satisfied of the certainty of them. Many seemed rather to bewail Morton and to forgive him, than to hazard themselves for his relief.

The Council, on the other side, were not idle, but laboured as fast to persuade all men against this convention to stand in defence of the honour of their King, laying before them the innocency of Lennox and the practices of his enemies, the small proof of the matters laid against him, and the Queen of England's hard proceedings, which drove them to fear that she carried some further meaning against the King and that country secretly intended, and more prejudicial to them than the expelling of D'Aubigny and trial of Morton, and this suspicion was deeply entered into the minds of some of the best affected there, until they were assured of the contrary, and of the sincerity of her dealings.

In this sort the time passed until the day of the convention. Which now being come, Mr. Randolph repairing to the King in privy conference gave him to understand the great expectation the Queen of England had of the end of his negotiation, and what effect her requests were likely to take, requesting withal that, as at sundry times he had opened her majesty's griefs in private to himself and Council, now also the whole Estates might be acquainted therewithal, that not only they, but the commons also, if it were possible, might be witnesses of her dealings.

The King told him that he had good remembrance of the matters he had already propounded; if he had anything further to say, he should be heard. As for the Assembly, they were such as he had sent for to receive such direction as he thought necessary, and not to

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1581. yield advice or counsel, and that, therefore, it imported nothing at all what they heard or said. But he, insisting still to the contrary, obtained in the end free audience in the whole Assembly. Which falling out to be on the 24th of February, he reported to them the effect of all that he before propounded at several times of audience to the King and Council, and took occasion particularly to "remember" the times and places when and where the Queen of England had been gracious to the King and his country from the beginning of her reign to this time, leaving nothing unspoken that might work a feeling in them of her benefits and their own duties. Wherein, as the matter was large and ample, he spent almost two whole hours, and in the end acquainting them with the answers he had received, and his opinion thereof, he laid before them his reply in writing, and such further matter against D'Aubigny as lately he had received as well from the Queen of England's Secretary as elsewhere; amongst which the bishop of Ross' letter to Cardinal Alciat was then used to best purpose. And so leaving the whole to their consideration—inveighing by the way against him for a seditious book lately written by him—after some speeches for Morton's liberty upon surety, and apprehending Sir James Balfour, with request for a speedy answer, he departed.

D'Aubigny at this Assembly said nothing at all, the rather for that at the beginning it was urged that he might depart that place before anything should be spoken; but the King seemed very unwilling thereunto.

To this Convention came the Earl of Angus, persuaded thereto by the rest of his friends, with assurance from the King, having all the time before held himself aloof, spending the day within doors, and the night in the fields, for fear of his enemies. But, as it fortuned, his abode was not long in Edinburgh, for, being secretly advertised of certain practices intended against him by the Earl of Montrose and his own wife, upon the intercepting of certain letters that passed between them, suddenly in the night he departed the town to Dalkeith, and, after speech with his wife, in due time prevented the mischief, acquainted the King, dealing by Mar, who abode still in Court, and sent her away home to her father's.

This Convention did not hold many days, neither did it fall to any great purpose, save only it was agreed then, in case the wars should proceed, and her majesty known to invade, the barons and boroughs had condescended to the contribution of 40,000*l.* Scots towards the maintenance of the same.

Every day bred a new disorder in the general state of things, and the King growing more and more affectionate to Lennox, gave the less courage to others, and small hope to the ambassador to see aught amended that seemed so far amiss. All that was done to hinder seemed but to yield matter of advancing to the adversaries' side. The bruit of wars which at first was not so much regarded, was now greatly feared, proclamations made, and men in stir at all hands. The ambassador grew odious, his doings suspected, and the Court in a manner desperate. For all this he did not forbear continually to call for his answer, which held the Council still perplexed, Lennox standing continually to his justification. The Earl of Morton, notwithstanding the intercession made at the Convocation for his

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1581. larger liberty, abides still at Dumbarton, straiter kept than before. Angus absenting himself from the Court, whose dealings were suspected by intelligence with Randolph, made Lennox, Montrose, and Argyll, and that party stand on their guard at the Court; who every way stand in doubt of each other. The party which from the beginning was still "practised" underhand by the ambassador, hung yet uncertain, notwithstanding the general miscontentment of all men, the rather for the accident fallen out, as before is said, between Montrose, Rothes, and Angus, who now from friends became deadly enemies. Which things so unhappily fallen out against Angus, made that party so weak that no great force might be looked for at their hands. But the chiefest matter, and that which made all so cold and backward, was the forwardness of the King in this action against them.

About the 8th of March, the answer so long in framing was sent in writing from the King to Mr. Randolph, the effect whereof was in manner as the former, for aught that might turn to the Queen of England's satisfaction. But for that their kind of dealing by writing was not found to be the readiest way to remove the conceptions of griefs and jealousies seeming to grow between their majesties, request was made therein that all matters of grief and disorder might be referred over to commissioners, chosen persons both for honour and experience, to meet on the frontiers of either realm, there with indifferency to treat and compound all causes of grief and misliking, as more at large may be read in the answer extant, and also in his grace's letter to the Queen of England.

During the time that this answer and letter were sent to her highness, amongst other things, the ministers who continually in their sermons preached against the disorder of the Court and confusion of the Estate to prevent the wrath of God that now seemed to be imminent, published a general fast to be held through the whole realm from the first Sunday of March to the second of the same, upon such heads as were set forth in writing.

The motion for the meeting of commissioners was well liked of by many, and might have been to good effect and purpose had not the cross events of many matters fallen out in the meantime. For, after the intelligence and practices between Angus and Randolph, who all this time laboured still to work out a party to prevent the worst, if possibly it might be, were discovered by the earl's own servants and Morton's together, his absence and doings grew every day more and more suspected, and Randolph's doings greatly disliked. Whereupon fell out the daily examinations of many who in any sort might be entrusted to have had credit and conference with them, namely, George Fleck, the Laird of Maynes, the Laird of Spot, John Read, and Whittingham, all servants and nearest kinsmen to Morton and Angus. Mar in the meantime was sent for to the Court, and Angus commanded to commit himself prisoner.

There was conference had with their clans and friends, namely, Glencairn, Boyd, Lochleven, Cambuskenneth, Dryburgh, and Drumquhassel to combine together a sufficient party to join with the Queen of England's forces on the Borders, who might have wrought some effect had not their own trustiest servants betrayed them, overthrowing all the purposes, to the great advantage of the adversaries'

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1581. party, the confusion of their lords and masters, and danger to Mr. Randolph. Amongst whom the faithless and traitorous dealing of Whittingham, for an example, may not be omitted, who from the beginning having had the handling and knowledge of all matters of importance and secrecy between Angus and the rest, in the end, like a deep dissembler and fearful wretch, without compulsion, by a voluntary confession discovered the whole proceedings, not regarding his nearness of blood or bond of duty to the Earls of Angus and Morton, or the danger he threw the other noblemen into.

This man's treachery was so approved in Court that great triumph was made and advantage taken thereof, so augmenting their fury that Angus was afterwards put to the horn, and Randolph ill thought of and worse handled.

The King intended to acquaint the Queen of England by a servant of his own with the confession, proceeding in the meantime against Angus, Mar and Morton with greater severity than before. For which cause Randolph, finding his abode to be needless for others and dangerous for himself through false bruits, slanders, libels, and other indignities daily offered him, retired to Berwick with intention there to attend her majesty's further pleasure and the end of these matters.

Within two days after his arrival there a gentleman sent from Angus and Mar came thither to him, and to declare to the Lord Governor [Hunsdon] their whole estate and case, requiring his lordship's favour and assistance, and to know when and where they should attend his coming. But finding by conference that their party was neither sufficient nor so to be trusted as in such a cause was to be looked for, it was not thought good to hazard her majesty's forces without better assurance, and so the messenger was dismissed without resolution. In the meantime news came daily of the proclamations against them and their followers, the seizing of their livings and houses, the summoning of Stirling Castle held by the Earl of Mar, the fortifying of Leith, and such kind of proceedings to the daily discomfort of the poor earls, who now at all hands were left to themselves.

Upon knowledge that the practices intended between the earls and Randolph were growing to some head, and that the issue of them was expected from Berwick after conference and intelligence there, to hinder that traffic, a proclamation was made that no victuals should be carried thither, as was accustomed, nor any intelligence had with any of the English Borders; by means whereof they never heard from the earls after, save that Mar at length was reconciled to the King by mediation, and Angus left "post" alone.

This proclamation begun by the Scots was imitated at Berwick, and the like commandment given there by the Lord Governor, to the great grief of the good subjects of either side, who greatly lamented this strange divorce after so long time of friendship. By this time Randolph arrived at Berwick, [going] to her majesty, but was stayed by the Lord Governor till her pleasure was further known.

In the meantime, hearing what was fallen out in Scotland by continual advertisement, and her charges daily increasing without effectuating anything to purpose, it was thought good to abide a while in these terms of divorce, and, discharging the forces, to call Mr. Randolph home.

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1581. 13¼ *pp. Indorsed:* "Mr. Randolphe's negotiation in Scotland, 1580." *Stained by damp and faded.*

Cott. Calig. C. VI., fol. 148. Copy of the same, with the following note at the head:—"This, according to a journal that I had made, Mr. R[andolph] willing me at his return home, I did set down; but afterwards upon conference had with William Colvill touching the cause of my Lord Augus's distress, I learned by him that the secret treachery of the Lord Boyd overthrew him, whose doings were so double that my Lord of Angus was most of all beguiled by him."

April 1. **787.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 143. Received his letter of the 27th ult., by which he perceives that he was not well, which he is sorry for, but hopes for his amendment. Received the Council's letter written to the Earl of Huntingdon and himself, a copy of Mr. Randolph's letter, and the articles to be treated of by the commissioners, with a commandment to him for the discharging of the Queen of England's forces lately levied; all which he has answered to their lordships [the Council], which for tediousness he refers him to. Marvels that any will give her such counsel, or that she will yield to satisfy them in both their requests, who have so contemptuously and scornfully refused to yield to her majesty's ambassador in any one jot that he required at their hands in her behalf. Has presumed to forbear either to return Mr. Randolph to the King or to discharge her forces, for such reasons as he has alleged in his said letter, which he hopes her majesty and the Council will take in good part. Doubts greatly if Mr Randolph returns to Scotland that he will hardly return hither again, having been used there as he was. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

½ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Note on the back in Walsingham's hand.*

April 1. **788.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 145. Hopes he is in better health. Touching his coming to this town to confer with the Lord Governor [Hunsdon], has left nothing unspoken that comes to his mind concerning his charge. Was once of mind that commissioners should have taken up all griefs, these bloodthirsty men not being then so sure of their prey as now they think to have it *in faucibus.* Means Morton and Angus and their adherents, at whose lives, lands, and goods they so greedily snatch. Until that be swallowed there is no dealing with them.

To help those men by treaty or commissioners it is impossible, until they find some new want of friendship or great peril to hang over their heads. They stand now in fear. To keep them there *nobis est utile.* For them to consume themselves in levying of horse and foot is no hurt to England, Powder, armour, weapons, they have little, and money they have none to buy it withal.

If Captain James Stewart and his young companions be suffered a little to run their course, they may, perchance, break their own necks. If the Queen of England for a month or two would hold a hard hand to them, believes they would soon acknowledge their

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1581. error. It is not his opinion alone. Has learnt it there where are no foolish masters in that art. His honour may use it as he pleases. He need not fear France nor the King's transportation: he shall have warning enough thereof in time. If otherwise, let him resolve and have a meeting. He must, to countervail the weight of his articles, look to hear of some who will as ill like him. If he will not have the King [of Scots] marry with Spain or elsewhere, he must give him a wife himself. If he will have the King depend upon him [Walsingham], he must do something for him *cum multis aliis*, who would be long to write of. Will no longer trouble him lest he runs himself quite out of breath. If he sends him into Scotland again, it may be as well done by some other as himself, except he looks not to see him again. Leaves it to her majesty's will. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Randolph.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

April 1. **789.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 147. Received their letters of the 27th of March, at Berwick, by which he understands they have knowledge what has been heretofore written touching the King of Scots' desire to have commissioners to meet, and also have seen his letters to Lord Hunsdon and the Earl of Huntingdon wishing the same. At the time of the King of Scots' letters and his own, bearing date the 10th of March last, no manifest contempt of the Queen of England had broken out or could appear, and finding in the King and his Council that that was the only way to do good in all causes of controversy—and in this there were but two, the trial of Morton and removing of D'Aubigny—and being persuaded thereto by divers honest and godly men who desire the continuance of amity, liked the better to write as then he did. But finding great alteration since in the King and Council in the chief purposes that this meeting should be for, and many things tending but to abuse, trusts it will be noted less offence for him to alter and warn betimes, than to persist in opinion, and to see the causes betrayed that are committed to his charge, of which he has written to Lord Hunsdon in two several letters. Incloses a note of what things he has found since writing his letter of the 10th of March. Doubts not but at any time to procure a meeting, but whether such commissioners as indeed have a will to do good, or such conditions will be yielded to as the Council demand. What the Council please to command, will do his best to perform the same. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same:—

(Thomas Randolph's reasons why the Commissioners should not meet).

Copy of the inclosure with No. 780.

April 1. **790.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS. 6999, fol. 150. Received his letter of the 27th ult. yesterday, and is heartily sorry to behold the hard success and condition of these northern

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1581. affairs, threatening, as he thinks, effects neither pleasant to the Queen of England nor likely to produce fruits wished. All which he leaves to God's providence and to wise consideration as matters far exceeding his reach or hope of remedy without immediate provision speedily to avoid the evils grown, and immediately to prevent the increase of the same. Cannot, before their discharge, let him know perfectly what the charges of the companies lying on the Borders will amount to, and what is remaining of the treasure sent to be employed in this service. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

April 1. **791.** MANDATE BY JAMES VI. TO LAUCHLAN MACLEAN.

"To our louittis messingeris our shereffis in that part conjunctlie and severalie specialie, constante greting." Forasmuch as it is "humelie menit and schawin" to us by William Nicholas, Englishman, master of a ship called the *White Hart*, of Bridgewater, that whereas the said ship being freighted with wine, salt, and other merchandise pertaining to the said William and other merchants, and he transporting the same to the isle of Mull, not only were the said ship and goods taken and spoiled to the value of 700*l.*, but also the said Nicholas and sundry of his company were taken by Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, John Dow Maclean, and others, *etc.*; our will is that in our name you command and charge Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart to "entir" and present the said Nicholas and the other persons taken by him on the said ship before us and Lords of our Secret Council, at Holyrood House, or where it shall happen "us to be" for the time, on the 24th instant, "to heir and se thame with the said schip and gudis decernit to be restorit and set at libertie," to the effect that they may pass home at their pleasure, under the pain of rebellion and putting of them to our horn, or else to allege a reasonable cause why the same should not be done. Holyrood House.

1 *p.* *Broadsheet* *Indorsed.*

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ADDENDA.

Cott. Calig., C. VI., fol. 118.

651. "Instruccions given to our trusty and welbeloved servant Thomas Randolph esquier, Master of our posts, etc., presently dispatched into Scotland about our affaires the 6 of January 1580, and the xxiij yere of our reigne." Elizabeth R.

For that it would be very hard to give you any particular direction what were fit to be done for the stay of the violent course that seems to be intended within that realm, we are, therefore, principally to commit the direction of yourself in this present charge to your own good discretion, letting you understand in generality that the cause of our sending of you thither tends chiefly to two ends; the one to procure that no violent course may be taken with the Earl of Morton; the other to comfort and strengthen such as be well affected to the King and State by assuring them that they shall not lack any assistance we can yield. For the first you shall on your arrival there, after the delivery of our letters to the King, declare to him that when we understood of the alteration that had of late happened in that realm, and in the person of such a one as during his minority had showed great testimony of his loyalty towards him, and singular wisdom in governing that State, having to our knowledge for his constancy to the King endangered his life many ways by reason of the malice borne him by enemies both at home and abroad, we could not but by some especial servant of our own recommend to him the consideration of the dangers that may ensue by withdrawing of his favour through subtilty and false informations from so worthy a servant and subject as the Earl of Morton is, and hath showed himself always to be.

What the causes may be that might lead him to take so extreme a course with the said earl, as we have not yet heard, so we are of opinion that "it" will *in fine* prove, if they may be looked into, rather a practice in the contrary faction, who either seek to make themselves great by other men's falls, or else serve for instruments from foreign parts to work some alteration in that State as well in religion as otherwise, than any grounded matter of sufficient force and show against him. Whereof, as we have heretofore by our former ministers put him in mind only upon a care and affection we bear.

685. "of England. Moreover, if it shall happen the said Queen of England to decease without lawful heirs that then the said Queen of Scotland remain, and, even at the instant hour of the said Queen of England's death, be by right seised of the crown of England and of the appurtenances and dependants thereof whatsoever, to be enjoyed plainly and peaceable by her and after her by the Prince of Scotland her son, then heirs and lawful."

Add 7th line from end, from Cott. Calig. B. VIII., fol. 235.

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